

Czech Broadside Ballads as Text, Art,
and Song in Popular Culture, ca. 1600–1900

Czech Broadside Ballads as Text,
Art, and Song in Popular Culture,
ca. 1600–1900

Edited by
Patricia Fumerton,
Pavel Kosek, and
Marie Hanzelková

Translated by
Christopher James Hopkinson,
aided by Patricia Fumerton

This book was supported by a grant from the Czech Republic Ministry of Culture: “Broadside Ballads in the Historical Collections in Brno/Kramářské písně v brněnských historických fondech” (DG18P02OVV021, Programme for Applied Research and Development in National and Cultural Identity/Program na podporu aplikovaného výzkumu a experimentálního vývoje národní a kulturní identity NAKI II).

Cover illustration: A comparison of Czech octavo and sextodecimo size. MZK, sign. VK-0006.831.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 155 4

e-ISBN 978 90 4855 334 1

DOI 10.5117/9789463721554

NUR 685



Creative Commons License CC BY NC ND

(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>)

© All authors / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2022

Some rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, any part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise).

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	9
Acknowledgements	13
Important Terms	15
I. Introduction	
1. The History and Reception of Czech Broadside Ballads within Local, Regional, and Global Contexts	21
<i>Patricia Fumerton, Pavel Kosek, and Marie Hanzelková</i>	
II. General Overview	
2. Broadside Ballads as Artefacts	59
<i>Jiří Dufka</i>	
3. The Czech Broadside Ballad in Its Historical, Social, and Literary Context	75
<i>Jakub Ivánek</i>	
4. The Origins of Czech Broadside Ballads in Sixteenth-Century News Leaflets	93
<i>Jan Malura</i>	
5. Previous Research on Broadside Ballads, with a Particular Focus on Literary History	115
<i>Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi</i>	
6. Three Collections of Czech Broadside Ballads: Creating, Organizing, and Providing Access	131
<i>Jiří Dufka, Markéta Holubová, Věra Frolcová, Iva Bydžovská, Jitka Machová, Hana Glombová, and Romana Macháčková</i>	

III. Topics

7. Finding Justice: Punishment in Broadside Ballads 157
Hana Bočková
8. Broadside Ballads and Religious Pilgrimage Songs: The Virgin Mary of Vranov 175
Marie Hanzelková
9. Women in Broadside Ballads: Roles and Stereotypes 197
Markéta Holubová
10. Give the Devil His Due: Demons and Demonic Presence in Czech Broadside Ballads 213
Maciej Mętrak
11. Reality and Fiction in Broadside Ballads and Their Contemporary Reception: A Case Study 233
Jana Poláková

IV. Musicology and Transmission

12. Broadside Ballads as a Printed Medium and the Rise of Literacy 255
Kateřina Smyčková
13. Melodies of Czech Broadside Ballads in the Historical Contexts of Song Culture 271
Tomáš Slavický
14. The Melodies of Broadside Ballads and Pilgrimage Songs and the Many Media of the Song Tradition 287
Věra Frolcová
15. Czech Religious Broadside Ballads in Slovak Manuscript Hymnals of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries 305
Peter Ruščin

V. Language

16. The Language of Czech Popular Broadside Ballads: Revisiting the Low 333
Jana Pleskalová and Olga Navrátilová
17. The Orthography of Czech Broadside Ballads from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 353
Pavel Kosek, Veronika Bromová, Alena Andrlová Fidlerová, and Dmitrij Timofejev

VI. The Wider Context

18. English “Heyday” Broadside Ballads 379
Patricia Fumerton
19. Broadside Ballads in Poland: Content, Forms, and Research Perspectives 403
Piotr Grochowski
20. Czech-Polish Interrelations: The Example of Marian Songs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries 423
Monika Szturcová
21. Roaming Heroes and Their Ballads: Brazilian Cordel Narratives in the Context of the Global Broadside Ballad Tradition 441
Kateřina Březinová
- Bibliography 467
- Index 491

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1.	A <i>špalíček</i> (block) from the collection of the Moravian Library.	29
Figure 2.	Another example of a <i>špalíček</i> (block), with fabric for binding.	29
Figure 3.	One side of an uncut Czech broadside ballad sheet, printed on both sides, in octavo size.	31
Figure 4.	A comparison of Czech octavo and sextodecimo size.	32
Figure 5.	Another comparison of octavo and sextodecimo size.	33
Figure 6.	Performance of a Czech broadside ballad singer in Židlochovice.	40
Figure 7.	Poor Czech street singers at the end of the nineteenth century.	41
Figure 8.	Secular Czech broadside ballad about a flood, in Budapest, Hungary, ca. 1838.	42
Figure 9.	Czech religious broadside ballad, <i>Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii</i> (1860).	45
Figure 10.	Comparison of two editions of the same song of the St. Barbara from the older and later hymnals from the seventeenth century, here showing the shift towards a cheaper graphic arrangement.	64
Figure 11.	Comparison of the title pages of the 1650 and 1683 Czech editions of the same song.	67
Figure 12.	Example of the conversion of a lengthy Czech song text from a book edition to a broadside edition.	68
Figure 13.	Typical Czech <i>špalíček</i> (block) in sextodecimo size.	78
Figure 14.	Comparison of Czech broadside ballads in sextodecimo size (above) and octavo size (below) and eighteenth-century (on the left) and nineteenth-century (on the right) artefacts.	79
Figure 15.	A Czech news song about a Turkish atrocity, ca. 1601–1620.	100
Figure 16.	Illustration of the Lady of Montserrat, 1882.	119
Figure 17.	Punishing a criminal by hanging, Czechia, 1833.	159
Figure 18.	Execution of a woman by guillotine, Czechia, 1865.	167
Figure 19.	The oldest Czech broadside ballad image of the Vranov Madonna, 1762.	181

Figure 20.	An example of Czech reuse of a “non-Vranov Madonna,” 1854.	182
Figure 21.	Czech broadside ballad about a spinster who can’t get married, 1828–1860.	201
Figure 22.	“A New Song about the False Love of the Female Sex,” 1866.	203
Figure 23.	Selected panels illustrating the devil from a Czech ballad singer’s banner, second half of the eighteenth century.	222
Figure 24.	More selected panels featuring the devil from a ballad singer’s banner, second half of the eighteenth century.	226
Figure 25.	Scene from the trial of the Vajckorns. Chládek, Czechia, [1907?].	239
Figure 26.	Title page of a broadside ballad about the quadruple murder near Křtiny, Czechia, [1907?].	240
Figure 27.	A model of the media spaces surrounding Czech literacy.	264
Figure 28.	Two examples of the reception of a Czech song.	288
Figure 29.	Melody of a Baroque broadside ballad recorded from memory, mid-nineteenth century.	293
Figure 30.	Notation of a typical Czech melody, “Taneční svatá” (“Sacred dance”).	297
Figure 31.	Title page of a Czech pilgrimage broadside ballad, first half of the nineteenth century.	298
Figure 32.	Notations of a Czech-Slovak-Polish melody type for pilgrimage songs.	298
Figure 33.	A Czech broadside ballad in a Slovakian manuscript.	313
Figure 34.	A Czech broadside ballad, 1830.	314
Figure 35.	Example of English “heyday” broadside ballad.	382
Figure 36.	Impression from an English broadside ballad and an extant woodcut of country dancing.	387
Figure 37.	Examples of English woodcut impressions from three separate Pepys broadside ballads of the “Lady with Fan” (known to EBBA as “The Artichoke Lady”).	393
Figure 38.	Example of a late English broadside ballad with musical notation.	395
Figure 39.	Example of an English “heyday” broadside ballad printed on both sides of the sheet.	396
Figure 40.	Cover of a cordel booklet that comments on international affairs.	444

Figure 41.	Cover of a cordel booklet showing a “fight” between Severino Pinto and Severino Milanez.	448
Figure 42.	Cover of a cordel booklet depicting England and Argentina in the war over the Falklands.	452
Figure 43.	Booklets on display in the Brazilian Academy of Cordel Literature (ABLC).	453
Figure 44.	Cover image and the first page of a cordel booklet about the “Monster of São Paulo.”	459
Table 1.	Tracing the tradition, melody, and medium (conveyance) of the broadside ballad “Matičko boží, nebeské zboží” (1663–1942)	294
Table 2.	The number of occurrences (absolute frequencies) of selected orthographic features in the investigated Czech texts	358
Table 3.	Percentage of words with majuscules in selected groups of nouns and adjectives	370
Table 4.	Selected Czech and Polish versions of Marian (pilgrimage) songs published as chapbooks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries	434

Acknowledgements

The editors of the book would like to take the opportunity to thank the large group of their co-workers, external experts, students and the two reviewers, without whose support, advice, and assistance this ambitious project would not have been possible: Dominik Bárt, Štěpánka Běhalová, Anna Bělohoubková, Michaela Boháčová, Veronika Bromová, Iva Bydžovská, Radek Čech, Kateřina Frečerová, Erika Gaffney, Christopher James Hopkinson, Martina Ireinová, Libuše Janáčková, Vilém Kaplan, Adéla Kolková, Vladimír Mañas, Barbora Marková, Una McIlvenna, Matěj Měřička, Marie Nedomová, Jindra Pavelková, Lydia Petráňová, Thomas Pettitt, Marie Škarpová, Markéta Skořepová, Nicole Stark, and Martina Volechová. Many thanks also go to the institutions and individuals who lent objects or granted rights to publish photographs. Special thanks go to the *burčák* from Žarožice, which made all the dreams come true.

Important Terms

Broadside ballad (in Czech: *kramářská píseň*, literally translated as “shopkeeper’s song” or “stallholder’s song”)—Religious or secular songs printed on one sheet or a half-sheet on both sides, then folded, cut, and sewn. We do not know who folded, cut, and bound the sheets or half-sheets in the stages of the broadside ballad’s making. According to Petřtyl, the process was performed by the sellers (singers), or perhaps even the consumers.¹ But it is possible, according to Jiří Dufka, that the sheets were at least folded and perhaps also cut in the printing houses. Whatever the steps in the process of creating what we call “a broadside ballad product” (consisting of all or a part of a folio sheet), we do know that the product typically produced (at least in the seventeenth and eighteenth century) was in sextodecimo size; later, as the broadside ballad entered its decline, from the second half of the nineteenth century, it was more commonly in octavo size and sometimes even quarto size. *Note:* As did early printers, we use the term “size” because the single sheet in, for instance, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was always folded to form 16 leaves (32 double-sided pages), but from that folded sheet, one or more broadside ballad product(s), and subsequent sewn gatherings, could be created—all in the sextodecimo size (about 9 cm × 11 cm).

Chapbook (in Czech: *kramářský tisk*)—In the Czech context, a chapbook is a wider term, including both prose and verse (broadside ballad) printings, including texts but also holy pictures, etc. In the Czech context, the broadside ballad is thus a subcategory of the chapbook.

Gathering of broadside ballads (in Czech: *kramářská píseň nebo více kramářských písní, vydané a distribuované ve formě sešitku*, literally translated as “a shopkeeper’s song or more shopkeeper’s songs, published and distributed in the form of a booklet”)—Czech broadside ballads were printed, cut, and bound into gatherings of pages made from a single-sheet printing, as noted above). The gathering(s) could differ widely in page length: from 4, to 6, to 8, to 12, to 16, as far up as 32 pages. The most typical gathering, however, was that of 4 or 8 pages. Such broadside ballad gatherings, furthermore, could consist of a single broadside ballad or more. Typically, just one or two

1 Petřtyl, “O výrobních,” p. 260.

broadside ballads were printed (double-sided) from a single sheet, whether folded and cut, or not.

Hymn book, hymnal (in Czech: *kancionál*)—A collection of religious songs, often ordered according to the Church year; in some cases, beautifully produced and expensive.

Leaflet (in Czech: *leták*)—Single sheet (printed on one side or both sides) or booklet, with prose or verse texts which reported the news. It was also regularly decorated with illustrations. In the Czech lands, leaflets flourished at the end of the sixteenth century.

Pilgrimage song (in Czech: *poutní píseň*)—Pilgrims sang these songs as a group during their journey or at the pilgrimage site. The songs lightened the “plodding” of the journey as well as promoted the pilgrimage site. A pilgrimage song praised a holy person or asked that saint for protection and assistance. Czech pilgrimage songs were mostly disseminated in the form of broadside ballads.

Sextodecimo size (in Czech: *šestnáctěrka*)—Czech broadside ballads of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were typically about 9 × 11 cm. Their size varied, however, depending on the magnitude of the sheet the printer employed. In Czech lands during the period when broadside ballads were mass marketed, sheets of folio-size paper were similar in dimensions but not yet standardized. Sextodecimo size was thus close, if not always equal to, 9 × 11 cm. Also, though the sextodecimo size was typically created by folding the printed sheet four times, thus producing 32 pages, not every broadside ballad gathering (a gathering being equivalent to an individual ballad) contains that many pages. We find sextodecimo-size broadside ballad gatherings of anywhere from 4, to 8, to 16, to even 32 pages. The most common length, however, is 4 or 8 pages.

Songbook (in Czech: *zpěvník*)—A collection of secular songs.

Špalíček (in English: block)—Some consumers sewed multiple purchased gatherings of broadside ballads into a single book, known as a *špalíček* (block). Deep research has not been done on the topic, but it seems that sometimes *špalíčky* (blocks) served as a memory book of a pilgrimage or as a private “hymn book” (real hymn books, however, were more expensive than broadside ballads—beyond the affordability of the poor). Such a poor man’s

hymnal book made up of gatherings of broadside ballads could be used for individual devotion or, more broadly, shared by members of a person's family. These collections could grow substantially, even preserving other "blocks," which might include broadside ballads on similar topics (e.g., St. John of Nepomuk) or song cycles devoted to another saint, or to the Virgin Mary.

Tune imprint (in Czech: *nápěvový odkaz*)—Czech broadside ballads do not contain sheet music (music notation). In some cases, they give the tune imprint formally, as "To the tune of x"); in other cases, we must deduce the tune from the incipit (first lines) of a well-known song. In all such cases, whether formally stated or deduced, we refer to the found tune as a "tune imprint."

I.

Introduction

1. The History and Reception of Czech Broadside Ballads within Local, Regional, and Global Contexts

Patricia Fumerton, Pavel Kosek, and Marie Hanzelková

Abstract

The first chapter (introduction) provides an overview of the phenomenon, history, and materiality of Czech broadside ballads. It is focused on the specific features of Czech broadside ballads and their international parallels. The introduction also pays special attention to English and Czech terminologies used in this book. Czech broadside ballads are revealed to be a unique and local cultural phenomenon, but they also exhibit features common to Central European and Western European printed ballads.

Keywords: Czech broadside ballads, chapbooks, popular culture, print, *špalíček* (block)

This landmark collection of essays makes a major contribution to the globally burgeoning field of broadside ballad study by extending our gaze to include the largely underexplored treasure trove of some 100,000 Central/Eastern European broadside ballads of the Czech Republic, from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries. Czech broadside ballads, when viewed within this historical span and from the interdisciplinary perspective provided by the contributors to this edition, are revealed to be a unique and local cultural phenomenon. Yes, they exhibit features common to Central European and Western European printed ballads, but Czech broadside ballads at the same time stand out as singularly *Czech*. In many ways, they have been shaped by the country's unique history of religious clashes, civil wars, occupational conflicts, invasions, and the consequent redrawings, sometimes overnight, of the country's borders. In the hundreds

of years that make up Czech history, flux, and mutation—key features that we see characterizing the history of the broadside ballad genre itself—have shaped the Czech lands and its singular embrace of printed ballad topics, ethnography, musicology, linguistics, and even preservation.

The special quality of Czech broadside ballads can be further seen in every aspect of their production, dissemination, and reception, despite occasional similarities with neighbouring lands such as Germany, Poland, and Slovakia. To name but a few, as we look forward: the tiny sextodecimo size typical to Czech broadside ballads (in contrast to German and many Western European octavo-size ballads), the prevailing Schwabacher typeface (in contrast to German Fracture), the huge amount of preserved printings (over 100,000, as noted above—considerably more than have survived in German, despite the significantly larger size of that country), the dominance of religious themes (especially pilgrimage broadside ballads), and, as we will discuss further, their portability and treasure-like quality, which is also evoked in the specific Czech form of individual reception (the owner creating personal book-like collections, called *špalíčky* or “blocks”). In the simplest terms, as Fumerton summarizes, Czech broadside ballads are uniquely “precious,” in every sense of the word (valued, charming, tiny, and unique).

At the same time, as the authors of the final section observe, when viewed within a larger, global perspective, which includes ballad wares of countries often neglected by scholars, new horizons arise. If we extend our gaze to take in ballad-like productions in the not-much-studied neighbouring lands of Poland and Slovakia to as far south-west as Brazil and (and, as compass lodestone), the north-west of Europe, England, we discover an international phenomenon at work. Czech broadside ballads, we see, are part of a kindred genre, a popular print culture, that speaks worldwide through multiple media (specifically, text, art, and song) to varied interests, especially those of the masses.

The Rise of Czech Broadside Ballads

The emergence of the Czech broadside ballad as a mass-marketed phenomenon appears in the 1630s. However, some scholars claim that Czech broadside ballads originate in the printed songs of the sixteenth century.¹

¹ See the chapters by Malura and Ivánek. The oldest of such broadside ballads is considered to be *Two Ballads about the Battle of Mohács* from 1526 (Mocná, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 328; Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 428). The format of even the sixteenth-century predecessors of Czechia’s

In the Czech tradition, they are known as leaflet songs (*letákové písně*). The two had different formats: quarto- or octavo-size booklets (made from two printing sheets) or broadside/broadsheet printings.² Several extant Czech single-sided sheets from the sixteenth century constitute *literally* broadside ballads (sheets with only one or two ballads printed on just one side of the page). Though few in number, they enticingly suggest that the printed ballad genre in Czech lands originally developed precisely in the form we see most commonly printed in England (and early on in Germany as well). Our use of the designation “broadside ballad” thus has long Czech printing roots. Why, then, one might ask, did the Czech sixteenth-century single-sided broadside ballad sheet seem to abruptly end and, after a considerable lapse, begin to emerge in the 1630s in its Janus-faced (or double-sided) format—printing on *both* sides of a single sheet of paper? We cannot definitely answer this question. But we posit that the devastations resulting from the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) likely played a key role. The war decimated a third of the Czech population and greatly impeded Czech cultural progress, resulting, for instance, in the predominance of and the impoverishment of the rural countryside over many thriving urban centres. Another important factor might be the dramatic increase of the price of paper in the seventeenth century.

When the printing press began to resume operations, Czech printers saw a new mass market in this now largely rural and poor population. The Czech broadside ballad artefact as a cheap product resurfaced, but in a new form. As early as the 1630s, printers and publishers had discarded the idea of using only one side of a sheet of paper to print ballads, though they still used only one piece of paper. The reason appears to have been thrift, as we shall pursue more fully below. But we also suggest that a potential causative factor was consumer hunger precisely of the rural poor for the printed word (likely spurred by a jump in literacy and also an increased recognition of the value of printed texts). The rural poor still wanted to see printed broadside ballads with multimedia—in the form of text, art, and tune imprint—but they especially wanted to purchase the printed word, and lots of it, even if they themselves could not fully read the text (after all, there was always a literate “helper” nearby). Czech printers, in sum, maintained

“heyday” broadside ballads was not stable any more than when it was mass-marketed. There were octavo or quarto double-sided printings in the sixteenth century as well as the single-sided (like the English) broadside ballads. But the latter Czech survivals are most suggestive, as we pursue above.

2 Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký*.

the sixteenth-century broadside ballad multimedia, but black-letter text reigned supreme. English printers, as Fumerton argues in her chapter, on the other hand, privileged the *art* of broadside ballads—posting the whole sheet up as an illustration. However, we conjecture, the two phenomena could as easily have historically flipped the other way around. Likely the drive to “catch up” on printed texts after a significant paucity of print output drove printers *and* consumers in the Czech lands to focus more on textuality; no such similar abrupt lapse causing a demand for the printed text drove English broadside ballad printers. Following this line of thinking, we can deduce that the originary practice of printing Czech ballads suggests an intended trajectory that was derailed, one might even say terminated, by other emergent demands. At heart, the broadside ballad’s rebirth remains in all facets (except for the added abundance of textuality) precisely that of its forebearer—the single-sided broadside ballad.

When Czech broadside ballads re-emerged in the early 1630s, they quickly grew in popularity. In this mass-production period, such artefacts spread widely among commoners, especially among the rural poor who so hungered for low-cost print. This enthusiasm lasted into the second half of the nineteenth century. The broadside ballad as a genre particularly flourished in the Bohemian Crown lands of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.³ The genre satisfied many appetites. It was widely disseminated to the populace in the form of not only multimedia but also multifocal (i.e., addressing many subjects), and—meeting the needs of the poor—*cheap* print.⁴ We estimate that dozens of printing houses in the Bohemian Crown lands were actively mass-marketing broadside ballads from the Baroque period (ca. 1620–1775) up to the mid-nineteenth century.⁵ The most distinctive, “fresh off the press” feature of Czech broadside ballads

3 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498. Some authors trace the broadside ballad’s origins in other ways than those described above, back yet again to the sixteenth century, though in different formats (see, for instance, the chapter by Malura, which looks specifically at news leaflets as a deciding influence). For individual phases that detail the development of the Czech broadside ballad, see Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, pp. 36–37, and Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 428.

4 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 31; Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498.

5 The Bohemian Crown lands (or lands of the Bohemian Crown—*Země koruny české*, *Böhmische Kronländer/Länder der Böhmischen Krone*) was a state entity made up of various historic Central European provinces ruled over by the king of Bohemia. From 1526 to 1918 the kings of Bohemia were members of the Habsburg dynasty. The population of the Bohemian Crown lands included Czechs (in Bohemia, Moravia, and a minor portion of Silesia), Germans, Poles (in Silesia), Lusatians (in Lusatia), and Jews. At times, in this collection, we use the shorthand term “Czechia” for Bohemia, Moravia, and part of Silesia, where the Czech language was and is used.

as they proliferated in the eighteenth and into the mid-nineteenth century was that their multimedia were printed on a *single* sheet typically, if not always, printed on both sides, and typically, if not always, sporting one or two ballads. Also critical, as several contributors will discuss, is the four foldings of the sheet into a sextodecimo-size product (of roughly 9 × 11 cm or 3.5 × 4 inches), thus producing up to 32-page individual items. However, foldings were most likely subdivided by the printer, seller, or even the consumer. This produced a few broadside ballad gatherings of a few pages—though still in sextodecimo size—that the seller or consumer would sew together, and then the consumer would further assemble the item through sewing to create a block (*špalíček*). We shall pursue the folding practices of these single sheets and their resulting relatively uniform sextodecimo size later in this introduction.

To be addressed first is survival rates of the different phases of Czech broadside ballads. As noted above, the major significant exceptions to two-sided printings are mostly found among the rare survivals of sixteenth-century Czech single-sided broadside ballads—a foreign mirroring of the majority of English broadside ballads from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries and of German single, and one-sided, verse printings called *Lied-Einblattdrucke* (like those of Czechia, the latter primarily derive from the sixteenth century).⁶ The question arises: Why have so few of the very early Czech single-sided printed ballads survived? One reason, of course, is that simply few were printed. But it is important to acknowledge that since broadside ballads were globally cheap print, they were subject to disposal and recycling. Thus, while few sixteenth-century broadside ballads have survived, they may well have been prolific in their historical moment before being lost to time.

The many more extant two-sided broadside ballads in the Czech Republic have likely more successfully lasted to the present because literally more of them were printed, as publishers targeted an ever-expanding market of commoners. But perhaps even more consequential to their survival (though untold numbers were nevertheless lost) can be attributed to the surge of an antiquarian interest in preserving them, in what we might describe as the second of two antiquarian waves. The first wave is represented by the rage among scholars and other educated elites in Czechia for oral ballads. This movement occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century.

6 See the chapter by Fumerton. Fumerton defines “heyday” as the period wherein the broadside ballad genre most showcased eye-catching decorative black-letter typeface and many illustrations as well as ear-catching tunes, together with a smorgasbord of topics and subject positions. On the German *Einblattdrucke*, see Schanze, “Gestalt und Geschichte.”

It had the advantage of turning the idea of cultural value on its head—the “low” suddenly became the “high.” But the cost of such ballad elevation was an ignoring, even degrading, of *printed* broadside ballads. As we see in the early antiquarian movement of other countries, Czech “first wave” antiquarians privileged the oral tradition of folk songs. Broadside ballad collecting—the collecting of artefacts that included printed tune titles along with verses and illustrations—only became esteemed in the twentieth century (specifically, in the 1940s) in Czechia. Such collecting practices were connected with Marxist ideology.⁷

While not necessarily impelled by a folklorist position, some scholars may raise objection to our use of the term “broadside ballad” for double-sided printed sheets. We have offered an initial justification for our use of the term above, in relation to the history of Czech printing and specifically of the Czech printed ballad’s originary arch in literal broadside ballads. Still, we are consciously using the term in the loose sense of the word “broadside,” and are well aware that some might prefer another term. Perhaps “broadsheet ballad”?, reflecting that the single sheet printed upon was impressed on both sides. Or “broadsheet ballad *booklet*”?, acknowledging that a printer’s double-sided sheet might result in multiple ballad gatherings, each sewn into booklets? But to adopt either of these terms would be akin to putting Czech printed ballads on some isolated island, apart from common reference points. What about, then, the oft-used Czech term *kramářská píseň*? But how would one render this phrase into English so as to capture the full connotations as well as denotations of Czech printed ballad culture it references? No obvious one-to-one translation of *kramářská píseň* exists that is meaningfully cross-cultural: the oft-posed possibilities of “stallholder’s song” or “shopkeeper’s song,” as we shall later pursue, are too vague. They even denote two different kinds of places and modes of dissemination, one temporary and movable (a stall) and the other more established and fixed (a shop). Both further raise the problematic association of Czech printed ballads with songbooks, but these are very different kinds of artefacts, as also discussed further below. Most importantly, neither “literal” translation captures the crucial facets of the Czech artefacts’ production, dissemination, and function. The term “broadside ballad,” with the exception of its two-sided format—which Fumerton shows, in her chapter, appears even in English broadside ballads—more accurately describes printed ballad features shared by Czech *kramářská píseň* across many countries: intermediality (text, music, and image), cheap production, and wide distribution (whether sold

7 For more information on this collecting phenomenon, see the chapter by Hashemi.

from shops or makeshift stalls set up in squares or at fairs, or perhaps, most importantly, at pilgrimage sites, or hawked by itinerant ballad-mongers or chapmen traversing urban and rural streets). We also choose the term “broadside ballad” for practical reasons. It is quite simply a nomen that is easily understandable to all researchers dealing with the printed ballad genre, and it thus provides a common terminology for talking across variations of that genre and, for that matter, across databases of ballad artefacts.

Tellingly, a Norwegian team directed by Siv Gøril Brandtzæg, working on its country’s own double-sided printed ballads, *Skillingvisene*, also Englishes their artefacts as “broadside ballads.”⁸ Nor are we the only Czechs to recognize this terminological practicality. Martin Hilský, a professor of English literature at Charles University, who translated Shakespeare’s complete works into Czech, in his major monograph, *Shakespeareova Anglie. Portrét doby* (Shakespeare’s England: A portrait of a time), also adopted the English term “broadside ballad” for the Czech *kramářská píseň*.⁹ Czech broadside ballads, in sum, in their most important features, dissemination, and consumption, share a strong kinship with other like single-sheet ballads, not only in England but globally, however “packaged.” To call them “broadside ballads” is to use the English simultaneously loosely, embracingly, and practically. As John Donne, says, however, in his famous punning on his name, we are not yet “done.” How could we be done with terminology in the face of wrestling with such a protean form so embedded in the morphings of its popular culture? We shall thus return to address this issue once more much later in this introduction. But further discussion of the term “Czech broadside ballad” can only fruitfully be resumed once we have more fully delineated the unique features, production, and cultural functions of the Czech ballad artefact.

First, then, we turn to outlining the step-by-step processes of production (from printer, to seller, to consumer) that contributed not only to making Czech broadside ballads but to making them uniquely Czech.

By the time of their mass production, the single ballad sheet that came off the printing press typically consisted of a double-sided print consisting of one or sometimes two ballads, as did their sixteenth-century one-sided printed and unfolded predecessors. Yet at the peak of Czech ballad production, we also find instances of multiple ballads printed from a single sheet. Such

8 “Norwegian Broadside Ballads, 1550–1950: Recovering a Cultural Heritage.” Centre for Advanced Study (CAS), Oslo, Norway.

9 In his Czech book, he consistently translates the English term “broadside ballad” into Czech as *kramářské písně* (Hilský, *Shakespeareova Anglie*, pp. 33, 77, 120, 131, 175, 189, 204, 205, 256, etc.).

proliferation seems endemic to broadside ballad mass-marketing. Even in England—often held up as the model of “literal” broadside ballads, where the multimedia single-sided printed artefacts were decimated by the millions—we find later sheets with three or more ballads printed on them. The multi-ballad sheets surface especially from the mid-seventeenth to the end of the broadside ballad heyday, dated in England by the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) as 1701 (see, for example, EBBA 31301 and 37195).

In Czechia, we find, this proliferation of printed ballads on the single sheet invites a singular intimacy with the ballad-making process. We see such personal involvement in a number of ways. Josef Petřtyl, in one instance, posits hands-on involvement in the making of the Czechian broadside ballad by both printers *and* sellers. In this scenario, the entire double-sided printed sheet, as it came off the press, was passed along likely only folded by the printer to a seller, who might have been the person who would then cut and loosely sew selected resulting pages into multiple ballad “gatherings” or “products.” Most fascinatingly, in another scenario of broadside ballad gathering that Petřtyl posits, the consumer becomes instrumental. He finds further evidence that the printed sheets could have been passed along in their *entirety* by the printer to the seller and on to the consumer, who him- or herself would personally perform all of the processes involved in making the final ballad product or products (folding, cutting, and sewing of the pages made from the printed sheet).¹⁰

Whatever the consumer’s engagement in the process of creating a ballad gathering(s) from a single printed sheet, we know for certain that after purchasing ballad artefacts, they would personally combine singular ballad gatherings together with other such assemblages made from other single printed sheets. They sometimes even added multiple whole chapbooks (which could themselves include broadside ballads) into a larger single entity, unified by size and/or subject. These personally created, hand-sewn collections, consisting of many broadside ballads but also other genres, such as prayers or hymns, were known as *špalíčky* (Englished as “blocks”). See Figures 1 and 2 below as examples. Both images show signs of the personal

10 Petřtyl, “O výrobních,” p. 260. Some scholars conjecture that the printer himself took on even more of a role in this process, to the extent of not only folding but also cutting the printed sheet into intended pages for gatherings of ballad products, which would then be sewn together by the seller or consumer. We do not know for sure who did what. For the printer to have performed all these tasks seems highly unproductive (and would have added to the costs of what were intended to be an extremely cheap form of print). Likely, printer, seller, and consumer worked collaboratively, adopting different roles, perhaps on different occasions, in creating a final folded, cut, and hand-sewn broadside ballad.



Figure 1. A *špalíček* (block) from the collection of the Moravian Library. MZK, sign. 575.



Figure 2. Another example of a *špalíček* (block). Notice the fabric of the binding of this block. Moravian Library. MZK, sign. 788.

consumer's touch, discussed at further length in the chapter by Fumerton. Figure 2 illustrates especially well how some consumers used textiles they had in their home, such as remnants of old coats, sweaters, or shoes, to bind their broadside ballads into "blocks." Notice also how the assembled block in Figure 2 is small enough to fit in one's pocket and could thus be carried around as an extension of the consumer. The block imaged in Figure 1, on the contrary, is too big for such easy transportation. But it remains a critical

part of the consumer's identity. The block has organically grown at their hands, likely nurtured by many prior hands (perhaps passed on through generations of a family), becoming in the process more hefty and less mobile but still very precious.

To delve more deeply into this overview of ballad production (from printer, to seller, to consumer), we must expand here upon the term "ballad products" (the folded, cut, and sewn-together gatherings of pages extracted from a single, double-sided printed sheet) and, most importantly, because possibly confusing to Westerners, what we mean by "sextodecimo."

The sheet for printing Czech broadside ballads of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was roughly standardized in size and typically folded in sextodecimo format; that is, it was commonly folded four times. But the resulting 16 leaves or 32 printed pages might be then cut, folded, and gathered into different numbers of final broadside ballad "products" or gatherings (consisting of anywhere from 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, to 16 leaves that totalled 32 pages).¹¹ In other words, the gathering of any number of the 16 leaves, which could vary significantly, would equal a single ballad product. That said, the most common number of broadside ballads in a Czech gathering, as noted above (where we attributed the later, mass-marketed printed ballads to the originary broadside ballads printed only on one side of a sheet), consisted of just one or perhaps two ballads. If two equally numbered pages of ballads, they would each consist of eight sextodecimo-size leaves, cut and then sewn together at some point in the production/dissemination process. In sum, "sextodecimo" does not denote a Czech broadside ballad format, as the term would be understood by most Western scholars. Rather, it denotes *size*. Each gathering—of how many leaves/pages—equals a product in a sextodecimo size. A gathering thus constituted a tiny artefact of roughly 9 × 11 cm (or 3.5 × 4 inches). An additional but practical point is the fact that roughly equalizing the size of broadside ballad gatherings was critical in Czech lands not only to the sewing together of the pages that make up a single ballad gathering but also to assembling that gathering together with other broadside ballad gatherings and kindred printings (creating a "block" that would be uniform and thus easy to carry, when still small, and easy to store and preserve, when larger).

For further clarification, we show in Figure 3, first, an uncut, octavo-size ballad sheet. This size was far less prominent in Czechian ballad culture than the sextodecimo size. In fact, it appeared much later than the sextodecimo-size broadside ballad heyday (though the octavo size was

11 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498.

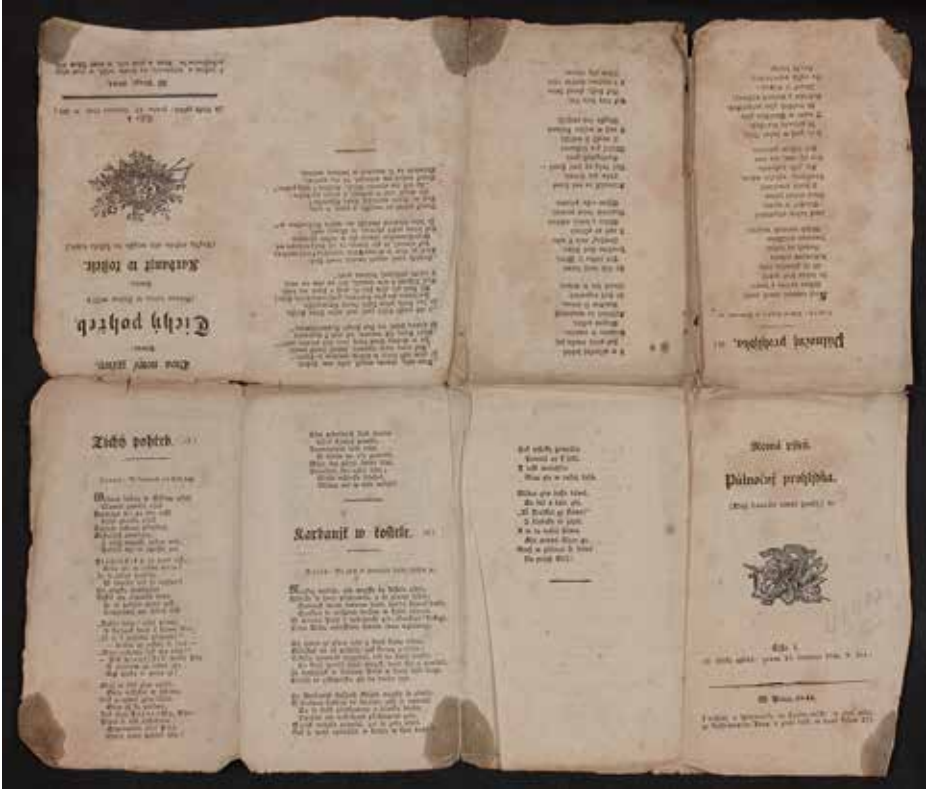


Figure 3. One side of an uncut sheet, printed on both sides, in octavo size (eight leaves, sixteen pages), showing several broadside ballads awaiting cutting, gathering, and sewing. MZK, sign. VK-0011.234.

common to Czechia's neighbouring, especially German speaking, countries). In Figures 4 and 5 we superimpose on the octavo sheet, first one, and then two instances, of the strikingly smaller sextodecimo-size product most typical of the mass-marketing height of Czech broadside ballads.

As we ask you to reconsider Czech broadside ballad gatherings in terms of their miniscule size, we also want to stress that size is a major determiner in distinguishing them from the much larger and more expensive hymn books made for and distributed to the more educated and wealthy consumers in Czechia (which also explains why “song,” among the other terms posited and rejected above, would be an inappropriate overall “Englishing” for our phrase “Czech broadside ballad”). A major factor allowing for and determining the songbooks’ large size is that they were typically produced from *several* sheets of paper. The multiplication of size and especially sheets resulted in the hymn books’ hefty cost. Paper then, as today, was the most

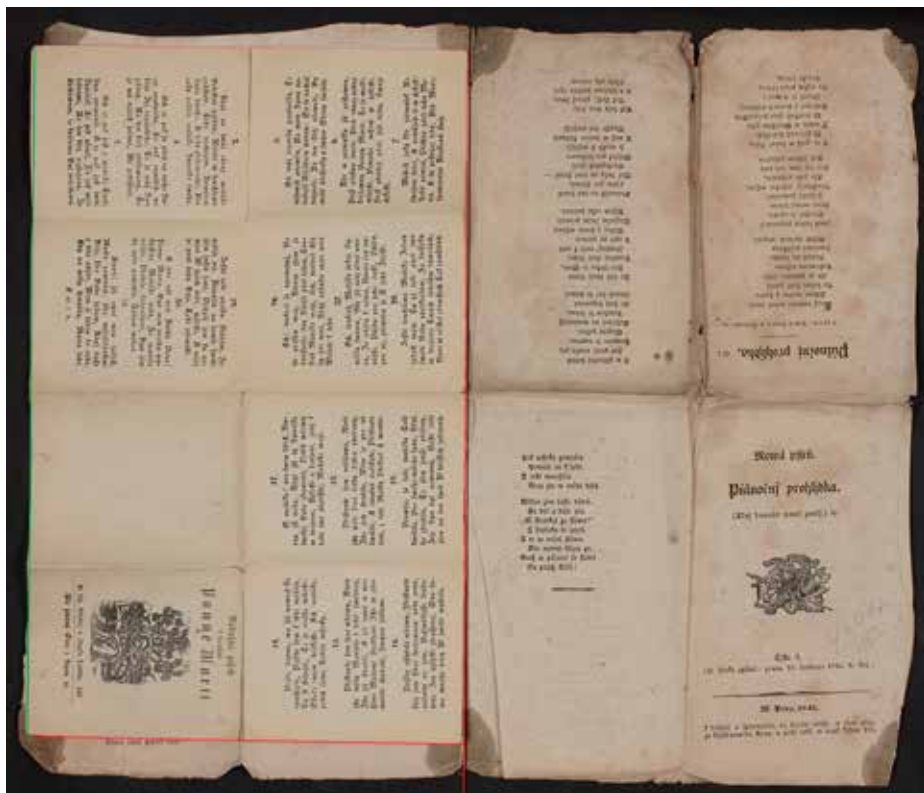


Figure 4. The same uncut octavo-size sheet as in Figure 3, with, superimposed on it and outlined in red (for comparison of size), half of an uncut printed sheet constituting just one broadside ballad in sextodecimo size (eight leaves, sixteen pages). MZK, sign. VK-0006.831.

expensive part of printing. As we have underscored, lowly Czech broadside ballads in their heyday of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even up to the mid-nineteenth centuries, by contrast with large texts like songbooks, consisted of but *one* double-sided printed sheet. The ballad products made from this single sheet would consist of several pages—as many as 32 pages to a ballad gathering—but unlike large songbooks, the tiny, sextodecimo size of the Czech broadside ballads made these multi-paged artefacts cheap and affordable to the poor. As foregrounded in Figure 3, for a short period late in their printing history, Czech broadside ballads adopted the grander octavo size, but these larger printings reflect the *decline* of the Czech broadside ballad in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹² Addition-

¹² Another reflection of such decline in the nineteenth century was the emergence of a new type of Czech broadside ballad, consisting of two parts. While two-part ballads accompany the



Figure 5. The uncut printing sheets from Figure 4, with a quarter of another printed sheet superimposed on it in sextodecimo size, outlined in green (four leaves, eight pages). MZK, sign. VK-0006.841.

ally, such bigger sizes were much more common to ballad productions of many of Czechia’s neighbouring countries, such as we see in Germany’s *Liedflugschriften/Flugblattlieder*. These larger artefacts, when produced from a single sheet, also resulted in fewer pages and thus less text at more cost. By contrast, and ironically, the multiple, if tiny, sextodecimo-size Czech ballad gatherings created the illusion of offering consumers more text

rise of the English broadside ballad’s heyday at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries—expanding the multimedia offered by the ballad artefacts—such was not the case in Czechia. The Czech broadside ballad’s two parts bifurcate the kind of writing while reiterating the content: each part depicts the same event but in a different style, one in prose and the other in verse. Most of these twin “reports” were adapted from German texts (Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*, p. 63). In fact, they are related to the German phenomenon of *Bänkelsang* (see the chapter by Ivánek). On the two-part English broadside ballads, see the chapter by Fumerton.

(together with a large illustration and tune title) for half the price—“more bang for their buck.”

Finally, a further distinguishing feature of Czech broadside ballads from the ballad products of its neighbours was the collecting practice, explored above, wherein Czech consumers lovingly hand-sewed together booklets or “blocks” of sextodecimo-size broadside ballads and other kindred artefacts of like dimensions, usually on religious topics. So special was this cultural practice to consumers among Czechia’s rural poor that individuals occasionally fashioned blocks reflecting a personally privileged cycle of thematically linked ballads. They would also seem to have intended to have pocketed and carried abroad small blocks, like the one shown in Figure 2.

Why would such portability be important to makers of blocks? First, it allowed the consumer-makers to keep their creations close at hand, as an extension of their personal involvement in making them. Second, portability allowed them to carry their blocks on pilgrimages or other travels, where they could function as a kind of reference book; the owner could at any time along their route draw upon what they saw as an appropriate broadside ballad for singing or perhaps an illustrated saint to contemplate. Third, and perhaps most importantly, an individual with a pocketed block or just a single broadside ballad gathering could have chosen to share their artefact with others, including passing it around, or creating a human gathering—a circle of friends or even just passers-by—everyone pressing up close together in a communal extension of the individual owner through viewing, reading, and likely even singing a broadside ballad.

Of course, the printers of Czech broadside ballads catered to such much-desired personal consumption and use of their wares. They deliberately made their printed ballad artefacts as attractive to consumers as possible not only through the use of multimedia—especially providing as much text as possible—and multiple topics but also through their tiny, sextodecimo-size packaging. The latter further contributed to the printers’ crucial goal of offering budget fare.¹³ Like their English and other foreign kin, Czech broadside ballads reflect cost-cutting measures throughout the printing process: low-grade ink was applied to degraded typeface and impressed onto poor quality (hence the most inexpensive) paper. The sheets were similarly decorated with cheap, crudely carved woodcuts and other basic ornaments (the last added only when space allowed for one or maybe more decoration). The sheets were then speedily put through the press “quick and dirty,” that is, with little, if any, proofing. Printers profited, after all,

13 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498.

only when their broadside ballads could be marketed to the poor en masse, which meant selling them at affordable prices as a consequence of even lower cost production.¹⁴

Images included were foremost found on the title page (and sometimes on the end page) of a cut-apart sheet; they thus performed a semantic or informative function. In other words, they served as narrative pictures as well as aesthetic decorations (borders and other décor). However, we find that they were also used simply for advertising purposes, and in such cases, they did not typically correspond with the content of the broadside ballad. In all instances, finally, woodcuts (as the cheapest form of illustration) were most often employed to produce the images; engravings were primarily reserved for publications sold to the wealthy consumer who desired more expensive “high” literature.¹⁵

Because Czech broadside ballads, as in the Western tradition, were a form of mass popular culture, they sit on the boundary between artistic, literary, musical, and folk production, including folklore.¹⁶ They resemble Czech folk songs in a number of aspects: their authors are mostly unknown; their musical form was not fixed and stable (especially since printed ballads relied on the oral tradition, and vice versa, and both media were copied and inevitably mutated over time); their targeted audience consisted primarily of the lower classes of urban society and especially of the rural population, who were enticed by multimedia, such as song and pictures, since many of them were illiterate or barely literate (thus dependent largely on orality as well as visual cues); and, finally, a large part of the broadside ballad and folk song repertoire (from wedding songs, to funeral songs, carols, and more) fulfilled similar, crossover, functions.

Of course, a big difference between the oral tradition and broadside ballads was the printing and publishing of the latter. As noted above, the production of broadside ballads was a profit-making industry through both mass-marketing and using cheap materials that satisfied consumers with multiply attractive and inexpensive artefacts. At the same time, printers and publishers built into their marketing system ways for consumers to participate in the very production process to the point wherein purchasers of broadside ballads could assemble very personalized and portable

14 Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 428.

15 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498.

16 Such wide interdisciplinarity that crossed class and education levels, in large part, explains why Czech broadside ballads were published for several centuries and in such high numbers (tens of thousands of editions); for more details, see the chapter by Dufka et al.

artefacts. Not only did such modes of consumerism allow for a lower-order self-expression through print—in a way that orality by itself could not—but they also provided a new accessibility to print, rendered as they were, cheap and mass-marketed, for the populace. By contrast, Jakub Ivánek discusses examples of more expensive and “sophisticated” texts (for more educated audiences) like the hymn books discussed above; religious songs published in the eighteenth century most especially introduced into Czech literary production a new type of costly, even “elitist,” spirituality and poetics.¹⁷

A sign of Czech broadside ballads paradoxically both holding onto and moving away from the oral tradition can be seen in their typically printing only a tune title, such as “To be sung to the tune of x.” At other times, a popular tune might simply be alluded to in the first line or lines of the ballad text.¹⁸ But no actual sheet music (music notation) appeared during the Czech broadside ballad’s heyday. The assumption was evidently that people already knew the tune from popular tradition or that it could easily be taught to the consumer—that is, “picked up”—on being sung by the seller.¹⁹

Broadside ballads, furthermore, represent a subset of a broader category of popular publication, which in the Czech context is generally known as *kramářský tisk*, roughly corresponding with the English term “chapbook.” In Czechia, however, these little books included *both* verse and prose whereas in England, they consisted *solely* of prose. But in both countries, the chapbooks in some cases republished narrative versions of printed verse ballads, thus likely reminding consumers of their source’s tune (and even illustrations), especially when the chapbook outright named the broadside ballad’s tune. Such chapbooks, though taking various forms across Western and Northern Europe, were a popular tradition throughout.²⁰ Still, we must recognize just how distinctive were Czech chapbooks. Their uniqueness goes far beyond

17 Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” pp. 214–215.

18 We group together both kinds of tune referencing, whether direct or oblique, under the term “tune imprint.”

19 An exception: when the broadside ballad as mass popular fare enters its decline, from the turn of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century, we begin to see musical notation appear—likely a sign that commonly popular tunes from an oral tradition were being forgotten and the ballad was becoming more “literary.” The same phenomenon happens in England, but two centuries earlier. However, another reason in England for the dropping of tune titles and supplying instead a whole stanza of musical notation in their stead is that the broadside ballad was coming into competition with a popular demand for cheap songbooks, which emerged at the same time. By including musical notation on its sheet, the English broadside ballad fought back.

20 Some scholars also use the term “cheap prints” or “cheap literature” to reference the general class of low literature (Atkinson and Roud, *Cheap Print*, p. 13).

including both prose and verse renderings, often with named tunes, of previously published broadside ballads. Impressively, Czech chapbooks also consisted of a large and variegated amalgamation of printed materials. These included not only broadside ballads but also prayers, prophecies, holy cards (devotional images), superstitious printings, and from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, also original poetic compositions and popularized arias from musical dramas (*zpěvohry*, *Singspiele*).²¹ What a smorgasbord of assembled offerings!

Considering that chapbooks included broadside ballads mixed together with many other printed genres—as if they were all one and the same thing—we return to the ongoing difficulty we face in pinning down or clearly defining Czech broadside ballads. This dilemma also returns us to the problem of naming. Practices of assemblage themselves pose a gnarly set of possible names, as the printed sheet was passed along from printer, to seller, to consumer: broadside ballad product? Gathering? Block? The mind spins.

Places of sale also pose naming challenges. We began by noting that the Czech term most commonly cited for designating the broadside ballad—*kramářská píseň*—can be literally translated as “shopkeeper’s song” or “stallholder’s song.” Earlier, though, we questioned such “optional” translations, which involve not only different places but also different *kinds* of places implied by the English terms. But the problem of place multiplies when it comes to selling Czech broadside ballads. Other market sites one could easily add to establish a Czech term for the broadside ballad include, with literal translations: *jarmareční píseň* (fair song), *trhová píseň* (market song), and *poutová píseň* or *poutní píseň* (both meaning “pilgrimage song,” referring to fairs associated with pilgrimage sites). The Czech adjective *kramářská*, and the other place names cited above, in an important way distinguish this group of songs from others. However, and importantly, such siting of the marketing of the Czech broadside ballad is not determined by specific musical, artistic, or literary qualities, any more than are its modes of being collected (with the possible exception of the frequent religious focus by consumers in assembling their “blocks”). Instead, market siting reflects the culturally and economically “placed” dissemination of these texts: in particular, the fact that, as in the Western tradition, they were usually sold

21 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498; similarly, Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 18. The unclear distinction between *kramářské písničky* (broadside ballads) and *kramářské tisky* (chapbooks) in the scholarly literature is pointed out by Ivánek in “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” p. 206. See also the chapter by Ivánek.

at market stalls, fairs, or by itinerant vendors (a key differentiating factor being that Protestant countries forbade pilgrimages).²²

Finally, unlike the Western embrace of the concept of the “traditional” ballad—most specifically designated in folklorist terminology as the pure and originary oral ballad—the Czech broadside ballad, even more than such folk ballads, cannot be defined by the number of lines per stanza, measure, or even rhyme scheme (4-3-4-3 measures rhyming abab or abcb).²³ Formally, Czech broadside ballads are extremely variegated. Thus, instead of looking to shared places of sale or stylistic similarities for naming Czech artefacts “broadside ballads,” we propose here to adopt the term in the service of global multimedia, itinerant dissemination, and social function. As the final section of this collection underscores, international similarities include illustration, verse, and song; printing on a single sheet, however that sheet might be folded or cut; a huge variety of themes (even though religious topics stand out as of foremost importance in Czechia); makeshift marketing; and targeting society at large but especially the lower end of the population, whether the urban or rural poor.

Anonymity is often a sign of mass marketing and, sure enough, as in Western culture, the authors of Czech broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are generally not known.²⁴ More information on authorship is available from the nineteenth century; for example, one well-known Czech author of broadside ballads was the Prague songwriter and pilgrimage organizer František Hais (1818–1899).²⁵ However, even though in the large majority of cases we cannot with certainty identify the author of the broadside ballad, we can assume that such authors were not a homogeneous group. In the early period of the Czech broadside ballad (i.e., up to the end of the seventeenth century), if we consider the need for literacy and broad knowledge of historical and occasional events in composing broadside ballads, we realize that most of the authors (some of whom might have been printers themselves) must have been both educated

22 Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*, p. 19; Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498; Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 429; Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” p. 202. For details of these and other forms of distribution, see the chapter by Dufka.

23 We should note, along these lines of format, that what was called the traditional, oral song in England was also much more protean when rendered into the printed broadside ballad, as Fumerton discusses in her chapter.

24 An exception in Czechia is the literary production of Šimon Lomnický from Budeč, whose texts were reprinted during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (however, still usually without giving the author's name). See also the chapter by Dufka.

25 Ryšavá, *Vzpomínky*.

and familiar with the contemporary literary and news scene. As of the eighteenth century, we also know that the spectrum of authors broadened to include priests, teachers, peasant scribes, pilgrimage organizers, and (by the mid-nineteenth century) also women. In the case of secular broadside ballads, it is likely that the authors additionally consisted of poor street or wandering singers, especially if they were very old, or veterans, or cripples. Authorities were more likely to sanction such elderly and disabled persons as sellers of ballad wares for money. Furthermore, though poor, such persons might have attained enough literacy to write a broadside ballad, or they could find someone to jot down their compositions for them (as well as help them gain access to a printer willing to print off a batch of the broadside ballads for a share of the profits).²⁶

The wide range of types of sellers and singers of broadside ballads (who might also be authors, though not necessarily) can be seen in comparing Figures 6 and 7. Both illustrations show hawkers who have temporarily set up shop. The man standing on high in Figure 6 works out of a covered wagon, as if he were a gypsy. But not only in his physical positioning but in other ways, he seems far more elevated than a poor gypsy. He has piled up beside him a considerable stock of wares and is well dressed, almost as if in a costume. He could well have been hired by the printer or one of the printer's apprentices. On the other hand, the very old woman and man have a much simpler setup, though the advantage of a musical instrument—always a plus—and both are dressed in clothes typically worn by the poor. In each of the figures, furthermore, the seller (and/or author) uses a pointer to indicate hand-made illustrations that would help would-be consumers to follow the ballad narrative. But the elevated man points to what look like much more sophisticated drawings (on a poster set up on an easel, to boot!) than the crude drawings simply pinned up on a wall by the poor street sellers. Not surprisingly our elevated author-cum-salesman has gathered a significant crew of potential purchasers of his wares.

It is difficult to reconstruct the audience for whom the ballads publicly hawked in Figures 6 and 7 were targeted. However, given the overall cheap production and mass dissemination of broadside ballads, we can assume

26 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 27; Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*, pp. 32–33, 40; Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” pp. 428–429; Holubová, *Katalog II*, p. 6; Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” p. 202. Beneš takes a liberal position: “In fact, anybody can be the author of a broadside ballad if they have heard enough of these ballads and have a rudimentary ability to create rhythmic lines of text. This is facilitated by the regionally amorphous nature of the form of broadside ballads and their (with minor exceptions) non-dialect vocabulary” (*Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 23).



Figure 6. Performance of a broadside ballad singer in Židlochovice. Blasius Höfel (1792–1863), *Komedianti (Trh v Židlochovicích)*. Steel engraving by Eduard Ritter. Salzburg (Austria), 1852, Moravian Gallery in Brno, i. n. C 371.

that the typical recipients during the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries were mainly from the non-privileged sectors of the urban and rural population.²⁷ However, we can narrow down this rather gross generalization, at least in terms of the intent of the authors/printers/sellers. We know, for instance that, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, broadside ballads were produced by printers and publishers not only to entertain their audiences but also to educate them. News songs, for example, aimed to shape their recipients' image of the wider world beyond the horizons of their local and everyday experience, and religious songs were intended to impart spiritual experiences that reinforced moral integrity. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, however, the entertainment function of secular broadside ballads came to play an increasingly strong role, and by the second half of the century, the ballad artefacts further mutated into parodic forms.²⁸

As implied from the account given above, Czech broadside ballads fall into two main thematic categories: those addressing secular topics and

27 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 16.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 21; Mocná, "Kramářská píseň," p. 329.



Figure 7. Singers in front of a painting for a murder ballad about the robberies of Schenk and Schlossark. End of the nineteenth century, Městské muzeum Nová Paka (Jičín district), photographer: [Bohuslav Markl].

those advocating religious subjects. That said, until the end of the eighteenth century, these two themes were closely intertwined with each other, to the extent that they are often inextricably combined in a single broadside ballad.²⁹ Broadside ballads on religious themes also noticeably dominate the market at most times. The exact proportions are not known, but the

29 The close connection between secular ballads and religious ones can be especially seen in the secular texts which frequently incorporate miracles, moral instructions, and prayers.



Figure 8. Secular Czech broadside ballad about a flood, in Budapest, Hungary, ca. 1838. *Nová píseň o velkém neštěstí [...]*, [1838?], MZK, sign. VK-0004.935.

ratio is estimated (according to a review of a sampling of collections) at from 20–40% of secular texts to 60–80% of religious texts.³⁰

The functions (and often also the content) of secular broadside ballads were similar to those of modern journalism; as in the news ballads cited above, their primary goal was not only to entertain but also to inform their

30 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, pp. 27, 43; Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 498; Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” p. 207. The proportion of the secular and religious broadside ballads given here should be viewed as estimates; the accuracy of the data is limited by the fact that, first of all, no complete inventory of Czech broadside ballads yet exists, and, second of all, in some cases, as mentioned in the body of our introduction, it is not easy to draw a clear-cut dividing line between secular and religious texts (e.g., songs about disasters and miracles intertwine). Especially in the older secular printings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is a strong religious element, which could perhaps be explained by the fact that the chapbooks—the larger genre of which printed ballads are a subset—were subject to official censorship: censors would reject broadside ballads that “expressed anti-government or seditious sentiments, or were deemed to have immoral or superstitious content” (Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 429).

audience.³¹ Thinking along these lines, some authors have characterized these ballads as “the genre of popular versified news reporting.”³² The “news” content, however, was presented in a sensational form, as shown in Figure 8. The arresting woodcut in this figure speaks volumes: vividly imaged are the floating dead along with those drowning—and reaching out desperately for help—together with debris and inundated buildings, their spires just poking up above the floodwaters.

Secular broadside ballads, of which the news ballad in Figure 8 is but one example, covered a wide range of topics, which shifted and evolved over the course of the centuries. They include not only natural disasters but also miracles as well as political and social events, wars, crimes, the life stories of criminals, and executions.³³ There were also broadside ballads that dealt with everyday subjects: fashion, interpersonal relations (including romance), and the difficulties faced by specific social classes and their stereotypes. The popularity of secular broadside ballads grew during the nineteenth century, as observed above, when the texts departed more clearly from the religious tradition and were increasingly conceived of as a form of entertainment, ultimately evolving into parodies (or caricatures of social activities and/or persons). It was during this period that secular broadside ballads also began to absorb elements from more sophisticated literary productions associated with the Czech National Revival, as well as from other forms of popular culture originating in urban life, such as the satirical music hall type of songs known as *kuplety* (couplets).³⁴

31 According to Stejskalová (*Novinové zpravodajství*), Czech news broadside ballads are comparable with news leaflets in the sixteenth century (though the latter were printed on several sheets of paper); also see the chapter by Malura.

32 Mocná, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 325.

33 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 496.

34 The Czech National Revival was a series of events that occurred between the end of the eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century and which led to a fundamental transformation of Czech society. The main features of this epoch were the transition from a feudal society, based on the power of the estates, to a civil society, and the emergence of the modern Czech nation. In the historical provinces of the Bohemian Crown lands that had remained part of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Czech majority lived alongside a minority German population. But as a consequence of Germanization, which began in the second half of the eighteenth century, German became the prestige language, while the Czech language (and the Czech-speaking community) lost status. The Czech National Revival was, as a reaction, rooted in anti-German sentiments; its aims were to promote and secure the linguistic and political rights of the Czech nation. For more information about the transformation of Czech broadside ballads into other genres and topics, see Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 31.

Religious songs, on the other hand, which dominated Czech broadside ballads, performed various functions in the area of practical worship.³⁵ They accompanied Christians in their everyday lives (sung during work, before meals or bedtime, in a moment of pious contemplation) as well as in festive times (especially during pilgrimages, but also at Christmas or Easter). Many of them became so popular that they even found their way into ethnographic collections of folk songs that emerged in the nineteenth century. The foremost focus of religious broadside ballads was the Virgin Mary, followed by Jesus Christ (especially the Passion), saints, the Holy Trinity, and eschatological themes (death, Judgement Day, divine destiny, and the like). But types of religious broadside ballads vary greatly: we find long narrative broadside ballads, praising hymns, as well as laments and meditations.³⁶ An extensive number of the broadside ballads were expressly intended for pilgrimage use. These have been closely studied recently from the perspective of a given site of pilgrimage or as an important phenomenon of popular religion in the wider area.³⁷ See, for example, Figure 9, designed to foster popular devotion to the Virgin Mary.

Catering as well to the variety and mobility of the people who embarked on pilgrimages, mass-marketed broadside ballads in the lands of the Bohemian Crown were, in a sense, “multilingual.” That is, they were published in several languages. For instance, we find broadside ballads not only in Czech but also in German—though, for political reasons, the extant collections of Czech institutions contain considerably more Czech-language ballads than German ones.³⁸ Polish-language broadside ballads from Austrian Silesia (today part of Czechia) have additionally been preserved, though their numbers are also very small.³⁹ Broadside ballads that cross languages reflect the travels of

35 Despite their prevalence, religious broadside ballads have been studied significantly less in the recent past, especially after 1948. This notable discontinuity of research was caused by the ideological positions adopted by Marxist literary historians. Interest in religious material was only revived with the fall of the communist regime after the Velvet Revolution in 1989; such study has become predominant in the last 20 years. For more information, see the chapter by Hashemi.

36 Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu.”

37 Holubová, “Odras kultu”; Holubová, “Mariazell”; Byrtusová, “Reflexe”; Byrtusová, “Panna Marie”; Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*; Ivánek, “The Cult.”

38 The prominence of Czech broadside ballads over German likely does not reflect the overall historical production. After World War II, the native German population of Czechoslovakia was expelled and sent to Germany and Austria. The Czech memory institutions (museums and libraries), following a similar anti-German sentiment, tended to preserve mainly the Czech language broadside ballads. For example, the Moravian Library in Brno has around 500 examples in German, representing only 1% of the library’s expansive total holdings of broadside ballads.

39 The small number of preserved broadside ballads in Polish results from, firstly, the mass production of Polish broadside ballads starting relatively late (in the beginning of the nineteenth



Figure 9. Czech religious broadside ballad. *Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii*, 1860, MZK, sign. VK-0000.260, 12.

pilgrims across borders as well as the fact that many pilgrimage sites appear near or even on borders. Thus, it is not surprising that, no matter what the language in which they were written or sung (Czech, German, or Polish), the broadside ballads of the Bohemian Crown lands spoke of similar topics and themes (sometimes, indeed, as if loose translations of each other).⁴⁰ One language, however, is notably mostly absent: Latin. Only very exceptionally do we find instances of religious broadside ballads written in Latin. Most likely, this is because, to the extent the ballads were intended to be read as well as sung, their texts catered primarily to the common folk, who were at best trained in writing or reading the vernacular. An erudite language like Latin was beyond their ken.⁴¹ But as a rather surprising sign of further

century), and, secondly, the fact that the Poles were a small minority in Czechoslovakia/Czechia. For more information, see the chapters by Szturcová and Grochowski.

⁴⁰ Polakovič, “Vypočujte si.”

⁴¹ The collection of the National Museum Library, however, preserves several examples of broadside ballads in Latin; see the chapter by Dufka et al. Such survivals likely reflect the

cultural exchange in the large multilingual territory, we find published Hebrew and Yiddish broadside ballads.

We now propose extending our gaze from what has so far been a historically and spatially relatively close, if multilingual focus, to encompass a much broader temporal and geographical approach. In doing so, we encounter a new cross-cultural link—dare we say, lineage? To make this grand traversal, we draw on a cultural-anthropological approach as well the French Annales school's concept of the "longue durée" of history.⁴² Looking far back in time, we can discern connections between the dissemination of secular Czech broadside ballads and that of the ancient songs of bards in great households—considered repositories of their nation's culture, at least as promulgated by folklorists, such as Francis James Child in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁴³ In the folklorists' perspective (embraced by many later scholars well into the twentieth century), such grand ballads were over time spread to the populace by socially lesser, itinerant minstrels. The narrator of *Beowulf* was a bard; he sang the "real" history of his culture. Like this narrator, bards were considered repositories of a veritable mini-world communicated through song as "pure," "oral," and "true." They sang about their culture's national, mythological (though envisioned as factual), epic, and even lyrical topics (though the latter became more the subject befitting itinerant minstrels). Both bards and minstrels might be accompanied by a musical instrument, often identified as a lute, to which they would strum the base of the sung melody.⁴⁴

Wandering minstrels can be tracked throughout the entire period of known European history; though more inferior songsters, they were conceived by folklorists as evolving from bards of ancient Greek and Roman up to Anglo-Saxon times. We find them in their minstrel form in the early and high Middle Ages as well as the early modern and modern eras, when the Czech term for such an itinerant singer-musician was *šumař*.⁴⁵ We can observe an increasing decline in their reputation through such a long time span, whereby they ultimately fall to the status of hawkers or chapmen, both in Czechia and Europe. Among the wandering singers' repertoire, the most immediate predecessors of Czech secular broadside ballads can be found in songs which engaged with contemporary social issues: *časové písně*, or

desire of those more educated but still religious to share in the pilgrimage experience, however dominated by "commoners."

42 See *On History* by Fernand Braudel, a second-generation leader of the Annales school.

43 See the chapter by Fumerton.

44 Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*, pp. 9–11.

45 Traxler, "Kramářská píseň," p. 428.

“time songs,” dealing with topical or occasional events (especially popular in the fifteenth century), satires (particularly favoured during the Hussite era),⁴⁶ as well as printed moralistic songs and news leaflets (constituted of either single sheets or multiple pages of both verse and prose), which emerged in the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The leaflets of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in particular, offer a clear point of origin for the secular broadside ballads that developed quickly once they gained traction after the Thirty Years’ War. Both printed genres reflect lay events that resonated with contemporary society.⁴⁸ Leaflets encompassed a broad range of newsworthy occasional topics, including important religious, social, or political events (such as festivals, political assemblies, elections, triumphal entrances, coronations, and funerals), military conflicts (especially religious wars and battles with the Turks), natural disasters, miracles, and curiosities. Like journalistic broadside ballads, the function of these leaflets was not simply to entertain (and hence encourage the masses to buy them) but also to influence and shape public opinion.⁴⁹

To conclude this overview of our collection: our objective is to bring scholarly attention for the first time foremost to the huge Czech repository of broadside ballads; to situate them within complex processes of production, dissemination, and consumption; and also to call attention to their heritage within a country that, over time, was subject to constantly shifting geographical, ideological, and linguistic change.⁵⁰ One can only understand Czech broadside ballads by embracing them as multimedia artefacts (textual, visual, and oral) shaped by and shaping both their minor and major geographical, historical, and linguistic shifts. Czech broadside ballads, understood from such a multi-pronged perspective, as we shall further see, have an extremely

46 The Hussite era is a period in Czech history falling within the fifteenth century. It was characterized by the Bohemian Reformation instigated by Master Jan Hus (John Huss) at the beginning of the century. Hus’s teachings were inspired by England’s John Wycliffe, who criticized the secular authority of the Church. Hussitism took various forms and had diverse offshoots, ranging from demands for modest reforms of the Catholic Church to radical rejection of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, including the formulation of new dogmas.

47 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 15; Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*, p. 13; Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 496; Traxler, “Kramářská píseň,” p. 428; Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” p. 205.

48 For more details, see the chapter by Malura.

49 Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký*; Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 634.

50 In this way, we expand upon previous research into Czech broadside ballads, such as Václavek and Smetana, *České světské písně zlidovělé*; Smetana and Václavek, *České písně kramářské*; Beneš, *Poslyšte písničku hezkou*; Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*; Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*; Dvořák and Kvapil, *Václavkova Olomouc 1961*; Fiala, *České písně*; Fiala, *Dobové české*; Fiala, *Novina z francouzské*; Běhalová, “Náboženský kramářský tisk”; Běhalová, *200 let*; Skořepová, *Kramářské písně*.

complicated and unique evolution, but, fascinatingly, they share a likeness with broadside ballads that is literally global.

Structure of the Book

This book is divided into six sections. The first section consists of an introductory chapter that addresses the history and reception of Czech broadside ballads within local, regional, and global contexts.

The second section provides a general overview of the phenomenon, history, and materiality of Czech broadside ballads. Jiří Dufka explores extant ballad artefacts, specifically with regards to the forms in which they have survived, focusing on broadside ballads as material artefacts. He shows that a material analytic approach to individual broadside ballad gatherings can reveal the ways printers attempted to communicate with their audiences while at the same time obviating or deflecting censorship. Jakub Ivánek studies Czech broadside ballads as a distinctive phenomenon of song culture. He demonstrates how, despite the fact that musical notation was rarely provided on the artefacts, the exceptional popularity of the printed tune titles and tune allusions—which he discusses together under the category of “tune imprint”—reflects the central role traditionally played by music and singing in Czech culture, a role which can be observed from the Middle Ages onwards. Jan Malura, adopting a different tactic, deals with the origins of Czech secular broadside ballads. Malura argues that the earliest Czech broadside ballads display numerous links to other literary genres from urban society—so-called occasional poetry and especially news leaflets. Such seeds of Czech broadside ballads, he observes, did not originate from the lower classes (whether urban or rural) but were rather a product of the culture of both Czech- and German-speaking burghers (that is, the well-to-do bourgeoisie) during the early modern period. Only later were news and other topics of Czech broadside ballads targeted en masse to the poor, with a particular focus on the rural poor.

Taking yet a different approach into the origins of the genre, Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi looks to the construction of academic interpretations within previous research, especially from the literary point of view. Viewed within this wide range of scholarly work, Hashemi precisely delineates four distinct phases of research into broadside ballads that, while distinct, together defined (in the scholars’ estimation) the origins and characteristics of the genre: the first phase, she notes, was dominated by the activities of collectors and ethnographers focused on ballads not as

printed artefacts at all but as purely oral; the second position was shaped by a Marxist approach that defined the origins of the Czech broadside ballad in socio-economic and political terms; the third embraced a more systematic literary-historical research, concentrating on reading closely and contextualizing the broadside ballad texts; finally, the current phase is focused on new literary-theoretical trends, in particular, cultural and book history, combined with an interdisciplinary approach. This latest phase represents a mix of scholarly approaches, reflecting the complicated history but also the multimedia and wide subject matter of Czech broadside ballad artefacts.

Concluding this general overview section, Jiří Dufka et al. take Hashemi's fourfold phases and reduce them to two, focusing on dual phases of collecting practices. The authors delineate dual and quite different groups of collectors according to their approaches to the acquisition of broadside ballads. The first (and earlier) scholarly but amateur type viewed broadside ballads as supplementary, and by association, "lower" materials that necessarily documented the unfortunate blending of traditional and purely oral, i.e., "folk" songs; the second (and later) group of academics attempted to capture all aspects of printed productions of ballads that had been previously spurned, if grudgingly acknowledged, by the folklorists. Dufka et al., furthermore, point out that a kind of technological "catching up" is in order. Although Czech institutions have come a long way in cataloguing and digitalization broadside ballads, they still have further to go in order to achieve sophisticated data processing and international interoperability between their collections. Only once this goal is achieved—a goal, one might argue, that curators globally seek as an ideal—only then, will institutions holding Czech broadside ballads convey the full variety of the historical facts of production, consumption, and formatting of these so influential and popular artefacts. We seek in this volume to further that goal as well.

The papers in the third section analyse popular topics addressed by Czech broadside ballads. Hana Bočková, for instance, deals with broadside ballads about crime and punishment. Bočková claims that though often such reporting was criticized in its time and by later scholars as unreliable, not to mention unaesthetic and crude, it in fact deserves serious consideration as an influential literary and cultural phenomenon, both in its own time and now. According to Bočková, Czech murder ballads recounted information that was attractively sensational, yet it was also uniquely rooted in Czech news. Such is the case even though authors held to recognizable and traditional motifs, with frequent use of schematic elements familiar even to European murder ballads. Bočková shows that, however "true" to Czechian regional

facts—and such facts were often fuzzy even at the time of murders—the narrated story served the function of an abstract or exemplum; that is, it fulfilled the need of its recipients for the restoration from a disrupted order to some form of reconciliation. The paper by Marie Hanzelková describes another very popular and topical (at least at the time of writing) phenomenon of Czech broadside ballads: pilgrimage songs. Through a case study, she analyses the pilgrimage broadside ballads to a local pilgrimage site named Vranov. She focuses on the especially distinctive but also typical means of presenting and promoting Vranov (and, by extension, all pilgrimage sites). Hanzelková particularly illustrates that pilgrimage broadside ballads, such as those about Vranov, primarily played a unifying role even though they also often reflected historical stereotypes and long-standing rivalries between national and religious groups—all or any of whom might visit pilgrimage sites. Markéta Holubová analyses the Czech broadside ballads from the perspective of gender, especially women. She proves that women in broadside ballads were depicted paradoxically across a wide spectrum: as weak, as strong, as wicked, and also, as “sacred” figures. This mix reflects the contradictory attitudes to women in the time (and perhaps also today). For female consumers, broadside ballads with gender-related topics most likely offered a reflection of their own lives as well as providing spiritual and emotional nourishment. Maciej Mętrak analyses devil and demonic presences in the Czech broadside ballads. He proves that demons played important roles in the Czech metaphysical world order. Such is the case across Europe. But in Czech broadside ballads, the devil is especially not God’s enemy so much as his instrument of discipline and punishment. He fulfils God’s will and poses little danger to pious and honest Catholics. Jana Poláková’s paper presents a specific historical and locatable event—a quadruple murder—and traces how it was reflected in a range of regional sources, especially popular genres that have typically fallen outside the historical domain, such as broadside ballads, chapbooks, and songs recorded from the oral tradition.

The fourth section of this volume addresses musicology and transmission. It includes papers on melodies and the popular transmission of Czech broadside ballads. Kateřina Smyčková analyses broadside ballads in terms of their media properties in particular. According to Smyčková, the formal features of broadside ballads place them closer to oral communication than to written or printed dissemination; the latter, printed characteristics of the genre made sung Czech broadside ballads more suitable to “intensive” reading, by which she designates a kind of reception based on repetition, listening, and contemplation of the printed words and phrases on the page. However, broadside ballads also played a key role in the development of

“extensive” reading, by which term Smyčková refers to widespread, if also silent, reading by a broader but more erudite audience.

Adopting another approach to orality, Tomáš Slavický deals in his paper with the possible ways of searching for the melodies to which Czech broadside ballads might be sung. He first turns to the various musical sources of the time (e.g., printed hymn books, manuscripts, and even oral tradition). Importantly, he also addresses the problem of textual and melodic variability (which applies to dissemination of both printed and orally transmitted tunes). Turning first to extant documented tunes, Slavický declares that the initial step of research into any original melody requires searching out documentation of notated sources of the period in which the broadside ballad was composed (to the extent we can narrow down its authorship and/or printing). Of course, such an approach, he notes, must be coupled with analysis of surviving melodies in order to better understand the ways in which the “original” tunes one seeks were composed, propagated, transferred, and transformed. This research should be based not only on extant period-specific printings, but also on tracks of collective memory, however variable they might be (as in the American children’s game “the broken telephone”). Following alongside Slavický’s work, Věra Frolcová analyses in her chapter melodies of broadside ballads and pilgrimage songs as well as the media more generally of the song tradition (including printed and manuscript hymn books and pilgrimage books as well as records of secular and religious songs from the oral tradition). Frolcová fascinatingly shows a synthesis between folk melodies and broadside ballads, especially in the repertoire of religious songs.

Taking us along different lines (and into a different country), Peter Ruščin elucidates the influence of Czech religious broadside ballads on Slovak religious songs during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ruščin shows that Czech broadside ballads had a major influence on the development of Slovak hymnography during this period. Such a transfer was enabled by the similarities of the two languages, Slovak and Czech, allowing the publication by printing houses of broadside ballads in both languages, especially in focusing on the importance of Marian pilgrimage sites, where such dual-language broadside ballads were most disseminated. Indeed, Czech broadside ballads published by Slovak printing houses were eventually adopted by other media, such as manuscripts and printed hymn books, and some of them became an established part of the official Catholic hymnographic repertoire in Slovakia.

The fifth section is devoted specifically to the language of Czech broadside ballads. Taking up this cause, Jana Pleskalová and Navrátilová examine

the opinions about the “lowly” language of broadside ballads that have prevailed among Czech linguists and literary scholars during the twentieth century. Adopting an oppositional stance, they claim that the language of broadside ballads does not differ substantially from that of other texts, even of the elite, from the same era. However, they do find substantial linguistic differences when comparing older (seventeenth-century) and newer (eighteenth-century) as well as religious and secular broadside ballads. As if answering the call for a new approach to the “styles” of differently elevated texts, the authors of the second linguistic paper, Kosek et al., present the first ever analysis of the orthography of Czech broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Aligning with Pleskalová and Navrátilová, the authors show that the features of the language of broadside ballads in fact do correspond with the general orthography of Czech printers of the time, whatever their targeted class of consumer. They deduce that the orthography of Czech broadside ballads is a fascinating and practical mixture of long-preserved archaic features: the reuse, on the one hand, mostly of old typefaces (new type fonts were expensive, after all), and a progressive tendency, on the other hand, to increase and thus enrich its vocabulary. (We witness a similar phenomenon occurring in other countries across Europe at different times, especially in late-sixteenth-century England, which had a significant inferiority complex about the paucity of its vocabulary compared to, say, French and Italian.)

The last section expands the printing and cultural context of Czech broadside ballads. Patricia Fumerton investigates English “heyday” broadside ballads, wherein single-sided sheets of paper by the late sixteenth century expanded in size to accommodate lots of decorative black-letter text, divided into two parts (the second part pursuing the verse and the tune of the first), as well as an abundance of woodcut illustrations and other ornaments, and, of course, the required tune title(s). The English heyday broadside ballad lasted until ca. 1690, by which time ornamentation (except for musical notation), tune titles, and black letter temporarily died out for a decade (their size forever diminished and black letter never to make a comeback beyond the occasional word or phrase). Piotr Grochowski examines the broadside ballads published in Poland, focusing on their genres as well as on the dominant perspectives and achievements in Polish scholars’ research. At the same time, he presents the most typical features, forms, and trends in the development of Polish broadside ballad research. His study covers especially the decline of the Polish broadside ballads as mass-marketed artefacts, which can be traced in the turn of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries. In the case study by Monika Szturcová, on the other

hand, she focuses more specifically on Czech-Polish interrelations. She takes popular Marian broadside ballads from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to be her sample case study. In the process, she shows the specific circumstances by which the printing industry operated along the Czech-Polish border (where many pilgrimage sites were located). Foreign-language songs, both Polish and Czech, she importantly observes, were incorporated into specific domestic song traditions, both via spontaneous adaptation among ordinary people—especially Czech and Polish pilgrims who met at pilgrimage sites—and also via the commercially motivated activities of printers/publishers seeking the widest consumer market they could target. The last paper, by Kateřina Březinová, deals with the geographically most far afield phenomenon called, in Brazilian Portuguese, *cordel*, and here Englished by the same word. While many contemporaries today might perceive *cordel* as something entirely unique to the Brazilian literary tradition, Březinová demonstrates that the printed genre was part of a global broadside ballad tradition. Most notably, *cordel* literature embodies black-letter text, art, and (originally at least) song printed on a single sheet and expressive of many topics originating in and targeting the common sorts. Březinová not only shows the sea voyage journey of *cordel* from Portugal to Brazil, but also its geographical and social migration within Brazil from the north-eastern desert periphery of the country to one (and then many) of Brazil's urban centres as well as back into remote, if more interior, Brazilian regions. According to Březinová, *cordel* spread quickly and widely, both in space and focus, as did broadside ballads globally, reflecting their past but also adapting to their ever-changing present. Though previously dismissed as “crude” and “low,” *cordel* is now, ironically, cherished by the entire nation as a major part of its cultural history. Such has been the case of previously dismissed broadside ballads globally, whether one focuses on the Czech broadside ballad phenomenon, as the authors of most of the contributions to this volume do, or extends one's gaze internationally.

Works Cited

- Atkinson, David, and Steve Roud, eds. *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Běhalová, Štěpánka. “Náboženský kramářský tisk a jeho receptce.” In *K výzkumu zámeckých, měštanských a církevních knihoven. Čtenář a jeho knihovna*, ed. Jitka Radimská, pp. 547–558. České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2003.

- Běhalová, Štěpánka. *200 let Landfrasovy tiskárny 1797–1997*. Jindřichův Hradec: Okresní muzeum Jindřichův Hradec, 1997.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Kramářská píseň." In *Slovník české hudební kultury*, ed. Jiří Vysloužil and Jiří Fukač, pp. 474–475. Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1997.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Beneš, Bohuslav, ed. *Poslyšte písničku hezkou...: Kramářské písně minulých dob*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1983.
- Braudel, Fernand. *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Byrtusová, Barbora. "Panna Marie Křtinská v kramářských tiscích 17. a 18. století." *Studia Comeniana et historica* 42, no. 87–88 (2012), pp. 95–120.
- Byrtusová, Barbora. "Reflexe kultu Panny Marie hostýnské v kramářských tiscích." *Studia Comeniana et historica* 41, no. 85–86 (2011), pp. 97–117.
- Dvořák, Jaromír, and Josef Š. Kvapil, eds. *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Fiala, Jiří. *České písně ze slezských válek*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001.
- Fiala, Jiří. *Dobové české slovesné reflexe slezských válek*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001.
- Fiala, Jiří. *Novina z francouzské krajiny*. Praha: Naše vojsko, 1989.
- Hilský, Martin. *Shakespeareova Anglie. Portrét doby*. Praha: Academia, 2020.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků, II. Biblická a křesťanská ikonografie*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2012.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků, III. Německé kramářské tisky, jednolisty a kuptety*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Mariazell v tištěných médiích 18. a 19. století." *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 63, no. 3–4 (2018), pp. 196–206.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Odras kultu Panny Marie Svatohorské v kramářské produkci." In *Salve Regina. Mariánské úcta ve středních Čechách*, ed. Markéta Holubová and Marcela Suchomelová, pp. 59–79. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2014.
- Holubová, Markéta, et al. *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Hubková, Jana. *Fridrich Falcký v zrcadle letákové publicistiky: Letáky jako pramen k vývoji a vnímání české otázky v letech 1619–1632*. Praha: Togga, 2010.
- Ivánek, Jakub. "The Cult of Saints in Pilgrim Songs in Moravia and Austrian Silesia from the Seventeenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century." In *Patron Saints and Sainly Patronage in Early Modern Central Europe*, ed. Marie Škarpová, pp. 253–272. Praha: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2019.

- Ivánek, Jakub. "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu kramářská píseň (s ohledem na tisky náboženské povahy)." *Listy filologické* 140, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 201–230.
- Kopalová, Ludmila, and Markéta Holubová. *Katalog kramářských tisků*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Mocná, Dagmar. "Kramářská píseň." In *Encyklopedie literárních žánrů*, ed. Dagmar Mocná and Josef Peterka, pp. 325–331. Praha–Litomyšl: Paseka, 2004.
- Nehlsen, Eberhard, "Liedpublizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges." In *1648: Krieg und Frieden in Europa, vol. 2: Kunst und Kultur*, ed. Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling, pp. 431–437. Münster: Bruckmann, 1998.
- Nehlsen, Eberhard. *Zürcher Liedflugschriften. Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, ed. Christian Scheidegger. Baden-Baden: Koerner, 2021.
- Petrtyl, Josef. "O výrobních otázkách špalíčkových tisků." *Československá ethnografie* 4, no. 3 (1956), pp. 252–266.
- Petzoldt, Leander. *Bänkelsang. Vom historischen Bänkelsang zum literarischen Chanson*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974.
- Polakovič, Daniel. "Vypočujte si pesničku peknú ... Staršia jidiš poézia v Prahe v 17.–18. storočí a jej predstavitelia." In *Pocta profesoru Jaroslavu Oliveriovi (Acta Universitatis Carolinae–Philosophica et Historica, 2001, no. 2)*, ed. Pavel Čech, pp. 119–129. Praha: Karolinum, 2003.
- Ryšavá, Eva, ed. *Vzpomínky pražského písničkáře*. By František Hais. Praha: Odeon, 1985.
- Schanze, Frieder. "Gestalt und Geschichte früher deutscher Lied-Einblattdrucke nebst einem Verzeichnis der Blätter mit Noten." In *Niveau, Nische, Nimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, ed. Birgit Lodes, pp. 369–410. Tutzing: Hollitzer Verlag, Schneider, 2010.
- Scheybal, Josef V. *Senzace pěti století v kramářské písni: příspěvek k dějinám lidového zpravodajského zpěvu*. Hradec Králové: Kruh, 1990.
- Skořepová, Markéta. *Kramářské písně ze sbírky Muzea Vysočiny Pelhřimov*. Pelhřimov: Muzeum Vysočiny, 2016.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. *České písně kramářské*. Praha: Fr. Borový, 1937.
- Stejskalová, Eva. *Novinové zpravodajství a noviny v Čechách od 17. století do roku 1740*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015.
- Traxler, Jiří. "Kramářská píseň." In *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska II*, ed. Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek, pp. 427–430. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007.

Václavek, Bedřich, and Robert Smetana. *České světské písně zlidovělé. Část 1. Písně epické. Sv. 1, Slovesný, hudební a obrazový materiál písní*. Praha: ČSAV, 1955.

Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*. Praha: Libri, 2006.

Website

“English Broadside Ballad Archive.” Dir. Patricia Fumerton. University of California, Santa Barbara. <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>.

About the Authors

Patricia Fumerton: Distinguished Professor of English at the University of California, Santa Barbara, California, and Director of the English Broadside Ballad Archive, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>. Fumerton has edited nine collections of essays and authored three monographs, most recently, *The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England: Moving Media, Tactical Publics* (2020). pfumer@ucsb.edu.

Pavel Kosek: Full Professor of Czech Language at the Department of Czech Language, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.muni.cz/en/people/4755-pavel-kosek>. Kosek has co-edited four critical editions and three collections of essays, and he has authored two books: *Spojovací prostředky v češtině období baroka* (2003) and *Enklitika v češtině barokní doby* (2011). kosek@phil.muni.cz.

Marie Hanzelková: Assistant Professor in the Department of Czech Literature, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.phil.muni.cz/en/about-us/faculty-staff/13963-marie-hanzelkova>. Hanzelková has published several articles about Czech hymn books from the sixteenth century and Czech pilgrimage broadside ballads (e.g., “‘Turning’ of Czech Pilgrimage Broadside Ballads” [2021]). marie.hanzelkova@phil.muni.cz.

II.

General Overview

2. Broadside Ballads as Artefacts

Jiří Dufka

Abstract

Jiří Dufka explores extant ballad artefacts, specifically with regards to the forms in which they have survived—focusing on broadside ballads as material artefacts. He shows that a material analytic approach to individual broadside ballad gatherings can reveal ways printers attempted to communicate with their audiences while at the same time obviating or deflecting censorship.

Keywords: Book history, materiality, printers, sextodecimo size, hymn books

The phenomenon of Czech broadside ballads includes not only the combination of texts and melodies, but also their materiality.¹ Physical features of broadside ballads influence the connotations users, both then and now, associate with them in various situations; if research focuses exclusively on the textual content of broadside ballads, neglecting their specific material features (the texts' configuration or the divided sheet's gathering, for example), then the resultant findings will be inappropriately narrow.² At the most elemental level, the physical size, shape, and spacing of the font of the broadside ballad's text cannot, for instance, not only significantly influence the number of pages and length of the final product but our aesthetic reaction to and ultimately our interpretation of the work.

The materiality of broadside ballads—which was determined by the work of printing shops—can be defined as the paper on which they were printed, the paper's format (especially how many times the sheet was folded and eventually cut and sewn), typefaces, images, and the arrangement of

1 Ivánek, "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu," pp. 204–209.

2 Chartier, *The Author's Hand*, pp. ix–x.

typefaces, images and other elements on the page (such as ornaments and manicules). Surviving examples of broadside ballads materially manifest printers' efforts to generate a quick profit from selling products which met the demands of a large section of the public: they were cheap artefacts, made using minimum possible effort and time.³ In this chapter, I will demonstrate that it is not possible to arrive at a viable interpretation of the content of broadside ballads unless we also take into consideration their status as physical artefacts—including the processes by which they were manufactured. I will focus on material aspects of broadside ballads that can help us to develop a deeper understanding of them: the common layout of the texts in sheets folded into sextodecimo size (the most common format of Czech broadside ballads from the 1640s to the 1850s) and the title pages.⁴ The layout of texts in broadside ballad gatherings will be analysed in several ways: first, I will compare one particular song text in terms of its visual form when published in hymn books and in broadside ballad gatherings, and then I will discuss the ways in which song texts were adapted between editions, specific features of secular broadside ballads and those texts which narrated news stories, and the visual appearance of title pages.⁵

In order to fully understand the material life of broadside ballads as artefacts, it is first necessary to take into consideration the circumstances in which they were produced. The printing trade in the Bohemian Crown lands was dependent on the owners of printing houses holding licenses (known as privileges) issued by the monarch; a privilege was usually transferrable to the owner's son once he had learned the trade as an apprentice, or the owner's widow could transfer it to her new husband if she remarried—and again her husband had to have completed a printing apprenticeship.⁶ From the mid-seventeenth century until the mid-eighteenth century, there were usually around 20 printing houses functioning at any one time in Bohemia and Moravia; Prague was the only city that could support multiple printing houses. Most of these printing shops (and outside Prague, almost all of them)

3 Roud and Atkinson, "Introduction," p. 3.

4 By way of contrast, quarto was a very rare format for printed songs: its use was frequent only in the sixteenth century and sporadically in the nineteenth century, when it was analogous to the German *Bänkelsang*. In the mid-nineteenth century, octavo size replaced the sextodecimo size and became a new standard, mainly due to a drop in the price of paper.

5 The visual appearance of a title page refers to the configuration of the textual parts (the title, the first words of the song, the imprint statement) and the image.

6 A widow could run the establishment on her own with a so-called "factor" as head of the print shop. If she later married a trained printer, he would typically take over her operation, but if she married somebody from outside the craft, she usually lost the right to run a shop. Another option for a widow was to run the print shop until her son finished his apprenticeship.

published broadside ballads. Religious broadside ballads were submitted to the Catholic Church for censorship, and secular broadside ballads had to be approved by the provincial authorities. From the mid-eighteenth century, secular censorship gradually squeezed out its religious counterpart. The relaxation of both secular and religious censorship in the 1780s was followed by its reinstatement in several waves, as a result of official fears that the ideals of the French Revolution may spread East.⁷ Broadside ballad gatherings (made from a single printed sheet) were usually sold directly at the printing house, though we also find them marketed at pilgrimages and fairs and as part of the varied selection of goods retailed by small shops and hawked by itinerant vendors. In the second half of the eighteenth century there was a brief interval during which door-to-door sales were prohibited. On the other hand, as of the early nineteenth century, broadside ballads were being published on the basis of orders from individual singers—some of whom were also the authors of the texts and hawkers of the artefacts.⁸

Printing houses were typically stable businesses that enjoyed a long continuity due to the practice of transferring official licenses (privileges) from one generation to the next, the strict regulation of the number of print shops that were permitted to operate, and institutional controls over their activities. The impetus for the institutional regulation of the number of permitted printing establishments arose from those already established in the trade, who were keen to prevent new competitors who would have reduced their operating profits. In order to keep up with their competitors, virtually all printers resorted to subterfuge. One common strategy was to print broadside ballad gatherings without any imprints on the artefacts that would specify the details of their place and date of publication; alternatively—and even more deviously—printers sometimes gave fictitious publication details on the sheets. In both instances, such unlicensed print shops escaped possible sanctions for publishing texts without official approval.

The Sextodecimo Size of Czech Broadside Ballad Gatherings

Individual gatherings containing song texts began to be printed separately in the Bohemian Crown lands during the sixteenth century.⁹ The format of these individual printings, while at all times arising from a single sheet,

7 Wögerbauer and Píša, “Das Königreich Böhmen.”

8 Scheybal, “Autoři.”

9 See the chapter by Malura.

fluctuated: occasionally they were printed as unfolded broadsheets (a single sheet printed on both sides), but more commonly, the sheets were folded to form quarto or octavo printings. In the 1620s, however, religious broadside ballads began to be published in the sextodecimo size, which remained typical for Czech broadside ballads until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰ These very small artefacts mainly drew their subject from the religious repertoire—which included hymn books. A comparison between the layout of the texts and images of the same songs printed, on the one hand, as part of hymn books and, on the other hand, in the form of broadside ballad gatherings is a useful way of determining the specific features of the new sextodecimo broadside ballad format. Individual examples demonstrate well the interconnections between the text understood as theme and the text understood as craftwork; but what we especially detect in such an analysis are the effects of the printing houses' efforts to minimize production costs and maximize profits in printing individual broadside ballad gatherings.

I will hereafter explore the relationship between these two divergent kinds of artefacts by studying song texts that have survived both in the form of hymn books and in the oldest independent broadside ballad gatherings. In my pursuit of this comparative analysis, I turn first to the frequently consulted source for editions of broadside ballads: the collection of religious songs *Písně historické* (*Historical Songs*, 1595) by Šimon Lomnický of Budeč. This work was only the second Czech-language hymn book to compete with the older non-Catholic hymn books at a time when Czech society was riven by stark confessional divisions, and in the spirit of Catholicism, it contained songs about saints.¹¹ For the purpose of this comparative analysis I will only discuss the three editions of Lomnický's hymn book that were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first edition was

10 There are rare examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Czech broadside ballads published in octavo, especially those narrating news stories. However, it was not until after the mid-nineteenth century that this format became predominant for broadside ballads printed in Czech. By contrast, octavo was typical of German-language broadside ballads from the Bohemian Crown lands even during earlier centuries. The co-existence of two different formats in this region made it difficult to compile larger printings into the self-sewn volumes known as *špalíčky* (blocks), and this may be one reason why early Czech octavo broadside ballads have been preserved less frequently.

11 By confessional divisions I mean the mutual opposition and institutionalization of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist faiths in the Holy Roman Empire from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries—a conflict termed “confessionalization” by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling. For a summary of this concept, see Kaufmann, “Konfessionalisierung.” On the situation in the Bohemian Crown lands, see Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht*, vol. 2, pp. 18–29.

a sumptuous volume that included a preface by the archbishop of Prague as well as numerous illustrations and notated melodies. The second edition (1642) was substantially simpler; the publisher had fewer resources, and by this time the religious composition of Czech society was already more homogenized, so that the hymn book no longer had to face competition from other confessions. The selection of songs was also slightly expanded to include some songs on Marian themes, and the hymn book was published (and, judging from surviving examples, mostly bound together) with the *Český dekaokord* (Czech decachord), a collection of religious songs organized in the classic manner we find in hymn books, that is, according to the structure of the liturgical year (*de tempore*). The 1642 edition functioned as a form of second (supplementary) volume to *Český dekaokord*, focusing on individual saints. It did not contain illustrations or musical notation, relying instead solely on references to tune imprints; it was also printed *in continuo*, employing a set of symbols such as pilcrow (¶) and slashes (/) to indicate divisions between strophes and lines. There were also modifications made by the typesetter that affected the orthography so as to reflect recent linguistic developments. This two-part hymn book containing *Český dekaokord* and *Písně historické* was subsequently re-issued as a third edition in 1669 by the same printing house.¹²

The songs in all three editions of the hymn book are identical in length, but differ greatly in their typography (e.g., composition, visualization of the letters on the page). This was partly due to the influence of patrons, but above all it was a consequence of the differing social climates in which the individual editions were produced. The first edition was released into the turbulent confessional atmosphere of the turn of the seventeenth century, but by the time of the second and third editions, Czech society had entered a phase in which a new social status quo was being consolidated in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. With the second and third editions, the aim was no longer to attract buyers by musical notation (which increased production costs), but to make the books affordable to a larger number of customers. Hence, the second and third editions did not contain musical notation, but this fact should not be attributed to the printers' inability to typeset musical scores, as notation is included for some songs in the *Český dekaokord*, which was published together with Lomnický's hymn book. Another major factor for omitting the musical notation is that these songs

12 The author/editor of the hymn book *Český dekaokord* is not known. For a summary of information on the individual editions of Lomnický's hymn book (and an overview of secondary literature), see Kouba, *Slovník staročeských hymnografů*, pp. 240–248.

64. **o Sv. Barbore.**
 1. **U**čebni tréstiti bryni/ die s'ane so
 wi podoim. Swate Dojn bledine crati/
 Ge wdy w s'até Pámsi muni.
 2. **N**esledonie gich w Swatosti/ W práwé wúte
 a w sláostu Abrechom z Dojn mláostu/
 Dostli si wéimé Kobesti.
 3. **K**ryje dey o Swatym Ondřejem / Čeho se z
 wryje nádejem / S' doctem pámsi Ponat/
 Porom si k' robé desat. AMEN.

**Wúte o Swate Pámsi Bar-
 bore.** *Wúte o Swate Barbore.*
 1. **W**elny s'ly Č'horst gides, D'yst'horu
 práwym gúctom, nad gine wéimé Sobary/
 A n' s'até Póhan n'lydary.
 2. **T**em m' Dectu w slébitau, gedonau ná
 ramil mlau, přewéimé ř'achy Č'la/
 A g'néo Barbora méla.
 3. **T**a w jantromy a pod tagn / wéduwe se se
 gi to bagu / Pámsi Beka je Namla/
 Wodly Póhanse bawla.
 4. **A** Pámsi G'isly B'ysla / O'brúnie
 w'yl'č'la / wédu w nocym slaw'la/
 po wim po s'atim ř'aw'la.
 5. **A** B'ys'pal s'ly na té době / y zamlowal
 si j'obé / D'oménary Pámsi ř'aly/
 W'p'islyny Kobary ř'aly.
 6. **W**ř'at' k'ni počtwe Swabce, on' k'ni mlau

65. **o Sv. Barbore.**
 1. **W**elny s'ly Č'horst gides, D'yst'horu
 práwym gúctom, nad gine wéimé Sobary/
 A n' s'até Póhan n'lydary.
 2. **T**em m' Dectu w slébitau, gedonau ná
 ramil mlau, přewéimé ř'achy Č'la/
 A g'néo Barbora méla.
 3. **T**a w jantromy a pod tagn / wéduwe se se
 gi to bagu / Pámsi Beka je Namla/
 Wodly Póhanse bawla.
 4. **A** Pámsi G'isly B'ysla / O'brúnie
 w'yl'č'la / wédu w nocym slaw'la/
 po wim po s'atim ř'aw'la.
 5. **A** B'ys'pal s'ly na té době / y zamlowal
 si j'obé / D'oménary Pámsi ř'aly/
 W'p'islyny Kobary ř'aly.
 6. **W**ř'at' k'ni počtwe Swabce, on' k'ni mlau

64. **Na den Swate Barbory.**
 1. **W**elny s'ly Č'horst gides, D'yst'horu
 práwym gúctom, nad gine wéimé Sobary/
 A n' s'até Póhan n'lydary.
 2. **T**em m' Dectu w slébitau, gedonau ná
 ramil mlau, přewéimé ř'achy Č'la/
 A g'néo Barbora méla.
 3. **T**a w jantromy a pod tagn / wéduwe se se
 gi to bagu / Pámsi Beka je Namla/
 Wodly Póhanse bawla.
 4. **A** Pámsi G'isly B'ysla / O'brúnie
 w'yl'č'la / wédu w nocym slaw'la/
 po wim po s'atim ř'aw'la.
 5. **A** B'ys'pal s'ly na té době / y zamlowal
 si j'obé / D'oménary Pámsi ř'aly/
 W'p'islyny Kobary ř'aly.
 6. **W**ř'at' k'ni počtwe Swabce, on' k'ni mlau

65. **Na den Swate Barbory.**
 1. **W**elny s'ly Č'horst gides, D'yst'horu
 práwym gúctom, nad gine wéimé Sobary/
 A n' s'até Póhan n'lydary.
 2. **T**em m' Dectu w slébitau, gedonau ná
 ramil mlau, přewéimé ř'achy Č'la/
 A g'néo Barbora méla.
 3. **T**a w jantromy a pod tagn / wéduwe se se
 gi to bagu / Pámsi Beka je Namla/
 Wodly Póhanse bawla.
 4. **A** Pámsi G'isly B'ysla / O'brúnie
 w'yl'č'la / wédu w nocym slaw'la/
 po wim po s'atim ř'aw'la.
 5. **A** B'ys'pal s'ly na té době / y zamlowal
 si j'obé / D'oménary Pámsi ř'aly/
 W'p'islyny Kobary ř'aly.
 6. **W**ř'at' k'ni počtwe Swabce, on' k'ni mlau

Figure 10. As clearly manifested by differences between the older and later hymnal edition of the St. Barbara hymn, there is a shift towards a cheaper graphic arrangement—basically, more cramped—version of the text on the page. MZK, sign. ST2-0023.375; MZK, sign. ST1-0036.810.

are often very lengthy texts, with over a hundred stanzas each, and it is clear from Lomnický's own postscript that the texts were primarily intended to be read rather than sung.¹³ Indeed, Lomnický created his songs as verse versions of originally prose texts, which he listed among the peritexts of the first edition.¹⁴ This practice made the texts easier to understand both for readers who were less accustomed to printed books (giving them time to hover over words and think about their meaning) and also for those who received the texts by hearing them read aloud. The use of a universal (shared) melody made it possible to sing all the songs to a single tune; alternative melodies were listed (accompanied by musical notation in the first edition), but these were merely supplementary to the universal melody.¹⁵ Lomnický's hymn book, like various other simplified texts, thus represented a tool for the "typographic acculturation" of the population.¹⁶

The songs from Lomnický's hymn book were later printed in the form of broadside ballads. The oldest examples of this practice of print conversion date from the early 1640s; printings from the seventeenth century have almost always survived only as unique specimens, and the total number of editions was very probably higher. The extant artefacts are all printed in the sextodecimo size; one broadside ballad gathering generally contains just one song, and in most cases the texts are complete reproductions of texts from the hymn book. It is evident that these texts were set in the print shop so as to fit the sextodecimo size: for instance, smaller fonts were used on the last pages of the printings to squeeze all the text onto the sheet before folding and cutting, and, when the printed text did not fill the entire sheet, small additions of text or ornament were added.

In the spirit of standardization, the title pages became a stable feature of the broadside ballad printings, generally including information about the content of the textual artefact and an accompanying image. As with the simpler form of hymn books, the ballad texts were also printed *in continuo*, that is, with pilcrow (¶) and slashes (/) dividing the strophes and lines. Musical notation was replaced by tune imprints.

Lomnický's songs (whether published in a hymn book or as broadside ballads) belong to the type of texts that were meant to be read by people

13 Lomnický, *Kancionál*, pp.)([verso]. The symbols ")((" are the original signs for pages. Fukač, "Obecná nota."

14 Peritexts are the accompanying textual parts of books that supplement the main text and are typically positioned before the main text (title pages, dedications, prefaces, etc.) or after it (indexes, postscripts, etc.).

15 Lomnický, *Kancionál*, pp.)(r[recto],)(v[verso]. See also Fukač, "Obecná nota."

16 Chartier, *Lesewelten*, p. 88.

of limited literacy as well as for reading aloud and singing; their visual properties are designed to suit this purpose, and we can assume that they were aimed at consumers with similar reading abilities but varied purchasing power (because a book was more expensive than an individual gathering).

Of particular significance are the various printings of one of Lomnický's songs about St. Barbara. It appears in his hymn book with the first lines "Za Marciána vladaře" ("In the time of the Prefect Marcien"). This song has survived as part of several editions of broadside ballads published in the seventeenth century, making it possible to trace how the sextodecimo size became established and stabilized. The oldest known example (dating from 1650) was produced by Matouš Březina's printing house in Litomyšl.¹⁷ Comparing this with an edition of the same text published in 1663 by Jan Arnolt (Březina's successor at the same printing house), one clearly sees that the typesetting has remained the same, as have the fonts and the image on the title page.¹⁸ The 1663 version was therefore a simple reprinting of the 1650 song. Apart from minor orthographic details and a different title page image, it is also identical with the core text of a 1661 edition from Olomouc.¹⁹ The typesetting of the 1663 and 1661 printings was clearly inspired by the same version of the song, despite slight orthographic differences. Then, in 1686 a new edition was printed in Olomouc.²⁰ It adopted the cheaper woodcut from the older Litomyšl edition, featuring an imitation of its printing block, which freed up more space for the title. The text itself was also reset in a clearer, more legible type, which avoided the need to compress the final sections of the song into a confined space on the last pages.

All the editions of the text published as broadside ballads contain 91 stanzas (compared to 120 in the hymn book), so we can assume that they were all based on the same abridged version that had been created for the purpose of publication in small-scale, sextodecimo-size broadside ballad gatherings.

A comparison between the texts of Lomnický's songs published as broadside ballad gatherings during the 1640s and 1650s, on the contrary, shows that their visual form varies substantially even among the texts published by the same printing house, and that their layout was evidently based on a few pre-existing models. Broadside ballad gatherings generally adopted the typesetting used in older editions—sometimes in the form of counterfeits,

17 Lomnický, *Píseň*, 1650, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 22.

18 Lomnický, *Píseň*, 1663, Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, Horákův velký špalíček, přív. 93.

19 Lomnický, *Píseň*, 1661, MZK VK-0000.811.

20 Lomnický, *Píseň*, 1686, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 5.



Figure 11. The title pages of the 1650 and 1683 editions of the same song display a shift from an archaic rendering of the title using a descending letter grade (left) to a design in which the important passages of the title are typographically highlighted, aided by less text for less important title words (right). MZK, sign. VK-0000.542, přív. 22; MZK, sign. VK-0000.543, přív. 5.

and sometimes as reprints of the printing house's own products. As a result, archaic layouts in these decades (where we see lettering forced into the space available on the sheet) can even be found in some broadside ballad gatherings published at a time when that particular format was already well established and when the typesetters would have been able to do a better job. As will be mentioned below, factors that helped more standardization to become established included consumers' common practice of sewing broadside ballad gatherings together to create volumes known as *špalíčky* (blocks), as well as the advantages offered by printing a wide selection of texts in the same size (for both printer and consumer). The sextodecimo size had additional social connotations: its use in publishing broadside ballads helped rank those texts among other small-scale printings targeted at a popular audience—chapbooks, small hymn books, catechisms, collections of New Testament texts, prayer books, small calendars, and the like.

The song about St. Barbara as contained in the second and third editions of Lomnický's hymn book and discussed above is also largely identical. The same applies to the two versions that were published as broadside ballads by Arnolt and Březina in Litomyšl that were also printed in identical versions. This may indicate the existence of publishers' archives made from collections of texts of their own production held by printing houses and drawn upon



Figure 12. The conversion of the lengthy song text from a book edition to a broadside edition also required a change of the letter size. This example shows an error in the typesetter's judgement. During the typesetting, the typesetter probably found out that he was not able to "squeeze" the long text from the hymn book into the sextodecimo size of the broadside ballad. Therefore, he changed the letter size. MZK, sign. VK-0000.522, přív.6.

when producing re-editions. Further evidence suggesting the existence of archives holding such older broadside ballad gatherings are the occasional remnants of orthography carried over from previous editions.

The repetition of type layout, orthographic features and woodblock images in the output of a particular printing house indicates the necessity of viewing broadside ballad gatherings as palimpsests or reusable artefacts—works in which older versions of the same texts can still be distinguished. Date markings on these texts—which are of key importance for historical research—should thus be subjected to critical scrutiny, relying also on thorough knowledge of the production of the printing house where the broadside ballad gathering originated—and also consideration of previous editions of texts published at different printing houses. A particular ballad artefact, as we have seen, may reflect the form of (and even source in) a much older edition of the same text. The practice of abridging texts from hymn books when they were published in the form of broadside ballads can be now primarily attributed to the need to shorten the texts in order for them to fit into the regularized sextodecimo size. The declared date of publication may cause confusion in this respect. The orthography of the texts—which,

in addition to the causes posed above, depended on the literal numbers of lettering available to the printers—varies greatly between different editions of broadside ballads, and despite later corrections and attempts at standardization by typesetters, the orthography of these editions may reflect earlier, more irregular versions of the texts.²¹

Title Pages as a Means of Differentiation

Title pages, the only peritexts found in Czech broadside ballad gatherings, had the primary function of capturing the attention of potential customers. Their eye-catching design was still closely connected with the printing houses' efforts to minimize costs and maximize profits. The individual elements of title pages should be viewed in this context. A typical title page contained the title, a simple woodcut image, and an imprint statement.²² Additionally, title pages often featured the first lines of broadside ballads, and, in some cases, also tune imprints, providing titles of typically commonly known melodies.

The sextodecimo size was traditionally used for low-cost texts printed in Czech. It served various types of publications with a similar readership—small hymn books, collections of New Testament texts to be read at mass on Sundays and feast days, and calendars (including a specific type of calendar known as a “bloodletting” calendar originally designed to inform users on which days bloodletting was appropriate, and containing astronomical and astrological information). All these printed works contained a wealth of illustrations.²³ Important to attract consumer's sense of aesthetics, the title pages of broadside ballad gatherings were visually dominated by the imprints of woodblocks. The images on the first two types of texts noted above (small hymn books and New Testament collections) were similar to those used for individual religious broadside ballads, both in theme and size. A set of printing blocks purchased by a printer for small hymn books and Bible texts could thus also be reused for broadside ballad gatherings, saving on printing cost. The origin of these woodcuts in religious texts is particularly suggested in the broadside ballad gatherings that feature complex figural scenes (the Last Supper, Christ with the Disciples, etc.).²⁴ Title images

21 See the chapter by Kosek et al.

22 An imprint statement consists of information about who printed the book, where it was printed, and when.

23 Dufka, “Zrod venkovské tiskárny,” p. 100.

24 Vobr, *Jihlavské tisky*, pp. 28–29.

carrying information relevant to the content were often replaced by purely decorative designs, which visually separated the title from first lines, imprint, and any tune tiles. The decorative design functioned as a headpiece on the first page of the text; at the end of the text, it filled in any blank space. If an illustration or ornament was not used, the place was filled by a composition consisting of decorative typographic elements—this solution could be used as a headpiece as well as an end piece and performed the same aesthetic and structuring function. Some printing shops used the remnants of older borders or large headpieces for this purpose.²⁵ A minimalist variant involved the division of the page by means of simple horizontal lines above the imprint.

Of course, sometimes the printers decided not to bother at all with images or decorative elements, which took more time and thus money to set with the typeface. If it was not possible or desirable to employ older printing blocks that the printing shop already owned, a new printing block had to be created. Woodblock carving, even of simple blocks, drew on time and money. There is evidence that sometimes these blocks were produced at the printing shop itself, and at other times the job was contracted to a producer of more than one kind of woodcutting, such as moulds used for butter or gingerbread.²⁶ To avoid this added expense, whenever possible, printing houses drew on their own stock of printing blocks, and when it was occasionally necessary to acquire new blocks, they likely either created their own or purchased them from elsewhere (whether new or used). A common occurrence was also the copying of blocks by competing printing houses or their circulation around printer “family clans” on the territory, e.g., as a part of a bequest. Although there have as yet been no quantitative studies tracing the distribution and dissemination of visual information over the course of time and at different printing shops, it is nevertheless possible to give at least a basic outline of common practices.²⁷ Key issues here include the origin of the printing blocks and the way in which the printers used them. An even more key issue is that aesthetics, but also cheapness, were at the forefront of the printers’ minds.

Another important question concerns the reason why a particular image was featured on the title page. Besides making the printing more attractive to potential customers, the image also functioned as a simple means of

25 A border is a decorative frame that was used especially in the sixteenth century as an ornamental element mainly on title pages. The imprint was typically made by four separate strips.

26 Scheybal, “K formátu,” p. 332.

27 An interactive map made by the Moravian Library enables viewers to follow the dissemination of the concrete illustrations in time and space. Moravská zemská knihovna, “Kramářské písně.”

broadly categorizing printings. For example, an image depicting a man and a woman indicated a broadside ballad dealing with the topic of relationships; a woman with her heart on her palm denoted a broadside ballad about love; a gallows suggested a murder song; and a monogram of Christ or a depiction of a visually identifiable saint was employed for a religious broadside ballad. In such cases the economic interests of printers (who could reuse printing blocks for multiple occasions) coexisted with their customers' interest in a particular thematic group of broadside ballads.

Regardless of the customers' ability to read the text, an image could perform various communicative functions in the dissemination of broadside ballad gatherings. A further example to add to those cited above: a woodcut of a female bust would often be associated with a particular saint, and a broadside ballad gathering featuring such an image on its cover could thus serve as a devotional item (a typical function of printings depicting Madonnas affiliated with specific pilgrimage sites).

The title itself could function as an image akin to, or in place of, the literal woodcut impression on the title page. Especially in secular broadside ballads published before the mid-eighteenth century, the title tended to be a generalized description printed in prominent lettering, as we find by the late seventeenth century in England as well. Broadside ballad gatherings thus bore names such as "Nová píseň světská" ("A new secular song"), "Píseň nová kratochvilná" ("A new song to pass the time"), "Píseň truchlivá" ("A mournful song"), "Žalostivý příběh" ("A terrible story"), or "Píseň pro mládence a panny" ("A song for young men and women"). These generic descriptions were applied to texts with various types of content, which could be specified either in a subtitle or by quoting the first words of the song. A frequent tactic involved placing the incipit (first lines) on the title page (again, also a common feature of post-mid-seventeenth-century broadside ballads in England). Incipits in Czech were usually printed in smaller font, introduced by a pilcrow (¶); they were positioned under a woodcut image and above the imprint statement. This part of the title page sometimes also contained the tune imprint, indicating the melody to which the broadside ballad should be sung. However, the tune imprint was most frequently placed on the first page of the text itself, not on the title page. The last part of the title page bore the printer's imprint statement; this was a legally required component of the publication: it demonstrated that the text had been approved by the official censors. Or, it at least attempted to evoke that impression—imprint statements were, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, falsified. When faking imprints, printers typically gave inaccurate information that referred to older editions of the text or to editions published by a different

printing house that had already been approved by the censors. Finally, from the eighteenth century onwards, especially in the case of Prague printing houses, the printer's imprint was usually accompanied by the address of the printing shop or of a trader who was licensed to sell the publisher's products. This was because Prague was the only Czech city with more than one printing shop; printers thus felt the need to give further identifying details of their locale to avoid confusion. Imprint statements therefore make it possible to trace the development of the established distribution network or print (i.e., the network of permanent shops, as opposed to the older, more informal channels of colportage and market stalls).

In a variety of ways, then, the title pages of broadside ballad gatherings published before the mid-eighteenth century reveal the importance of their visual form. Such aesthetically pleasing and eye-catching title pages were also designed to help customers with just basic reading skills to find their bearings among the range of printed products being marketed. They also exploited the equipment of the printing shops to the maximum, allowing them to produce cheap artefacts for the masses. To both these ends, the titles of broadside ballads were not designed to distinguish individual texts so much as to provide a broad categorization of the available texts. Such broad categorization was aided by an often generic image. Moreover, the religious woodcut could even be individually employed as a devotional object. The incipit and tune imprint featured on the title page could refer to a well-known melody, making it easy for consumers to sing the text of the broadside ballads. The obligatory imprint statement of the printer, as noted above, indicated his (or in some cases her) attempt to legitimize their products, reassuring consumers that they were purchasing a legitimate product. Considered together, in sum, the title pages of broadside ballad gatherings represent a valuable source of insight into the marketing as well as the historical categorization of printers' materials and their expectations of a mass-market target audience—as well as providing useful information on printings that were counterfeit or lacked attribution to a particular printing house (another likely sign of evading authoritarian—and pricey—publication requirements).

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the necessity of studying broadside ballads with regard to the specific form in which they have survived—i.e., treating them as material artefacts. Basic material factors such as their size and composition of their title pages determined the expected audience of these

printings (and fulfilled those consumers' expectations). The length of the text was limited by the number of pages that could be made from a single sheet (or a half-sheet). Furthermore, once we acknowledge the central importance of the makeup of these artefacts, we also need to focus on the practices used by the printing houses to produce them. Printers attempted to maximize profits and minimize costs. They had to be aware of their customers' requirements and needs, and to respond appropriately to them. A material analytic approach to individual broadside ballad gatherings can reveal how their printers attempted to communicate with—or reach out to—their audiences, as well as how they attempted to obviate the restrictions imposed by censors. All these factors influenced not only the physical format and typeface but also the titles used, the information on the date of publication, and the woodcut images on the title pages.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Lomnický, Šimon. *Kancionál aneb Písně nové historické*. Praha: Jiřík Nigrin z Nigropontu, 1595.
- [Lomnický, Šimon]. *Píseň historická o svaté panně Barboře, mučedlnici Boží*. Olomouc: Jan Josef Kylián, 1686, sign. VK-0000.543, přív. 5, MZK.
- [Lomnický, Šimon]. *Píseň o svaté panně Barboře, mučedlnici Boží*. Litomyšl: Matouš Březina, 1650, sign. VK-0000.542, přív. 22, MZK.
- [Lomnický, Šimon]. *Píseň o svaté panně Barboře, mučedlnici Boží*. Litomyšl: Jan Arnolt, 1663, Fond Jiří Horák, sign. IIIg, inv. č. 2640, Horákův velký špalíček, přív. 93, Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR.
- [Lomnický, Šimon]. *Píseň o svaté panně Barboře, mučedlnici Boží*. Olomouc: Vít Jindřich Ettel, 1661, sign. VK-0000.811, MZK.

Secondary Sources

- Chartier, Roger. *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*. Cambridge–Malden: Polity Press, 2014.
- Chartier, Roger. *Lesewelten*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1989.
- Dufka, Jiří. "Zrod venkovské tiskárny. Znojemská dílna v letech 1703–1742." *Knihy a dějiny* 26 (2019), pp. 52–106.
- Fukač, Jiří. "Obecná nota." In *Slovník české hudební kultury*, ed. Jiří Vysloužil and Jiří Fukač, p. 365. Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1997.

- Ivánek, Jakub. "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu kramářská píseň (s ohledem na tisky náboženské povahy)." *Listy filologické* 140, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 201–230.
- Kaufmann, Thomas. "Konfessionalisierung." In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, Band 6. Darmstadt 2007, columns 1053–1070.
- Kouba, Jan. *Slovník staročeských hymnografů (13.–18. století)*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.
- Roud, Steve, and Atkinson, David. "Introduction." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 1–6. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Scheybal, Josef V. "Autoři, zpěváci a kolportéři kramářských písní." *Zpravodaj koordinované sítě vědeckých informací pro etnografii a folkloristiku. Příloha 3* (1978), pp. 53–63.
- Scheybal, Josef V. "K formátu a výzdobě kramářských písňových tisků." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 331–333. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Vobr, Jaroslav. *Jihlavské tisky českých kramářských písní*. Master's thesis, Charles University 1970.
- Winkelbauer, Thomas. *Städdefreiheit und Fürstenmacht, Vol. 2: Österreichische Geschichte, 1522–1699*. Wien: Ueberreuter, 2003.
- Wögerbauer, Michael, and Petr Píša. "Das Königreich Böhmen (1750–1848)." In *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848*, ed. Norbert Bachleitner, pp. 193–215. Wien: Böhlau, 2017.

Website

Moravská zemská knihovna. "Kramářské písně." <https://kramarsketisky.mzk.cz/>.

Abbreviations

MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)

About the Author

Jiří Dufka: Head of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Department of the Moravian Library in Brno (<https://www.mzk.cz/en/study-rooms/manuscripts-and-early-printed-books>). Dufka has published several articles about the collecting and cataloguing of old printings. His most recent work (with Eva Chodějovská) is a monograph: *Sběratel a jeho atlas. Bernard Pavel Moll* (2021). jiri.dufka@mzk.cz.

3. The Czech Broadside Ballad in Its Historical, Social, and Literary Context

Jakub Ivánek

Abstract

Jakub Ivánek explores Czech broadside ballads as a distinctive phenomenon of song culture which in the Czech lands experienced extraordinary expansion in the second half of the early modern period with a significant overlap into the nineteenth century. While passing through urban and rural classes, its development went hand in hand with increasing literacy in society. He also deals with social aspects of this printed culture, its relation to folklore, and, finally, similar phenomena in the surrounding Central European countries.

Keywords: Literary history, popular religion, popular music, folk songs, German *Bänkelsang*

The well-known Czech saying “Co Čech, to muzikant” (“Every Czech is a musician”) confirms the traditional popularity of music in the Czech lands. By in the fourteenth century—despite the Latin liturgy—church hymns were being sung in the Czech language, Czech vocal music then evolved through the songs of the rich repertoire of Czech Reformation era hymnals. Broadside ballads have not yet been included in this tradition. However, let’s realize that after the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918, the song chosen as the Czech national anthem was “Kde domov můj?” (“Where is my home?”), a patriotic idyll from the theatrical farce *Fidlovačka* (The fiddler, 1834) by the writer Josef Kajetán Tyl and the composer František Škroup. In the play it is performed by the blind street fiddler Mareš. During the 1848 revolution, this song was also printed in the form of a broadside ballad and sung by Czech

patriots everywhere.¹ The role of popular songs disseminated in the form of broadside ballads in Czech music culture cannot be underestimated. Indeed, the popularity of broadside ballads in Czech society is unparalleled within Central Europe, if the multitude of extant copies are any evidence. (Over 100,000 examples from 1600 to 1900 have survived in Czech collections.²) Considering that these broadside ballads were ephemera, countless others were assuredly tossed out or destroyed through general use and recycling.

From Its Origins to the Heyday of the Czech Broadside Ballad

The origins of Czech broadside ballads can ultimately be traced back to the leaflets that were published in the sixteenth century.³ However, these leaflets were the predecessors of secular broadside ballads, which represent the minority of Czech collections of broadside ballads; the vast majority of these artefacts are rather made up of religious songs (estimated to count for 60–80% of the total surviving printed ballads).⁴ Where can the roots of these religious songs be found? Especially in terms of their formal aspects, we need to look to the practice of publishing songs taken from hymnals in the form of separate printed texts. From the sixteenth century, we find these songs also appeared in a small-scale sextodecimo size—either as a precursor to an entire new hymnal that was soon to be published, or as a reprint of songs from existing hymnals.⁵ From the outset, leaflet songs had a system of tune imprints in common with the hymnals.⁶ In the era before the Battle of White Mountain (1620, see below), both these points of origin for Czech broadside ballads—secular leaflet songs and separate printed religious songs—were combined in the work of Šimon Lomnický from Budeč (1552–1623), who wrote songs about topical issues (published

1 Krejčí, “Píseň,” pp. 70–71.

2 For more information about the collections of Czech broadside ballads, see the chapter by Dufka et al.

3 See the chapter by Malura.

4 Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” p. 207.

5 Sextodecimo is a format created by cutting a printed sheet of paper into sixteen leaves. See the introduction for a more detailed explanation.

6 Hymnal, in the Czech context, is a larger collection of religious songs which could be used by both church musicians and the people themselves. It usually consists of songs for the individual feasts of the church year and songs for various occasions of the believer's life. But there are also special hymnals for a given feast (like the Christmas hymnal, etc.). For more information about tune imprints, see the chapters by Slavický and Frolcová.

in leaflet form) as well as religious songs (which appeared in both hymnals and smaller leaflets).⁷

The turning point in the development of the Czech broadside ballad came with the Thirty Years' War—specifically, with the Battle of White Mountain, which concluded the Bohemian Revolt (1618–1620, considered the beginning of the war). This event was followed by a crackdown by the Habsburgs on religious and political freedoms (part of a process of recatholicization) and repressive measures against the burghers. Broadside ballads from the subsequent period, which in the Czech environment was part of the Baroque era (ca. 1620–1775), reveal a shift to prevailing religious themes. This period could be marked as a watershed in Czech literary history for distribution of the terms *leták* (leaflet) and *kramářský tisk* (chapbook) or *kramářská píseň* (broadside ballad).⁸ In the pre-White Mountain era, we usually use the term “leaflet” when talking about separate printed texts, while in the subsequent period the terms “chapbook” (whatever the content) and “broadside ballad” (if the print contains a song) are applied.⁹ During the eighteenth century, there was an increase in the number of broadside ballads published—both religious (partly a consequence of the revival of pilgrimage culture) and secular (sensational news and versified stories of popular tales about Genevieve, Magelone, etc.). Religious themes continued to dominate, however. This is unsurprising in a country that was being recatholicized.

However, it is not entirely clear why the sextodecimo size dominated Czech-language production while German-language broadside ballads were published in the larger octavo format. It may have been due to the influence of religious songs, which even in the pre-White Mountain era appeared in a more intimate, pocket-friendly format. The standardization manifested in the adoption of a unified sextodecimo size for various texts published by different printing houses must have resulted from practical considerations connected with commonly used production techniques. But the smaller format would seem as well as to take account of the preferences of readers, who developed something of an intimate relation with the printed broadside ballads they bought, often sewing them together to create their

7 Kouba, *Slovník*, pp. 240–248. The impact of songs by Šimon Lomnický from Budeč on the development of Czech broadside ballads is discussed in the chapter by Dufka.

8 The Czech term *kramářské tisky*, which is usually translated as “chapbooks,” includes broadside ballads, prose texts, prayers, holy pictures, etc. (see below).

9 To the relation between Czech leaflets and Czech broadside ballads, see the chapter by Malura.



Figure 13. Typical *špalíček* (block) in sextodecimo size. Source: The private collection of Jakub Ivánek.

own songbooks; these self-bound volumes were known in Czech as *špalíčky* (blocks).

The production of broadside ballads began to increase in the mid-eighteenth century, becoming particularly prolific in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. This was a consequence of several social and economic transformations that were taking place at the time. Foremost among these changes was the growth in literacy among the lower classes.¹⁰ The more or less reading society needed appropriate “popular” literature. Printers had lost their former markets during the Enlightenment reforms of Emperor Joseph II (1780–1790), when Catholic piety was to be transformed and internalized. In connection with this, many monasteries were dissolved and devotional confraternities were disbanded. That is why the printers turned attention to more mass-marketable (and thus simpler in format and cheaper in cost) printed texts sold by shopkeepers or stallholders¹¹ at urban markets or by chapmen who carried them into rural areas.

This increase in production did not only involve secular printings; religious printings devoted to pilgrimage-related themes also experienced a huge boom. The reforms introduced during the Enlightenment dealt a blow to pilgrimage culture, as many pilgrimage sites were closed down and restrictions were imposed on long-distance pilgrimages; nevertheless, the

¹⁰ For percentages, see the chapter by Smyčková.

¹¹ The Czech word for stallholder (market trader) is *kramář*, which gave rise to the Czech terms *kramářský tisk* (“chapbook,” literally “stallholder’s printing”) and *kramářská píseň* (“broadside ballad,” literally “stallholder’s song”). More on terminology in the introduction to this volume.



Figure 14. Comparison of Czech broadside ballads in sextodecimo size (above) and octavo size (below) and eighteenth-century (on the left) and nineteenth-century (on the right) artefacts. Source: The private collection of Jakub Ivánek.

customs adopted by the majority of the population during the recatholicization endured for a long time. Holding on to the practices of Catholicism, ordinary people took up activities that had previously been reserved for the Catholic nobility and the clergy; they thus played an active role in shaping their own culture by restoring old pilgrimage sites and establishing new ones, as well as in writing, publishing, and generally creating a demand

for pilgrimage texts. As a result, religious music underwent a process of laicization.¹²

According to Peter Burke, during this development phase the demonstrative consumption of certain products became a way by which the general populace could create a distinction between themselves and other population groups.¹³ The reception and purchase of chapbooks, particularly those containing broadside ballads, provides a good example of this process in the Bohemian Crown lands between 1750 and 1850. These printings became a source of intense cultural experiences and expressions for large sections of the lower end of the population, both in urban communities and in rural areas.

The Central European Context

Past studies have emphasized the close connection between Czech broadside ballads and the German phenomenon of *Bänkelsang* (bench singing).¹⁴ This approach dominated due to the occurrence of narrative songs in both cultures, as well as the shared roots of these forms in the news leaflets of the Renaissance era (ca. 1500–1620). However, scholars have also noted that the Czech broadside ballad was a separate entity from the German *Bänkelsang*, since it was not dependent on relating news.¹⁵ The term *Bänkelsang* was used to denote song printings containing some verse but mostly prose text (giving news reports).¹⁶ Moreover, *Bänkelsang* also has another meaning: it refers to a particular type of printed text that was performed as multimedia street theatre. Such theatricality included singing and hand-drawn illustrations as well as text. Unlike most Czech broadside ballads up to the mid-nineteenth century, in other words, the emphasis of street *Bänkelsang* lay very much on highly dramatized performativity aimed primarily to entertain. However, in Germany and Austria there were also printings containing only songs, known as *Flugblattlieder* or *Flugschriftlieder* (leaflet songs).¹⁷ In German-speaking Catholic regions, these mainly religious texts were very similar to the Czech ones.

12 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 49–50.

13 Burke, "Popular Culture," p. 10.

14 Petzoldt, *Bänkelsang*; Riedel, *Der Bänkelsang*.

15 Smetana and Václavěk, *České písně*, pp. 13–14.

16 Petzoldt, *Bänkelsang*.

17 Schmidt, "Niederösterreichische Flugblattlieder."

But it is not sufficient merely to distinguish between *Flugblattlieder* (printed songs) and *Bänkelsang* (printings of news reports which combined a prose text with a summary in the form of a song). The word *Bänkelsang* is derived from the German *Bank* (bench), referring to the bench on which itinerant singers stood when giving performances of the songs they peddled at markets using large fabric, wooden, metal or paper banners with painted scenes from the story. This visual accompaniment of the performance was not usual in the Czech environment until the mid-nineteenth century though we occasionally do find older references to such panels in relation to Czech broadside ballads.¹⁸ What is especially important, however, is that the Czech printings, as opposed to the German ones, always (with some exceptions after the turn of the nineteenth century) contained only a broadside ballad, not prose news. It would be advisable here not to use the term *Bänkelsang* to refer to a type of printed text (containing a news report plus a song). Tellingly, this type of printed text was also referred to by the Czech term *popis* or German *Beschreibung* (description). It seems more appropriate to reserve the term *Bänkelsang* for the manner in which a song was presented when selling a printing (the performance itself).

Beyond the eastern borders of the Bohemian Crown lands (in Hungary and Poland), the significant participation of the aristocracy in national culture, combined with lower levels of literacy among the general population, meant that a culture of broadside ballads developed only belatedly. In today's Slovakia (former Upper Hungary), so-called *letákové piesne* (leaflet songs) appeared sporadically in the eighteenth century and became more common during the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Moreover, Czech-language printed texts were disseminated there because they were published mainly at the printing house in Skalica near the Czech-Hungarian border, which also produced large quantities of material for the Czech market. It reveals the strong influence of Czech broadside ballads on Slovak culture (the Czech and Slovak languages are mutually intelligible).²⁰ In Poland, *pieśni jarmarczne* (fair songs) were more common from the mid-nineteenth century.²¹ Prior to this, Poland was home to a mostly oral culture of itinerant performers known as *dziady* (old

18 E.g., in 1699 an anti-Semitic song (translated from German) was sold and sung to the accompaniment of a panel of pictures at a market in Nymburk (Prokeš, *Úřední antisemitismus*, pp. 74–76).

19 For more details, see the chapter by Ruščin.

20 Droppová and Krekovičová, *Počujte panny*, pp. 24, 31–32.

21 For more information about Polish broadside ballads, see the chapter by Grochowski.

men) as well as printed production that is reminiscent of Czech-language leaflets published in the sixteenth century for the upper classes.²²

Appeals to Morality

In the past, scholars viewed broadside ballads as tools in the propagation of the Catholic faith that was practiced during the Counter-Reformation (ca. 1600–1780)—or even as tools of re-feudalization (an effort to keep the inferior strata of the population in their traditional place, out of power).²³ Such interpretations were deduced from the prevalently religious (and Catholic) character of broadside ballads, as well as their moralistic approach to most topics—a feature which is manifested in the texts in the form of instructive passages especially at the end of the songs.

These didactic formulas may create the impression that the narrative of a broadside ballad is merely meant to be an exemplum illustrating a moral thesis.²⁴ However, broadside ballads are not alone in using this type of construct. Entertainment and edification were already combined in a similar manner in the literature of Humanism throughout Western and Eastern Europe. In the Czech context, the works of Šimon Lomnický from Budeč reflecting upon individual sins can be read either as educational texts or as entertaining stories.²⁵ Lomnický's songs about saints look similar. The author's evident joy in narrating lengthy stories inevitably culminates in explicit advice at the end of each text. Up to the nineteenth century, his songs were disseminated in hymnals as well as in the form of broadside ballads, becoming the prototype for the religious narrative song.²⁶ Jaroslav Kolár (1929–2013) also observes that explicit moralistic postscripts can already be found in news leaflets dating from the sixteenth century—a

22 See the chapters by Grochowski and Szturcová.

23 E.g., Smetana, "K problematice," pp. 37–38. Elsewhere, a similar opinion is voiced by Robert Muchembled. Burke takes issue with Muchembled's notion that *Bibliothèque Bleue* functioned as "*tranquillisers*, produced on the part of the ruling class to keep the subordinate classes in their place" (Burke, "Popular Culture," p. 10). Nevertheless, Burke does not deny that leaflets were an effective medium for propaganda (p. 72).

24 Kolár, "K periodizaci," p. 99, states that this morality is the most frequent way in which broadside ballads express a stance towards reality. It is not important whether the narrative corresponds with reality; the important shared feature of the ballads is the moral instruction that is derived from them.

25 Pražák, "O mravně."

26 On the dissemination of songs by Šimon Lomnický from Budeč in the Czech broadside ballads from seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, see the chapter by Dufka.

precursor of the secular broadside ballad.²⁷ And we could go back even further; moralistic criticism can be found in the songs about topical issues from the fifteenth century.²⁸ Bohuslav Beneš (1927–2014) views the presence of such elements in manuscripts of naïve writers from the seventeenth to nineteenth century as a reflection of the religious-moralistic tendencies of Humanist literature and Baroque preaching—and the writers could be sometimes the authors of broadside ballads.²⁹ In the early modern era, people traditionally interpreted unusual events as signs or bearers of messages. However, the moralistic conclusions of these texts (which were sometimes formulated in a somewhat awkward manner) can also be viewed as a form of self-censorship, intended to persuade official censors to permit the publication of a text which would otherwise have been considered or condemned as lacking in practical utility, overly lurid, or even morally detrimental.

The prevalence of religious themes in Czech broadside ballads was unsurprising given the process of recatholicization that was underway at the time (ca. 1600–1780). For many years, secular leaflets—which in the pre-White Mountain era (before 1620) frequently served as a channel for political propaganda—were considered undesirable. Religious culture became the only platform through which the common people could encounter any form of art and literature. The lower classes accepted this Baroque culture (which sought to provide a spiritual experience) as their own and remained loyal to it even in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, when the state, motivated by Enlightenment principles, began to call into question certain aspects of previous religious practice.³⁰ However, this does not mean that the common people could be reduced to a mindless herd that merely reproduced the agenda forced upon it in the preceding period. According to Burke, the attitudes of the lower classes often tend to be conservative.³¹ Such certainly seems to be the case in those Czech broadside ballads that expressed horror at the revolutionary events unfolding in France and, expressing fear for the people's safety, entreated the Habsburg Monarchy to take them under its protective wing.³²

27 For more details, see the chapter by Malura.

28 Pohanka, "Historické kořeny," p. 90, traces the criticism of fashion and extravagant dressing (a common critique made in broadside ballads) in a song which, based on its content, dates from around 1470.

29 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 13.

30 Ivánek and Szturcová, "Propagace."

31 Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 173–174.

32 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 297–299.

Some broadside ballads contain elements that are inimical to folk culture. This is the case, for example, in pilgrimage broadside ballads, which presented a distorted picture of the way in which the official Church took a spontaneous natural cult and turned it into an official ecclesiastical practice. Printed texts evoke the impression that the people consented to the relocation of a revered image from an oak tree in Věrovany near Olomouc or from a grove near Bzenec in South Moravia into local churches in Dub and Bzenec, even though sources (or the manuscript version of a song in the case of Bzenec) indicate that such an act was met with opposition.³³ Likewise, news broadside ballads combined their informative function with ideological interpretations (or at least ideological subtexts)—though, of course, this is true of news reporting in any era.³⁴

By contrast, some broadside ballads offered at the very least ambiguous possibilities of interpretation. For example, a lament on the dying bandit Ondráš draws on the moralized motif of the transience of life (*ubi sunt?*) as its prototype, yet at the same time it heroizes the protagonist's former glory and invincibility. This broadside ballad lacks a dimension of ideological evaluation, and only the title of the printing, "Píseň směšná" ("Ridiculous song"), creates a certain distance.³⁵ In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Austria, it was still dangerous to publish texts that attacked officially recognized values, and such songs generally appeared at times of political and social friction.³⁶ Complaints of agricultural workers about the increase of corvée labour were issued in 1742, during the occupation of Prague by Saxon and French troops.³⁷ The best example is the Revolutions of 1848 (known in some countries as the Springtime of Nations), in which broadside ballads were used as a means of political agitation—though of course once the revolutionary fervour had subsided, the counter-revolutionary movement used broadside ballads to achieve its own political ends.³⁸ Joža Vochala (1892–1965) makes the shrewd observation (though without giving any specific details) that welcoming ceremonies for members of the nobility included the performance of folk songs, which noted that death did not spare even the powerful; this indicates the skill of the common people in harnessing their culture for

33 Ibid., pp. 252–253 (the case of Dub and Moravou), 271 (the case of Bzenec).

34 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, pp. 19–20.

35 Zíbrt, "Ondráš," pp. 19–21.

36 See details of official measures taken against the sale of unauthorized prints in Volf, "Konfiskace." See also Burke's "Politicization of Popular Culture" (Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 259).

37 Novotný, *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*, pp. 150–153.

38 Hrzalová, "Kramářská píseň"; Václavková, *Písně*. On the propaganda function of leaflet literature, see Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 71–73.

purposes of protest.³⁹ The culture we study consists of texts that are (in Fiske's words) the producerly texts beyond their own control: "Popular culture is always difficult mountainous territory for those who wish to control it (whether for economic, ideological, or disciplinary reasons), and its guerrilla readings are a structural necessity of the system."⁴⁰

At the Boundary of Folk Culture

Because broadside ballads are viewed here as a part of folk culture, it is relevant to pause at this point and consider who the bearers of this culture actually were. The answer will not be a simple one, because neither the authors nor the recipients of broadside ballads remained stable throughout the time. It is evident that the consumers of leaflets during the pre-White Mountain era (before 1620) could not have been rural people, as country dwellers were almost all illiterate at the time. Leaflets were primarily an urban form of culture, involving mainly the middle and upper classes in towns and cities. This appears to have remained the case for the majority of the seventeenth century. The situation began to change as literacy rates increased during the eighteenth century, especially in the final third of the century, which saw the first major expansion of chapbook production. During this period, literacy grew in villages, if first among the higher, non-agricultural strata of the village community: gamekeepers, millers, rural craftsmen, etc.⁴¹ Of further note: though anyone might hear or see a broadside ballad on the streets, or in an alehouse, or handed about among friends, access to textuality seems to have been very important to the Czech commoner, as was conjectured in the introduction to this volume. Czech broadside ballads have the advantage of engaging the consumer in the production process (who at the very least sewed together gatherings of pages and, as the editors have stated, might even have performed all the stages of production after printing: folding, cutting, and sewing the broadside ballad). The resultant artefact mostly included at least one large illustration and tune imprints (in some form), but textuality seems key. This fact may have reflected the desire of the rural poor to catch up with the culture of urban communities that acted as the driving force behind the advance of literacy in rural areas (just like towns and cities sought to

39 Vochala, "Sociální problematika," p. 197.

40 Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, pp. 104–105.

41 Fidlerová, "Lidové rukopisné," *passim*.

catch up with the culture of the nobility in the sixteenth century). In sum, broadside ballads, which were affordable and could be readily purchased at markets and fairs, were one means of achieving cultural enrichment and self-identification through the printed text.

The urban origins of the culture of broadside ballads were evidently the main reason why the Czech collectors of folk texts in the first half of the nineteenth century attempted (with varying degrees of success) to eliminate this “foreign” element from folk culture—an oral culture which, as they conceived it, was a rural phenomenon of village communities.⁴² However, from the oldest (pre-Romantic, until ca. 1820) collections of Czech folk songs it is clear that villages were imbued with the culture of broadside ballads, and that no substantial distinction was felt to exist by the general populace between folk songs and broadside ballads.⁴³ Research into the so-called *zlidovělé písně* (artificial songs that have entered the oral tradition) also confirms this intertwining.⁴⁴ Scholars, furthermore, have traced the influence of urban song culture (including broadside ballads) on formal aspects of folk songs in the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ That is why the (originally Marxist) term *pololidová literatura* (semi-folk literature)—introduced in the Czech literature by Josef Hrabák (1912–1987)—is still used (but without Marxist aspect) also for chapbooks, including broadside ballads in the Czech environment.⁴⁶ This concept refers to a type of popular culture that represents a zone of transition and interrelation between the oral culture and the written/printed word. The common people remake such texts into their own familiar modes of expression and during reception the written often became part of the oral tradition.

This leads us to characterize broadside ballads as a phenomenon existing on the boundary line between artificial and folk songs. A folk song is typically defined as a song that has evolved within an oral tradition.⁴⁷ This form of production and dissemination was a consequence of the illiteracy of the rural population. As people were unable to make a written record of such songs, there was a natural process of unstated selection as the community filtered out those songs that were not considered worthy of oral preservation, as well as a process of ongoing adaptation that happens

42 Krejčí, “Píseň,” pp. 61–62.

43 Markl, *Nejstarší sbírky*; Vetterl, *Guberniální sbírka*, pp. 10–11, 15–16.

44 Václavek and Smetana, *České světské písně zlidovělé*.

45 Karbusický, “Kramářská píseň.”

46 Hrabák, *Dějiny*, pp. 466–468. For more details about “semi-folk literature,” see the chapter by Hashemi.

47 For more information, see the chapter by Frolcová.

within word-of-mouth transmission. The collective nature of folk songs is not so much due to authorial anonymity as community reception and dissemination. By contrast, broadside ballads, as printed texts, were produced for wide marketing. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the production of folk songs began to wane, but broadside ballads experienced an unprecedented boom. This was a consequence of the more widespread growth of literacy and of the increasing possibility to publish and buy such texts. The oral tradition did not die out, however; instead, a new channel emerged through which songs were disseminated among people.

On the one hand, we can find examples of printed broadside ballads that clearly emerged from an oral tradition and, on the other hand, folklorists heard people sing songs that evolved from broadside ballads for a wide market. Both channels of song production and dissemination share one common feature: authorial anonymity. Although some broadside ballads since the turn of the nineteenth century name an author, such information is not necessarily reliable.⁴⁸ Because broadside ballads and folk songs were generally adopted by the same audience, the mixing of their forms in their making was inevitable. Such interweaving would explain why the oral tradition includes songs which sound more like the long narrative broadside ballads, even though there is no evidence of such printed texts.⁴⁹ By the same token, broadside ballads sometimes borrowed motifs and phrases common to folk songs (and, of course, they were frequently sung to the same tunes as folk songs, sometimes as a *contrafactum*), so it is often not possible to determine the direction of borrowing.⁵⁰

František Sušil (1804–1868), the Czech folk song collector of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, like the famous American folklorist Francis James Child (1825–1896), was aware that some of the “folk” songs he had collected had originated as broadside ballads (which he termed *listy běhlé*, literally “running leaves”), but he stated that the songs had later permeated the oral tradition, causing them to “lose their usual roughness”⁵¹ (he regarded broadside ballads as rough mannered and imperfect). This observation is debatable. An analysis of three songs collected by Sušil (conducted as part of research on pilgrimage songs) indicates that their texts published as broadside ballads (with only minimal variations within different printed versions) are not substantially different—neither in style

48 Smetana and Václavek, *České písně*, pp. 18–19.

49 See the chapter by Poláková.

50 Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 226–227, 233. See also the chapters by Slavický and Frolcová.

51 Sušil, *Moravské národní*, p. 50.

nor in any other way—from the versions that were orally disseminated (apart from abridgements or the use of different wording, which are common features of both oral dissemination and printing).⁵² In all three cases, the songs display certain features that are characteristic of folk songs (dialogue, elements of popular devotion, spontaneity of verses, or repetition), but, again, these features appear in the printed edition, and the songs rank among the most widespread religious broadside ballads of all. It is practically impossible to determine whether they formed part of an originally oral tradition before they were disseminated as broadside ballads, as the printed texts in fact predate Sušil's collection of oral songs.

In the area of religious lyrical texts (including pilgrimage songs), the dividing line between folk songs and broadside ballads is generally blurred. Religious broadside ballads that fit the oral tradition very easily found their way into anthologies of folk poetry without the editors doubting their status as an integral part of the folk repertoire. This is the case in the collections of Josef Vlastimil Kamarýt (1797–1833), who was active during the Romantic era and whose collection *České národní duchovní písně* (Czech national religious songs, 1831–1832) contains several broadside ballads.⁵³ This fact of intermixing of folk and broadside ballads has led to some comical misunderstandings even among scholars. For example, the ethnographer František Bartoš (1837–1906), in an attempt to demonstrate the contrast between the poetry of broadside ballads and the poetry of folk songs, condemned one of the texts he knew as a broadside ballad as “a blizzard of hollow words, without any logical coherence,” contrasting it with a “national [folk] song” on a similar theme that had been collected by Kamarýt. However, investigations reveal that this second text, too, was in fact a broadside ballad.⁵⁴

The gap between religious folk songs and broadside ballads also narrowed due to the incorporation of religious broadside ballads into folk devotional customs (on pilgrimages or as part of smaller-scale devotional acts held at statues and chapels) and their use even in working environments (e.g., sacred songs sung during spinning).⁵⁵

52 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 159–161 (*Horo krásná, spanilá*), 309–310 (*Má duše, schovej se*), 347–351 (*Žalostné kvílení*); Sušil, *Moravské národní*, pp. 57, 61, 73.

53 See, e.g., among texts already edited: Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 134–138, 157–158, 234–236.

54 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 144.

55 Broadside ballads for pilgrimages include specific features of sacred dances (Vetterl, *Guberniální sbírka*, p. 206; Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 234–236). The numerous songs telling the story of St. John of Nepomuk appear to have been used during acts of devotion taking place at statues of this Bohemian saint (Schmidt, *Volksgefang*, pp. 347–366). See the chapters

Chapbooks

In the Czech environment, broadside ballads are part of a relatively wide group of so-called *kramářské tisky*, that is, printings that are cheap in terms of price, low-cost in terms of production, and popular in terms of content. Therefore, it could be compared to the English term “chapbooks.” It does not matter whether the content of *kramářské tisky* is prose or verse. A common element is usually the form of a booklet. The Czech attribute *kramářský* is derived from the word *kramář*, which was the person who sold these printings especially at markets and pilgrimages, or even by soliciting. It more or less corresponds to the English words *stallholder*, *shopkeeper* and also *chapman*, an obsolete term for a businessman, which is currently reflected in the designation *chapbooks*. The connection with the sale of cheap printed material is in line with Burke’s theory of the “commercialization of popular culture” in the early modern age.⁵⁶ The main players in this trade were commercial printers, travelling salesmen, and the consumers themselves; the trade in this cheap printed material, especially broadside ballads, was thus a manifestation of the culminating phase of folk song culture before the destruction of its traditional form, as Burke states, for the culture in general.⁵⁷

Various types of chapbooks could be found in the Czech context, and broadside ballads as a subtype of such printed material played the most important role among them. Other types of content include prayers (usually in prose), images of saints (holy cards), descriptions (short prose stories, especially news, usually accompanied by a digest in a song form), dream books, calendars, herbaries, horoscopes, testaments, prophecies, commemorative prints, games, wishes, instructive texts (and parodies of these genres), as well as chapbooks in the narrower sense (popular stories). They could be shorter or relatively long, and this lack of uniformity also applies to prayer books, pilgrimage handbooks, and small hymnals which cannot be generally considered chapbooks though their publishers, addressees (and sometimes also sellers) were the same. And to the same extent they belong to the popular culture (or to the popular religion) of early modern people. The gradual rise of their production during the eighteenth century,

by Frolcová and Slavický. Sacred spinning songs (*svaté přástkové*) were religious songs that were sung while spinning yarn (Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 182–185).

⁵⁶ Burke, “Popular Culture,” p. 10. In English the term “cheap print” is also used (see these collections: Atkinson and Roud, *Cheap Print and the People* and Rospocher et al., *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures*, both 2019).

⁵⁷ Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 244–246, 250–259.

similar to the rise of chapbooks, evidences the growing literacy of the wider population, the influx of literary culture from towns to the countryside, and changes in the self-definition of the countryman.

Conclusion

Broadside ballads and equivalent forms had specific features in different cultures. In the Bohemian Crown lands, the broadside ballad was the most prominent type of cheap printed texts (chapbooks). Despite the influence of German models and despite having their roots in news leaflets, Czech broadside ballads constituted a distinctive phenomenon of song culture. The exceptional popularity of printed songs reflects the central role traditionally played by music and singing in Czech culture—a role which can be observed from the Middle Ages onwards. Broadside ballads formed part of the Czech national tradition at the end of the early modern period. It also played an important role in the final stages of the development of the Czech folk song, which is inextricably intertwined with broadside ballads. Their rise from about mid-eighteenth century and the warm acceptance by the broad strata of Czech readers are evidence of both the gradual literacy (the “block” of broadside ballads functioned as a cheap songbook) and the efforts to define Czech common people culturally with their own literature (albeit adopted from the middle class).

Works Cited

- Atkinson, David, and Steve Roud, eds. *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Burke, Peter. “Popular Culture between History and Ethnology.” *Ethnologia Europaea* 14 (1984), pp. 5-13.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.
- Droppová, Lubica, and Eva Krekovičová. *Počujte panny, aj vy mládenčí... Letákové piesne zo slovenských tlačiarň*. Bratislava: Eterna Press, 2010.
- Fidlerová, Alena A. “Lidové rukopisné modlitební knihy raného novověku.” *Český lid* 100, no. 4 (2013), pp. 385-408.
- Fiske, John. *Understanding Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 1989.

- Hrabák, Josef. *Dějiny české literatury I. Starší česká literatura*. Praha: ČSAV, 1959.
- Hrzalová, Hana. "Kramářská píseň v letech 1848–1849." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 149–150. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Ivánek, Jakub. "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu kramářská píseň (s ohledem na tisky náboženské povahy)." *Listy filologické* 140, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 201–230.
- Ivánek, Jakub, and Monika Szturcová. "Propagace poutních míst na Moravě kramářskou písní v první polovině 19. století." *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 63, no. 3–4 (2018), pp. 188–195.
- Karbusický Vladimír. "Kramářská píseň jako pramen pololidových písní." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 287–293. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Kolár, Jaroslav. "K periodizaci vývoje české kramářské písně a k ideovému profilu jejího staršího období." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 97–101. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Kouba, Jan. *Slovník staročeských hymnografů (13.–18. století)*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.
- Krejčí, Karel. "Píseň pražské ulice, její vztah k písni kramářské a k literatuře." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 59–76. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Markl, Jaroslav. *Nejstarší sbírky českých lidových písní*. Praha: Supraphon, 1987.
- Novotný, Miloslav, ed. *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1940.
- Petzoldt, Leander. *Bänkelsang. Vom historischen Bänkelsang zum literarischen Chanson*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974.
- Pohanka, Jaroslav. "Historické kořeny české kramářské písně." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 89–96. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Pražák, Emil. "O mravně výchovné próze Šimona Lomnického." In *Příspěvky k dějinám starší české literatury*, pp. 203–213. Praha: ČSAV, 1958.
- Prokeš, Jaroslav. *Úřední antisemitismus a pražské ghetto v době pobělohorské*. Praha: N.p., 1929.
- Riedel, Karl Veit. *Der Bänkelsang. Wesen und Funktion einer Volkstümlichen Kunst*. Hamburg: Hävernich & Freudenthal, 1963.
- Rospoche, Massimo, Jeroen Salman, and Hannu Salmi, eds. *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)*. München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019.

- Smetana, Robert. "K problematice jevu české písňe kramářské." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 13–58. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. *České písňe kramářské*. Praha: František Borový, 1937.
- Schmidt, Leopold. "Niederösterreichische Flugblattlieder." *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 6 (1938), pp. 104–163.
- Schmidt, Leopold. *Volksgesang und Volkslied. Proben und Probleme*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1970.
- Sušil, František. *Moravské národní písňe*. Praha: Argo–Mladá fronta, 1998.
- Václavek, Bedřich, and Robert Smetana. *České světské písňe zlidovělé. Část 1. Písňe epické, Sv. 1*. Praha: ČSAV, 1955.
- Václavková, Jaroslava, ed. *Písňe roku 1848*. Praha: Svoboda, 1948.
- Vetterl, Karel. *Guberniální sbírka písni a instrumentální hudby z Moravy a Slezska z roku 1819*, ed. Olga Hrabalová. Strážnice: Ústav lidové kultury, 1994.
- Vochala, Joža. "Sociální problematika špalíčkové literatury na Těšínsku." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 195–201. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Volf, Josef. "Konfiskace písňe o robotě a Písňe nové o zlých ženách r. 1789." *Český lid* 22 (1913), pp. 65–68.
- Zíbrt, Čeněk. "Ondráš a Juráš." *Český lid* 32 (1932), pp. 18–22.

About the Author

Jakub Ivánek: Assistant Professor of Czech Literature in the Department of Czech Literature and Literary Criticism and Researcher at the Centre for Regional Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava, Czech Republic, <https://ff.osu.eu/jakub-ivanek/8855/>. Ivánek has co-edited three collections of essays and co-authored three books, most recently *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písňe na Moravě (1600–1850)* (2019). jakub.ivanek@osu.cz.

4. The Origins of Czech Broadside Ballads in Sixteenth-Century News Leaflets

Jan Malura

Abstract

Jan Malura deals with the origins of Czech secular broadside ballads. Malura argues that the earliest Czech broadside ballads display numerous links to other literary genres from urban society—so-called occasional poetry and especially news leaflets. Such seeds of Czech broadside ballads, he observes, did not originate from the lower classes (whether urban or rural) but were rather a product of the culture of both Czech- and German-speaking burghers (that is, the well-to-do bourgeoisie) during the early modern period. Only later were news and other topics of Czech broadside ballads targeted en masse to the poor, with a particular focus on the rural poor.

Keywords: Literary history, news leaflets, secular broadside ballads, occasional poetry, Humanism

Broadside ballads underwent dynamic development in the Bohemian Crown lands,¹ especially during the Baroque period (ca. 1620–1775), but

¹ The Bohemian Crown lands (or lands of the Bohemian Crown—*Země koruny české, Böh-mische Kronländer/Länder der böhmischen Krone*) is a state entity made up of various historic Central European provinces ruled over by the king of Bohemia. From 1526 to 1918 the kings of Bohemia were members of the Habsburg dynasty. The number and extent of the provinces forming this state entity fluctuated between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries according to the military and diplomatic fortunes of the Bohemian kings. In the sixteenth century the Bohemian Crown lands consisted of what is now Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. In the seventeenth century, Lusatia (now in eastern Germany) was lost to Saxony, and in the eighteenth century the majority of Silesia (now mainly in Poland, with small parts in the Czech Republic and Germany) was lost to Prussia. The population of the Bohemian Crown lands included Czechs (in Bohemia, Moravia, and a small part of Silesia), Germans, Poles (in Silesia), Lusatians, and Jews.

they remained popular long into the nineteenth century. Most research to date has focused on this extended period (seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries). When scholars have traced the emergence of broadside ballads as a cultural phenomenon in the Bohemian lands, they have regularly mentioned several broadside ballads from the sixteenth century but only passingly and on a very random basis.² My chapter focuses more concerted attention on these earliest printed broadside ballads; I seek to explore the broadside ballad's roots and emergence in the Bohemian lands within a broad context of contemporary cultural life as well as interrelated texts and developments in other languages and countries, specifically with a focus on "news leaflets." My initial thesis is that the earliest examples of the secular broadside ballad emerged during the late Humanist period, when the topics of news leaflets were adapted into the form of songs. These songs were published in various material forms, but most of them display the characteristics of broadside ballads as we know them from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries: they are song texts published on both sides of a single sheet of paper, later folded by the vendor or consumer into an octavo or sextodecimo size, containing a tune imprint and usually a simple (woodcut) illustration. Texts from this early phase of the broadside ballad (dating from around the end of the sixteenth century) are characterized by the instability of their format; they occur as broadsides (broadsheets) printed on either one or both sides, and they may be in quarto, octavo or sextodecimo size. Unlike later broadside ballads (from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries), some printings of these early examples contain musical notation and artistically sophisticated illustrations.

Leaflets

During the era of Late Humanism (1580–1620), Prague was a major European hub for information, particularly after Rudolf II's imperial court had relocated to the city. Numerous examples of news literature were produced in Czech, German, and Latin. As is demonstrated by recently published statistics on the output of printing shops (publishing in Czech and other languages), news leaflets were among the most frequent types of literary product in Prague during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, with a roughly equal

² The musicologist Jaroslav Pohanka has focused specifically on this topic; see Pohanka, "Historické kořeny."

proportion of these texts published in Czech and German.³ Such news print constitutes a relatively diverse group of printed texts, which in the German terminology fall into two distinct categories. The term *Flugblatt* refers to single-sheet leaflets printed on just one side, with texts reporting the news, and also regularly featuring illustrations. The term *Flugschrift* denotes news prints in a smaller format but consisting of more than one page; in many cases these news leaflets bear an illustration (a woodcut) on the title page. However, it should be noted that the usage of these terms is not entirely consistent. The term *fliegende Zeitungen* (literally “flying newspapers”) is also often applied to news leaflets.⁴ In this chapter I will not adopt such unstable German terminology; instead, given their similarities more than their differences, even accounting for audience, I will group all of these printed texts together under the umbrella term “news leaflets” (in Czech *letákové zpravodajství*, literally meaning “news reporting in leaflet form”).

Of course, printed news reports already appeared in the Bohemian Crown lands much earlier than the Late Humanist period. However, for a long time they remained a relatively marginal phenomenon, scarce in number and lacking stable genre characteristics. Reporting on current events took various forms, including public announcements, official texts (mostly proclamations), pamphlets, and descriptive reports. A noteworthy example of a Czech-language news leaflet from this older period is the text *O nešťastné příhodě* (About an unfortunate incident, 1541), written by the renowned Czech historiographer Václav Hájek z Libočan. The text gives an account of a fire that caused major damage to Prague Castle and the city's Malá Strana and Hradčany districts; it was published not only in a Czech but also in a German version.⁵

During the final third of the sixteenth century, a continuous tradition emerged involving the production of short prose texts printed as news reports specifically for a bourgeois readership. According to Jaroslav Kolár, this emergence culminated at the end of the sixteenth century with the stabilization of a suitable format for publication, usually a single quarto-format booklet, as well as the stabilization of the news genre; Kolár also notes that the emergence of a stable genre is reflected in the fact that these texts

3 Jelínková, “Žánry a témata,” p. 38.

4 For more on the definition of news leaflets and contemporary news reporting, see especially the German monographs Schwitalla, *Flugschrift*; and Harms and Schilling, *Das illustrierte Flugblatt*. For details of the situation in the Bohemian lands, see Stejskalová, *Novinové zpravodajství*, pp. 12–31; Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký*, pp. 30–32; and Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, pp. 634–636.

5 Stejskalová, *Novinové zpravodajství*, pp. 29–30; see also Voit, *Český knihtisk*, pp. 546, 547, 738.

became a target for satire and parody.⁶ Kolár uses the historical term *novina* (meaning “news” in the sense of new information) to denote this entire genre aimed at the bourgeoisie, but in fact, I argue, it is more appropriate to use the above-mentioned umbrella term “news leaflets,” instead of merely “news,” in order to preserve the distinction between the reported events (the news) and the texts themselves (printed in leaflets). Kolár’s brief work focuses mainly on news leaflets in terms of their genre characteristics.⁷ It does not take into consideration several other important aspects, such as the fact that German-language texts had an influence over the formal stabilization of news leaflets in the Bohemian lands; these German texts mainly came to Bohemia from the Holy Roman Empire, and they were widely translated into Czech (see below).

From the second half of the 1580s, the production of news leaflets in the Bohemian Crown lands began to flourish. Publication was dominated by a number of Prague printers, including Burian Valda, Jiří Nigrin (Černý), Daniel Sedlčanský, and Jan Schumann (Šuman). The largest collection of quarto-format news leaflets from the Bohemian lands is a unique *convolute* (a collection of texts from different origins gathered by the owner) in the Lobkowitz Library at Roudnice (call no. III 1b 12, today held at Nelahozeves). The following paragraphs will discuss the main topics covered by these leaflets, the characteristic features of the texts and the printings, and the broader context of similar texts in other languages. A detailed examination of these issues is of key importance for understanding the emergence of broadside ballads during this early period.⁸

Frequent topics of news leaflets included unusual, shocking events such as monstrous births—a popular topic in Western printed broadside ballads and other printed texts as well. The leaflet *Hrozný zázračný porod* (A terrible miraculous birth), with a wood engraving of a terrifying creature on its title page, describes how a woman “named Katruše, instead of a child, bore a live monster such as that depicted here, with great pain and sorrow”

6 Kolár, “Novina,” pp. 61–64.

7 A prose text with a title (headline) intended to grab readers’ attention, giving a detailed account of an event and usually also including a moralistic commentary.

8 This chapter draws on a large sample of leaflets from the period under investigation (especially from the above-mentioned “convolute” at the Lobkowitz Library). Due to space constraints, the list of references only includes the printed texts that I quote directly or that are crucial for the content of the chapter. Some prints are identifiable solely by their title and year of publication; the titles are mainly given in their longer form in order to provide an idea of the topic and intended function of the leaflet. I take the same approach when discussing the broadside ballads in the second part of the chapter. In important cases, I also note the printed format in which the broadside ballads were produced.

(“jménem Katruše místo dítěte takovou obludu, jakž ted' vymalována jest, živou na svět s velikou bolestí a žalostí [...] porodila”).⁹ Other unusual events included the discovery of bizarre animals. A broadside published by the Prague printer Jiří Nigrin in 1588 gives an account of the catching of a fish which bore inexplicable inscriptions on its sides; the news print—which was translated in its entirety from a German version—also features an illustration of the creature.¹⁰

Other frequent topics of news leaflets, as in the West, included unusual celestial events (the discovery of a comet, a solar or lunar eclipse, a meteorite fall, etc.). Many of these are not merely cheap prints intended for mass consumption by a sensation-hungry public, but are ambitious artefacts of printing from the perspective of both their content and their form (typography).¹¹ An example of such a leaflet is a report on a sighting of a comet in 1577, written by Petr Codicillus z Tulechova (a Humanist, mathematician, and the rector of Prague University); the leaflet features a hand-coloured woodcut probably from the workshop of Michael Peterle the Elder. The full title of the leaflet—*O hrozně a předivně kometě* (About a terrible and most strange comet)—shows that the appearance of this celestial body was interpreted as a warning from God and a portent of future punishments for human sins; the same event was also reported by leaflets printed in German.¹²

Less frequent topics of news leaflets, again as in Western popular literature, included natural disasters such as floods, hailstorms, droughts, violent storms, earthquakes and so on. A broadside from Olomouc that has survived in fragmentary form is entitled *Pravdivá a strašlivá novina o veliké povodni, kteráž se stala v tomto Markrabství moravském* (The true and terrible news of a large flood which occurred in the Margraviate of Moravia); featuring a hand-coloured woodcut illustration, the leaflet gives an account of destructive floods that hit the Prostějov and Šumperk areas in 1591. Researchers today consider this a noteworthy (albeit not entirely credible) source on historical hydrology and meteorology.¹³

9 *Hrozný zázračný porod, kterýž se stal [...] v městě Varadínu [...]*, 1599, Lobkowiczská knihovna, call no. III Ib 12/52.

10 For more details, see Stejskalová, *Novinové zpravodajství*, p. 19; the title page with the woodcut are reproduced in Kneidl, *Česká lidová grafika*, p. 87.

11 On leaflets as an underused source of insights into the history of the natural sciences, see Harms and Schilling, *Das illustrierte Flugblatt*, pp. 15–16.

12 For more details, see Kneidl, *Česká lidová grafika*, pp. 68–69; Storchová, *Řád přírody, řád společnosti*, p. 287.

13 Munzar et al., “Povodně,” pp. 26–28.

The “convolute” at the Lobkowicz Library shows that topics related to demonology were also addressed by leaflets; most of these were adapted into Czech from German-language originals. An original German printed text from Frankfurt an der Oder became the Czech printing *Hrozná, strašlivá a neslýchaná novina* (Terrible, dreadful and unheard-of news), which recounts how in Pomerania “the devil and evil spirits [...] possessed numerous people for our iniquity” (“dábel a zlí duchové [...] pro nepravosti naše množství lidí posedli”).¹⁴ The scarce examples of original Czech leaflets on demonological topics include *Vyznání pravdivé Alžběty rodem z města Pardubic, děvečky služebné* (The true confession of Alžběta, a servant girl from the city of Pardubice, 1596); this tale, about a girl who finds herself in hell, is ultimately interpreted as a dream, and it incorporates a lengthy conclusion containing moral instructions aimed at various social groups.¹⁵ Strongly moralizing elements at the beginning and end of a text were a feature of numerous leaflets from the Late Humanist era. This confirms Jaroslav Kolár’s thesis that the news report sometimes performed the function of “an exemplum in a concise religious and moralistic deliberation”—just as they did in the West.¹⁶

We should also mention leaflets reporting criminal acts, especially the deeds of mass murderers. A typical example is *Strašlivá a hrozná novina o jednom nešlechtném mordýři, jménem Krystman* (The dreadful and terrible news about one ignoble murderer named Krystman). A note on the title page indicates the origin and main purpose of this print: “kterážto novina byla prvé v německé řeči [...] vtištěna. Nyní pak všechněm dobrým lidem k vejstraze a zlým k polepšení na česko jest přeložená” (“a report which was first printed in the German language. Now, it is presented in Czech to all good people for purposes of warning and to bad people for purposes of betterment”).¹⁷ However, the text of the leaflet actually eschews explicit moralizing; the ethical warning is implicitly contained within the story itself.

The most frequent topic of news leaflets during the sixteenth century appears to have been the Ottoman wars. The era of Late Humanism (1580–1620) in the Bohemian Crown lands largely coincided with the so-called Long Turkish War, and Prague—where the imperial court was based at the

14 *Hrozná, strašlivá a neslýchaná novina o velikém trestání [...]*, 1590, Lobkowiczská knihovna, call no. III Ib 12/25.

15 For more details, see Kneidl, *Česká lidová grafika*, p. 84.

16 Kolár, “Novina,” p. 63. For English broadside ballads, pamphlets, and chapbooks that were characterized by the same kind of “news,” see the chapter by Fumerton.

17 *Strašlivá a hrozná novina o jednom nešlechtném mordýři, jménem Krystman [...]*, 1582, Lobkowiczská knihovna, call no. III Ib 12/3.

time—became an important centre of war reporting, which also involved the dissemination of anti-Turkish war propaganda.¹⁸ The position of Sigismund Báthory—the Prince of Transylvania, who ruled over lands at the border between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire—is the subject of the leaflet *Krátká zpráva, co se s knížetem Zigmundem Bathory* (A short report on the situation of Prince Sigismund Báthory). The long title page informs us in detail of how the news about Báthory was disseminated: “Toto sepsání jest 24. dne měsíce dubna léta 1595 od sedmihradského kurýra v latinské řeči do Prahy přineseno” (“This account was brought to Prague in Latin by a Transylvanian messenger on the 24th day of April in the year 1595”).¹⁹ In exceptional cases, the prose text of a leaflet is accompanied by a song; an example is “Potěšitedlná novina, kterak Pán Bůh [...] vítězství dáti ráčil v Bělehradu” (“Welcome news of how the Lord [...] has seen fit to bestow victory in Belgrade,” 1594), which describes the Habsburg army’s triumph over the Turks and includes an additional component entitled “Píseň o Turku” (“A song about the Turk” [meaning all Turks]). However, the printing is not a narrative song recounting the news; it is merely a short song of prayer.²⁰

Most prose leaflets about the ongoing military situation were produced in order to celebrate a victory and create a positive image of the Habsburg military commanders.²¹ Failures in the Habsburg’s war against the Turks—and especially the always entertaining topic of public executions for such failures—are represented in *Pravdivé a kratičké vypsání celého právního ortele, kterýž nad Ferdinandem hrabětem z Hardeku [...] a nad Mikulášem Perlinem de Forli [...] vypovědín byl* (A true and very brief account of the entire legal verdict that was pronounced over Ferdinand, Count of Hardegg [...] and over Nicholas Perlin de Forli, 1595). The leaflet, printed in Litomyšl by Andreas Graudenc, is also known in a German version; it tells of the fate of two Austrian commanders who, it was alleged, had treacherously surrendered the fortress of Raab (Győr) to the Turks.²²

Another highly specific and sizeable group of leaflets concerns royal and imperial rituals and festivities—the election, *adventus regis* (ceremonial arrival), and coronation of a king or an emperor. The election of Frederick of the Palatinate to the Bohemian throne in 1619, for instance, was

18 On leaflets as an important medium in early modern politics, see Harms and Schilling, *Das illustrierte Flugblatt*, pp. 178–288.

19 *Krátká zpráva*, 1595, Lobkowiczská knihovna, call no. III Ib 12/20.

20 Novotný, *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*, pp. 7–8.

21 Rataj, “Turecká hrozba,” p. 246.

22 For more details, see Hubková, “K podobám a rolím,” pp. 199–200.



Figure 15. A news song about a Turkish atrocity. *Naříkání plačtivé aneb Novina v píseň uvedená [...]*, [ca. 1601–1620], MZK, sign. ST1-0481.588, A.

accompanied by a major literary campaign. The Bohemian estates had to defend their choice to the whole of Europe, and one of the communication channels they used was the publication of printed leaflets and pamphlets; the same form of disseminating such news was also used by their Habsburg opponents (giving rise to what became known as the Pamphlet War). This issue has already been widely researched,²³ so I will not deal with it further in this chapter.

There is a wealth of evidence demonstrating that news leaflets were widely read and followed during this period. It is particularly noteworthy how important they were as a source for contemporary chroniclers—both in manuscript notes (the collections of Marek Bydžovský z Florentina) and in officially printed works of historiography: for example, Bartoloměj Paprocký z Hlohova, in the most important part of *Diadochos* (dealing with

23 Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký*.

events in the Kingdom of Hungary), gives an account of the Turkish wars drawing on contemporary news leaflets.

In summary, news leaflets give a detailed account of events, localize those events, and present factual information, numerical data, and a large quantity of specific details.²⁴ These printed texts usually bear titles such as *Novina pravdivá a strašlivá* (True and terrible news), *Neue Zeitungen* (New tidings), *Wahrhaftige Neue Zeitungen* (True new tidings), and similar; it was also standard practice for a single piece of news to be printed by several different printing houses.²⁵ These printings almost always contain an introductory illustration, mostly in the form of a wood engraving. Occasionally they attempt a more sophisticated form of typographic design and aim for a more erudite presentation of the topic. Besides their function of reporting events, they furthermore typically attempt to grab the reader's attention with attractive and sometimes sensational messages. For instance, they frequently interpret the events as warnings or punishments for the moral failures of contemporary society, or as harbingers of major political or religious changes, disasters, and catastrophes (wars, religious schisms, etc.). During the Late Humanist era, news leaflets of this kind were similar throughout Central Europe. Slovenian printed texts from Ljubljana, for example, cover a similar spectrum of topics, though they are less numerous, and they were not printed in the vernacular but in German or Latin, thus aiming at a more elite, educated audience.²⁶

Broadside Ballads

From the end of the sixteenth century onwards, there was an increasingly frequent tendency to publish printed songs, which narrated essentially the same events and performed similar functions as news leaflets. Although their material form had not yet become stabilized, they were usually printed in a form corresponding with that of broadside ballads.²⁷ The printing format used for these songs was not entirely the same as the format used for news leaflets. Large single-page broadsides devoted to just one song were relatively

24 For more particulars, see Kolár, "Novina," p. 62.

25 Jelínková, "Erstlich gedruckt."

26 Klobčar, "The Cultural Importance," pp. 308–310.

27 I use the term "broadside ballad" to denote a song printed on both sides of a sheet of paper, folded and cut up by the producer or the consumer, issued in a relatively small format (octavo, duodecimo, sextodecimo). I use the word "song" in its usual meaning. A song denotes a verse text that is written to be sung; it is thus a superordinate category to the broadside ballad.

rare (though examples can be found, see below); more frequent formats were single printed sheets that were folded and cut by the seller (or, in some cases, the consumer), into quarto and octavo gatherings (and sometimes even tiny sextodecimos). These small formats promoted pocketing of them but limited the options for including detailed illustrations, such as engravings, so the printings of broadside ballads mostly contain relatively simple, schematic illustrations in the form of woodcuts. These printings began to be published in an attempt to reduce the cost of the printing process and to maximize the potential for dissemination.

As was also the case with news leaflets, broadside ballads, which appeared in the Late Humanist era, continued the previous song tradition. Both secular and religious songs were published as separate texts throughout the sixteenth century. Even in this early phase of development, with regard to their textual features these songs display many typical features of later broadside ballads. This tradition dates back to the publication of two small musical scores by the renowned Prague printer Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova. These broadside ballads relate the stories of two important political events—a religious revolt in Prague (“O pohnutí pražském” [“About the Prague revolt”], 1525, in octavo format) and the Battle of Mohács, which claimed the life of Louis II of Hungary (“O nešťastné bitvě a porážce” [“On an unfortunate battle and defeat”], 1526, also in quarto format).²⁸

Broadside ballads from the sixteenth century were also published about the plague, such as those composed by Jan Táborský z Ahornperka—an illuminator, astronomer, occasional poet, and composer. These sung verses not only express the fear of this deadly disease but also attempt to provide spiritual comfort. They include “Písnička k času mornímu” (“A song for a time of plague”), published in 1562 by the Prague printer Jan Had in sextodecimo format, with an illustration on the title page showing the figure of Death portrayed as the Grim Reaper holding a scythe. A similar example is a somewhat longer octavo printing entitled “Písničky k času mornímu velmi potřebné” (“Songs greatly needed in a time of plague”), which contains several of Táborský’s plague songs accompanied by advice on how to behave when infected. The compilation of these sung verses was published during a bout of plague that hit the Bohemian Crown lands at some point after 1568; it was produced at the workshop of Jiří Jakubův Dačický.

Dačický was a Prague printer who specialized largely in broadside ballads. Dačický’s publications include verses for singing on demonological

²⁸ For more on both printed texts (including their musical elements), see Pohanka, “Historické kořeny,” p. 91.

topics, though such were relatively rare in broadside ballads at the time.²⁹ In contrast with prose leaflets, songs also dealt only rarely with natural disasters and celestial events. One of the few examples of such verses for singing was composed by Václav Zelotýn z Krásné Hory, a university professor and the author of astrological calendars. This song was published by the above-mentioned printer, Michael Peterle, as a broadside folio, printed on one side, with a hand-coloured woodcut (resembling very much broadside ballads typical of late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England). It tells of a star in the constellation of Cassiopeia which suddenly became visible; the revelation is presented already in the title not only as an event to be reported but also as a warning: “Pobožné a potřebné napomenutí a uvažování” (“A devout and necessary admonition and contemplation,” 1572).³⁰

Unfortunate occurrences from everyday life were a more frequent topic of broadside ballad printed during this period. Jiří Jakubův Dačický printed a broadsheet folio, printed in both sides, with the song “Píseň o hromobitné bouři a zapálení makovice na věži kostelní města Velvar” (“Song about a hailstorm and a fire in the dome of a church in the town of Velvary,” 1581), whose author was the Utraquist priest Jan Ledecký. Compositions like Ledecký’s not only recounted stories from the Bohemian lands but also from neighbouring countries. One, about a wedding in the Thuringian city of Erfurt, was translated from a German original (as is mentioned in the text itself). This broadside ballad tells how a house collapsed during wedding celebrations, with tragic consequences. It has survived as a sextodecimo-size printing; although the broadside ballad has only been preserved in fragmentary form, it is nevertheless evident that moral exhortation formed an integral part of the text.³¹

A noteworthy example of a broadside ballad narrating a disastrous event in the Bohemian Crown lands has survived in a quarto print entitled “O Jitčíně” (“About [the town of] Jitčín,” 1620). The song was written by the renowned Bohemian Late Humanist author Šimon Lomnický z Budče. The tune is presented as a musical score, with an incipit (the first two lines of the verse) phrased in a typical broadside ballad call to its audience: “Poslouchejte o novině, která se stala v Jitčíně” (“Hear about news that has

29 Kneidl, *Česká lidová grafika*, pp. 85, reproduces the title page of an undated song entitled “Žalostná i hrozná novina o jednom pacholátku, narozeném v městě Vrchlabí” (“Woeful and terrible news about a boy born in the town of Vrchlabí”); the boy was consumed with “hell fire” (“pekelným ohněm”) for the sins of his parents.

30 Cf. Kneidl, *Česká lidová grafika*, pp. 66–67.

31 *Píseň nová [...] o smutné svatbě v městě Erfurtu*, [1609–1613], Muzeum stříbra v Kutné Hoře (Museum of Silver in Kutná Hora), call no. KN 1331.

happened in Jitčín”). The text narrates the story of a destructive explosion at a chateau in the East Bohemian town of Jičín. The disaster was rooted in a dispute over property involving two wealthy noblewomen, the Smiřický sisters. The dispute was to be adjudicated by a royal commission featuring many important Bohemian lords. However, while the commission was present at the chateau, huge quantities of stored gunpowder caught fire (apparently an accident), causing an explosion which claimed 41 lives—including many members of the nobility. This lengthy broadside ballad represents a form of news reporting; it gives very detailed information on the events, focusing not only on the main figures at the heart of the tragedy but also on the various—often remarkable—circumstances surrounding the explosion:

Takový ten prudký oheň
nebyl všem zároveň škoden,
neb dvě pacholat vyhodil
a hrubě jim neuškodil.

This fierce fire
did not harm everybody,
for it flung up two boys
and did not harm them greatly.

Jedno na rynku zůstalo
a druhý se pak dostalo
na jiný dům přes ulici,
o pomoc tam volající.

One remained in the square
and the other found himself
on another house across the street,
calling for help from there.

Také mládence jednoho
vyhodilo z domu toho,
on se na nohy postavil,
běžel pryč, se nezastavil.

Also one youth
was flung out of that house,
he stood up,
ran away without stopping.

The narrative takes the form of four-verse stanzas with rhyming couplets, frequently interrupted by passages of moralistic commentary. The song also seeks to evoke strong emotions in the audience:

mát pohnout lidi k lítosti,
že vylíjí slzy dosti³²

it should move people to pity,
so they will shed many tears

A sign of the broadside ballad's notoriety is the fact that the same event was also recounted in the German prose leaflet *Kurtzer doch gründlicher*

32 Lomnický, *O Jitčíně, aneb o převelmi smutné a žalostivé příhodě [...]*, 1620, B3r. NK, call no. 54 D 46, přív.

Bericht (A short but thorough report), which Lomnický may possibly have used as a source of information, though the two texts display somewhat different attitudes to the event.³³

As evident in the examples above, news leaflets played an influential role as the source material for works of contemporary historiography—and the same can be said about their influence on broadside ballads in the Late Humanist era. And at the same time, historical broadside ballads can serve as a source for works of historiography.

Lomnický's song about the explosion in Jičín, for example, was used as a source by Pavel Skála ze Zhoře in his *Historie církevní* (History of the Church). When recounting the events of early 1620, the historian Skála quotes several stanzas from the song, which interpret this regional occurrence as a harbinger of greater catastrophes to come. Skála also adds his own commentary, shaped by his status as an exiled Protestant after the Battle of White Mountain: "ne jen jediný dům, ne jen jediné město, alebrž celé království do gruntu kleslo, stavové pak podobojí ne do povětří, ale mezi mnohé národy téměř všickni rozplašeni a z vlasti své vyvrženi jsou" ("not just one house, not just one town, but the entire kingdom sank to the bottom; the estates under both kings were not cast up into the air, but almost all of them were cast out of their homeland and scattered among many nations").³⁴

Since royal and imperial festivities were among the most important events in this era—including coronations and *adventus regis* (the ceremonial arrival of a monarch in a city)—they also served as subject matter not only for news leaflets but also for many broadside ballads. Texts about royal and imperial festivities provide us with clear indications of the strong influence of news leaflets on broadside ballads, which were often composed using prose texts as the source material. Sixt Palma Močidlanský published the broadside ballad "Píseň o slavném příjezdu" ("Song about a glorious adventus"), which describes the ceremonial arrival of the Habsburg Emperor Matthias of Austria and his wife, Anna of Tyrol, in Prague (1611). The quarto-format text gives a factual description of the events featuring numerous details; the main part of the broadside ballad draws directly from a prose report on the *adventus regis* published by the emperor's court

33 *Kurtzer doch gründlicher Bericht* [...], 1620, KVHU, call no. IIST B 6388. A different German leaflet on the same topic is printed together with Lomnický's song in Tichá, "Příspěvek," pp. 147–158.

34 Polišenský and Petrů, *Historie*, p. 251. On the Battle of White Mountain, see the chapter by Ivánek.

historiographer (and a Prague printer) Jiří Závěta (“Vypsání slavného Matyáše” [“An account of the glorious Matthias”], 1611). Palma’s broadside ballads often consist of a mere formal transformation of the prose text into octosyllabic verses in rhyming couplets.³⁵ The broadside ballad is not the first verse composition of this type in the Czech language—there are several older songs (both in manuscript and print) narrating royal and imperial festivities—though it was not until the Late Humanist era that such songs crystallized into a coherent tradition of narrative songs influenced by prosaic leaflets on imperial festivities. Later examples include a broadside ballad by Kryštof Megander Postoloprtský giving an account of festivities featuring Frederick of the Palatinate (“Písnička o šťastném a slavném příjezdu a korunování” [Song about the joyful and glorious adventus and coronation], 1619, quarto print) and compositions by the already-mentioned Šimon Lomnický z Budče.

The coronation of the new king, Frederick of the Palatinate, and the related festivities, form the subject matter for two broadside ballads by Lomnický, published separately in the quarto format that was so frequently used for his compositions. “Korunování aneb Píseň prostá slavného procesu” (“The coronation or a simple song about the famous process”) is set to the melody of the Protestant Advent hymn “Přišel jest k nám obr silný” (“A strong giant has come to us”); even in its use of this melody, the text expresses the great sense of expectation that preceded the arrival of the new king. The verses give a detailed account of the coronation ritual held at the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. The song “Sedlské vítání” (“A peasant welcome”) expresses the joy felt on the king’s arrival in Prague; the author styles himself as a spokesman for the common people and speaks directly to the king, acquainting him with the terrible state of the Bohemian lands (similar laments on the plight of the Kingdom of Bohemia were widespread in both Czech and Latin poetry at the time). It is evident that Lomnický intended his song to serve a political (propagandistic) function; furthering this goal, the song lists the reasons for removing the Habsburg monarch from the throne. In this regard, as in many others, the broadside ballad was undoubtedly influenced by contemporary news leaflets agitating in favour of Frederick.³⁶ The text also cites the legendary Sibyl’s prophecy of the coming of a peace-making king:

35 For more details, see Malura and Vaculínová, “Oslava Matyáše,” pp. 810–811.

36 Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký*, pp. 118. Frederick of the Palatinate and his English wife were also supported in England by a strong literary campaign taking the form of songs and pamphlets; Miller, *Falcký mýtus*.

Sybila to předzvěděla,
 na hvězdách předpověděla,
 Čechové jsouc myslí stálé,
 budou mít Fridricha krále.³⁷

Sibyl prophesized this,
 foresaw it in the stars,
 the Bohemians, of constant mind,
 will have Frederick as their king.

It is noteworthy that both the above-mentioned broadside ballads were immediately translated into German; the translations (which closely correspond with the Czech source texts) are found in the anonymous printed work “Zwey böhmische Lieder verdeutscht” (“Two Bohemian songs made into German,” 1619).

War reporting was also a feature of broadside ballads in the Late Humanist era. However, there are very few broadside ballads on the Turkish wars; it appears that prose leaflets were sufficient to inform people about battles against the Ottoman Empire. One composition that became well-known, however, was “Píseň o dobývání pevnosti Kanýže” (“Song about the conquest of the fort of Kanizsa,” 1602), which was translated by the Sixt Palma Močidlanský from the German song “Ein neu Lied von Abzug Canischa” (“A new song about the retreat from Kanizsa,” 1601). The narrative recounts the story of the Turks’ conquest of the Hungarian fortress at Nagykanizsa and the unsuccessful attempt to recapture the bulwark by forces under Ferdinand of Styria (later Emperor Ferdinand II). The text represents a unique example of a Czech political song of its period. Indeed, it was viewed as a subversive caricature of Ferdinand, and it was the main reason for the author’s, Sixt Palma’s, arrest and investigation.³⁸ This entire affair shows that news songs and news leaflets were capable of participating in and provoking vehement political conflicts, which can be further seen in the many cases of official censorship, self-censorship, and outright persecution by authorities of their makers.³⁹

Towards the end of the Late Humanist era, war reporting shifted its focus to other topics, though it continued to perform the function of propaganda. Texts were naturally no longer concerned with the war against the Turks, but instead focused on the so-called Bohemian War—the first phase of the Thirty Years’ War. Broadside ballads published in Czech and (even more frequently) German gave accounts of major milestones in Bohemian history—such as the Prague defenestration of 1618 or the Battle of White

37 Lomnický, *Sedlské vítání, aneb Prostá a krátká písnička* [...], 1619, B2v, NK, call no. 54J 20 557.

38 On Palma’s persecution, see Škarka, “Ze zápasů,” pp. 286–322, and Šimeček, *Počátky novinovéhoho*, pp. 69–70.

39 See also Pohanka, “Historické kořeny,” pp. 92, 96.

Mountain. Among these numerous compositions stands out “Die Prager Schlacht” (“The Battle of Prague,” 1620), which was printed in the sextodecimo format that became so typical of Baroque (ca. 1620–1775) broadside ballads. The text takes the form of a dialogue in which a soldier for the Bohemian estates, who could not take part in the Battle of White Mountain due to injury, converses with a Bavarian soldier fighting for the emperor.⁴⁰

The Battle of White Mountain—and the Bohemian War as a whole—was also the subject of Lomnický’s broadside ballad “Píseň o žalostivé zkáze a zplundrování země České” (“A song about the deplorable destruction and plundering of the land of Bohemia,” 1620); here the devastation of the war is attributed to celestial events. The author takes a distanced view of these events: though the text is permeated with a somewhat subjective tone, it also functions as a warning—a typical feature of both broadside ballads and news leaflets.

Conclusion

Broadside ballads produced during this early period address essentially the same topics as prose leaflets—some more frequently, others less frequently. However, the broadside ballads of the Late Humanist era also display numerous links to other literary genres from urban society—primarily so-called occasional poetry. This term denotes prints with simple typography (usually in broadsheet format) containing short poetic texts, which were particularly common in Central European Latin Humanist literature. These poems took as their subject specific situations from everyday life, such as weddings or funerals of well-known figures, but also events of war and natural disasters (floods, solar eclipses, etc.). Numerous examples of occasional poetry were written in the Czech language during the Late Humanist period. However, unlike their Latin counterparts, these Czech texts usually took the form of broadside ballads. The type of text represented by Lomnický’s “O Jitčíně” (“About Jitčín”), for example, can in fact be categorized as occasional poetry in the form of a broadside ballad. Indeed, this type of text is a typical feature of Lomnický’s work.⁴¹

These occasional compositions about current affairs can be viewed as direct predecessors to the secular broadside ballads that emerged later.

40 For a reproduction of the title page and other information on the song, see Hubková, *Fridrich Falcký*, pp. 232, 525, 824.

41 Rudovský, “Příležitostné písně.”

During the Late Humanist era, the broadside ballad did not yet regularly exist in the small octavo or sextodecimo formats that became typical in the Baroque era (ca. 1620–1775); in fact, in some cases they were quite elaborate works of printing, with high-quality illustrations. They also frequently contained full musical scores, not merely references to the melody to which the words were to be sung (a practice which became the norm in Baroque broadside ballads). However, in terms of textual features, the songs of Lomnický, Sixt Palma, and other occasional poets of the Late Humanist era essentially represent a type of text that is identical to Baroque broadside ballads. They feature simple verse forms and a plain-speaking style; they are also quite lengthy, incorporating numerous narrative details as well as many moralistic passages.⁴²

It is evident from this chapter that broadside ballads emerged gradually during the course of the century, but only crystallized into a stable type of publication and genre during the Late Humanist era, in close conjunction with contemporary news leaflets. Compared with other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Bohemian lands saw a relatively early emergence of a strong and coherent tradition of broadside ballads. A similar process can be traced in other parts of the Monarchy, such as Hungary or Slovenia, though the phenomenon there occurred much later, during the eighteenth century.⁴³ The emergence of the Bohemian broadside ballad phenomenon was a direct consequence of the variegated literary life of the bourgeoisie during the Late Humanist era; especially in Prague, a sizeable audience emerged among this social class, who can be termed the “broader public” (a social group whose members possessed a certain level of education and took an interest in current affairs, somewhat akin to the bourgeois “public sphere” described by Jürgen Habermas as occurring in eighteenth-century London).⁴⁴ The broadside ballad thus did not originate from the lower (urban or rural)

42 Finally, there is also an additional and another important context that, given my focus on recovering the secular broadside ballad’s roots in early news leaflets, I have not had the time and space to address in full, but which should not be overlooked: the connection of broadside ballads to religious songs and hymnals. Already in the sixteenth century, we find examples of religious lyric and epic poetry published as separate prints (often excerpted from hymnals), as well as small-scale song cycles consisting of several kinds of compositions. This type of religious song later also became very common in Baroque chapbooks. See the chapter by Ivánek.

43 Mikos and Csörsz, “Cheap Print”; Klobčar, “The Cultural Importance.”

44 Unfortunately, there is no reliable information about the period under investigation with regard to how songs and leaflets were disseminated in the Bohemian Crown lands; information of this type is available, however, about Italy, especially Venice (see Carnelos, “Cheap Printing”). For his famed articulation of the “public sphere” in eighteenth-century London, see Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

classes; it was a product of the culture of both Czech- and German-speaking burghers during the early modern period. It was not until the Baroque era that the broadside ballad became a phenomenon on a mass scale, with wide popularity and anonymous authorship.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Hrozná, strašlivá a neslychaná novina o velikém trestání a dopuštění Božském, kteréž se blíž Pomorské země v městě Fridberku [...] přihodilo a co se posavad tam děje [...]. Praha: Mikuláš Pštros, 1590. LKN, III Ib 12/25.

Hrozný zázračný porod, kterýž se stal v Horních Uhřích v městě Varadínu, léta pomínulého 1598. Praha: Burian Valda, 1599. LKN, III Ib 12/52.

Krátká zpráva, co se s knížetem Zigmundem Bathory v sedmihradské zemi zběhlo, kterak jat a tureckému císaři dodán býti měl [...]. Praha: Burian Valda, 1595. LKN, III Ib 12/20.

Kurtzer doch gründlicher Bericht, welcher massen im Königreich Böhmen, das Schloss Gytschin [...] durch einen sonderbaren Unfall, bey und offentzündung etlicher Tonnen Büchsen Pulvers, unversehens zersprengt. N.p.: N.p., 1620. KVHU, IIST B 6388.

Lomnický z Budče, Šimon. *O Jitčíně, aneb o převelmi smutné a žalostivé příhodě, která se stala na lidech i statku od zapáleného prachu v témž městě Jitčíně nad Cidlinou [...].* First lines: *Poslouchejte o novíně, která se stala v Jitčíně.* Tune imprint: *Ach můj smutku, má žalosti.* Praha: Daniel Karolides, 1620. NK 54 D 46.přív.

Lomnický z Budče, Šimon. *Sedlské vítání, aneb Prostá a krátká písnička o osvíceném [...] panu Fridrichovi voleném králi českém, s lamentem o křivdách, které se v Čechách mnohým chudým lidem dály, s vinšem novému králi [...].* First lines: *Vítej náš králi Fridřiše.* Tunes imprint: *V moci v moudrosti dobrého; Já jsem hříšný k tomu se znám; Obecní notou.* Praha: Daniel Karolides, 1619. NK 54 J 20 557.

Novina pravdivá, co se jest při jedné svatbě strašlivého přihodilo v Prusích pod správou vůdce v sedlském dvoře [...]. Praha: Mikuláš Pštros, 1590. LKN, III Ib 12/4.

Píseň nová [...] o smutné svatbě v městě Erfurtu, v duryšské krajině. First lines: *Ach křesťanský člověče.* Tune imprint: *Ach můj smutku.* Prague: Kašpar Kargesius, [1609–1613]. MSKH, KN 1331.

Strašlivá a hrozná novina o jednom nešlechtném mordýři, jménem Krystman, kterýž ve třinácti letech devět set a šedesácty čtyry mordy učinil [...]. Praha: Burian Valda, 1582. LKN, III Ib 12/3.

Secondary Sources

- Carnelos, Laura. "Cheap Printing and Street Sellers in Early Modern Italy." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 324–353. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1962.
- Harms, Wolfgang, and Michael Schilling. *Das illustrierte Flugblatt der frühen Neuzeit. Traditionen, Wirkungen, Kontexte*. Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2008.
- Hubková, Jana. *Fridrich Falcký v zrcadle letákové publicistiky. Letáky jako pramen k vývoji a vnímání české otázky v letech 1619–1632*. Praha: FF UK, 2010.
- Hubková, Jana. "K podobám a rolím letákové publicistiky 16. a 17. století věnované problematice vztahů mezi Turky a křesťany." *Historie—Otázky—Problémy* 6, no. 2 (2014), pp. 197–210.
- Jelínková, Andrea. "Erstlich gedruckt zu Prag—k přetiskování bohemikálních zpravodajských tisků 16. a začátku 17. století." In *Jakž lidé hodnověrní zpravu činí. Formy písemné komunikace v raném novověku*, ed. Marta Hradilová and Marie Tošnerová, pp. 169–189. Praha: Masarykův ústav & Archiv AV ČR, 2018.
- Jelínková, Andrea. "Žánry a témata v produkci českých tiskáren 16. století. Nové možnosti zkoumání." *Knihy a dějiny* 25, no. 1–2 (2018), pp. 23–46.
- Klobčar, Marija. "The Cultural Importance of Broadside Songs in Slovenia." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 308–323. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Kneidl, Pravoslav. *Česká lidová grafika v ilustracích novin, letáků a písniček*. Praha: Odeon, 1983.
- Kolár, Jaroslav. "Novina v české literatuře 16. století." In *Sondy. Marginálie k historickému myšlení o české literatuře*, ed. Jitka Uhdeová, pp. 59–68. Brno: Atlantis, 2007.
- Malura, Jan, and Marta Vaculínová. "Oslava Matyáše Habsburského v bohemikální literatuře pozdního humanismu." *Česká literatura* 67, no. 6 (2019), pp. 792–826.
- Mikos, Éva, and Rumen István Csörsz. "Cheap Print in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Hungary." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 274–306. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Miller, Jaroslav. *Falcký mýtus. Fridrich V. a obraz české války v rané Stuartovské Anglii*. Praha: Argo, 2004.
- Munzar, Jan, Stanislav Ondráček, and Lubor Kysučan. "Povodně v českých zemích v 16.–18. století ve světle starých tisků." *Knihy a dějiny* 22, no. 1–2 (2015), pp. 23–39.

- Novotný, Miloslav, ed. *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1940.
- Pohanka, Jaroslav. "Historické kořeny české kramářské písně." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 89–96. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Polišenský, Josef, and Eduard Petrů, eds. *Historie o válce české 1618–1620. Výbor historického spisování Ondřeje z Habernfeldu a Pavla Skály ze Zhoře*. Prague: SNKLU, 1964.
- Rataj, Tomáš. "Turecká hrozba a raně novověké zpravodajství v předběllohorských Čechách." In *Národnostní skupiny, menšiny a cizinci ve městech Praha—město zpráva a zpravodajství*, ed. Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka, and Jiří Pešek, pp. 233–261. Praha: Scriptorium, 2001.
- Rudovský, Martin. "Příležitostně písně Šimona Lomnického z Budče." *Hudební věda* 46, no. 4 (2009), pp. 355–374.
- Schwitalla, Johannes. *Flugschrift*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999.
- Stejskalová, Eva. *Novinové zpravodajství a noviny v Čechách od 17. století do roku 1740*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015.
- Storchová, Lucie. *Řád přírody, řád společnosti. Adaptace melanchthonismu v českých zemích v polovině 16. století*. Dolní Břežany: Scriptorium, 2021.
- Šimeček, Zdeněk. *Počátky novinového zpravodajství. Do devadesátých let 18. století*. Brno: Matice moravská, 2011.
- Škarka, Antonín. "Ze zápasů nekatolického tisku a protireformaci." *Český časopis historický* 42, no. 2, 3–4 (1936), pp. 286–322, 484–520.
- Tichá, Zdeňka. "Příspěvek k poznání příležitostné tvorby 17. století." *Časopis Matice moravské* 77, no. 1–2 (1958), pp. 140–158.
- Voit, Petr. *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí II*. Prague: Academia, 2017.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*, 2nd ed. Prague: Libri–Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, 2008.

Abbreviations

- KVHU—Knihovna Vojenského historického ústavu (Military History Institute Prague Library)
- LKN—Lobkowiczská knihovna Nelahozeves (Lobkowicz Library in Nelahozeves)
- MSKH—Muzeum stříbra v Kutné Hoře (Museum of Silver in Kutná Hora)
- MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
- NK—Národní knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic)

About the Author

Jan Malura: Full Professor of Czech Literature at the Department of Czech Literature and Literary Criticism, Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava, Czech Republic, <https://ff.osu.eu/kcl/jan-malura/12695/>. Malura has co-edited three critical editions, co-edited six collections of essays, and co-authored five books, most recently *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)* (2019). jan.malura@osu.cz.

5. Previous Research on Broadside Ballads, with a Particular Focus on Literary History

Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi

Abstract

Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi looks to the construction of academic interpretations of broadside ballads within previous research, especially from the literary point of view. Considered within this wide range of scholarly work, Hashemi delineates four distinct phases of research into broadside ballads that, while distinct, together defined the origins and characteristics of the genre.

Keywords: Literary history, collecting of Czech broadside ballads, periodization

Until the 1930s, Czech literary scholars did not view broadside ballads as a relevant subject for research. In his German-language volume *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (History of the Czech language and literature), the founder of modern Czech literary history, Josef Dobrovský, did not mention broadside ballads at all, because they did not fit into the concept of so-called high or cultivated literature; in Dobrovský's view, sophisticated literary language was a fundamental criterion for inclusion in this category.¹ Later authors of literary-historical works took a similar view—and this approach persisted up to the end of the 1950s. Dobrovský's successor, Josef Jungmann, in his work *Historie literatury české* (History of Czech literature, second edition, 1849), did at least give several examples of

¹ Dobrovský, *Geschichte*.

broadside ballads (only citing their titles), though he did not describe them as broadside ballads.²

It was the collection of folk songs that first led Czech scholars to take an interest in popular culture—an area of interest that began to emerge among European scholars during the Romantic era in the first half of the nineteenth century in connection with the so-called “discovery of the people.”³ Closely related to this burgeoning interest were the first Czech scholarly texts about broadside ballads, which were written in the 1870s—initially by ethnographers. Notably, though the timing of enthusiasm for Czech folk songs aligns historically almost exactly with enthusiasm for English folk ballad in the United States, Britain, and Northern Europe, these latter countries spurned any *printed* (i.e., broadside) ballads. These were regarded by ethnomusicologists as a degraded form of ancient or what they called “traditional” song culture. Despite the close interconnection between ethnography and literary history, we find that literary historians took quite a bit longer to develop an interest in broadside ballads. Right up to the 1930s (as mentioned at the outset of this chapter), literary studies of broadside ballads were only sporadic—even though the first literary-historical editions of broadside ballads did originate during this period. Still, the first genuinely systematic literary scholarship that focused on broadside ballads didn’t emerge until the 1960s, and with a caveat: scholars continued to prioritize secular broadside ballads as well as a positivistic approach, one enriched by insights from structuralism.⁴ Research into broadside ballads has since broadened significantly in scope. From the 1990s onwards, scholars were no longer reined in by communist ideology that previously prevented them from studying religious literary production. A whole new world of broadside ballad study opened up.

In this chapter I will attempt to show that the history of Czech research into broadside ballads is somewhat more complicated from a literary-theoretical perspective than it may first appear—especially if we supplement the core canon of repeatedly cited scholars with other authors of secondary literature who are not generally taken into consideration. In many cases, the primary focus of these scholars was elsewhere, and they only investigated

2 Jungmann, *Historie*, pp. 724–726.

3 For more on the so-called “discovery of the people,” see Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 23–48.

4 The positivistic approach is characterized by the compilation of factual information without evaluation and without application in textual analysis. Textual analysis, on the other hand, is a typical feature of the structuralist approach and is based on the concept of the text as a structure.

broadside ballads in isolated studies.⁵ I will discuss these authors as part of this historical overview of previous scholarship—an overview which will trace the shifting focus of broadside ballad studies as well as distinguishing between various methodological approaches.⁶

To expand, then, more fully on my brief overview above: The first phase of research into Czech broadside ballads (which can be dated from the 1880s to the 1930s) was characterized by the activities of collectors and ethnographers. It was during this period that the first major scholarly work on broadside ballads was published—*O naší poezii kramářské* (About the poetry of our broadside ballads, 1885). This first-of-its-kind study of broadside ballads was composed by the ethnographer and linguist František Bartoš. It is a work that is still frequently cited among secondary literature on the topics of broadside ballads.⁷ In fact, Bartoš was also the author of three studies specifically about broadside ballads, the first of which was published as early as 1871 (i.e., fourteen years before his best-known work, cited above).⁸ However, Bartoš's 1885 study (covering almost a hundred pages) is the first attempt at a comprehensive treatment of these popular topics by a Czech scholar. It was in this study that Bartoš first presented his categorization of secular broadside ballads into four types: broadside ballads about love, broadside ballads about military matters, and, more generally, didactic-satirical broadside ballads and narrative broadside ballads. This fourfold thematic division was adopted by subsequent scholars, though with certain additions and alterations.⁹ It is important to observe, however, that Bartoš's study offers an evaluation of broadside ballads that was conditioned by its era, imbued with the still-persistent Romantic notion of the people and folk songs (he was significantly a noted folk song collector).¹⁰ In this context, Bartoš's foundational work on broadside ballads actually veers noticeably off course from his scholarship as a

5 See also Ivánek, "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu."

6 Previous scholarship that followed upon a positivistic and structuralist approach has focused on the phases in the historical development of broadside ballads, but not on the phases in the historical development of research into broadside ballads. See Kolár, "K periodizaci" (where the criterion is the connection between a broadside ballad and historical personalities and events), or Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, pp. 30–37 (where the criterion is the text itself, specifically the stylistic layers of the text which are adopted, incorporated, and further adapted).

7 Bartoš, "O naší poezii kramářské."

8 Holubová, *Jednolisty*.

9 For example, Bohuslav Beneš adds the category of "marital-satirical broadside ballads." Bartoš's classification of narrative broadside ballads additionally corresponds with Beneš's term "news-historical broadside ballads"; see, e.g., Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 90.

10 In the Romantic view, the people and folk songs are idealized as pure and untainted.

whole: generally, he considered facts more important than interpretation and analysis. Indeed, he expressed this opinion explicitly to his friend Čeněk Zíbrt, also an ethnographer and the founder of the ethnographic journal *Český lid* (The Czech people), as well as the author of around 45 reports on discoveries of broadside ballads.¹¹ In his 1885 study, Bartoš furthermore broke new ground by broaching upon (if only marginally) religious broadside ballads—i.e., broadside ballads with sacred themes, especially those about saints.¹² It should be emphasized that Bartoš took a very negative view of such broadside ballads—again, a perspective that was in keeping with the thinking of his era. In expressing most clearly his disdain for religious broadside ballads, he states:

There are around a hundred such songs circulating among our people, in several editions. Nobody with any sense can doubt that these songs do nothing to inspire our people to genuine piety; instead, these nonsensical monstrosities blunt our people's minds and lead them to despicable superstition. It would therefore be desirable if priests were to turn a careful eye to these roguish products and to emphatically discourage right-thinking people from having anything to do with them.¹³

Nevertheless, we can also observe the emergence of a different approach to religious broadside ballads during this period, particularly among authors who were not primarily interested in broadside ballads as a subject of research. This new perspective is embodied by figures who stood outside the orbit of the journal *Český lid*, specifically theologians (and often practicing clerics), such as Václav Wittke. Unlike Bartoš, Wittke greatly approved of religious songs—and religious broadside ballads were no exception (though he did not actually use the term religious broadside ballads). Wittke describes himself in his publications as a priest and a Benedictine monk at the Montserrat-Emmaus monastery in Prague (sometimes known as Na Slovanech Abbey).¹⁴ His twin professions explain his authorship of the book on religion, *Matka Boží Montserratská a její pocta v Čechách* (Our Lady of Montserrat and her veneration in Bohemia, 1882; also, in the same year, he published his own German translation of the text), which described the

11 Bartoš, *Lid a národ*, p. 105.

12 Ivánek, "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu."

13 Bartoš, "O naší poezii kramářské," p. 230.

14 The Emmaus Abbey (*Emauzy* in Czech) was founded by Emperor Charles IV in 1347 as a centre for Slavic worship. In 1636, Benedictine monks from the Catalan pilgrimage site of Montserrat took up residence there, and the original name was expanded to Montserrat-Emmaus.



Figure 16. Illustration of the Lady of Montserrat, published in Václav Wittke, *Matka Boží Montserratská a její pocta v Čechách* (1882).

history of the veneration of this Catalan pilgrimage site in Bohemia.¹⁵ The book includes a listing of Czech Marian songs—of which, for example, “Píseň o klatovské panně Marii” (“A song about Our Lady of Klatovy”) was published as a broadside ballad.

The second stage of research into Czech broadside ballads, which can be dated from the 1930s to the 1960s, initially evolved from the first phase (characterized by the activities of collectors). Its main emphasis was also on secular broadside ballads. The more definitive end of the initial movement, in the late 1950s, saw a methodological turning point with the emergence of the Marxist concept of *pololidová literatura* (semi-folk literature). This term denotes a transitional zone between high literature and folk literature. That is, we find folk songs, as seen from the Marxist perspective, esteemed to be of a higher quality than previously conceived. The concept of semi-folk literature also encompassed broadside ballads, though these texts were

15 Wittke, *Matka Boží*. The content of this slim volume displays strong thematic parallels with several present-day studies exploring the Marian cult in specific Czech contexts, especially Běhalová, “Panna Marie Svatohorská”; Bydžovská, “Mariánská poutní místa”; Holubová, “Odras kultu Panny Marie Svatohorské.” The above-cited authors use the explicit term “poutní kramářská píseň” (“pilgrimage broadside ballad”). Josef Jungmann used the related adjective *poutnické* (pilgrim’s) (Jungmann, *Historie*, p. 725).

not actually analysed by literary scholars until after the end of this second attitudinal Marxist-based shift.

This second movement in broadside ballad study began with research by Miloslav Novotný, who published a total of 13 broadside ballads from the collections of the National Museum (1930) and later published 42 broadside ballads (1940).¹⁶ Two scholars from this period who became even more prominent figures were Robert Smetana (primarily a musicologist) and Bedřich Václavek (primarily a literary historian, critic, and librarian). These two authors joined together to publish *České písně kramářské* (Czech broadside ballads, 1937 [second edition, 1949], including a collection of woodcuts and a total of 72 broadside ballads taken from the collections of municipal museums).¹⁷ Drawing on the tenets of Marxist sociology, this publication characterized broadside ballads as a “non-art” type of folk song production, even if they had risen somewhat from the first attitudes to the genre. The scholarly depth and broad scope of the opening to the volume caused it to become a canonical work in the later field of broadside ballad scholarship. Furthermore, it was the first study of both secular *and* religious broadside ballads that was of scholarly relevance. In sum, this work laid relevant methodological foundations for later, more expansive research.

At the same time, Novotný initiated the creation of an archive of Czech chapbooks, including broadside ballads, at the National Museum. He also helped to inspire interest in cataloguing broadside ballads. His 1930 anthology (which is essentially a bibliophilic work) was the first edited volume of broadside ballads to be published in book form. His second anthology of broadside ballads (1940) contains the same repertoire as the 1930 anthology, but adds a further 29 broadside ballads. This second volume is notably cited more frequently in recent broadside ballad scholarship.¹⁸ The broadside ballads in his anthology are arranged by Novotný in chronological order. The author writes that he intended his second anthology to serve as an addition (both chronologically and thematically) to the large collection published by Václavek and Smetana in 1937.¹⁹ In their volume, Václavek and Smetana had restricted their selection to relatively recent broadside ballads—those dating from the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century—but Novotný’s selection has a broader and earlier understanding of the life cycle of the broadside ballad. The earliest such text in his volume dates from the

16 Novotný, *Písničky jarmareční*; Novotný, *Špalíček písníček jarmarečních*.

17 Smetana and Václavek, *České písně kramářské*.

18 Novotný, *Písničky jarmareční*; Novotný, *Špalíček písníček jarmarečních*.

19 Václavek and Smetana, *České písně kramářské*.

end of the sixteenth century; the most recent dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Novotný, furthermore, incorporates the topic of the war with the Turks (the 1683 Battle of Vienna) and Napoleon's invasion of Moravia (1805).²⁰ His focus on earlier broadside ballads aligns with his view of their scholarship. He writes specifically about what he calls the "pre-history" of scholarly interest in broadside ballads, tracing this early interest back to an 1839 book by Josef Václav Justin Michl (which drew on Jungmann's already-mentioned *Historie literatury české*). Of particular importance to Novotný was the fact that Michl's study listed in its various sections a number of songs that were later identified as broadside ballads.²¹ Novotný thus de facto re-discovered Michl's material. This rediscovery has proved a valuable source of insight into the still under-researched topic of censors' interventions in the texts of broadside ballads during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Despite the persistent emphasis on secular broadside ballads that typified research during this phase, some studies, such as the collaborative work of Smetana and Václavek, did explore religious broadside ballads. Most of the authors of this more expansive vision, however, were primarily interested in other areas of literary history. They only investigated broadside ballads in isolated studies, and they mainly belonged to the Catholic intellectual elite. They thus stood outside the mainstream of Czech literary-historical scholarship. The most prominent representative of these scholars was the theologian and literary historian Josef Vašica. He authored a valuable and, indeed, seminal volume, entitled *České literární baroko* (The Czech literary Baroque). In the ninth chapter of this work (*Písňe o posledních věcech člověka* [Songs about the last things of mankind]), Vašica presents a highly detailed analysis of four religious songs about such "last things," dating them to the second half of the seventeenth century. Therein, he makes the following important observation for the future inclusion of more religious broadside ballad scholarship: "They [i.e., the songs] may originally have been published and disseminated in the form of broadside ballads."²²

20 The Battle of Vienna was a consequence of the Siege of Vienna by the Ottomans Turks. It was fought by the Habsburg and Polish army against the Turkish army and was a part of long-term war between the Habsburgs and Ottomans. Napoleon's invasion of Moravia was a part of the Napoleonic wars. This particular campaign was led against the Austrian and Russian emperor, which ended with the Battle of Austerlitz (South Moravia).

21 Novotný, *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*, p. 252; Jungmann, *Historie*, p. 725, e.g., "Píseň proti Turku" ("A song against the Turks"); Michl, *Ouplný*, pp. 92, 115.

22 Vašica, *České literární baroko*, pp. 92–109; in the original Czech text, he uses the term *špalíčkový tisk* (literally "block's printings," i.e., printings that were bound in blocks), which, in

The third phase of research into Czech broadside ballads can be dated from the 1960s to the end of the 1980s. To summarize the earlier stages of study: the first phase was dominated by the activities of collectors, while the second phase was shaped by a Marxist approach to sociology. In this second stage, as we saw, scholars recognized broadside ballads as a fully-fledged subject for literary-historical research, if not exactly equivalent with “high art” and if not typically including religious broadside ballads (though some religious studies and references still emerged). In the third phase, broadside ballad research shifted again, and in a much more expansive way. Scholars came to embrace systematic literary-historical research which became increasingly interdisciplinary in its scope. Illustrative of this movement are the papers gathered in the proceedings from the 1961 conference Václavkova Olomouc (Václavek’s Olomouc). A link between the second and third generations of broadside ballad scholars was embodied by the above-mentioned Robert Smetana, whose paper published in 1963 in the conference proceedings is a seminal work for its addressing the definition of broadside ballads.²³ The Olomouc conference also created a platform enabling scholars from various disciplines to come together and collaborate, as is evident from the titles to the individual sections in the volume—for example, “Jazyk–text–výstavba” (“Language–text–structure”); “Kramářská píseň z hlediska regionálního” (“The broadside ballad from a regional perspective”); “Srovnávací průhledy” (“Comparative perspectives”); “Muzikologická zjištění” (“Musicological findings”); “Výtvarná a grafická stránka” (“Artistic and graphic aspects”).²⁴ Subsequent conferences with the same name (Václavkova Olomouc) were held at regular intervals for more than 50 years, and continued to feature numerous papers presenting interdisciplinary research on broadside ballads.²⁵

A key feature of this third phase was the fact that literary-historical approaches were now supplemented by literary-theoretical approaches drawing on the structuralist works of Jan Mukařovský from the 1930s and 1960s (though Mukařovský himself never wrote a study of broadside ballads).²⁶ Mukařovský’s theoretical works are cited in connection with the suppression of the aesthetic function in certain types of texts as part of an important study, “Dramatické postupy kramářských písní” (“Dramatic

general usage, corresponds with the phrase *kramářský tisk* (i.e., “chapbooks”); yet Vašica here uses the term specifically to denote “broadside ballads.”

23 Smetana, “K problematice.”

24 Dvořák and Kvapil, *Václavkova Olomouc 1961*.

25 E.g., Fiala, “Sociální motivy.”

26 Mukařovský, *Estetická funkce*; Mukařovský, *Studie z estetiky*.

strategies in broadside ballads”) by Bohuslav Beneš, which was published in the proceedings of the groundbreaking conference *O barokní kultuře* (On Baroque culture).²⁷ Beneš also draws on Mukařovský’s structuralist concepts in his other seminal work, *Světská kramářská píseň* (The secular broadside ballad, 1970); nevertheless, as a sign of his times, he contextualizes this structuralist approach within the Marxist concept of semi-folk literature (see above).²⁸ Beneš was the dominant scholar of broadside ballads during this period, and published studies on the subject for almost four decades (his first work dates from 1957). Although his main interest was secular broadside ballads, he also touched on religious songs.²⁹

Beneš’s later, 1970 publication made multiple significant contributions to the development of literary scholarship on broadside ballads. These can be summarized as follows: he views broadside ballads in their wider context, i.e., as part of a complex of relationships at both national and supranational levels; he carefully distinguishes between the terms *kramářská píseň* (broadside ballad) and *kramářský tisk* (chapbook), while also focusing on the relationship between the two; he explores both aesthetic and non-aesthetic functions of broadside ballads; he presents the first relevant (and detailed) timeline of the historical development of broadside ballads, separating this process into different periods; and he gives an account of the style of broadside ballads.³⁰ Discussing the issue of genre in this ambitious study, Beneš notes that it is possible only to speak of broadside ballads with a predominance of either epic or lyrical content, or as a mixture of the lyrical-epic. But these seemingly restrictive genres are viewed by Beneš as capable of an expansive range of content, which he goes on to categorize. In this categorization, broadside ballad topics were news and/or history, love generally, the marital-satirical, and—a very broad subject—sad endings. Dealing with broadside ballads about miraculous events, which would fall into the category of “news-history,” Beneš selectively limits included texts to those in which the narrative element is stronger than the devotional (adorational). This exclusionary vision of miracles may reflect the influence of official Marxist ideology on Beneš’s research. Nevertheless, he analyses the texts he does include in great detail, and extends his study to reproduce 20 songs in an appendix. He also systematically examines the texts’ strophic

27 Beneš, “Dramatické postupy.”

28 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, e.g., pp. 19, 26, 41, 47, 151, 154, 269.

29 Beneš, “Náboženská tematika a světci.”

30 Beneš lists several typical features of the style of broadside ballads, focusing on the repeated use of identical elements, i.e., opening addresses, moralistic conclusions, and conformist thinking (Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 31).

form (including rhyme scheme) as well as their verse structure. Finally, in his drive to deliver a comprehensive study (despite his neglect of religious broadside ballads), he appends a listing of more than 200 broadside ballad gatherings as an aid to cataloguing, carefully compiles indexes (including an index of first lines), and, furthermore, provides an extensive international bibliography.³¹

We must also here include another influential work from Beneš's legacy as a scholar of broadside ballads: his book *Poslyšte písničku hezkou* (Listen to a pretty song, 1983). He herein claims to provide something akin to a reader's anthology, which consisted of a hundred broadside ballads up to the nineteenth century, newly compiled to function as an addendum to the collections cited above. In the spirit of an anthology for the general public, the book lacks a detailed scholarly apparatus.³² However, the book in fact continues his scholarly vein of studies: it contains not only tune imprints but also an alphabetical index of broadside ballad titles, and an index of their first lines, and both an introduction and a conclusion in which Beneš summarizes his previous findings from his research on broadside ballads, in the sections "Vývoj názorů na kramářskou píseň" ("The development of opinions on broadside ballads"); "O jazyku a poetice kramářských písní" ("On the language and poetics of broadside ballads"); "Jazykové úpravy textů" ("Linguistic modifications of the texts"); and "Ediční poznámky" ("Editorial notes").

An additional scholar of note from this same period is Karel Palas. He stands out for consideration because, unlike Beneš and most of the other Marxist-influenced scholars of the time, Palas focused mainly on religious broadside ballads—though, as is typical of those who referenced religious broadside ballads in their studies, he did not include them as part of the core of his scholarly interest. Like Beneš, Palas also viewed broadside ballads from the contemporary perspective of semi-folk literature, though his main area of interest was Baroque poetry.³³ Indeed, of particular relevance to modern

31 It should be noted that the structuralist approach to literary theory created by Mukařovský and adopted by Beneš in his own studies was not adopted by all scholars of the time. Importantly, for example, it is not employed by J. V. Scheybal in a work titled *Senzace*, which focuses on a collection of secular broadside ballads (news songs). The basis for this study was also laid in the 1970s, but, notably, Scheybal later revised it and did not publish the work until 1990. Furthermore, his publication was conceived for a more general readership rather than a primarily scholarly audience. It contains a total of 60 broadside ballads, of which four are known from Novotný's anthology *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních* and six each were provided in Václavěk and Smetana's *České písně kramářské* and Beneš's *Světská kramářská píseň*, partly including different variants.

32 Beneš, *Poslyšte*.

33 Especially Palas, *K problematice*.

research into broadside ballads (from the 1990s onwards) is Palas's study *Pololidové básnictví barokní a kancionálová píseň* (Baroque semi-folk poetry and the hymn book song, 1968), which explores the relationship between broadside ballads and official Catholic hymn books from the Baroque era (specifically Michna's and Šteyer's hymn books, two of the most important collections of religious songs from the seventeenth century)—a topic that was later taken up for further analysis by Marie Škarpová.³⁴

Looking forward, we find a link between this third phase and present-day research into broadside ballads. The connection can perhaps be best seen in the work of Jiří Fiala, the author of over 20 studies of broadside ballads covering a relatively broad spectrum of topics. Fiala's first study (1983) explores broadside ballads about harvest failure and famine; his 1999 study, co-authored with Marie Sobotková, focuses on the cult of Our Lady of Svatý Kopeček; and his most recent monograph (2017) investigates Baroque (ca. 1620–1775) murder ballads.³⁵ He has also compiled an anthology (currently prepared for publication) of Czech murder ballads, drawing on historical archive materials related to surviving accounts of actual crimes. However, Fiala's main scholarly achievements for the purposes of this chapter are his three edited volumes presenting so-called historical broadside ballads (i.e., news broadside ballads) about the Silesian Wars.³⁶ Fiala's approach to broadside ballads remains largely descriptive (positivistic, non-evaluative), but his methodology is enriched with historical and ethnological approaches.

The current phase of research into broadside ballads (which began in the 1990s) is focused on new literary-theoretical trends in researching older literature and interdisciplinary approaches.³⁷ This line of inquiry is mainly represented by scholars from Ostrava University (in the city by the same

34 Palas, "Pololidové"; Škarpová, "Co víme a nevíme"; Škarpová, *Mezi Čechy*. The complex relationships between religious songs and broadside ballads have also been analysed by Jakub Ivánek; in particular, see Ivánek, "Kramářský tisk," but also see Ivánek, "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu."

35 Fiala, "Kramářské písně"; Fiala and Sobotková, "Vznik kultu Panny Marie Svatokopecké"; Fiala, "Dva morytáty." The topic of Baroque murder ballads was also explored by Fiala in his previous study, "Barokní balady a morytáty." A book on this theme (containing new material on murder ballads) by Fiala is currently ready for print.

36 Foremost is Fiala's *Dobové české slovesné reflexe*, which includes 32 broadside ballad texts on this topic. The phrase "the Silesian Wars" is an umbrella term for three conflicts between Prussia and the Habsburg Monarchy, which took place between 1740 and 1763, when these two states battled for control of Silesia (a province originally under Habsburg control). Prussia emerged from these conflicts victorious and annexed most of Silesia and the formerly Bohemian part of the Glatz (Kladsko) region.

37 Holubová et al., *Obrazy ženy*.

name) who explore hybridity in genres and intertextuality. This methodology has been developed particularly in studies by Jan Malura, whose most recent contribution in this vein is included in this volume.³⁸ This innovative work has brought the most striking shift in theoretical approaches to broadside ballads—a veritable fault line in Czech broadside ballad scholarship that is particularly evident in the above-cited studies of Jakub Ivánek, who has elaborated a more precise definition of the broadside ballad (and whose most recent such study is also included in this volume).³⁹

An interdisciplinary approach has also become more dominant than in this most recent phase, encompassing especially collaborations between ethnologists and literary theorists as well as those between literary theorists, musicologists, and scholars specializing in book culture.⁴⁰ Musicologists have, in particular, explored the role of hymn books as sources for broadside ballads, focusing on pilgrimage broadside ballads and broadside ballads containing legends about saints.⁴¹ A prominent representative of Czech book scholarship is Petr Voit, who has focused on secular broadside ballads.⁴² Broadside ballads have also been recently studied as part of the concept of popular or mass culture, though this work has focused mainly on religious broadside ballads. In line with this focus on the masses, broadside ballad study has furthermore been brought to a wider readership by authors such as Miloš Sládek in his book *Vítr jest život člověka* (Wind is the life of man, 2000).⁴³

38 Malura, *Žánrové aspekty*. Hybridity refers to the blending of genres in older (and for many scholars, in all) literature; intertextuality denotes any relationship created between a text and a different text (the originator of this concept in world literary theory was Bakhtin; in the Czech context the approach was later developed in Otruba, *Znaky a hodnoty*). As representative of the new hybrid methodology, see the work of Alexandr Stich in the 1990s (applying what we might dub the “linguo-literary approach”), e.g., “Magnet a pelikán.” On tracing interrelations between texts, see Horáková, “Intertextualita.”

39 Ivánek, “Kramářský tisk”; Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu.”

40 This collaboration is evident from the exhibition catalogue Kosek et al., *Do Brna široká cesta*.

41 Slavický, “Kramářský tisk”; Frolcová, “Rozmluvy Panny Marie.”

42 In particular, see his entry “Kramářská píseň” in the monumental work Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy* (of which Voit is the main author). Already in 1988, as part of a valuable literary-theoretical study entitled “Kronika o mladém vejvodovi,” Voit explored the complexity of the relationships between content and genre (traversing legends, chapbooks, broadside ballads, fairy tales, etc.).

43 Sládek, *Vítr*, pp. 252–286. This publication included four religious broadside ballads (on the topic of death). Inspiration, if not actual authorship, of these works has been traced to the song “Já, na světě zarmoucený, s všemi se rozžehnavám” (“I, grieving in the world, bless everyone”) (pp. 267–271), dated 1736, in which the author’s name appears both on the title page and in the text itself, in the form of the first lines. In the second strophe of this song, we find almost the same verse as in the broadside ballad “Život sv. Ivana” (“Life of St. Ivana”) (1658) by Fridrich Bridel (*Básnické dílo*). In this text Bridel also expresses the core theme of a false, unstable world in

From the perspective of Czech literary history, then, one might argue that an emphasis on religious broadside ballads—especially on those that can be characterized as more ambitious in their intent (i.e., for cultivated or higher educated consumers)—has undermined the previous definitions of broadside ballads we tracked in earlier scholarly research. We might be thus tempted to reach the somewhat sceptical, or what one might describe as “bottom line,” conclusion that the only truly relevant common denominator of all broadside ballads is not genre or theme but the manner in which they were produced and distributed, as discussed in the introduction to this edition. Still, a different aspect of contemporary Czech research into broadside ballads is represented by thematically specialized studies whose authors, as in the first phases of Czechian literary studies, focus solely on secular broadside ballads.⁴⁴ The methodology used in these studies is guided by the nature of the collections being studied, the specialization of the individual researcher, and that scholar’s attitude (whether more or less enthusiastic) to new literary-theoretical trends that are currently developing in the Czech Republic as well as in other countries. Like the broadside ballad genre itself, Czech scholarly approaches toward the literary study of broadside ballads continue to represent something of a “mixed bag” of scholarly approaches.

Works Cited

- Bartoš, František. *Lid a národ. Sebrané rozpravy národopisné literární Františka Bartoše II*, pp. 195–293. Velké Meziříčí: J. F. Šašek, 1885.
- Bartoš, František. “O naší poezii kramářské.” In *Lid a národ. Sebrané rozpravy národopisné literární Františka Bartoše II*, pp. 195–293. Velké Meziříčí: J. F. Šašek, 1885.
- Běhalová, Štěpánka. “Panna Marie Svatohorská v kramářských tiscích Okresního muzea v Jindřichově Hradci.” *Jindřichohradecký vlastivědný sborník* 6, no. 1 (1994), pp. 21–49.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. “Dramatické postupy kramářských písní.” In *O barokní kultuře*, ed. Milan Kopecký, pp. 115–132. Brno: UJEP, 1968.

which all glory fades. This theme is a fundamental aspect of the Baroque vision of the terrestrial world, and it was carried forward from broadside ballads of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into the poetry of the nineteenth century (e.g., Kamarýt, *Komu pěji*; for a scholarly treatment of this theme, see, e.g., Bergová, “Ohlas”).

44 Fiala, “Dva morytáty”; Fiala, “Barokní balady a morytáty.” A book on this theme (containing new material on murder ballads) by Fiala is currently ready for print.

- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Náboženská tematika a světci v kramářských tiscích a písniích." *Světci v lidové tradici*, ed. Ludmila Tarcalová, pp. 179–186. Uherské Hradiště: Slovácké muzeum, 1998.
- Beneš, Bohuslav, ed. *Poslyšte písničku hezkou...: Kramářské písně minulých dob*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1983.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Bergová, D. "Ohlas kramářské písně v obrozené poezii." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 125–143. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Bridel, Fridrich. *Básnické dílo*, ed. Milan Kopecký. Praha: Torst, 1994.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.
- Bydžovská, Iva. "Mariánská poutní místa v kramářských tiscích." In *Sdružení knihoven České republiky*, pp. 44–50. Brno: Sdružení knihoven ČR, 2010.
- Dobrovský, Josef. *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur*. Praha: Jan Bohumír Calve, 1792.
- Dvořák, Jaromír, and Josef Š. Kvapil, eds. *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Barokní balady a morytáty." *Česká literatura* 38, no. 4 (1990), pp. 295–305.
- Fiala, Jiří. *České písně ze slezských válek*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2001.
- Fiala, Jiří. *Dobové české slovesné reflexe slezských válek*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2001.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Dva morytáty o rodinné tragédii v Příboře o Vánocích roku 1844." *Laudatio PhDr. Evě Ryšavé. Příspěvky k životnímu jubileu. Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia Litterarum* 62, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 65–71.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Kramářské písně o neúrodě a hladu." *Český lid* 70, no. 3 (1983), pp. 141–147.
- Fiala, Jiří. *Novina z francouzské krajiny*. Praha: Naše vojsko, 1989.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Sociální motivy v českých pololidových veršovaných skladbách." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1986. Sborník referátů*, ed. Dana Tollinerová and Josef Bartoš, pp. 194–202. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1983.
- Fiala, Jiří, and Marie Sobotková. "Vznik kultu Panny Marie Svatokopecké a jeho reflexe v kramářských písniích." *Český lid* 86, no. 1 (1999), pp. 60–79.
- Frolcová, Věra. "Rozmluvy Panny Marie v českých legendistických písniích." In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 189–204. Praha: AV ČR, 2008.
- Horáková [Hashemi], Michaela. "Intertextualita v barokní homiletice." In *Literatura v literatuře. Sborník referátů z literárněvědné konference 37. Bezručovy Opavy (13.–14. 9. 1994)*, pp. 25–29. Praha–Opava: Ústav pro českou literaturu–Slezská univerzita, 1995.

- Holubová, Markéta. *Jednolisty–Kramářské tisky–Knížky lidového čtení. Výběrová bibliografie*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2007.
- Holubová, Markéta. “Odras kultu Panny Marie Svatohorské v kramářské produkci.” In *Salve Regina. Mariánská úcta ve středních Čechách*, ed. Markéta Holubová and Marcela Suchomelová, pp. 59–79. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2014.
- Holubová, Markéta, et al. *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Ivánek, Jakub. “Kramářský tisk jako publikační forma ambiciózní náboženské písně.” *Bohemica litteraria* 14, no. 2 (2011), pp. 3–22.
- Ivánek, Jakub. “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu kramářská píseň (s ohledem na tisky náboženské povahy).” *Listy filologické* 140, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 201–230.
- Jungmann, Josef. *Historie literatury české*. Praha: České museum, 1849.
- Kamarýt, Josef Vlastimil. *Komu pěji*, ed. Milan Kopecký. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1983.
- Kolár, Jaroslav. “K periodizaci vývoje české kramářské písně a k ideovému profilu jejího staršího období.” In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 97–101. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Kosek, Pavel, et al. *Do Brna široká cesta. Kramářské písně se světskou tematikou. Katalog k výstavě*, ed. Hana Glombová. Brno: MZM, 2020.
- Malura, Jan, ed. *Žánrové aspekty starší literatury*. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity v Ostravě, 2010.
- Michl, Josef Václav Justin. *Ouplný literaturní létopis*. Praha: J. V. J. Michl, 1839.
- Mukařovský, Jan. *Estetická funkce, norma a hodnota jako sociální akty*. Praha: Fr. Borový, 1936.
- Mukařovský, Jan. *Studie z estetiky*. Praha: Odeon, 1966.
- Novotný, Miloslav, ed. *Písničky jarmareční, většinou výpravné a vesměs starodávné*. Praha: Ema Jánská, 1930.
- Novotný, Miloslav, ed. *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1940.
- Otruba, Mojmir. *Znaky a hodnoty*. Praha: Český spisovatel, 1994.
- Palas, Karel. *K problematice krajové pololidové literatury 18. století*. Praha: SPN, 1964.
- Palas, Karel. “Pololidové básnictví barokní a kancionálová píseň.” In *O barokní kultuře*, ed. Milan Kopecký, pp. 75–86. Brno: UJEP, 1968.
- Scheybal, Josef V. *Senzace pěti století v kramářské písni*. Hradec Králové: Kruh, 1990.
- Sládek, Miloš. *Vítr jest život člověka*. Most: H&H, 2000.
- Slavický, Tomáš. “Kramářský tisk jako hymnografický pramen—několik poznámek k repertoáru mariánských poutních písní 19. století.” In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 169–188. Praha: AV ČR, 2008.

- Smetana, Robert. "K problematice jevu české písňe kramářské." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 13–58. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. *České písňe kramářské*. Praha: Fr. Borový, 1937/Praha: Svoboda, 1949.
- Stich, Alexandr. "Magnet a pelikán—dva exkluzivní barokní motivy." In *Česká literatura doby baroka. Sborník příspěvků k české literatuře 17. a 18. století*, ed. Zuzana Pokorná, pp. 89–116. Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 1994.
- Škarpová, Marie. "Co víme a nevíme o recepci Michnovy písňe Nebeští kavalérové." *SPFFBU* 57 (2007), pp. 77–90.
- Škarpová, Marie. *Mezi Čechy, k pobožnému zpívání náchylnými". Šteyerův kancionál český, kanonizace hymnografické paměti a utváření katolické identity*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta UK, 2015.
- Vašica, Josef. *České literární baroko*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1938/Brno: Atlantis, 1995.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy: starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*. Praha: Libri, 2006.
- Voit, Petr. "Kronika o mladém vejvodovi od Šimona Lomnického z Budče (cesta od středověké legendy o zázracích k novodobé knížce lidového čtení, jarmareční písni a pohádce)." *Listy filologické* 111 (1988), pp. 110–119.
- Wittke, Václav. *Matka Boží Montserratská a její pocta v Čechách*. Praha: Kníž. arcib. knihtiskárna, 1882.

About the Author

Michaela Soleiman pour Hashemi: Full Professor of Czech literature at the Department of Czech Literature, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.muni.cz/en/people/2257-michaela-soleiman-pour-hashemi/zivotopis>. Hashemi has co-edited four critical editions and two collections of essays, and she has authored two monographs: *Karel Račín—nedocenený barokní autor* (2005) and *Literární fenomén nepomucenské homiletiky* (2007). michaela@phil.muni.cz.

6. Three Collections of Czech Broadside Ballads: Creating, Organizing, and Providing Access

Jiří Dufka, Markéta Holubová, Věra Frolcová, Iva Bydžovská, Jitka Machová, Hana Glombová, and Romana Macháčková

Abstract

These authors focus on the most important collections of Czech broadside ballads. They delineate dual and quite different groups of collectors according to the collectors' approaches to acquiring broadside ballads. The first (and earlier) scholarly but amateur type of collector viewed broadside ballads as supplementary, and by association “lower,” materials that necessarily documented the unfortunate blending of traditional and purely oral, i.e., “folk” songs; the second (and later) group of academics attempted to capture all aspects of printed productions of ballads that had been previously spurned, if grudgingly acknowledged, by the folklorists. The authors also describe the history and perspectives of cataloguing and digitalization broadside ballads.

Keywords: Collecting, folk songs, broadside ballads, cataloguing, digitalization

For researchers seeking to understand broadside ballads and their role in society, key issues include the accessibility of the original printings as well as how they are stored, how records of them are kept, and how digital data of them are presented. One of the main aims of this chapter is to describe the infrastructure that has been built around three collections of Czech chapbooks (of which broadside ballads form an important part) to make them accessible to the general public as well as to scholars in various fields.¹

¹ As elsewhere in this book, this chapter views broadside ballads as a subtype of chapbook—for more details, see the introduction and the chapter by Ivánek.

The current curators of the collections could also potentially offer answers to numerous other research questions, such as how the collections were compiled in the past, how acquisitions are managed today, how the items are processed, and what are the strategies adopted to present differences and similarities between restored and unrestored artefacts as well as between the physical artefacts and their digital images.²

The Collections

One key methodological task when studying broadside ballads is to evaluate the extent to which any held collections are representative of the wider set of items of which they are but a part. The activity of collecting (whether private or institutional) plays a fundamental role in shaping the set of preserved artefacts at our disposal. If we define collecting as amassing items with a defined subject of interest on the individual collector's part—i.e., using artefacts likely in a different way than their creators, who aimed at a mass market and expected them to be used or circulated—the beginnings of collectors' or, alternatively, "antiquarians'," interest in broadside ballads can be traced back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Antiquarians around this time aimed to undertake a preserving but also a scholarly study of broadside ballads. We keep this in mind at all times in the following detailed account of the history of three major extant institutional collections, which will not only address the questions outlined above but additionally indicate certain collecting trends which can also be observed in several smaller collections. The three collections represented here are among the most important of their kind in the Czech Republic. They are individually held by three separate institutions: the Library of the National Museum in Prague, the Moravian Library in Brno, and the Institute of Ethnology (part of the Czech Academy of Sciences) with branches in Prague and Brno.

The Collection of the Institute of Ethnology (Czech Academy of Sciences)

In terms of the number of items this collection contains, this is the smallest of the three collections considered within the scope of this paper; however,

2 Here we are referring to different approaches to digitalization—one of which primarily aims to reproduce the material substance of a printing, and the other of which aims to produce a text that can be easily read.

it is of exceptional importance in terms of the practice of institutional collecting. The collection is held at the institute's branches in Prague and Brno. Besides printed broadside ballads, it also includes handwritten notated records of broadside ballads made on the basis of on-site listening to oral performances. The importance of the collection lies in the fact that many of the items (in both Prague and Brno) were collected in a manner that was later adopted by many smaller institutions and private collectors. The impetus for the systematic assemblage of songs in the collection (which, as noted above, contains many broadside ballads but also other types of songs) came about in 1905. As part of a project entitled “Das Volkslied in Österreich” (“The folk song in Austria”), four committees were established—for Czech-language and German-language songs from Bohemia, and for songs in those same languages from Moravia and Silesia. The aim of the project was to systematically organize collections of folk music and dances from the Cisleithanian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy³ according to universal principles (which could, however, be modified by each committee depending on its evaluation of specific local features).⁴ The collection process had focused on recording the songs as they were actually sung; printed versions of the songs (in the form of broadside ballads), on the other hand, were seen by the original collectors as supplementary documents.⁵ Broadside ballads were viewed as artificially created (or composed); that is, they were seen as after-the-fact templates for songs that had become part of the folk repertoire, and it was only later that collectors began to focus their attention on these chapbooks as significant in their own right. The first important consequence of the collectors' work was the creation of notated records of songs based on live oral renditions, for which the printed variants gave only tune imprints (a short reference to first lines)

3 Deutsch and Hois, *Das Volkslied*. The historical Bohemian Crown lands (now the territory of the Czech Republic) were part of the Austro-Hungarian (Habsburg) Monarchy until 1918, which explains the expansive participation of territories and languages in this project. Cisleithania was the Austrian part of Austro-Hungary, created following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (Ausgleich). Today the territory of former Cisleithania is located in Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and parts of northern Italy, Poland, Croatia, and the Ukraine.

4 Archive documents on the activities of the committees for Moravia and Silesia are held at the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology (fonds XIV, “Pracovní výbor pro českou lidovou píseň na Moravě a ve Slezsku”). Analogous documents for Bohemia are held at the Archives of the Czech Republic Academy of Science (fonds ÚEF ČSAV, “Protokoly ze schůzí českého výboru pro lidovou píseň 1904–1914”). An overview of the archive fonds primarily reveals written records of songs (including songs from broadside ballads) from Bohemia is given in Tyllner et al., *Průvodce*, and from Moravia in Hrabalová, *Průvodce*, vols. I–II.

5 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 4. Work to create the Brno collection began at a later date.

rather than a full score.⁶ As a result, subsequent printed songbooks with notation tended also only to include a small proportion of the texts that were distributed in the form of broadside ballads. In addition, the melodies that were recorded during the collecting of full notations (based on actual performances), we find, are often not recorded elsewhere, in other formats. The second important consequence of this ambitious ethnographic project concerns the publication of the guiding principles which governed the work of each of the four committees; these principles were endorsed by major figures in academic and cultural life from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and they were soon adopted not only by the members of the committees created as part of the larger cataloguing project but also by numerous museum professionals and private collectors.

When Czechoslovakia became independent after the First World War, the collaborative project (originally covering the entire Austrian part of the Habsburg Monarchy) continued in the form of a newly created institution—the State Institute for Folk Songs (1919–1952). The institute’s editorial and methodological work played a fundamental role in guiding subsequent research into folk songs (including broadside ballads), and one of its main tasks was to publish those songs collected throughout the territory of the new Czechoslovak Republic. The institute also formulated principles governing its collecting, cataloguing, and publishing process. In the 1950s, however, this institute was replaced by yet another successor establishment—the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore Studies, which was part of the newly reorganized Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. This institute was the direct predecessor of today’s Institute of Ethnology.⁷

In the view of the institute’s main area of focus, its work initially (from the 1950s) focused on manuscript records of songs. It was not until the beginning of the twenty-first century that its focus turned to cataloguing the Prague collection of broadside ballads. Printed catalogues of Czech- and German-language broadside ballads were subsequently published, as well as a catalogue focusing on biblical and Christian iconography in the broadside ballads.⁸ Though the Brno collection is still in process, the Prague collection was made publicly available in the form of online bibliographic records, including digital images of the artefacts’ title pages.⁹ The institute’s Prague collection contains 3,371 broadside ballad gatherings mainly from

6 Thořová et al., *Etnologický ústav*, pp. 11–23.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

8 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*; Holubová, *Katalog*, vol. II; Holubová, *Katalog*, vol. III.

9 Holubová and Kopalová, “Databáze.”

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though it also includes prayers and devotional texts.¹⁰ The collection of printed German songs (mostly broadside ballad gatherings) contains 281 items.¹¹ The Brno collection consists of a further 1,300 broadside ballad gatherings from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.¹² Around 67% of the latter collection exists in the form of *špalíčky* (blocks), i.e., sewn-together gatherings of around 110 items; the remaining broadside ballad gatherings have survived as individual printings.¹³

The Collection of the National Museum

Since its foundation in 1818, the National Museum in Prague has been one of the most important cultural institutions in what is now the Czech Republic. The oldest part of the museum's collection does not include broadside ballad gatherings but rather their melodies (recorded by song collectors on-site in rural regions of Bohemia).¹⁴ Chapbooks (of which broadside ballads are an important subtype) were considered to be of secondary importance; however, despite such proclaimed attitudes, examples of chapbooks were found in the posthumous estate of the philologist and historian Josef Dobrovský, a prominent intellectual figure.¹⁵ Chapbooks also made their way not only into the collections of libraries but also into the ethnographic collections of museums.¹⁶ But they remained, from the institutions' perspectives, second-rate citizens of their archives.

Broadside ballads continued to be published throughout the nineteenth century, but it was not until 1854 that contemporary broadside ballads

10 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 9.

11 Holubová, "Databáze."

12 Holubová, *Katalog kramářských tisků brněnského pracoviště*.

13 The term *špalíček* (block), as noted in the introduction, refers to "volumes" of ballad gatherings or prayers sewn together by the original owner (the consumer or collector) of the artefacts.

14 Markl, *Nejstarší sbírky*, p. 177. Manuscripts with melodies of songs from Bohemia are held by the museum's department of music and literature. Analogous manuscripts from Moravia are held mainly by the Moravian Archives in Brno and partly by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (Vetterl, *Guberniální sbírka*, p. 9).

15 Markl, *Nejstarší sbírky*, p. 19. Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) was one of the most important figures during the emergence of modern Czech society. He was responsible for the codification of the standard modern Czech language. He is also considered the founder of Czech linguistics and literary scholarship.

16 Such institutions holding chapbooks include the Regional Museum in Chrudim, the Regional Museum in Litomyšl, the Museum of Litovel, the Regional Museum in Olomouc, the Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in Turnov, the Museum of the Chodsko Region, and others.

began to be collected on a systematic basis. Such methodical collecting of broadside ballads ironically occurred as the result of authoritarianism usually resistant to such cultural preservation; the Prague police authority, oddly as part of its censorship-related duties, began delivering broadside ballads to the National Museum's library.¹⁷ Some surviving examples include handwritten records of the date and time when the censors submitted them for inspection.¹⁸ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the oldest chapbooks at the museum were set aside as a separate collection, and in the 1930s the museum's library appealed to members of the public to donate blocks as well as individual broadside ballad gatherings. In the second half of the twentieth century, the museum even began compiling a bibliography of chapbooks; however, this work was never completed, and no resumption of the cataloguing is planned. Nevertheless, the team of experts specializing in chapbooks ensured that research continuity was maintained, and even today the excellent card index catalogue makes it possible to conduct such specialist document searches to an extent that is not usual in other institutions. As part of the cataloguing process, staff also amassed an extensive compendium of photocopies of broadside ballads that were preserved in the archives of smaller rural museums.¹⁹ In 1989 the National Museum purchased the collection of Rudolf Hlava—one of the largest private assemblages of broadside ballads—making it the largest holder of broadside ballads in the former Czechoslovakia. The museum's collection currently contains up to 40,000 broadside ballad gatherings, alongside separate subcollections of prayers and small religious printings, satirical music hall-type songs known as *kuplety* and *šlágry*, and anthologies of songs in both printed and manuscript form.²⁰ In the twenty-first century, as if in culmination of its accumulating activities, the museum created a digital library of chapbooks entitled *Špalíček* (Block), restoring a connection with the department's bibliographic tradition.²¹

Around 9,500 chapbooks, we find, have survived in the National Museum in the form of what we have translated into English as “blocks”—mainly containing songs, though around one-fifth of them are prayer texts. A large proportion of the blocks were compiled by the museum itself during the first half of the twentieth century as collections of texts made by a particular

17 Stražilová, “Kramářské písně.”

18 Analogous collections from Moravia and Silesia are held by the Moravian Library in Brno or the Local History Department at the Silesian Museum in Opava.

19 Bezděk and Ryšavá, *České kramářské písňové tisky*, p. 185.

20 Klacek, “Sbírka,” pp. 29–40.

21 Bydžovská, “Digitální knihovna”; Národní muzeum v Praze, “Špalíček.”

author or based on a particular theme. Some of the individual chapbooks in the National Museum collection bear traces of having formerly been bound into blocks (as evident in the marks left by previous sewing), but it is no longer possible to determine their original composition.

The Collection of the Moravian Library

The third key institution holding a major collection of chapbooks is the Moravian Library in Brno. It began acquiring “blocks” of broadside ballads in the nineteenth century, when it was the library of the Emperor Franz Museum (founded in 1817, now the Moravian Museum). However, it did not become a prominent centre of chapbook collecting until the 1960s, when the newly arrived librarian Jaroslav Vobr began to systematically catalogue and expand its collections.²² The work initiated by Vobr culminated in 2015 when the library acquired his extensive personal collection following his death. As a result of this important acquisition, the library’s collection of chapbooks (40,000 items) has become almost as large as that of the Prague National Museum. It includes a mixture of broadside ballads, bound together with prayers and other small-scale printed texts, to form blocks. Around half of the collection exists in this form, amounting to over 800 such blocks. In fact, marks of previous sewing (perforations along the fold lines) on most of the chapbooks now preserved separately in the collection indicate that even they were formerly bound into blocks. Such acts of gathering together what the consumer or collector conceived of as “like” broadside ballads, prayers, and other texts, was clearly an extremely popular historical phenomenon.

Although we still lack detailed knowledge of private collections, the first surveys of Vobr’s collection make it possible to formulate at least two hypotheses that will need to be verified by subsequent case studies, which lie beyond the scope of this paper. The first hypothesis is that Vobr’s collection of chapbooks incorporates a number of older aggregations he acquired in their entirety, as indicated by provenance notes. It is likely that these sets were assembled on the basis of the principles laid out by the project “Das Volkslied in Österreich” (the ideal of creating a systematic collection of songs, discussed above, by four committees representing Czech- and German-language songs, including many broadside ballads, from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which were formed in 1905). The second hypothesis concerns Vobr’s bibliographic approach; his work as a librarian is reflected

22 Vobr, *Soupis*.

especially in the methodology he developed for classifying the broadside ballads which survived as separate printings. He first divided these artefacts primarily into secular songs, religious songs, and news songs. Then he subdivided these three basic categories according to the printing houses that had produced them, and subsequently, by their date of publication. With the utmost meticulousness, Vobr next recorded the variations between individual editions. The resulting extensive card index catalogues, which he went on to apply to his entire collection, were based on the principles (outlined below) of the complete bibliography of Czech-language works printed before 1800 (*Knihopis, bibliografie českých tisků tištěných před rokem 1800*, referred to below as the *Knihopis*).²³ It was Vobr's personal goal as a collector and librarian to create the most complete (including most fully and systematically catalogued) assemblage of broadside ballads and their different variants. Currently his collection is being re-catalogued and made publicly available in the electronic catalogues of the Moravian Library.²⁴ A new digital tool is also being designed for the quantitative analysis of chapbooks, and preparatory web work is underway to provide public access specifically to the images contained in these chapbooks. Fundamental to such image searching is the further plan to digitalize the entire collection.²⁵

Present-Day Acquisitions

The library's intake of broadside ballads is ongoing. But the mode of present-day library acquisitions depends on the form in which the texts have survived. It is still possible to buy either individual broadside ballad gatherings or individual items that have been gathered into "blocks." The acquisition of both types of artefacts (gatherings and blocks) stems from a two-pronged approach that takes into account both bibliographic (i.e., collecting of gathering editions) and ethnographic (i.e., collecting of artefacts) concerns.

Purchases of separate broadside ballad gatherings (printed from a single sheet though perhaps consisting of one to several broadside ballads, as explained in the introduction) were motivated primarily by the desire to amass the most complete possible records of all extant versions of "like" printings. We must remember that reissuing a variant of one broadside ballad was common practice. It offered printers, publishers, and sellers a

23 *Knihopis*.

24 Moravská zemská knihovna, "Katalog Vufind"; Moravská zemská knihovna "Katalog Aleph."

25 Moravská zemská knihovna, "Kramářské písně."

cheap way of making and marketing broadside ballads; with little labour, these collaborators could only slightly alter an extant broadside ballad so that it would fit different occasions and places or just to make a much-circulated broadside ballad appear enticingly new, and thus more desirable to consumers.²⁶

However, libraries and museums face a disadvantage in this type of collection building and cataloguing: it can distort our perception of the printing and widespread dissemination of broadside ballad gatherings. Very popular and much-travelled broadside ballads that have not been altered but simply reissued and/or distributed broadly would be represented in a catalogued collection along the lines described above by the same number of times as a unique extant edition—just once. This distorted view of the production of broadside ballads could be mitigated if collectors also focused on their acquiring of “blocks” of broadside ballad gatherings, since such blocks often contain or imply contextual information on how the texts were combined and used.

Library and museum acquisitions of broadside ballads are very diverse as well, in large part due to the multivarious sources from which the artefacts are obtained. The sources of present-day acquisitions include private collections, individual items owned by the descendants of their original consumers, or second-hand bookstores (which get hold of items from the two previously mentioned types of sources). Acquisitions of documents in electronic form are a separate issue. Naturally, many collectors are unwilling to part with their collections, but they usually do not object to providing digital copies to public institutions. This new form of acquisition—procuring digital copies while the original item remains in private ownership—is currently being piloted by the Moravian Library (though in the process one loses the texture of the paper and marking that could only be seen by infrared imaging). Besides purchases, a further important source of acquisitions are donations from private owners (both individual items and entire collections).

Cataloguing

It is important to be aware of the bibliographic description of broadside ballads before and once the artefacts are obtained, not only for detailed

²⁶ See the chapter by Hanzelková on printers employing such tactics to sing of different pilgrimage sites.

and systematic cataloguing by the acquiring library, but also for fruitful searching, whether by the general public or by academic or other researchers. The bibliographic description of broadside ballads determines how we can study them; it is the primary verbal accounting of all chapbooks, including broadside ballads, employed in a Czech context. However, it is also necessary to take into consideration the local standards adopted during the 1930s by the State Institute for Folk Songs as well as the modified version of the *Knihopis* bibliography dating from the 1950s.²⁷ Adaptations were later introduced by the international standardization of bibliographic descriptions in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁸ Finally, new formats for electronic cataloguing—machine-readable cataloguing (MARC) standards—emerged during the 1990s (MARC 21 is the most widely used cataloguing format in the Czech Republic). Changes in digital standards continue to evolve, such as the proposed restructuring of catalogue databases across the United States and Europe known as FRBR (Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records), recommended in 1998 by the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA).²⁹ As to broadside ballads, the current system would substantially benefit from an introduction of authorized records of unified titles based on incipit words, since “commercial” titles, i.e. the titles under which different editions of identical songs were originally marketed, are less reliable identifiers than the much more consistent incipit words. Moreover, the same authoritative records of unified titles based on the incipit words would also facilitate the cataloguing of tunes, which are virtually always provided by a reference to better-known songs. At the moment, however, a more widespread use of such authoritative records is hampered by their limited number and also by the fact that the production of new ones is time intensive and requires a very specific set of skills on the part of the cataloguers. Amongst the debated cataloguing systems one movement is clear: in the past three decades, library catalogues have increasingly shifted from being internal (and often printed) tools for cataloguing and searching to becoming public (and digital) resources designed to serve the public and academia on many fronts.

27 Smetana and Václavek, “Jak katalogizovat kramářské písně.” Petrů, “Kramářské písně”; Bezděk, “Stav a zpracování”; *Knihopis*.

28 IFLA, “ISBD”; Horák et al., *Pravidla*, pp. 54–55.

29 FRBR is designed to reflect the conceptual structure of information resources across large catalogue databases globally. It calls for radical reform to create what the advocates for the new system describe as “an entity-relationship model of metadata for information objects, instead of the single flat record concept underlying current cataloguing standards” (OCLC, “OCLC Research”).

To be sure, traditional bibliographic descriptions used by library catalogues, such as the first generations of MARC, which only include the category of “books,” are in many respects inadequate for describing broadside ballads. These artefacts usually lack information on authorship, their titles are often stereotypical and frequently repeated (e.g., the Czech *Nová píseň pro mládence a panny* [A new song for young men and women]). Indeed, in Czech broadside ballads the title is often but loosely connected to the content, which is more appropriately represented by incipit words of the text proper. Additionally, information about the edition is frequently lacking and, following now the Czech format, broadside ballad gatherings tend to be of similar lengths because they were typically folded into the same very small size (octavo or sextodecimo) from the single printed sheet. For these reasons, the basic MARC details that are generally recorded for books are inadequate for identifying and classifying broadside ballads.

Thus, since the 1930s, in cataloguing Czech materials particular emphasis has instead been placed on the incipit—the opening lines of the text itself. Current practice is to record and index the first two lines of the text; the second line especially helps to distinguish between editions that begin with identical words (e.g., with an appeal such as “Poslyšte křesťané” [“Listen, Christians”]). But throwing yet another wrench into systematic cataloguing of broadside ballads, we find that in the mid-nineteenth century, Czech orthography underwent a major reform: new Czech spelling methods were introduced that differed significantly from older forms. For this reason, cataloguers usually document the incipit of the ballad(s) printed on a sheet, first in diplomatically transliterated form (that is, as they see it printed), and then in transcribed or modernized form. Cataloguers also frequently record the typeface employed to print the body of the text (Fraktur, Schwabacher, Antiqua), the number of pages or leaves, and the number of stanzas per printed ballad, whether singly or in an individual gathering. Other data listed for purposes of identification, if printed on the ballad, include references to tunes (the most common formula is “Zpívá se jako...,” i.e., “It is sung like...”), the names of authors as well as printers/publishers, and places of publication. Most publishing institutions also list other texts that are independent of the broadside ballad announced on the title page but that were printed together with that ballad in the gathering.

Subject classification, however, is still not standardized. Definitively deciding on “the” subject of a broadside ballad is very difficult to determine—a global problem, to be sure—because broadside ballads often mix themes; naming one or more subject can thus be highly subjective. Card-index

catalogues were often inspired by the *Knihopis* bibliography.³⁰ This bibliography combined name-based classification of anonymous broadside ballad gatherings according to the first noun in the title (often a stereotypical formula including words such as *písně*, *písničky*, etc.—i.e., “songs”) with person-based classification (e.g., *Píseň, Barbora* or *Píseň, Maria Svatohorská*—i.e., “Song, Barbora” or “Song, Mary of Svatá Hora”), or they resorted to combining the first noun in the title with a subject-based classification, using an adjective (*Píseň, Veselá*—i.e. “Song, Merry”). To work with texts classified in such a manner, researchers had to be well acquainted with the texts prior to using the catalogue, since there are thousands of “merry songs.” Such loose subject classification could not prevent information from being scattered throughout the entire catalogue, listed under various initial nouns and names or adjectives. This methodology, in sum, required prior knowledge of the content of songs that shared the same stereotypical titles if the searcher were to actually find them.³¹ The system nevertheless reflected the typical manner in which printed materials were categorized through much of the twentieth century, but it made it difficult to carry out searches according to analytical, if still subject-based, criteria.

Nominal inversion (the listing of the first noun in the initial position, before the rest of the text) became obsolete during the 1990s with the emergence of electronic cataloguing systems. Yet its legacy persists in the organization of older card index catalogues, and it is still sometimes used in keyword indexes as part of electronic catalogues. Legacies, however, eventually die out. Today, the systematic classification of subject headings in libraries is most frequently based on the detailed international decimal system used for subject classification into basic categories. However, it seems that cataloguers continue to neglect broadside ballads as ephemera or the genre itself actively resists being pinned down. Thus, we find that the *Conspectus* classification system is still not widespread in the cataloguing of collections of broadside ballads; instead, it is mainly restricted to the electronic versions of extant catalogues. Even the application of a substantially expanded classification system using subject headings does not produce satisfactory results due to the lack of a shared list of such headings, and, to add to the problem of a cross-collection cataloguing system, we find considerable differences in classification methods entrenched among the individual collections. For instance, at the Institute of Ethnology and the National Museum, subject cataloguing takes the form of keywords (i.e., loose

30 *Knihopis II/VI, P-Píseň*, pp. 145–148.

31 Petrů, “Kramářské písně.”

aggregations of words and phrases without any links to an authoritative database). The Moravian Library uses words and phrases from the group of national authorities linked up to the United States Library of Congress system, but it does not draw on a shared list of subject headings.

Yet another important point of division in the categorization of broadside ballads is the traditional distinction between religious and secular texts—a divide that became established during the ethnographic collection projects instigated by the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in the early nineteenth century, and which was reinforced a century later by the project “Das Volkslied in Österreich.”³² Many academics were involved in organizing these projects, and it is due to their influence that the religious/secular distinction still persists today. The distinction poses a major problem, however, for cataloguers of early broadside ballads. Especially in broadside ballad gatherings dating from before 1800, the two designated spheres—religious and secular—cannot in fact be reliably distinguished from each other. To artificially create such a two-pronged division is to embrace inaccuracy and confusion.

Another aspect of broadside ballad gatherings has in the past been largely ignored by cataloguers: the fact that they are multimedia artefacts consisting not only of printed verse and tune titles but also typically of images. The visual elements are a distinctive part of broadside ballad gatherings and much valued by consumers. But once we recognize the images as themselves deserving cataloguing in their own right, we face the problem of how to deal with them. It has always been possible to give precise measurements of an image, but a precise verbal description presents substantial challenges and can vary dramatically from cataloguer to cataloguer. A breakthrough came with modern technologies that have enabled us to work with sets of scanned images to which any verbal descriptions refer. Thus, the publication of the second part of the catalogue for the Institute of Ethnology’s collection reproduces scans of the title pages of chapbooks featuring woodcut images together with iconographic descriptions and a clear identification of each item. Both the hard copy and the electronic versions of the catalogue also contain an iconographic index. The Moravian Library also applied this approach when preparing subject headings for categorizing images. Before the chapbooks were catalogued, the images were photographed, and each illustration was allocated a unique alphanumeric identifier and provisional keywords. In the near future, the library plans to upgrade its internal system for unifying the cataloguing

32 Vetterl, *Guberniální sbírka*, p. 10.

system by introducing an established subject-heading list for images (a possible candidate is Iconclass, though that would need to be expanded to include subject-heading identifiers) and making it available for other libraries to use.³³ The current process of digitalization makes it possible to search on the basis of similarities between images—a revolutionary method of identification developed during the past ten years, which has been applied to similar material both in the Czech Republic and abroad.³⁴ The systematic provision of access to images enables researchers to see (and verify) the actual content of the images. It also opens up opportunities for national and international matching across digitized archives. Furthermore, a detailed study of an image can attribute printing woodblocks to a particular printing shop, thus helping to attribute and date previously unplaceable and undated chapbooks.³⁵

The title page of a chapbook or individual broadside ballad gathering is another distinctive element worthy of including in cataloguing. Various different layouts of the same text and image(s) may indicate different editions of otherwise same-titled artefacts. Catalogues may include either textual descriptions of the title pages, with line breaks marked (Moravian Library, National Museum) or, even better, scans of the title pages (Institute of Ethnology) for visual comparisons. Indeed, as a consequence of digitalization, we expect that the problem of differentiating differently formatted and illustrated title pages of otherwise same-titled items will be solved in the near future.

33 RKD, "Iconclass." The English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) has rejected Iconclass, however, as unsuited to popular and especially broadside ballads because EBBA argues ballad woodcuts are often by comparison with high art (for which Iconclass was designed) "crude," cheaply printed so as to be smudged, and show much wear and tear from extensive printings. EBBA also finds the Iconclass numbering system too cumbersome and subjectively produced. For an early article by the director and associates of the EBBA team that addresses these problems, see Fumerton et al., "Vexed Impressions."

34 Bodleian Libraries, "Broadside Ballads Online," has mounted a test sample of image matching based on 100 of its 1,500 pre-1701 broadside ballads; EBBA has gone further to create and continue to improve an image-matching tool dubbed "Arch-V," developed by Carl Stahmer, which has created matches across over 40,000 woodcuts on the archives to date circa 10,000 pre-1701 broadside ballads (for any broadside ballad image, see "Woodcut Search").

35 A printing block is a wooden element used to print images and is incorporated into a layout for printing along with the typeface during the composing phase of printing. Essentially, a printing block produces an image (what EBBA calls an "impression" on a sheet)—in the case of chapbooks, usually made from a woodcut. Blocks were sometimes produced at the printing shop itself, most frequently as copies of existing images. In some cases, however, they were tailor-made and even produced in groups for printings of lengthier works (such as the Gospels); in such cases, their appearance in chapbooks was secondary.

Digitization itself, however, can pose its own problems. One major challenge is created by different modes of data aggregation. The MARC 21 format retains a strong dominance in Czech libraries; but the National Museum uses the more advanced TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) XML format,³⁶ though unlike the libraries, it has not yet followed national authorities. An even more major problem is the existence of local cataloguing systems at smaller museums. Often created on the fly to fit only their extant holdings, these limited systems typically do not structure the data with an eye to expansion of the museum's collections, let alone searching across digitized archives. However, efforts to incorporate data across institutions, even from such local sources, are underway. The main aggregator of digitized broadside ballads is currently the Špalíček digital library, run by the National Museum in Prague, which has integrated data from various types of institutions, including digital images.³⁷ Data from library catalogues are then accessible via the Czech Republic Union Catalogue or the electronic version of the *Knihopis* bibliography.³⁸

Authenticity of Sources

Sources of important information for users, of course, lie not only in the texts, images, and tunes but also the very physical medium of artefacts. In the case of broadside ballad gatherings, a key concern is how these items have been preserved, which leads especially to the so commonly consumer-created “blocks.” The material formatting of the artefacts as archived is also closely connected with issues of the restoration and conservation of these documents, and furthermore—though the connection may not be immediately apparent—the creation and presentation of them in digital images. In fact, both restoration and digitalization involve alterations in our perception of material artefacts, and thus also a shift in the potential meanings that such artefacts convey.

Looking back to their being made publicly accessible in their own time, we can with confidence say that broadside ballads were sold in the form of folded sheets or bound gatherings of broadside ballads. At what point in the passing from printer to seller such folding or assembling of the single

36 Bydžovská, “Metodika.”

37 “Špalíček. Digitální knihovna kramářských tisků.”

38 Národní knihovna ČR, “SKC—Souborný katalog České republiky”; Národní knihovna ČR, “KPS—Databáze Knihopis.”

sheets occurred is not as certain. But once marketed, we do know that their new owners then sewed the folded or gathered pages, thus further assembling them into a larger group, according to their own personal system (though often by theme) to create what we have referred to as *špalíčky* (blocks). This was a practical solution: binding individual broadside ballads or chapbooks together into single volumes consolidated them into one unit and helped to maintain them intact as well as to protect them from damage and destruction.³⁹ The traditional practice of creating such blocks was then adopted by collectors, who used it as a way of collating their items. Collectors had these blocks rebound, or in some cases they rearranged the contents of them, usually according to topic. However, some bound volumes were created by the authorities responsible for censorship in order to collate the broadside ballad gatherings they were evaluating and censoring. Frequently it was libraries and museums themselves that were responsible for rebindings, as they replaced damaged blocks with standard library bindings or bound separate broadside ballad gatherings together to create volumes. The covers of these volumes were originally the outer sheets of the chapbook, but the practice in libraries was to use hard outer covers to protect all documents. Blocks that were preserved elsewhere (i.e., not in libraries) were generally spared such interference. The blocks in the collections thus had various origins, and we can observe an increasing general trend towards respecting their material integrity. A similar approach can be observed in the case of the physical condition of these materials; many broadside ballad gatherings or entire blocks of them were preserved in a very worn condition, and in the past, both private and institutional collectors often attempted “repairs.” This means that besides rebindings, we may also encounter various forms of historical attempts at restoration. As has been mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, many broadside ballad gatherings have formed part of institutional collections for more than a century, and they thus bear traces of more or less invasive treatment. The most frequent types of intervention included the addition of paper and the reconstruction of pages that had only survived in fragmentary form, as well as the removal of cloth or leather covers (including their bindings) and their subsequent replacement after cleaning—which in most cases completely destroyed the original binding system and altered the overall appearance of the block. Documentation of the restoration is often lacking entirely. The present-day consensus is that institutional interventions such as these should be respected as part

39 For more information, see the introduction.

of the individual memory of each particular item. Present-day restorations are restricted to basic conservation work (provided that it will not cause further physical degradation) in order to protect the item from damage during use (e.g., where paper is flaking off).

As well as carrying out critical evaluations of the current condition of broadside ballad gatherings, it is also necessary to address the issue of providing access to digital images—especially since the internet is the main source used by numerous present-day studies and certainly by the public at large. When formulating principles for the digitalization of these printings, possible approaches should be considered depending on the expected use of the images: focusing either on conveying the text and image, or on the material substance of the artefact. However, a third, and perhaps best, option integrates features of both. The digitalization of blocks, as usual, poses a particular challenge because there are no extant guidelines that would consolidate the different modes of digital access adopted by individual institutions. Full dual digitalization (i.e., one that would produce two sets of digitized images so as to account both for text and image and for the material makeup, including formatting and aesthetics, of any artefact), would be very costly and probably not convenient, so a combination of both approaches is usually chosen. First, the physical condition of the block is recorded by digital photographing of the whole assemblage in its entirety from several different angles. Photographs are then taken of the individual pages; these photographs are subsequently cropped, straightened, and mounted on a dark background so that the text can be read easily. Without this last step in mounting the images online, some of the texts would remain illegible due to dirty paper, damage, or bindings located too close to the block of text. The resulting digital library presentation of the block offers the images of the entire block, hence giving prominence to its materiality, while the individual broadside ballads comprising a given block are presented so as to highlight the textual properties.

OCR (optical character recognition) technology for converting images of black-letter types into electronic data that users can organize, search, and modify is still in the process of development. Developing a successful technology is made more difficult by many errors in popular printed texts, including upside down or reversed letters, caused by careless composing and proofing—in the interest of a fast and thus cheap turnout by the printer—and the use of worn typeface and poor-quality paper. In addition, OCR faces the difficulties of recognizing unusual Czech graphemes as well as erratic, individualized spelling typical of printers

or composers pre-1800 globally. These challenges are currently being addressed by several local and international projects. Promising results have been achieved in the recognition of entire text sequences using machine learning techniques beyond OCR, though these methods will always be hindered by the low quality and especially the low quantity of digitized texts available—a problem in dealing with any subgenre of already relatively few surviving texts (as opposed to, for instance, archives of twentieth-century newspapers).⁴⁰

Conclusions

The Czech tradition of institutional and private collecting of broadside ballads is a long one. However, we can clearly trace the different approaches that were applied by collectors, which can be divided into two groups. First, and earliest, we find large-scale collection projects undertaken by major institutions, which created links with similar such projects in central Europe (also in other language communities). Their activities focused primarily on recording the cultural heritage of folk songs, often transcribed by hand; from this perspective, broadside ballads were viewed as supplementary materials documenting the blending of traditional oral “folk” songs with “artificially created” compositions (printed for mass-marketing). The second, and later approach, which was employed most commonly by libraries, has attempted to capture all aspects of those previously spurned printed productions—though this methodology weakens the links between printed artefacts and surviving manuscript or handwritten items, mostly records of orally transmitted melodies.

The broadside ballads, having risen in esteem, are held on the one hand by large libraries, museums and academic institutions and, on the other hand, by small local institutions. This difference in holding sites is reflected in divergent internal structuring of their collections, which represent bibliographic (typical of large institutions, particularly libraries) and ethnographic approaches (typical of smaller museums). This combination is also reflected in the two forms in which broadside ballads have been preserved—both as broadside ballad gatherings (i.e., separate printings) and as such separate printings bound further together into volumes known as *špalíčky* (blocks). The internal classification of the large institutional collections focuses primarily on identifying the text; it thus typically

40 FIT VUT, “Project PERO”; University of Innsbruck, “Transcribus.”

indexes titles, authors, information about the place and date of printing, and the producer. Incipits and tune imprints are also indexed, and in many cases the incipit further functions as a title, while the tune imprint allows for links to be made between different broadside ballads which all used the same melody. However, little attention has so far been devoted to the visual elements (images) from either individual broadside ballad gatherings or the chapbooks. The subject classification of broadside ballads to date features a specific combination of title-based and content-based classification.

The above data are most frequently recorded using the MARC 21 format, though the TEI P5 format is also used to a lesser extent. Smaller museums use local recording systems, and the interoperability of the data is problematic. The main digital data aggregators for broadside ballads are the digital library Špalíček (useful mainly for digitized broadside ballads) and the Czech Republic Union Catalogue (a go-to for library entries).⁴¹

Finally, we have concluded, that the authenticity of documents should always be evaluated with respect to the collection's history (which is not yet always the case). The origins of the bound blocks of gatherings of broadside ballads and other items may vary, we find, depending on the history of the collection and past institutional interventions. Restoration by institutions in previous decades typically involved rebinding or unbinding blocks, though now this practice has ceased with a shift in focus: the material makeup of each artefact is now respected to a much greater degree, so that only essential conservation work is currently undertaken. We also see a move to protect documents from further degradation by digitalization—though such good intentions can simultaneously lead to tighter controls over collections that prevent some scholars from critical access to study the material composition of the originals. Digitization focuses mainly on conveying the text, while the materiality of the artefacts (kind of paper used, nuances in inking, markings only infrared could detect, etc.) plays a secondary role. Meanwhile, despite concerted efforts to create digital standards, especially in the conversion of images of texts into readable, searchable, and text-mining data, no unified set of such principles yet exists. In sum, we have come a long way, but we still have a longer way to go in order to achieve sophisticated data processing, including ultimately international interoperability in the cataloguing of broadside ballad collections.

41 Národní muzeum v Praze, "Špalíček"; Národní knihovna ČR, "SKC."

Works Cited

- Bezděk, Karel. "Stav a zpracování sbírek kramářských tisků." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 343–246. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Bezděk, Karel, and Eva Ryšavá. "České kramářské písňové tisky, jejich bibliografické zpracování a ukázka bibliografie 19. století." *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, Řada C Literární historie* 28 (1983), p. 185.
- Bydžovská, Iva. "Digitální knihovna kramářských tisků." In *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska 2011. Sborník z 20. odborné konference, Olomouc, 20.–21. září 2011*, ed. Rostislav Krušínský, pp. 29–38. Olomouc, Brno: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, Sdružení knihoven ČR Brno, 2012.
- Deutsch, Walter, and Eva Maria Hois, eds. *Das Volkslied in Österreich. Volkspoesie und Volksmusik der in Österreich lebenden Völker herausgegeben vom Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht Wien 1918*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2004.
- Fumerton, Patricia, Carl Stahmer, Kris McAbee, and Megan Browne Palmer. "Vexed Impressions: Toward a Digital Archive of Broadside Ballad Illustrations." In *Digitizing Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Brent Nelson and Melissa Terras, pp. 257–285. Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2012.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků brněnského pracoviště Etnologického ústavu AV ČR*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2021.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků, II. Biblická a křesťanská ikonografie*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2012.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků, III. Německé kramářské tisky, jednolisty a kuplety*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.
- Horák, František, Bedřiška Wižďálková, and Emma Urbánková. *Pravidla jmenné katalogizace starých tisků, prvotisků a rukopisů*. Praha: SPN, 1971.
- Hrabalová Olga. *Průvodce písňovými rukopisnými sbírkami Ústavu pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV, pracoviště v Brně. I: Soupis písňových rukopisných sbírek. II: Slovník sběratelů lidových písní*. Brno: Krajské kulturní středisko v Brně, 1983.
- Klacek, Michal. "Sbírka kramářských písní v Knihovně Národního muzea." *Muzeum: Muzejní a vlastivědná práce* 49 (2011), pp. 29–40.
- Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století. Díl II. Tisky z let 1501–1800. Část VI, Písmo P–Píseň číslo 6.688–12.820*, ed. František Horák. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1956.
- Kopalová, Ludmila, and Markéta Holubová. *Katalog kramářských tisků*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Markl, Jaroslav. *Nejstarší sbírky českých lidových písní*. Praha: Supraphon, 1987.

- Petrů, Eduard. "Kramářské písně jako knihovnický problém." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 347–355. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. "Jak katalogizovat kramářské písně." *Slovanská knihověda V (1938)*, pp. 138–143.
- Strašilová, Iva. "Kramářské písně v Knihovně Národního muzea. Cíle a prostředky zpracování." In *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska 2006. Sborník z 15. odborné konference, Olomouc, 22.–23. listopadu 2006*, ed. Rostislav Krušínský, pp. 191–199. Olomouc–Brno: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci & Sdružení knihoven ČR Brno, 2006.
- Thořová, Věra, Lydia Petráňová, Alexandra Navrátilová, and Zdeněk Uherek. *Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky 1905–2005*, ed. Lubomír Tyllner and Marcela Suchomelová. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2005.
- Tyllner, Lubomír, Jiří Traxler, and Věra Thořová. *Průvodce po pramenech lidových písní, hudby a tanců v Čechách*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2015.
- Vetterl, Karel. *Guberniální sbírka písní a instrumentální hudby z Moravy a Slezska z roku 1819*, ed. Olga Hrabalová. Strážnice: Ústav lidové kultury, 1994.
- Vobr, Jaroslav. *Soupis knížek lidového čtení z fondů Universitní knihovny v Brně*. Brno: Universitní knihovna, 1973.

Websites

- Bodleian Libraries. "Broadside Ballads Online from the Bodleian Libraries." <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.
- Bydžovská, Iva. "Metodika tvorby bibliografických záznamů kramářských tisků v programu Ignis." Version 1.2. <https://code.google.com/archive/p/ignis/downloads>.
- FIT VUT (Faculty of Informatics, Brno University of Technology). "Project PERO." <https://pero.fit.vutbr.cz/>.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Databáze německých kramářských tisků, jednodlů a kupletů Etnologického ústavu AV ČR, v. v. i." <http://nemecketisky.eu.cas.cz/>.
- Holubová, Markéta, and Ludmila Kopalová. "Databáze Kramářských a starých tisků Etnologického ústavu AV ČR, v. v. i." <http://staretisky.eu.cas.cz/>.
- IFLA. "ISBD: International Standard Bibliographic Description. Consolidated edition 2011." https://www.ifla.org/files/assets/cataloguing/isbd/isbd-cons_20110321.pdf.
- Moravská zemská knihovna. "Katalog Aleph." <https://aleph.mzk.cz/>.
- Moravská zemská knihovna. "Katalog Vufind." <https://vufind.mzk.cz/>.
- Moravská zemská knihovna. "Kramářské písně." <https://kramarsketisky.mzk.cz/>.
- Národní knihovna ČR. "KPS–Databáze Knihopis." <https://aleph.nkp.cz/>.
- Národní knihovna ČR. "SKC–Souborný katalog České republiky (CASLIN)." <https://aleph.nkp.cz/>.

Národní muzeum v Praze. “Špalíček. Digitální knihovna kramářských tisků.”
<http://www.spalicek.net/>.

OCLC. “OCLC Research Activities and IFLA’s Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records.” <https://www.oclc.org/research/activities/frbr.html>.

RKD (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie). “Iconclass.” <http://www.iconclass.nl/>.

University of Innsbruck. Digitization and Digital Preservation group “Transcribus.” <https://transcribus.eu/>.

About the Authors

Jiří Dufka: Head of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Department of the Moravian Library in Brno (<https://www.mzk.cz/en/study-rooms/manuscripts-and-early-printed-books>). Dufka has published several articles about the collecting and cataloguing of old printings. His most recent work (with Eva Chodějovská) is a monograph: *Sběratel a jeho atlas. Bernard Pavel Moll* (2021). jiri.dufka@mzk.cz.

Markéta Holubová: Researcher at the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, <http://www.eu.avcr.cz/en/about-us/staff/marketa-holubova/>. She has co-edited three collections of essays and co-authored eight monographs, most recently, *Etnografický atlas Čech, Moravy a Slezska IX*. (2020). holubova@eu.cas.cz.

Věra Frolcová: Researcher at the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, <http://www.eu.avcr.cz/cs/pracovnici/vera-frolcova/>. Frolcová has co-edited three collections of essays and co-authored two monographs, most recently, *Velikonoce v české lidové kultuře*, 2nd ed. (2020). frolcova@eu.cas.cz.

Iva Bydžovská: Researcher at the National Museum and curator of the collection of broadside ballads and chapbooks and the digital library Špalíček (<http://www.spalicek.net/>). Bydžovská has published several articles about Czech broadside ballads and has organized two exhibitions. iva.bydzovska@nm.cz.

Jitka Machová: Researcher at the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, Moravian Library in Brno, <https://www.mzk.cz/en/study-rooms/manuscripts-and-early-printed-books>. Machová has published

several journal articles dealing with the early printings in the collections of Moravian Library. jitka.machova@mzk.cz.

Hana Glombová: Formerly Researcher at the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, Moravian Library in Brno, <https://www.mzk.cz/en/study-rooms/manuscripts-and-early-printed-books>. Glombová co-edited the exhibition catalogue *The Wide Road to Brno: Broadside Ballads with Secular Themes* (2021). Hana.Glombova@mzk.cz.

Romana Macháčková: Formerly Researcher at the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, Moravian Library in Brno, <https://www.mzk.cz/en/study-rooms/manuscripts-and-early-printed-books>. Macháčková has published several journal articles about the collection of old printings of the Moravian Library and about Czech writers of the twentieth century. Romana.Machackova@mzk.cz.

III.

Topics

7. Finding Justice: Punishment in Broadside Ballads

Hana Bočková

Abstract

Hana Bočková deals with broadside ballads about crime and punishment. Bočková shows that though often such reporting was criticized in its time and by later scholars as unreliable, it in fact deserves serious consideration as an influential literary and cultural phenomenon. Such is the case even though authors held to recognizable and traditional motifs, with frequent use of schematic elements familiar to European murder ballads. Certainly, the narrated story she focuses on as a case study holds to widespread motives of murder ballads. In particular, it served the function of an abstract or exemplum—the need of its recipients to hear of the restoration from a disrupted order to some form of reconciliation. Still, Bočková claims, Czech murder ballads—however fuzzy their “facts,” even at the time of the murders—recounted information that, though stereotypical and attractively sensational, was also uniquely rooted in Czech news. In sum, the account reported was in a crucial sense “true” to Czechian regional facts.

Keywords: Murder ballad, crime, punishment, news, regionalism

The topic of crime and punishment is one of the most ancient issues relevant to society. It is seemingly inbred in human nature that this topic is reflected in texts spanning many centuries—some of them artistically accomplished works aimed at a literary elite, and others, popular literature targeted at a non-privileged audience. The latter category of texts include broadside ballads about crimes. Though often such lowly work was derogatorily criticized in its time and by later scholars as unaesthetic and crude, it in fact deserves serious consideration as an influential

literary and cultural phenomenon.¹ Mass-marketed texts about crime and punishment reached a wide spectrum of the population, including not only the lower classes, for whom they were primarily marketed, but also the very elite who might openly dismiss them and yet eagerly read them as well. Bottom line: popular literature, especially songs of crime and punishment, sold.²

Peter Liba,³ thinking precisely about the prominence of literature aimed at the “low,” points out the inadequacy of adopting a one-sided (and derogatory) view of such popular texts as schematic, formalized, and conventional. Instead, he recommends that in evaluating popular literature, attention should be paid to how it reflects the cultural norms of contemporary society. These norms arise from the process of establishing the optimal form of its frequented genres, as well as from the need to reflect the horizons of readers’ reception. These standardized traditions also to a certain extent affect the initiative taken by authors, who are restricted to the variant space (expected features) offered by the popular genre. In this connection, Piotr Kowalski writes about the effect of “a special form of censorship.”⁴

Broadside ballads about crime, *morytáty* (murder ballads), are a specific subgenre belonging within the wider orbit of broadside ballads addressing secular topics.⁵ Such non-religious topics reflect events in the life of society more widely (political events, wars, natural disasters, new social phenomena) and also in private life (family affairs, love, specific features of interesting types of people, professions, social strata, etc.).⁶ The topic of crime (which often destroys human lives) and the need for punishment (which, in theory at least, restores the disrupted order of life) has always attracted people’s attention. This is not merely due to a desire for sensationalism; it also reflects a need for moral anchoring, as well as (unfortunately) the constant attraction of the topic of violent transgression, which has long kept crime at the forefront of audience

1 On negative assessment of Czech broadside ballads, see the chapter by Hashemi.

2 The extraordinary continuities across Europe in printing format, sensationalism, moralising language, and other elements of execution ballads are described in McIlvenna et al., “Singing the News of Punishment.” Thanks to McIlvenna for pointing out this recent study. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, the contributor could not fully include it in her chapter.

3 Liba, *Kontexty*, pp. 16–17.

4 Kowalski, “Ballada dziadowska,” p. 22.

5 Neunzig, *Das illustrierte Moritaten-Lesebuch*, p. 270.

6 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 496. The common topoi and motifs of German murder ballads are discussed in Cheesman, *The Shocking*.



Figure 17. Punishing a criminal by hanging. *Příkladná píseň z spisu vyšetřivosti Jozefa Kluga*, [1833], MZK, sign. VK-0004.732.

interest. The corpus of secular broadside ballads analysed here covers a range of subject matter and forms, and the mutual inspiration provided by songs with various types of content and configuration led to the emergence of numerous “transitional types,” in which crime songs overlap with other kinds of secular songs. However, there are also crime songs that transcend the boundaries of the “secular” and move towards or into the territory of religious broadside ballads.

Jaroslav Kolár, analysing the dynamic process through which secular broadside ballads developed, delineates two key phases.⁷ The first phase dates from the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. During this phase, the material for broadside ballads was often borrowed from elsewhere, especially from literature produced for purposes of secular and moral entertainment. The story usually functioned as an exemplum, illustrating a chosen thesis; in this way, broadside ballads

7 Kolár, “K periodizaci vývoje,” pp. 97–101.

were similar to the homiletic texts of the era. Emphasis was placed on the moralistic ending that is typical of most broadside ballads, which functions as a bearer of a contemporary ideological message. The second phase dates from the end of the eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. In this time period, as Kolár notes, the broadside ballad takes a different approach to reality, moving in closer connection with actual events. The story attracts more attention to itself, thus no longer functioning as a “mere” exemplum. As in the English tradition, the moralistic instructive ending becomes increasingly conventionalized, a process accentuated by the use of topical rhetorical formulas which open up space for future parodic versions. It should be noted, in this context, that the existence of parodies of certain genres necessarily means that those genres were widespread and familiar—and this certainly applies to the murder ballad.

This chapter explores broadside ballads about violent crime originating in Kolár’s second phase (from the end of the eighteenth to the second half of the nineteenth century).⁸ My aim is to determine whether his characterization of broadside ballads generally also applies to the specific topic of the murder ballad. I will thus primarily focus on the central theme of such songs: violent crime resulting in death, and especially the subsequent act of punishment. I will attempt to characterize the methods of literary depiction of these acts that are applied by the broadside ballads’ authors, the authors’ position in the narrative structure, and the means by which their depiction of the specific crime and punishment are carried out. I will also assess the ways in which the texts seek to meet their recipients’ expectations, both moral and secular, and contribute to the formation of their worldview.

My research is based on a corpus of 200 texts from the historical holdings of the Moravian Library in Brno (although I also take into consideration modern critical editions of other broadside ballads).⁹ This corpus comprises texts dating from the end of the seventeenth century to the last third of the nineteenth century that were published by printing houses in Bohemia and Moravia (the main parts of the current Czech Republic). Many of the printings lack details of location and date of the crime, so that it is only

8 My study does not include an analysis of songs based on older material, which has already been addressed in the critical literature (e.g., in studies of prose texts for entertainment purposes).

9 The printings form part of the collections of the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, and the Moravian Museum in Brno. The following editions were taken into consideration: Smetana and Václavěk, *České písně kramářské*; Scheybal, *Senzace*; Beneš, *Poslyšte*.

possible to investigate the connection between a specific historical event and its literary depiction in individual, relatively rare cases. The relation between a text and a real-life event may also be complicated by the migration of content: stories that proved particularly popular can be found in various different editions, printed in different places and at different times, and published by different printing houses. However, the “truthfulness” of these narratives should not merely be seen in terms of verifiable facts, and in any case, that is not the aim of this study. The notion of truthfulness should instead be viewed in a more general sense: in terms of successful (widespread among the readers, but also profitable) literary representations of a particular model of thinking about crime and punishment—a model that was conditioned by their historical and social circumstances, and which concerned the problem of violent acts disrupting interpersonal relationships and the subsequent punishment for such transgressions.

When considering the reasons underlying the lasting attraction of murder stories (as reflected in the long-term interest taken in them by both readers and literary/cultural theoreticians), Jonathan Culler states that “[s]tories [...] are the main way we make sense of things, whether in thinking of our lives as a progression leading somewhere or in telling ourselves what is happening in the world.”¹⁰ This likewise applies to stories about human crimes and their subsequent punishment. Such stories present often factual information developed into the form of a literary narrative. But the “fictional” narration should not be viewed merely as an attempt to capture readers’ attention by sensationalizing a series of events anchored within a specific chronotope (that is, within a heightened discourse detailing the act of the crime and punishment); murder broadside ballads—though they do play to such sensationalism—also contain warnings, moral appeals, and ultimately also spiritual consolation.

The model recipients of such murder broadside ballads—mostly less educated people with relatively narrow life horizons—did not expect the narrative to contain any surprising elements or unexpected revelations; indeed, the plot and its denouement were usually described in the lengthy title preceding the text itself, just as in English crime broadside ballads. The necessary (and marketable) excitement was offered by the way in which the story was told, the circumstances of the crime that was committed, and the description of the punishment that was subsequently inflicted. These elements provided a sensation of satisfaction, confirming the existence

10 Culler, *Literary Theory*, p. 83.

of divine justice combined with secular powers which actively penalized crimes. Culler states that

the narrative implicitly constructs an audience by what its narration takes for granted and what it explains. A work from a different time and place usually implies an audience that recognizes certain references and shares certain social assumptions that a modern reader may not share or, or for that matter, even understand.¹¹

Studying murder ballads of the past are thus a useful tool for understanding the cultural life of commoners of earlier periods.

Broadside ballads about crimes tend to present the narrated events in a direct, chronologically ordered manner. They offer only a limited insight into the actual events; rather, they move within the restricted horizons of their constructed readers' reception. However, I do not deny the fact that the primary goal of these songs was to entertain their audiences, especially by capturing their imaginations with colourful, even often gruesome descriptions. A drastic event which disrupted the traditionally calm course of life in a commoner's "small world"—the world in which most of these stories are set—brought a degree of sensationalism that may also have offered such recipients a sense of emancipation from the drudgery of the everyday, temporarily freeing them from the unimportance of their day-in, day-out lives.

However, the narrative also had to have a strong moralistic potential—and the characters, events, and denouements should also be interpreted from this perspective. When considering such moralistic evaluations and the ways in which they are incorporated into murder ballads, it is important to take into consideration the conventions of the era. The morality of society was inextricably bound up with religion—to such an extent that blasphemy remained a criminal offence in both religious and secular law well into the first half of the nineteenth century. I thus necessarily also focus in my study of murder ballads on this integration of religious and secular spaces, both physically and psychologically conceived, since both spaces can be found in murder ballads, characterized, as we shall see, by a specific form of coexistence. Most frequently, this intersection can be found at two peak points of the narrative: at the moment when the crime is committed and at the moment when the perpetrator is punished. It would be anachronistic to attempt to separate methods of enforcing secular law from punishments

11 Ibid., p. 88.

based on principles of religious faith, and vice versa. Nevertheless, it is evident from the texts that the literary treatments of secular and religious principles differ to some degree, a tension that I explore in more detail later in this paper.

As has been mentioned, the aim of this study is not to explore the real-life events upon which the authors of broadside ballads based their texts, or to investigate the times and locations at which these events took place. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the texts represented or formulated happenings according to a generally acknowledged and comprehensible plot line. Such narrative reformulation “is a way,” in the words of Culler, “of shaping events to make them into a genuine story” (though “genuine” aligns in many ways with “expected”). Culler further points out that any plot “requires a transformation” of whatever might have been the real-life happenings. He details the arc of such a transformed, narrative plot: “[T] here must be an initial situation, a change involving some sort of reversal, and a resolution that marks the change as significant.” In sum, he declares: “A mere sequence of events does not make a story. There must be an end relating back to the beginning.”¹²

This correlation between the beginning and the ending of the story can be clearly demonstrated in broadside ballads about murder crimes. After the crime is committed, the perpetrator is physically punished; moral postulates are derived from the crime, which are primarily applied to the actors in the story but are also applied in more general terms, being addressed to the entire community of recipients—with the aim of shaping their moral awareness and behaviour. In rarer cases, when the story does not culminate in the perpetrator’s punishment (most commonly because the criminal is not caught or dies prematurely), a different kind of conclusion must be sought. Nevertheless, this alternative ending still has to correlate with the beginning, and it also has to be capable of communicating a moralistic message. In general, we can state that the “crime and punishment” plot was easily identifiable by its audiences within the simple narratives characteristic of broadside ballads, and that the consumer accepted the arc of the plot with satisfaction. This in turn meant that later broadside ballads may have imitated the “expected” plot, which was viewed as a guarantee of a successful, that is, marketable broadside ballad.

In order for a murder ballad to be successful, it also had to feature other characteristics related to the knowledge and values that were shared by the narrator and his readers: the broadside ballad had to embody an

12 Ibid., p. 85.

understanding and respect for social conventions; predictable actions by the characters involved in the action; formulaic, even schematic, psychological frameworks; and a familiar narrative setting. In the introduction to the story, the narrator typically outlines the initial situation, the nexus of relationships, and animosities and conflicts; this prepares the groundwork on which the plot—beginning with the act of violence—can be developed.

One of the most frequent settings for violent crimes in broadside ballads was the domestic family. Such texts typically document the disintegration of traditional family structures as a result of the action of one family member, resulting in the disruption of relationships between partners and/or different generations. The reasons leading to such a radical disturbance of fundamentally close human relations are tragically archetypal: poverty, avarice, alcoholism, and gambling, or feelings of humiliation and injustice (as experienced, for instance, by a rejected suitor or denial of a child's inheritance rights). A classic case is that of infidelity: it figures most prominently as a motive for the removal of a husband or wife who stands in the way of a new relationship. The unfaithful partner who murders his or her spouse, in the logic of such crime ballads, deserves double condemnation: they have broken two of the ten commandments (*Thou shalt not kill* and *Thou shalt not commit adultery*). More rarely, murder may be presented as spurred in reaction to infidelity or as a consequence of religious disagreements. However, it is very common, as it is in the complications of real life, for these motives to appear in combinations (avarice *and* infidelity, infidelity *and* religious disagreements, avarice *and* gambling, alcoholism *and* poverty, etc.). Less frequently, the crime is committed by family members against a person from outside the family: the abhorred murder of a guest (who according to traditional custom should enjoy the protection of their hosts) reveals a family's moral deviance. The crime thus impacts the reputation and punishment of a family as an entity, eventually destroying it (for instance, the mother kills the child that witnessed the murder and robbery of the guest). However, there are cases which depart somewhat from all such cited traditional "typology of crime." Such deviations might recount the murder committed in public, when an innocent person is attacked (to the protests and cries of onlookers) and then killed.¹³ This represents a step towards another distinctive type of murder ballad which recounts murderous events taking place outside the family circle, committed by professional criminals. Later I will discuss some of these key types of crime in more detail.

13 *Pravdivá píseň o hrozný vraždě*, 1849, MZK VK-0000 696, přív. 52.

Whatever their trajectory, broadside ballads about violent crimes tend to have a strongly emotive element; this is a key means by which the narrator holds the various audiences' attention, stimulates their emotional involvement, and reinforces the fatal nature of the crimes as well as the justification for the perpetrator's punishment. Narrators do not try to conceal their own emotional involvement; on the contrary, they display their emotions strongly and attempt to evoke a similar level of involvement in their audiences by characterizing the events (in the introductory part of the text) as extraordinary. Common evaluative attributes that heighten emotional investment in the murder plot include *neslýchaná* (unheard of) and *hrozná* (terrible) or *strašlivá* (horrible). The introduction to the narrative frequently develops into a lament about the "bad world" we live in, thus constructing an emotional and moralistic perspective from which the narrated events will be evaluated. Such strategic positioning also applies to the evaluation of the characters whose representation (expressed in unambiguous terms) usually enables the consumer to form a very clear understanding of the "division of roles" in the narration into negative (the future perpetrator) and positive (often the future victim). However, besides these explicit "black and white" characterizations, these ballads also portray more realistically the complexity of human nature. Significantly, there are some depicted cases in which a character is presented in a more indirect manner, using more implicit means of evaluation, as their criminal personality more gradually emerges from their behaviour during the course of the text.

Not to be ignored, furthermore, is the important role played by non-central characters, who serve to "flesh out" the plot and enhance its emotional intensity (e.g., children running behind their father's coffin at his funeral following his murder). These more marginal characters are often members of the extended family, neighbours, or members of the community as a whole. They help to reveal the identity of the perpetrator, act as witnesses, lament the victim's fate, participate in funerals, and are present at the public punishment of the criminal. They thus function as a kind of chorus, and, in that role, they often comment on the events. Furthermore, the murder ballad narrative sometimes features characters from beyond the immediate orbit of the main protagonists, who have somehow participated in the crime or are at least suspected of having done so. Leaving aside robbers and brigands, these tend to be people from the margins of society, who are traditionally subjected to defamation: gypsies, executioners, knackers (persons whose business was the disposal of dead or unwanted animals), innkeepers, nightwatchmen, and an array of people living outside the community and beyond its control. Widespread anti-Semitism is also reflected

in the texts, as in this rather bizarre (in its beautiful imagery) passage that opposes friendships with Jews:

Růže a tulipány	Roses and tulips
v bodlák se měňejí,	turn into thistles
neb křesťany s Židma	because Christians and Jews
kamarádšoft mají. ¹⁴	are friends.

The setting of the story—the scene of the crime—also has a supporting function. Most commonly the setting is domestic—a home, a private space for the micro-world of the family—which is suddenly destroyed due to the terrible crime of a fellow family member. The violent event is all the more shocking because it affects a place which is supposed to provide people with safety and protection from the outside world. The domicile does not need to be described in detail; the narrator merely traces how the events pass through this crime scene—the parlour or other rooms, the barn, cellar, or garden. The only contents of the household mentioned in the texts are functional, as involved in the murder (beds, axes, etc.).

Despite the prevalence of the domestic space as the murder scene, the crime may take place outside the home—such as in a forest or on a road, where victims lack the usual protection of the domestic environment and are particularly vulnerable because they are alone and unaccompanied, without access to help. Less frequent settings are factories, which (more frequently than other crime scenes) offer a social dimension to the narrative—poverty as the cause of the crime. The setting of the factory also presents the poverty of the murderer, who is sometimes forced to commit the crime by their unbearable social/financial situation.

As has been mentioned, the first peak of emotional intensity in the storyline comes at the moment of the crime, which is narrated in intensely and explicitly expressive terms:

Celé tělo jí popíchal,	He stabbed her entire body,
ještě s nožem krk podřezal,	and he also cut her throat with the knife,
hlava uříznutá byla,	her head was severed,
jenom na kůži visela. ¹⁵	only hanging by the skin.

14 *Mord ukrutný, který se stal blíž města Teplice*, [1822], MZK VK-0000.610, přív. 3.

15 *Janatka, Nová a žalostná píseň o jedné neslýchané vraždě*, [between 1861 and 1880], MZK VK-0000.681, přív. 41.



Figure 18. Execution of a woman by guillotine. *Nová píseň o hrozné vraždě*, [1865], MZK, sign. VK-0000.412, přív. 6.

Such emotionally detailed descriptions are enhanced by the exclamations of both the narrator and the characters, which often resemble prayers (thus indicating most intense fear and horror), such as “Ježíš Maria Josef!” (“Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!”); situationally determined addresses, questions, or instructions such as “Pse!” (“You dog!”)¹⁶; and (though less frequently) literary stylizations in the form of moving rhetorical monologues like “Že se tak velice koupáš v mé nevinné krvi?” (“So, you are bathing deeply in my innocent blood?”).¹⁷

The second emotional peak of the narrative comes when the perpetrator is captured, generally without any complications that could delay the arrest

16 *Nová píseň o hrozné vraždě*, [1865], MZK VK-0000.412, přív. 6.

17 *Píseň nová aneb mord ukrutný*, [1820], MZK VK-0000.015, přív. 12.

and increase tension, which was the case in Western broadside ballads as well. There then follows an interrogation (generally with the use of torture), followed by a swift trial and the perpetrator's execution in the presence of the public. The accounts of the barbaric public punishments of criminals contained in the broadside ballads may tempt modern readers into misinterpretations if they compare these scenes with modern "behind closed doors" executions, involving lethal injection or electrocution. It is therefore useful to outline the cultural framework in which these acts took place.

The symbol of the place of execution as a stage on which a terrible theatrical act was performed is one which is frequently evoked in broadside ballads.¹⁸ The use of torture during the interrogation was considered legitimate, as it was during executions for particularly terrible crimes. Nobody could be convicted without publicly confessing their guilt; the perpetrator thus did so and was able to speak with those present before the execution. These speeches were characterized by the expression of regret for the crime committed and a powerful appeal to the morality of the public; although the practice may appear theatrical, such speeches conferred a degree of dignity upon the perpetrator. Van Dülmen adds that such scenes embodied a certain tradition of "the art of dying" (*ars moriendi*).¹⁹ The texts of broadside ballads frequently incorporate the perpetrator's speech prior to the execution; these were generally viewed as a distinctively personal topos, though they appear to be mere literary stylizations rooted in previously existing customs. The execution wasn't merely a spectacle, but an effective way of subjugating the people to the state; the perpetrator's death led to the restoration of the disrupted order of the world.²⁰

In broadside ballads, the representatives of law and state power are designated as "the glorious provincial judiciary," "the respected committee," or "the law." They discharge their duties without emotions, only occasionally "struck numb" by the bloody nature of the crime.²¹ In the last act of the story, the perpetrator is the protagonist. The description of the punishment varies from text to text, ranging from general formulas, such as punishment by imprisonment or death, to a detailed and gory description of the specific execution. The punishment is usually not described in its entirety nor as the sole focus of attention, however; instead, the author selects the

18 Van Dülmen, *Kultur und Alltag*, pp. 269–270.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 274.

20 Dibelka and Grulich, "Venkovská společnost v poli vnitřních konfliktů," p. 574.

21 *Příkladná píseň o mordu, který se stal v Novojičinském kraji*, [1862], MZK VK-0000.288, přív. 43.

most dramatic elements of the criminal's interrogation, imprisonment and penalty. The speaker's focus, moreover, accentuates the spectacular nature of this "theatre of death" and/or offers potential for moralistic interpretations.

Reflection of Faith in the Czech Murder Ballads

The designation of murder ballads as "secular" reflects the fact that they were anchored in actual experiences, in the lives of individuals and society as a whole. However, if we take into account the fact that the experiences of the songs' recipients were inextricably bound up with religious faith—a faith which led all to interpret the world and human existence as the work of God—then some elements of these songs can be recognized also as specific manifestations of contemporary belief and piety.

These religious elements sometimes take the form of prayers in the narrator's voice at the start of the story, drawing attention to the song's moral and spiritual meanings (though frequently they are concealed behind a lurid sensationalism whose main aim was to attract the recipient's attention and, of course, very secular money). Sometimes, however, the prayers are voiced by the protagonists. Such prayers appear most frequently at both emotional peaks in the narrative—the criminal act itself and, especially, the execution of punishment. As noted above, prayers, or at least devout exclamations, are placed into the mouths of repentant murderers in prison or at the place of execution, and their exclamations may even incorporate paraphrases of biblical texts: "Ach, skály, padněte na mě! Tmavá obloho, přikryj mne!" ("Oh, rocks, fall on me! Dark sky, cover me!").²² A most moving prayer—in the best case one which encompasses the entire community of recipients and commends them to divine protection—might be placed at the very end of the story. In some cases, not exactly expressive of religiosity, such prayers are used to fill up the last blank pages of the printing. This latter point should make us consider to what extent the traditional prayers so often spoken by criminals are just that: the expected rote words of penitence and not heartfelt repentance at all. The words of repentance are, after all, *topoi* and urged upon criminals at the point of the punishment to act as a moral/religious warning against sin to all of the onlookers; Are those words

²² Christ's words: "Then they will say to the mountains, 'Fall on us!' and to the hills, 'Cover us!'" Gideons International, *Holy Bible*, Luke 23:30. See *Mord ukrutný, který se stal v Moravě*, [1818], MZK VK-0000.048,přív. 49.

spoken thus also heartfelt, or coerced, or a giving in to rote acceptance of their designated role as condemned criminals?

Another sacred aspect of murder ballads, further condemning the criminal, is the motif of the miraculous rescue of a witness to the crime committed; this enables the narrator to make it clear that one or more of the people present have survived the murderous deeds and can thus function as proof. The character who is saved from the murderer's attack is assumed to be protected by a higher power and rewarded for their piety not only in surviving the assault but also in providing the investigators with a witness that certifies the crime. Here the miraculous helper is ultimately God, a guardian angel, or saints to whom the surviving character prays; the surviving character is often depicted carrying a printed prayer to the miraculous helper(s).

Another *topoi* is the motif of God's reward to a devout person who is grievously injured by a murderer not in the form of salvation in this life, but the next. The character does not want to die without receiving the Eucharist, so instead of enjoying a miraculous recovery—a more typical feature of religious broadside ballads, and one which would evidently be at variance with the real course of events—a priest brings the dying victim the Eucharist as a gift, enabling him or her to die “a good death.” The received gift of the Eucharist opens up the path to salvation and grace—a path which is not available to the other victims in the ballad (who died unexpectedly and without due preparation and absolving of their sins). This is a frequent motif which not only dramatizes the narrative plot (a mortally wounded victim identifies the murderer, wails, prays, and waits for the arrival of the priest), but also serves as a pious example to the recipient (and the audience as a whole). Such religious components of the narrative usually reach their peak in an act of spiritual ceremony comprising a church funeral for the victims attended by the entire community. The festive atmosphere is accentuated by the ringing of bells, the celebration of mass, and the local priest's sermon, alongside the weeping of neighbours and the family of the deceased (especially orphans) lending emotional force to the proceedings and appropriately qualifying the jubilation.

In some cases, more space may be devoted to the religious than to the secular aspects of the narrative, especially when the story is not sufficiently elaborated and does not offer the option for a traditional ending (that is, the punishment of the perpetrator). Even here, however, the story may have been horrific enough to be “attractive” and marketable—both typical features of broadside ballads about crimes—and it may also have offered space for moralizing. This is the case in a song about a pregnant woman

murdered in a forest by brigands who cut her unborn child out of her body in order to take its hands (which were believed to possess magical powers to protect criminals). This simple, though grotesque, story is accompanied by the above-mentioned common motif according to which a devout person cannot die until they have received the Eucharist. The remainder of this specific text is made up of an explanation of why it is important to honour the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary with *her* child; Mary's childbirth in the Bethlehem manger is presented as a precursor to the suffering of the pregnant woman in the story, who loses her baby even before childbirth.²³

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I cited my allegiance with Kolár's delineation of two phases in the development of broadside ballads. (First from the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, the second from the end of the eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century.) The texts examined in this study (mainly dating from the first half of the nineteenth century) substantiate his second phase allocated to the period from the end of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Kolár, we should remember, states that a characteristic feature of this phase is the stronger connection between the narrated stories and historical events, meaning that the story loses the function of an abstract exemplum that was typical of the previous, first developmental phase. In my opinion, however, Kolár's phases are delineated too broadly, and they do not enable us to discern more detailed internal differences and developments in the Czech broadside ballad; if Kolár's characterizations hold true for broadside ballads as a whole, then the material analysed here (mostly dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, with only occasional exceptions) should be typified by a persistence of previous traditions. The texts should recount information that was attractively sensational, yet still in a traditional way, with frequent use of motifs and other schematic elements. In Kolár's theory, in sum, the exemplary nature of the narratives (and the associated moral appeal to recipients) can still be clearly discerned. This theory evidently corresponded with the tastes of model recipients of broadside ballads of the period. The postulates associated with the topic of crime and punishment in broadside ballads from the first half of the nineteenth century (including the need for the restoration of the disrupted

23 *Píseň o hrozném mordu*, [1861–1870], MZK VK-0000.511,přív.12.

order and reconciliation both in religious and secular terms), as well as the manner of their literary presentation, are still rooted in the traditions of the previous phase of development of broadside ballads. I would only qualify, as evident in this paper, that we also witness much deviation from this phenomenon—not as a contradiction but a qualification of Kolár's thesis.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Janatka, Antonín. *Nová a žalostná píseň o jedné neslychané vraždě, která se stala ve vsi Borovorech, kterak syn zamordoval otce, matku a bratra*. Praha: Spurný, Jan [between 1861 and 1880], sign. VK-0000.681,přív. 41, MZK.
- Mord ukrutný, který se stal blíž města Teplice*. N.p.: N.p., [1822], sign. VK-0000.610,přív. 3, MZK.
- Mord ukrutný, který se stal v Moravě, v kraji Holomouckém, v dědině Ullersdorf, kdežto jeden zlořečený syn otce svého ukrutně zamordoval*. [Skalica]: N.p., [1818], sign. VK-0000.048,přív. 49, MZK.
- Nová píseň o hrozně vraždě, která jest spáchaná v krajině Polské v roku 1865*. Chrudim: Pospíšil, Stanislav, [1865], sign. VK-0000.412,přív. 6, MZK.
- Píseň nová aneb mord ukrutný, který se stal v Čechách, v kraji Chrudimském, na panství Litomyšském, ve vsi Hrušovy roku 1820*. N.p.: N.p., [1820], sign. VK-0000.015,přív. 12, MZK.
- Píseň o hrozném mordu*. Chrudim: Pospíšil, Stanislav, [1861–1870], sign. VK-0000.511,přív.12, MZK.
- Pravdivá píseň o hrozný vraždě, která se stala v kraji Kouřimském na Komornohradeckym, ve vsi Vlkočicích*. Praha: N.p., 1849, sign. VK-0000 696,přív. 52, MZK.
- Příkladná píseň o mordu, který se stal v Novo-Jičínském kraji, blíž městečka Kelče, v dědině Všechnovicích, v měsíci únoru, roku 1862*. Olomouc: Halouska, Antonín, [1862], sign. VK-0000.288,přív. 43, MZK

Secondary Sources

- Beneš, Bohuslav, ed. *Poslyšte písničku hezkou....: Kramářské písně z minulých dob*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1983.
- Cheesman, Tom. *The Shocking Ballad Picture Show: German Popular Literature and Cultural History*. Providence, RI: Berg, 1994.
- Culler, Jonathan. *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- Dibelka, Jaroslav, and Josef Grulich. "Venkovská společnost v poli vnitřních konfliktů." In *Společnost českých zemí v raném novověku. Struktury, identity, konflikty*, ed. Václav Bůžek et al., pp. 558–582. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010.
- Gideons International. *Holy Bible: New International Version with Introductory Helps*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2005.
- Kolár, Jaroslav. "K periodizaci vývoje české kramářské písně a k ideovému profilu jejího staršího období." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 97–101. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Kowalski, Piotr. "Ballada dziadowska." In *Słownik literatury popularnej*, ed. Tadeusz Żabski, pp. 22–24. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006.
- Liba, Peter. *Kontexty populárnej literatúry*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1981.
- McIlvenna, Una, Siv Brandtzaeg, and Juan Gomis. "Singing the News of Punishment: The Execution Ballad in Europe, 1550–1900." *Quaerendo* 51, no. 1/2, EDPOP special issue (2021), pp. 123–159.
- Neunzig, Hans Adolf. *Das illustrierte Moritaten-Lesebuch*. München: Deutsche Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1979.
- Scheybal, Josef V. *Senzace pěti století v kramářské písni*. Hradec Králové: Kruh, 1991.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek, eds. *České písně kramářské*. Praha: Svoboda, 1949.
- Van Dülmen, Richard. *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zweiter Band, Dorf und Stadt 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. München: C.H. Beck, 1999.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*. Praha: Libri, 2006.

Abbreviations

MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)

About the Author

Hana Bočková: Associate Professor of Czech literature in the Department of Czech Literature, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.muni.cz/en/people/91-hana-bockova>. Bočková has co-edited four critical editions and authored the monograph *Knihy nábožné a prosté. K nábožensky vzdělávací slovesné tvorbě doby barokní*. bockova@phil.muni.cz.

8. Broadside Ballads and Religious Pilgrimage Songs: The Virgin Mary of Vranov

Marie Hanzelková

Abstract

The paper by Marie Hanzelková describes the very popular and topical (at least at the time of writing) phenomenon of Czech broadside ballads: pilgrimage songs. Through a case study, she analyses the pilgrimage broadside ballads to a local pilgrimage site named Vranov. She focuses on the especially distinctive but also typical means of presenting and promoting Vranov (and by extension, all pilgrimage sites). Hanzelková particularly illustrates that pilgrimage broadside ballads, such as those about Vranov, primarily played a unifying role even though they also often reflected historical stereotypes and long-standing rivalries between national and religious groups—all or any of whom might visit pilgrimage sites.

Keyword: Pilgrimage broadside ballad, Virgin Mary, Vranov, religion, recatholicization

In this study I will analyse broadside ballads related to the pilgrimage site in Vranov. Besides exhibiting features that are also typical of other pilgrimage sites (such as a long tradition stretching from the Middle Ages to the present day and a striking setting in the landscape), Vranov also has certain unique features—it is a contact point between two vernacular languages and ethnic groups (Czech and German) and, viewed from a diachronic perspective, also two different confessions (Catholic and Lutheran). Despite the specificity of Vranov's multiple assemblages, its drawing together of oppositional elements is common to pilgrimages sites. For this reason, songs about Vranov make for a very telling and exemplary study. In sum, even though it was

a relatively small pilgrimage site, known mainly locally (that is, within a relatively small geographical region), Vranov was in its own special way representative. Drawing on broadside ballads centred upon Vranov, then, I will explore the typical means of presenting and promoting pilgrimage sites. Here, we find, song is critical. Pilgrimage broadside ballads such as those about Vranov, as we shall see, despite drawing together various social and national groups, nevertheless primarily played a unifying role. Such is the case even though they also often reflect historical stereotypes and long-standing rivalries between national and religious groups within the larger society of the Bohemian Crown lands.

Pilgrimage songs are a frequent type among Czech broadside ballads. But although their importance has previously been reflected upon in some scholarly studies, outside of a narrow circle of experts, they are often neglected or viewed in problematic terms.¹ The fact is that pilgrimage songs were so important to their period that they demand much more attention and in-depth study. It is clear that they were uncommonly popular at the time when they were produced; they were *the* religious popular literature for contemporaries. Treasuring them, however cheap and ephemeral they might have been, the populace bought them as souvenirs of their pilgrimages, or took them home as gifts for loved ones. They were often bound together to create a volume of chapbooks such as have been referenced in previous papers: an assemblage of broadside ballads, sometimes together with other cheap writings, which together were known as a “block” (*špalíček*) and, in the case of pilgrimage broadside ballads, functioned as a customized personal hymn book. Pilgrims sang select songs either communally or individually, and they also read them aloud or silently to themselves in an expression of meditation.² Pilgrimage broadside ballads were also sometimes used for purposes of interior decoration—hung or pasted up on domestic walls. So displayed, they were often viewed as performing a protective function (for instance, functioning as a guardian of a woman during pregnancy or childbirth). Likely, like other devotional items, they sometimes even accompanied their owners into the grave.

1 Important scholarly works on pilgrimage broadside ballads include Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*; Slavický, “Kramářský”; Holubová, “Odras”; Kalista, *Česká*. However, historical studies of Vranov do not mention pilgrimage songs at all (Mihola, “K problematice”). Some members of the Catholic Church living in larger cities also have a rather negative attitude, even regular participants in the pilgrimages. Brno priest Jakub Tůma, who regularly organized pilgrimages to Vranov, described them in an interview as “Terrible songs with 30 or more stanzas” (Jakub Tůma, personal communication, June 27, 2018). However, in some regions (south and east Moravia), pilgrimage songs are very popular thanks to the general popularity of folklore.

2 Kafka, *Dárek*, pp. 197–203; Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 57.

Pilgrimage songs together with other pilgrimage chapbooks (consisting more broadly of prayers, holy cards, and the like) were cheap, small, and distributed at places along the journey to sacred places, at fairs, or by door-to-door vendors. They could thus be printed off and disseminated quickly, boosting the renown of the pilgrimage sites to which they specifically referred. These songs can also be found in pilgrimage books, as well as in printed hymn books (though, in the latter case, to a much lesser extent, as hymn books tended to contain a more general repertoire); we also find them in manuscript hymn books (especially used by the “elder brothers” or *celfotři/Zellvater*, that is, those who led pilgrimage processions and sang the lines of the hymn first, to be repeated by the pilgrims, in a “call and response” common to the oral tradition) and in records of oral tradition.³ However, by far the most common mode of dissemination pilgrimage songs was through broadside ballads.

The History of the Vranov Pilgrimage Site and the Virgin Mary of Vranov

The village of Vranov is located in south Moravia, around 15 kilometres north of Brno.⁴ According to the foundation legend, in 1240 a blind nobleman miraculously gained the power of sight; Baroque authors stated that he was the Moravian Marshal Vilém (William). He is said to have lost his way in the forests, so out of fear he began praying to the Virgin Mary. She appeared to him between two oak trees and instructed him to build a church. Vilém had the necessary timber taken to a nearby hill, but during the night it was miraculously moved to the place where the Virgin had appeared. Vilém therefore ordered a wooden church to be built at the site, after which he was miraculously cured of his blindness.⁵

Vranov’s role as a pilgrimage site was later suppressed under the influence of the Reformation; Lutheran preachers were active there from 1505 to 1614. But a major change occurred at the end of the sixteenth century, when Vranov was acquired by Maximilian of Liechtenstein. Originally a non-Catholic, Maximilian later converted to Catholicism.⁶ In 1622 he had a new church built

3 Collections of the EÚB.

4 In Brno and the surrounding region there are several pilgrimage sites: in addition to Vranov, these include Tuřany and Křtiny; within Brno itself, there were also pilgrimages to the devotional image of the Madonna of St. Thomas (Madona Svatotomská).

5 Talbert, *Wranoviae*, cited in Kalista, *Česká*, p. 101.

6 Upon conversion, Maximilian also lived out the rest of his life as a monk in a monastery; Kalista, *Česká*, p. 97.

on the very site of the old Vranov wooden structure (the Church of the Nativity of Mary), and adjacent the church, he established a monastery known as Aula Virginis (The Court of the Virgin).⁷ Maximilian and his wife, Catherine, invited members of the Order of Minims to come from France to run the monastery.⁸

However, the Thirty Years' War continued to rage in Germany and Central Europe, and both travel to and habitation in even Czechia was dangerous. In the spring of 1645, the Minims in Vranov were forced to flee from the advancing Swedish forces; they took refuge in a nearby castle (Nový Hrad), but the Swedes captured the castle. Later, remains of a crucifix and a wooden statue of the Madonna of Vranov were found among the ruins. This discovery sparked new renown for the site during the Baroque era that followed (ca. 1620–1775), and a second Vranov legend arose.

Under the Minims' management, Vranov had flourished as a popular pilgrimage site, but with the seeming "miraculous" survival amongst the nearby ravaged castle of the Vranov crucifix and statue of Madonna, it became even more so—attracting visitors from Moravia, Bohemia, and other provinces of the Habsburg Empire, including Hungary and Lower Austria.⁹ Still, not even the end of the Thirty Years' War brought lasting peace, and the region was threatened again on several occasions, this time by the Turks.¹⁰ Suffering as well from religious intolerance, the Minims' convent (like many other such institutions in the Habsburg Monarchy) was closed in 1784 as part of Emperor Joseph II's restrictions on religious observance. Adding injury to insult, the convent was partially demolished, and the adjoining church became a mere parish church. Pilgrims continued to visit the site, but here, too, we witness the forces of change. Previously, Vranov had attracted pilgrims from all social groups, including the elite; but following the Josephine restrictions, the less privileged strata of society (rural and lay people) favoured the site more. Still, the cult of the Vranov Madonna survived in this transmuted form; it even persisted during conflicts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—both world wars, the Nazi occupation, and the communist regime. In 1992 the Minims' convent was reopened, and the monastery was gradually revived. Vranov continues

7 This name is also reflected in the German name for the village, Frauenhof.

8 Ludvíková, "Pauláni," pp. 58–59.

9 From 1679 to the twentieth century, Vranov was a regular destination for pilgrims from Poysdorf in Lower Austria, who gave thanks for having survived the plague. In 1892 the Vranov priest Antonín Weinlich recorded thirteen annual pilgrimage processions by Bohemian Germans and two by Bohemian Croatians. The jubilee pilgrimage (1890) was attended by 60,000–70,000 pilgrims. Weinlich, *Mariánské*, pp. 145–149.

10 Ludvíková, "Pauláni," p. 60.

to be a popular pilgrimage site visited not only by organized groups, but also by families and individuals. However, it no longer hosts the formal processions of pilgrims wearing ceremonial clothing, carrying banners, and singing pilgrimage songs.

Although a relatively large quantity of Baroque literature (in Latin, Czech, and German) deals with Vranov, none of these texts mention songs.¹¹ Songs about Vranov have survived mainly in the more popular form of pilgrimage broadside ballads.¹²

Pilgrimage Songs about the Virgin Mary of Vranov

Pilgrimage songs are mainly defined on the basis of their use in the very act of making pilgrimages; technically, the definition does not refer to textual or melodic patterns, but rather the purpose and function of the songs.¹³ Pilgrims sang these songs as a group during their journey or at the pilgrimage site itself. Their songs usually mention the name of a specific pilgrimage site as part of their title and in the text of the song, and they often reflect specific features of that site's religious culture and rituals.

I base this study on my intensive analyses of pilgrimage broadside ballads from an extensive set of their assemblage: the large collections of the Moravian Library and the Library of the Czech National Museum, the Institute of Ethnology at the Czech Academy of Sciences, the Regional Museum in Chrudim, and the Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in Turnov. I also worked with items assembled by the University of Ostrava from Moravian institutions.¹⁴ To date, I have recorded 273 printings of broadside ballads about the Virgin Mary of Vranov. All these broadside ballads are in Czech; the only surviving German texts are three prayers to the Virgin Mary of Vranov.¹⁵

11 E.g., Talbert, *Wranoviae*.

12 There are also isolated examples in some pilgrimage guides for Mariazell and in unprinted hymnographic sources from the twentieth century, e.g., Šlěz, *Úplná*. Doubravský, *Doplněk; Vesele, překrásně*, 1954, EÚB A 914/103; *Na vranovské hoře*, 1955, A 514/139.

13 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 61.

14 Ibid.

15 The collections of the National Museum are more balanced in terms of the number of Czech and German prayers published in the form of chapbooks. In the opinion of their curator Iva Bydžovská (personal communication), German broadside ballads may have been neglected by collectors whose main focus was on Czech-language songs, or they may have been destroyed or lost during the Second World War or as a result of the mass expulsions of German-speakers from Czechoslovakia that took place from the spring of 1945 onwards; Iva Bydžovská, personal communication, June 21, 2018.

The repertoire represented in this corpus of collected material comprises 46 different texts. Of these survivors, 11 are specifically about the pilgrimage site at Vranov, while 5 exist in versions about both Vranov and Mariazell, and 29 represent versions for Vranov as well as other pilgrimage sites. Twenty of the broadside ballads give tune imprints. The others either completely lack information on the melody or refer either to a general melody or feature the phrase “has its own melody” (which denotes that the concrete song had a special melody, not a melody of another song). The melodies of two of the broadside ballads have been preserved thanks to transcriptions from the oral tradition.¹⁶ Most of the songs are anonymous; only in three cases (from the nineteenth century) is the author’s name given. In view of the fact that the three editions of the song “Všecko se raduje” (“All is joyful”) give different names for the author, we should approach such authorial information with caution; the name of the author could in fact have referred to the publisher or the person who later modified the broadside ballad.¹⁷

Most of the surviving repertoire for Vranov is more recent than for other pilgrimage locales, despite the fact that the site’s history reaches back to the Middle Ages. Most printings are undated. A total of six broadside ballads date back to the period before the Josephine reforms (e.g., abolition of “unnecessary” orders in 1782, pilgrimage ban in 1784); they were mainly published in Brno. But the number of dated broadside ballads about Vranov grew rapidly around 1850 when most of the broadside ballads were published by a printing house in the town of Litomyšl. (The Brno printers focused on different production than broadside ballads, e.g., official documents. However many smaller printers specialized in printing of chapbooks, including broadside ballads.)¹⁸ The increase in production mainly concerns the two most frequently preserved songs: “Dobrý den vinšujem tobě, ó Maria” (“We wish you a good day, oh, Mary”) and “Vesele, překrásně já zpívati budu” (“I will sing joyfully and beautifully”)¹⁹. Although we must recognize that many printings likely have not survived (and possible specific features of their printed assemblages), we can deduce that these two particular songs were

16 *Vesele, překrásně*, 1954, EÚB A 914/103; *Na vranovské hoře*, 1955, EÚB A 514/139.

17 *Zázračná píseň*, [1880], MZK VK-0000.058.přív. 12.

18 I collected a total 96 broadside ballads from Litomyšl; the next most frequent places of origin (18) were more distant—Znojmo and Těšín.

19 *Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii*, [1779–1822], ST1-0087.425.přív. 37; *Vroucná píseň o blahoslavené Panně Marii*, 1866, MZK VK-0000.527.přív.26. These broadside ballads also exist in versions for numerous other pilgrimage sites. The broadside ballad “Vesele, překrásně já zpívati budu,” for instance, has both a Slovak and a Polish version. See Droppová and Krekovičová, *Počívajte*, p. 105; specifically, the chapter by Szturcová.



Figure 19. The oldest image of the Vranov Madonna in preserved broadside ballads. *Píseň nová k Panně Marii Vranovské*, 1762, MZK, sign. VK-0000.780, přív. 49.

most likely “Vranov bestsellers,” which continued to be printed repeatedly throughout the entire nineteenth century, hence their higher survival rate. From a quantitative perspective, publication of the dated Vranov broadside ballads reached a peak in the 1850s (38 printings), but after that high point their production went into decline.²⁰ Nevertheless, some of the broadside ballads persisted in the oral tradition well into the mid-twentieth century.

The history of the production of Vranov broadside ballads is mirrored in the illustrations accompanying them. The oldest of these printings are often not illustrated. But with the rise of Vranov pilgrimage broadside ballads in the nineteenth century, we find more woodcut images on the sheets—though, as befits cheap literature, they are typically rustic and schematic.²¹

Indeed, as typical of recycled literature, we find images of the Vranov Madonna specifically only in a minority of the repertoire (59). Most of the

²⁰ In the middle of the nineteenth century, censorship eased, which is probably reflected in a larger number of dated printings. In the second half of the nineteenth century, production of broadside ballads generally declined, and the phenomenon subsided.

²¹ Kalinová, “Kult,” p. 10.



Figure 20. Many Vranov broadside ballads contain images of “non-Vranov Madonnas.” In this picture, the other iconographic type (Madonna of Křtiny) is even verbally marked. *Chvalo zpěv k Panně Marii Vranovské*, 1854, MZK, sign. VK-0000.287,přív.33.

printings feature other iconographic types from Moravia, Bohemia, and Austria (the Madonna of Mariazell), illustrating and allowing for reuse of the woodcuts.

In terms of content, we find that Vranov broadside ballads mostly glorify or supplicate; more specifically, collective or individual speakers thank the Virgin Mary for her good deeds as well as ask for protection and assistance with everyday concerns (a good harvest, help to recover from sickness) or with extraordinary afflictions (plague, war, fire, famine). Some of the songs take the form of a dialogue between the pilgrim(s) and the Virgin Mary, with alternating utterances by the speakers (Mary is commonly portrayed as a mother and the pilgrims as her children, or she is represented as the pilgrim’s lover). Almost all of the broadside ballads end with an existential request to help the pilgrim enter heaven when the hour of death arrives. The texts, furthermore, often reflect other typical pilgrimage practices; they

mention the length of the journey and the difficulties encountered along the way, kneeling as supplicants in front of the devotional image of Mary, and departing, however reluctantly. They also as a rule blend elements of secular and religious discourse; meditative texts, for instance, alternate with prayers for rain and a good harvest, for the monarch, or for a particular military victory. The songs contain recurrent pilgrimage formulae (such as “milionkrát buď pozdravena,” i.e., “be greeted a million times”), conventional epithets (“krásné místečko, šťastný vrch,” i.e., “beautiful place,” “lucky hill”), and collective forms of schematic address (“milí poutníčkové,” i.e., “dear pilgrims”). The stylistic range and artistic quality of the songs vary widely; the texts from the eighteenth century often employ more sophisticated biblical and Marian symbols and metaphors, while the nineteenth-century texts, reflecting their proliferation as a popular form of print, are written in simple language, with numerous diminutive forms and frequently repeated key words—for instance, “Vranov, Vranovská Maria” (“Mary of Vranov”) and “Vranovská Matička” (“Mother of Vranov”).

The Presentation of the Pilgrimage Site

Among the formulaic features of pilgrimage broadside ballads is the celebration of the pilgrimage site itself; one main function of a pilgrimage broadside ballad was to boost the pilgrimage site's prestige and fame.²² Some scholars have even identified a subgenre termed “promotional pilgrimage songs.”²³ In the Vranov broadside ballads and (in my scholarly observations) in pilgrimage songs generally, we can observe three ways by which the pilgrimage site is promoted: in using stories, landscape descriptions, or direct appeals.

Promotion Using Stories

Narrative songs are among the most frequent type of pilgrimage broadside ballads, and most of such narratives present versified versions of foundation legends of the site. Alternatively, they more prosaically describe the site's history. Less frequently, they narrate “historical” stories of miracles, the lives of saints, or other exemplary accounts of the site's fame. Occasionally, sensational news songs link the pilgrimage site with an exciting story, such

22 Holubová, “Mariazell,” p. 196.

23 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 63.

as a murder.²⁴ The pilgrimage narratives, most importantly, in one way or another, integrate the present day (when the pilgrimage is undertaken) with the past, emphasizing the long tradition of the site and its eternal sacredness.

Although broadside ballads narrating a foundation legend can usually be found among the oldest examples of the pilgrimage repertoire, in the case of Vranov, such is not the case (the earlier ones might not have survived to be collected). Foundation legends among the surviving texts do not appear until the end of the eighteenth century. Probably the oldest broadside ballad containing the foundation legend is “Vychvalujte, pahrbkové, lesy a doliny” (“Give praise, you hills, forests and valleys”)²⁵; this song contains typical Baroque motifs derived from the landscape, often figuring the mythic nightingale, who acts as the narrator and the pilgrims’ guide.²⁶ The pilgrimage site is in the song described as “Vranov, Dvůr Panny nazvaný” (“Vranov, known as the Court of the Virgin”). This line refers to the name of the oldest surviving Vranov pilgrimage book written in Latin by the Minim friar François Talbert.²⁷ The text contains three narratives featuring motifs of light and darkness, which also symbolize spiritual enlightenment or blindness. The first Vranov foundation legend about the blind nobleman Vilém evokes such imagery; it refers to the biblical image of the light under the bushel that can never be entirely hidden.²⁸ This text appears to have been written by an author with some literary experience especially in religion.²⁹

Foundation legends also appear in some of the later broadside ballads, though here one detects the popular secularization of the authors and their motifs. The older narrative broadside ballads are more sophisticated and elaborate, giving more biblical details, in their attempt to explain the sacredness of the Vranov site and even in integrating secular and religious elements. By contrast, the narratives in the later broadside ballads, evidently in an appeal to a wider, not erudite audience (and especially not erudite in nuances of biblical history) tend to be briefer, often adapted, and

24 Ibid., p. 62.

25 *Píseň historická k [...] Panně Marii Vranovské*, [1781–1800], MZK VK-0000.075, přív. 45. It seems that the Vranov broadside ballad was inspired by the pilgrimage broadside ballad “Poslouchejte pahrbkové, lesy a doliny” (“Listen, you hills, forests and valleys”) celebrating the larger Czech pilgrimage site Svatá Hora.

26 For a discussion of the motif of birds in the context of Marian devotion, see Smyčková, “Mariánská.”

27 Talbert, *Wranoviae*.

28 Mark 4:21–25.

29 Hanzelková, “Obracení,” p. 105.

simplified. The texts still retain some remnants of Baroque biblical and mythic symbolism, but their multiple layers of meaning are lost. Exemplary of this reduction in religious and mythic density of the earlier broadside ballads, the nineteenth-century printed pilgrimage songs typically include adaptations of legends connected with other pilgrimage sites—a type of recycling—that often make little sense in the context of Vranov. Again, in an appeal to a more popular audience, some texts also feature non-aristocratic heroes, such as an apprentice woodcarver and a blind shepherd boy. Such a “recycled narrative” with a non-aristocratic hero is found in a broadside ballad “Ach, jak šťastný den nám nastal” (“Oh, what a happy day has come”), telling the story of the plundering of the castle at Plumlov (dated by the song as 1623, historically 1643).³⁰ The text opens with a thrilling description of the Swedish cruelty to the “Christians.” Thanks to the divine intervention of God and Virgin Mary, however, the Swedish king is shot dead by a poacher:

Však z božího dopuštění švejdský král svůj konec vzal,
 neb v tom lese v prázdné lípě jeden raubšic naň číhal
 z Otínovce byl rozený, Šmehlík měl příjmení,
 v tom místě krále zastřelil, Bůh mu požehnal zbrani.

But divine intervention brought an end to the Swedish king,
 as in that forest, in a hollow lime tree, a poacher lay in ambush,
 he was born in Otínovec, his name was Šmehlík,
 he shot the king dead at that place, God blessed his weapon.

After this dramatic opening, the text reverts to being a typical pilgrimage song. Despite its compelling specificity, the broadside ballad also exists in versions for other nearby pilgrimage sites (Svatý Kopeček and Dub). In other words, it hardly serves as an origin legend for the pilgrimage site of Vranov; it was evidently well known in the region more generally.³¹

³⁰ *Nová píseň k Panně Marii Vranovské*, [early nineteenth century], VMO E 16358.

³¹ At the time of the Thirty Years' War, Dub was not yet a pilgrimage site. It is thus likely that the song wasn't originally written for Dub (Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 252). None of the printings are dated; however, we can estimate their dates from around the turn of the nineteenth century. Songs for large pilgrimage sites were usually accommodated to fit smaller sites; this would indicate that the Svatý Kopeček version, celebrating a large pilgrimage site, was the original version. Svatý Kopeček and Plumlov are both located in the region of Haná; while Vranov, which offers yet another version of the song, is further away, it is clearly not so far that the legend of foundation didn't easily travel there, just as pilgrims themselves travelled long distances.

Vranov, we've noted, continues to be a popular pilgrimage site and source of both oral and broadside ballad pilgrimage songs. Among the most recent Vranov broadside ballads is a text representing the genre of sensational news song (a relatively rare but persistent type). By embracing "news," such broadside ballads fully engage in the thrust toward the popularization of what were originally more biblically erudite and local pilgrimage songs. Secular news is not only embraced by the populace at large but spreads fast. From the very first lines, "Maličko se pozastavte, křesťané rozmilí" ("Stop awhile, dear Christians"), we read and hear a typical formula of address used in secular broadside ballads.³² As befits sensational legends, the narrative is situated in a faraway Palatinate (today the Pfalz region of Germany). The story is gripping: On the advice of the devil, a husband embarks on a life of crime, made horrendous when he and his confederates rip an unborn child from its mother's womb. The woman appeals to the Virgin Mary of Vranov, and thanks to her intervention, the criminals are swiftly subjected to secular justice. Though the woman and her child die, they comfortingly receive last rites, whereas the perpetrators are executed. The broadside ballad ends with an appeal to dying women, advising them likewise to appeal to the Vranov Madonna in times of need. To pregnant women especially, it promises that thanks to "this short prayer [the woman's invocation of the Virgin Mary of Vranov], your child will come safely into the world." The last stanza added a touch of evidence to boost sales; it points to the popular use of broadside ballad songs in chapbooks as a means of both divine and personal protection.³³

Compared with pilgrimage books or artworks—and further indication of their popularization—the Vranov broadside ballads take a very loose approach to the foundation legends or history of the Vranov pilgrimage site; that is, they represent a set of constantly adapted narratives. The legendary blind nobleman called Vilém is in the broadside ballads mistaken for the historical founder of the monastery, Prince Liechtenstein. The miraculous statue of Virgin Mary of Vranov is found by the Margrave of Moravia Vilém in an oak tree, or it is brought from eastern lands by St. Cyril, or it is found in a field by a man named Josef Gument, who unsuccessfully attempts to take it to local politicians.³⁴ Besides the "official" Vranov narratives contained

32 *Píseň žalostná*, [after 1840], MZK VK-0000.802, přív. 47.

33 The Vranov text is evidently an adaptation of an older song to the Virgin Mary of Karlov (Prague). It also exists in a version to the Madonna of Frýdek. For such recycling, see further examples I give in the text of my paper.

34 Hanzelková, "Obracení," p. 107.

in pilgrimage books or depicted in paintings in the Vranov monastery, the pilgrimage songs also invent, or more often adapt from other songs, new Vranov narratives; all coexist with the official stories, mutually influencing each other.

Clearly an oral or “passed along” version of the stories influences a particular telling. The French historian Pierre Nora sees pilgrimage sites as places of collective memory, “where one finds the living heart of memory.”³⁵ Expanding upon this thought, Nora emphasizes the dialectical nature of such an aggregate memory:

It [communal retention of tradition] remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. [...] Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present.³⁶

Pilgrimage broadside ballads can be viewed as just such a medium of evolving collective memory. Stories about a particular pilgrimage site have been remembered and forgotten, altered and distorted. However, even in secularized news stories, they have always brought pilgrims into contact with the sacred (embodied by the specific pilgrimage site), expressing the collective consciousness of the deity to whom the folk owe their existence.

Promotions Using Landscape Descriptions

If we are to pursue the situating of such morphing in a particular pilgrimage locale, we can benefit from Martin Heidegger’s description of pilgrimage sites as follows: “[Ein Ort] verstatet einen Raum, in dem Erde und Himmel, die Göttlichen und die Sterblichen eingelassen sind” (“[A place] provides a space into which earth and heaven, divine beings and mortal beings are admitted”).³⁷ Pilgrimages taught pilgrims how to experience this meeting of the earthly (a geographically locatable locale) and the divine (in most cases, the transcended Virgin Mary) and, furthermore, how to perceive a landscape as an image of the supernatural/Godly world, that is, the Creator. A landscape that has been imbued with divine grace

35 Nora, “Between Memory,” p. 23.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

37 Heidegger, “Bauen,” p. 32.

was a typical motif in Czech Baroque pilgrimages.³⁸ In addition, such a pilgrimage site as Vranov is usually represented in broadside ballads as a happy place, even a terrestrial paradise that emanates divine grace into the surrounding landscape. Following this line of thought, the texts accentuate the vertical axis from the terrestrial to the celestial. The Vranov Madonna even chooses an elevated locale to reside. Drawing on secular terms, she is often depicted as a ruler, an empress, or a queen; this is also reflected in courtly motifs such as pilgrims offering their service of love or gift of the heart to their superior. From her elevated position, Mary observes and protects the surrounding landscape. She also often makes herself visible to pilgrims, who can run to her as both a physical and divine being.³⁹ The sacrum, the indelible sacredness of the pilgrimage site, is furthermore represented in the *Rückkehrmotiv*, the motif of a sacred item's return to its place of origin, as well as in the use of archetypal symbols (for example, oak trees and fire).⁴⁰

In the more recent Vranov broadside ballads (dating from the nineteenth century), the image of the happy place of the pilgrimage site is simplified and its deeper symbolism removed, so that the depiction sometimes borders on the naïve. For instance, in the song with the incipit “Sto tisíckrát budiž pozdravena” (“Be greeted a hundred thousand times”), Vranov appears as a centre from which grace emanates to the whole world, but such emanation is rendered and then confirmed in the plainest language “believe me”:

tvé paprsky v celém světě,
vycházej z Vranova,
to mně věřte.

your rays throughout the world
originate in Vranov,
believe me.

Another popular Baroque motif in pilgrimage broadside ballads is less simplistic: the labyrinth (although not directly called so in the texts).⁴¹ The pilgrim, like Dante's figure at the beginning of the inferno, wanders lost

38 Kalista, *Česká*, p. 25.

39 *Píseň nová k Panně Marii Vranovské*, 1745, MZK VK-0000.085, přív.10.

40 For a discussion of collective symbols, see Royt, “Proč stojí,” pp. 109–110.

41 Originally the motif of the labyrinth stretches back to Greek mythology (think, for instance, of the Dedalian-created maze that Theseus must navigate to slay the youth-devouring Minotaur owed as tribute from Athens to Crete).

through a desolate and dangerous landscape, which is also an image of the pilgrim's uncertain life and the threatening world around him. But thanks to the intervention of the Virgin Mary, or sometimes an angel (perhaps in the form of a bird), the pilgrim is guided out of the forest into open countryside, and finally to Vranov, a haven of stability and safety.

The pilgrimage church, in many oral and printed pilgrimage songs, represents not only the end point but also the pinnacle of the pilgrim's journey.⁴² The broadside ballads emphasize its beauty and the fact that its location was chosen by Mary herself in collaboration with God. The Minims of Vranov are thus presented as the servants of the church, which stands in for the biblical temple in Jerusalem. A unique example of the ultimate destination of the God-sanctioned church is the song with the incipit "Pospíchejte sem s radostí" ("Hurry here with joy"). In its celebration of the divine, the song gives a realistic, affective description of the Vranov church and tomb of the founding family, the Liechtensteins:

V něm překrásné figury,
v smutku vyobrazený,
jenž proti v Pánu
smutek velký držejí.

In it are beautiful figures,
depicted in mourning,
which opposite the Lord
observe deep mourning.

Pilgrimage broadside ballads thus demonstrate the importance for pilgrims of visual aspects—not only geographical places but also built structures—and, in doing so, enact an interchange between the beauty of nature and art.⁴³

Promotions Using Direct Appeals

Another important aspect of the Vranov pilgrimage songs is their accordance with the convention of direct appeals to and from pilgrims.

42 The "holy landscape" surrounding the pilgrimage site was carefully designed. The pilgrims' immediate environment prepared them for the spiritual culmination of their journey, so the route was often linked by chapels, crosses, and statues.

43 Foletti and Rosenbergová, "Holy," p. 129.

The pilgrims are often addressed by the object of devotion (Mary, Jesus, a saint), and the pilgrimage itself represents a form of communication with the object of devotion. The usual address by the narrator (acting as a medium of the divine) in the Vranov broadside ballads is directed at multiple social groups, especially those on the margins of society (orphans, spouses, widows, abandoned fathers and mothers). The texts mention the specific sufferings of these particular groups and recommend the group to Mary for protection.

National assemblages of pilgrims (Moravians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Hungarians) are also frequently addressed in pilgrimage broadside ballads such as those we see celebrating Vranov. However, and most tellingly, Germans are only mentioned in one extant Vranov broadside ballad—despite the fact that the majority of Brno’s population was German speaking and German speakers from the Bohemian Crown lands frequently travelled to Vranov as pilgrims. A most likely reason is that the pilgrimage songs reflect the national tensions that were typical of the Czech/Moravian- and German-speaking inhabitants of Bohemian lands in the nineteenth century. The regional (Moravian) identity features strongly in the broadside ballads, and the above-mentioned song, “Nastokrát buď pozdravena” (“Be greeted a hundred times”), also emphasizes the connection with the ancient tradition of the Great Moravian Empire.

However, the broadside ballad “Dobrý den my vinšujeme, matce Krista” (“We wish a good day to the mother of Christ”) does reference a broader identity, which embraces both Bohemian German speakers and Moravian Czech speakers as a collective. In this pilgrimage song, the patron saints and princes of Bohemia and Moravia travel on pilgrimages to honour the Virgin Mary; in this song, the Vranov Madonna is also depicted as the patron saint of Moravia. The range of addressees is then expanded in an international appeal incorporating other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy:

Pojďte k ní Moravcové, Češi, Němci,
Uhrové, Slováci taky Hanáci.⁴⁴

Come to her, Moravians, Bohemians, Germans,
Hungarians, Slovaks, also people of Haná [a region of central Moravia].

Pilgrimage songs, in sum, often tend to the most inclusive. But they also often incorporated elements of military discourse into their religious

44 *Nová píseň k Panně Marii Vranovské*, [1801 and 1850], MZK VK-0000.708, přív. 20.

concepts—for instance, describing a collective enemy from whom Mary was to provide protection. In these contexts, Mary is actually depicted as a warrior, sometimes as the biblical Judith, protecting the Catholic Church, the monarch, and the nation. In the Vranov broadside ballads, she thus assists in defeating the Swedes, the Turks, pagans, Lutherans, and all the other enemies of Vranov in its turbulent history (with the exception of the inviolable Emperor Joseph II). All these enemies are depicted in stereotypically negative terms.

Pilgrimage broadside ballads, such as those celebrating the site of Vranov, in sum, have a complex history and reflect the relationships between social, ethnic, and religious groups associated with the pilgrimage site. They can serve as a useful resource for pilgrimage research from a cultural-anthropological point of view. Cultural anthropologists specializing in pilgrimages have been involved in long-lasting polemical debates on their political and social implications. According to Victor and Edith Turner, pilgrimages perform a unifying function, adding to traditional songs an inversion of social roles in which the weak gain a voice:

[P]ilgrimage—with its deep nonrational fellowship before symbols of transmundane beings and powers, with its posing of unity and homogeneity (even among the most diverse cultural groups) against the disunity and heterogeneity of ethnicities, cultures, classes, and professions in the mundane sphere—serves not so much to maintain society's status quo as to recollect [...] an alternative mode of social structure.⁴⁵

By contrast, however, John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow claim that “pilgrimage is above all an arena for competing religious and secular discourses [...], for conflict between orthodoxies, sects, and confessional groups, for drives towards consensus and *communitas*, and for counter-movements towards separateness and division.”⁴⁶ The pilgrimage broadside ballads from Vranov, we find, display both tendencies—unifying and dividing.⁴⁷

45 Turner and Turner, *Image*, p. 39. Turner's theory of ritual processes is also applied by Piotr Grochowski in his interpretation of Polish pilgrimage songs (Grochowski, “Polskie”).

46 Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting*, p. 12.

47 The unifying effect of pilgrimage broadside ballads is corroborated by archive sources. These consolidating tendencies are visible in the Vranov book of receipts. This book was originally used to record pilgrims' intentions and their monetary donations, but the pilgrims spontaneously began to use the receipt book as a form of a chronicle. It contains signatures by noble members of the Liechtenstein dynasty side by side with those of humble rural people, adults and children, Czechs, Bohemian and Moravian Germans, foreigners, intellectuals, and manual tradespeople

Their texts are addressed to various groups, and they often appear to side with the lower strata of society—pilgrims who do not belong to privileged groups. However, they also frequently glorify the elite: the founders of the pilgrimage site, the monarch, ecclesiastical officials, and especially the Order of Minims. In addition, people of various nationalities are invited to come to Vranov on pilgrimages. However, this unifying principle does not apply to collective enemies (the Swedes, Turks, Lutherans, and members of other non-Catholic confessions). It is also telling that with just one exception, the broadside ballads omit to mention the German-speaking community of the Bohemian Crown lands, although these very people also frequently undertook pilgrimages to Vranov. Overall, however, Howard Louthan is correct when he states that “pilgrimage within Bohemia normally functioned as a unifying force.”⁴⁸

Conclusion

Pilgrimage broadside ballads were a phenomenon of the religious popular literature of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Their main function was to promote a specific pilgrimage site, mostly by using stories, landscape descriptions, and direct appeals. The pilgrimage broadside ballads from the eighteenth century, we see, are more sophisticated and contain conventional Baroque and biblical symbols; they have probably been written by educated authors with literary experience. In the more recent Vranov broadside ballads (dating from the nineteenth century), the texts are much simpler, and the deeper symbolism removed and often secularized. The pilgrimage broadside ballads are addressed to different social groups, both privileged and unprivileged, and to the various nationalities, although German-speaking pilgrims were mostly omitted. However, the unifying tendency appears to outweigh divergence. Singing pilgrimage broadside ballads helped the pilgrims to distract themselves from the rigors of the journey and brought them spiritual, social, and aesthetic experiences—including a unifying collectivity.

(*Kniha přijmů*). By contrast, more divisive tendencies are evident from official correspondence dating especially from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, reflecting rivalries between Vranov's local politicians, anti-clerical activists, and Catholics (especially Vranov priests). Disputes concerned mainly the fairs held outside the church (*Korespondence*). The Order of Minims was also involved in long-lasting disputes—of all things—with the Liechtensteins over the right to brew and sell beer.

48 Louthan, *Converting*, p. 257.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Chvalozpěv k Panně Marii Vranovské*. Znojmo, Hofmann, Martin, 1854, sign. VK-0000.215, přív.10, MZK.
- Doubravský, Leo. *Doplňek poutní knihy Velká Radostná Cellenská cesta s přílohou*, Dačice, 1944, sign. W 19, *Sbírka písní a pobožností*, Dačice. Manuscript. Kostelní Vydří, Karmelitánská knihovna.
- Kniha příjmů*, 1892–1948, 103, Fond Vranov u Brna, BKB, Diecézní archiv Biskupství brněnského.
- Korespondence s církevními, světskými úřady*, 1850–1926, 75, Fond Vranov u Brna, BKB, Diecézní archiv Biskupství brněnského.
- Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii*. Litomyšl: Tureček, Václav Vojtěch, [1779–1822], sign. ST1-0087.425, přív. 37, MZK.
- Na vranovské hoře krásná, pěkná růže*. Suchdol, notated by Jan Poláček, zpíval František Racl, 1955, sign. A 514/139, EÚB.
- Nová píseň k Panně Marii Vranovské*. N.p.: N.p., [early nineteenth century], sign. VMO E 16358.
- Nová píseň k Panně Marii Vranovské* [...]. N.p.: N.p., [1801–1850], sign. VK-0000.708, přív. 20, MZK.
- Píseň historická k* [...] *Panně Marii Vranovské* [...]. N.p.: N.p., [1781–1800], sign. VK-0000.075, přív. 45, MZK.
- Píseň nová k Panně Marii Vranovské*. Brno. Svoboda, Jakub Maxmilián–dědicové, 1745. sign. VK-0000.085, přív.10, MZK.
- Píseň žalostná* [...]. Praha: N.p., [after 1840], sign. VK-0000.802, přív. 47, MZK.
- Šlez, Josef. *Úplná Cellenská cesta s přílohou. Každodenní pobožnost na sv. pouti do Mariánských Cell, jakož i na jiná poutní místa Mariánská*. Brno: Karel Winiker, 1893.
- Talbert, François. *Wranoviae seu Aula Virginis*. Viennae Austriae: Typis Matthaei Rictij, Typographi Academici, 1652.
- Vesele, překrásně já zpívati budu*. Prostějov, notated by Jan Poláček, zpíval Jan Zbořil, 1954, sign. A 914/103, EÚB.
- Vroucná píseň o blahoslavené Panně Marii* [...]. Skalica: Škarnicl, František Xaver–Synové, 1866, sign. VK-0000.527, přív.26, MZK.
- Zázračná píseň* [...]. N.p.: N.p., [1880], sign. VK-0000.058, přív. 12, MZK.

Secondary Sources

- Droppová, Lúbia, and Eva Krekovičová. *Počívajte panny, aj vy mládenci... Letákové piesne zo slovenských tlačiarň*. Bratislava: Eterna Press, 2010.

- Eade, John, and Michael J. Sallnow, eds. *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013.
- Foletti, Ivan, and Sabina Rosenbergová. "Holy site, place of memory or art object?: some considerations on Mont Saint-Michel in the "(très) longue durée" (708(?)-2017)". *Opuscula Historiae Artium* 66, no. 2 (2017), pp. 118–133.
- Grochowski, Piotr. "Polskie pieśni pielgrzymkowe i kalwaryjskie." *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 55 (2016), pp. 23–45.
- Hanzelková, Marie. "‘Obracení’ poutních kramářských písní. Panna Marie Vranovská." *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 66, no. 3–4 (2021), pp. 101–110.
- Heidegger, Martin. "Bauen, Wohnen, Denken II." In *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, pp. 32–33. Neske: Pfullingen, 1967.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Mariazell v tištěných médiích 18. a 19. století." *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 63, no. 3–4 (2018), pp. 196–206.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Odraz kultu Panny Marie Svatohorské v kramářské produkci." In *Salve Regina. Mariánská úcta ve středních Čechách*, ed. Markéta Holubová and Marcela Suchomelová, pp. 59–79. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, in collaboration with Státní oblastní archiv in Prague, 2014.
- Kafka, Luboš. *Dárek z pouti. Poutní a pouťové umění*. Praha: Lika klub, 2009.
- Kalinová, Alena. "Kult P. Marie Vranovské v lidovém umění." *Folia ethnographica* 29, *Scientiae sociales LXXX* (1995): pp. 3–17.
- Kalista, Zdeněk. *Česká barokní pout: k religiozitě českého lidu v době barokní*. Žďár nad Sázavou: Cisterciaria Sarensis, 2001.
- Louthan, Howard. *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ludvíková, Miroslava. "Pauláni na Vranově." In *Poutní místo Vranov: sborník*, ed. Miroslava Ludvíková, pp. 58–64. Brno: BOLIT-B Press, [1997].
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek, eds. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Mihola, Jiří. "K problematice barokní poutní tradice a jejímu místu v působení mendikantského řádu (na příkladě řádu paulánů)." *Sborník prací pedagogické fakulty MU v Brně, řada společenských věd č. 23*, (2009), pp. 49–61.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7–24.
- Royt, Jan. "Proč stojí poutní místa tam, kde stojí?" In *O posvátnu. Sborník české křesťanské akademie*, pp. 109–113. Praha: Česká křesťanská akademie, 1993.
- Slavický, Tomáš. "Kramářský tisk jako hymnografický pramen—několik poznámek k repertoáru mariánských poutních písní 19. století." In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 169–188. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.

Smyčková, Kateřina. “Mariánská topologie a Ornythologie.” *Česká literatura. Časopis pro literární vědu* 66, no. 3 (2018), pp. 335–358.

Turner, Edith, and Victor Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Weinlich, Antonín. *Mariánské poutní místo Vranov*. Brno: Benediktinská tiskárna, 1892.

Abbreviations

EÚB—Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i., knihovna brněnského pracoviště
(Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, library of the Brno branch)

MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)

MZM—Moravské zemské muzeum (Moravian Museum)

KNM—Knihovna Národního muzea (Library of the Czech National Museum)

VMO—Vlastivědné muzeum v Olomouci (Regional Museum in Olomouc)

About the Author

Marie Hanzelková: Assistant Professor in the Department of Czech Literature, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.phil.muni.cz/en/about-us/faculty-staff/13963-marie-hanzelkova>. Hanzelková has published several articles about Czech hymn books from the sixteenth century and about Czech pilgrimage broadside ballads (e.g., “Turning’ of Czech Pilgrimage Broadside Ballads” [2021]). marie.hanzelkova@phil.muni.cz.

9. Women in Broadside Ballads: Roles and Stereotypes

Markéta Holubová

Abstract

Markéta Holubová analyses Czech broadside ballads from the perspective of gender, especially women. She argues that women in broadside ballads were depicted across a wide spectrum: as weak, as strong, as wicked, and also, as “sacred” figures. This mix reflects the contradictory attitudes to women at the time. For female consumers, broadside ballads with gender-related topics most likely offered a reflection of their own complicated lives even as they often provided spiritual and emotional nourishment.

Keywords: Ethnology, social roles, gender, women, stereotypes

Czech broadside ballads—both secular and religious—were aimed at readers from the lower strata of society, who also featured as the protagonists in these texts. These works were not only a form of entertainment, satisfying a desire for sensational stories. Since there was a general lack of Czech-language books and newspapers (which in any case were too expensive for large sections of the population to afford), broadside ballads functioned as a substitute for literary and educational texts, including those with a moralistic or instructive dimension. But broadside ballads also reflected contemporary cultural and social issues. These topics shook and shocked contemporary society; but they also—again in a mode of instruction—provided authentic descriptions of both the positive and negative aspects of their supposed real-life protagonists. Furthermore, they comprised vividly narrated accounts in the voice of one of the many; that is, they were written by authors who themselves had originated in the same cultural environment as their readers. The commercial nature of broadside ballads, finally, should never be forgotten. Bottom line: the market determined authors’ choice of topics,

and to attract the broadest market producers aimed their wares at a wide range of reader interest.

This chapter will explore topics which may appear to be relatively marginal examples of “women’s topics,” yet which make it possible to present a multilayered and variegated picture of the everyday lives of contemporary women—their emotions, values, and problems—as well as more general societal opinions about women as manifested in Czech broadside ballads in the period of the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries. A detailed analysis of broadside ballads with gender-related topics provides insights into the roles and thematic stereotypes associated with the position of women in society, including their roles in relationships with their partners and families.¹ My focus on women in broadside ballads will lead to the issue of religious faith and devotion among women, which I shall also address.

Many broadside ballads appeared under the almost standardized title *Nová píseň pro mládence a panny* (A new song for young men and women), which usually signified a song about love, mainly non-narrative (without a story) or partly narrative. Sometimes such broadside ballads dealt with faithful love, and other times with infidelity, and in yet other cases, with love that ended in tragedy. The authors focused especially on assignments during the initial phase of an amorous relationship—the first encounter between a boy and a girl, and their subsequent secretive courtship.²

In most broadside ballads with love-related themes, the authors sang of unhappy love. The main causes of tragedy in love were the girl’s frivolity, the boy’s or girl’s boastfulness, mutual recriminations of infidelity, jealousy, the boy’s rash decision to join the army and leave his pregnant girl helpless, or general reckless behaviour. The most frequent reasons given for the breakup of a relationship are a misunderstanding at a dance, the boy’s excessive consumption of alcohol, or flirting by one of the partners.

Furthermore, unrequited love was often suffered by those in love. But another frequent obstacle was the discrepancy in wealth between the two partners; in most cases the parents of one partner disapproved of the poverty of the other partner. The resulting conflicts were commonly dealt with in the following manner: first the parents forbade their child to meet their chosen partner, then they beat, or even murdered, them. Such brutality

1 Women’s history began to develop as a field of study in Western Europe during the 1960s. It did not appear in Czech historiography until the early 1990s, after the rejection of the Marxist-Leninist ideology that had formerly been compulsory under the communist regime, when academic researchers were searching for new topics. The first study of the topic of women in Czech broadside ballads published in book form did not appear until 2008: see Holubová et al., *Obrazy*, p. 5.

2 Navrátilová, *Namlouvání*, pp. 25–66.

was occasioned all because the child crossed the line of social difference. A child in love might be murdered by his or her own parents, or by his or her partner's parents, or, in some instances, with the assistance of a rich suitor. My detailed analysis of murder ballads reveals one compelling story in which three brothers murdered their sister's lover.³ The girl was from a bourgeois family of high social status, but she fell in love with a poor peasant boy. The brothers murdered their sister because they feared that her marriage to somebody of much lower status would harm their own social prestige and thus make it difficult for themselves to find suitable marriage partners.

But the stories frequently do not always end there. Often, in these broadside ballads, the dead lover appears to their former partners in a dream, typically three days after their death (invoking the tradition of the martyred Christ rising from the death after his unjust crucifixion). The apparition demands that the brutal act be avenged, and the perpetrators punished.⁴

The reason why children, acting of their own free will in falling in love, so often begat tragic ends lay in societal conventions. A child was by convention obligated to be dutiful to his or her parents; furthermore, and crucially, they were economically dependent on them. Both conditions meant that children had to request their parents' consent to a marriage, if they were to be societally as well as familially accepted, and financially thrive. Without such parental consent—without the parents' blessing—it was essentially impossible for two young people to marry.

Broadside ballads included numerous unhappy stories about love between two young people that was doomed as a result of differences in social status. The despairing lovers typically decided on a radical solution to their hopeless situation, usually culminating in a joint suicide. Judging from the large number of such acts, which are extensively documented in broadside ballads, we can deduce that joint suicides by lovers became at least a fashionable topos during the nineteenth century.⁵ In fact, a certain ritual developed preceding the act of suicide. The young couple complied closely with this ritual in the broadside ballad narratives. They were aware that they were committing a grievous sin by voluntarily taking their own lives, so they duly prepared for their deaths. They went to church (often accepting Holy Communion), and they wrote a farewell letter asking their parents and

3 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 362, no. 2632.

4 Several of these story types can be found in Aarne-Thompson-Uther Index (ATU Index) ("Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales"). The Czech broadside ballads show the sharing of these stories across Europe.

5 Monestier, *Suicides*, pp. 217–238.

friends to forgive them and pray for them. They also requested that they be buried in the same grave. There is an example from a later period in which two lovers had their photograph taken on the day of their suicide in order to leave something to remember them by. The manner of the suicide varied. In the stories situated in Prague, unhappy lovers jumped from the Charles Bridge into the Vltava River; sometimes they bound their hands and hair together so that they would not be parted in death. Often the young man first shot his partner and then himself, or they took poison, or they jumped under a train. In rurally situated stories, lovers would often travel to a town to commit suicide in a rented room at an inn. Sometimes, due to clumsiness or emotional turmoil, one of the lovers failed in their suicide attempt and remained alive, regretting this fact greatly and for a long time. If both partners died, they were buried together in a grand ceremony.⁶

However, despite many such cases, not all broadside ballads addressing love-related topics dealt with miseries, tribulations, and human tragedies. Many of them simply represented immediate reactions to pleasant moments of joy experienced by two lovers. Such songs often address the moment at which young men and women leave behind their unattached lives and enter the bonds of marriage. A typical example is “Nová píseň k proměnění stavu manželského” (“A new song on the change of marital status”), which describes the last moments experienced by an unmarried girl before her wedding.⁷ She considers the loss of her unattached life and the ever-nearing moment when she will leave her childhood home behind forever. She says farewell to her freedom, her home, her parents (whom she thanks for bringing her up), and she asks God to protect her in her unknown future. A girl considering marriage to an elderly widower typically experiences entirely different emotions:

Vdovce bych nechtěla, vdovce
bych se bála,
že by ta nebožka za dveřmi
stála,
za dveřmi stála, na mě volala,
abych těm sirotkům
neublížovala.⁸

I would not want a widower, I
would be afraid of a widower,
that his widow would stand
behind the door,
behind the door, asking me
not to hurt the orphans [meaning
the widow's children, whom the
new wife must now care for].

6 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 276, no. 2119.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 379, no. 2933.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 279, no. 2138.



Figure 21. Broadside ballad about a spinster who can't get married. *Nová píseň o staré panně, která se vdáti nemůže*, [1828–1860], Knihovna EÚ AV ČR, sign. KT XXXV D2 1-78 [58].

Broadside ballads devoted particular attention to people whose lifestyles were considered unusual or were condemned by contemporary social mores. The most obvious form of social suspicion concerned the situation of spinsters.⁹ The generally expressed attitude to spinsters in the texts of broadside ballads was that social prestige was an impossible goal for them to achieve until they married; as long as they remained unmarried, they were mocked and shunned by the members of their immediate families and more distant relatives. If a spinster did eventually marry, her groom was usually a man in a disadvantageous social position—either there was a substantial age difference between the partners, or the man was a widower with a large number of young children.

The texts discussed above focused on amorous relationships prior to marriage, but many broadside ballads were inspired by marital relations as well. Most of these broadside ballads treated the topic of marital relations

9 Navrátilová, *Namlouvání*, pp. 70–71.

humorously or even satirically, or as sources of advice. There are almost no examples of broadside ballads celebrating a happy marriage or the joyful emotions felt at the birth of a child. The authors of broadside ballads were also largely uninterested in weddings as a ritual act—though many broadside ballads were sung at weddings and printings of “wedding speeches” were marketed. If a broadside ballad did address the topic of a wedding, it usually began by presenting the notion of the ideal bride, before moving on to complain about wicked wives. The ideal bride was presented as a poor girl who was hardworking, virtuous, pious, and faithful to the grave.¹⁰ In addition to depicting the “ideal bride” from a male point of view, we sporadically find songs presenting women’s ideas about the ideal husband:

Muž musí být střídmy, upřímny a
vlídný,
s námi mírně zacházet,
na procházku chodit, do divadla
vodit,
na výlet nás provázet,
ráno z lože vstáti, oheň rozděláti,
pak putnu přinést vody,
kafíčko uvařit, na oběd připravit,
to žádnému neškodí.¹¹

A man must be sober, sincere and
kind,
and treat us gently,
go for walks with us, take us to the
theatre,
accompany us on trips,
in the morning, get up and start a fire,
then bring a bucket of water,
make a coffee, cook lunch,
that does no harm to any man.

When describing a woman’s role in marriage, broadside ballads tended to portray women as subordinate, dependent on their husbands, and thus forced to endure a difficult fate. Many broadside ballads took the form of marital arguments whose participants used forthright, folksy insults in disputes over drunkenness, gambling, and profligacy. In more than one case we witness acts of domestic violence committed by men against their wives.

However, married men also received doses of insults from their wives, as well as curses and, in some cases, a couple of slaps—though judging from the broadside ballads analysed for this study, these were exceptional cases. Nevertheless, the very survival of such words not only reinforces that broadside ballads spoke to both men and women but also that they realistically portrayed the complex, stressful, and variable nature of marriage relations.¹²

¹⁰ Holubová, “Obraz,” p. 34.

¹¹ Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, pp. 329–330, no. 2538.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 81, no. 553.



Figure 22. "A New Song about the False Love of the Female Sex." The woodcut illustration shows a man beating a woman with a stick. *Nová píseň o falešném milování ženského pohlaví*, 1866, Knihovna EÚ AV ČR, sign. KT XXIX N 60.

Since the authors of broadside ballads were mainly men, the texts predominantly contained complaints about or warnings against marriage, and listed the advantages of the bachelor life. Husbands lamented the terrible changes in their wives' nature after marriage, sometimes accompanied by humorous-satirical monologues about wicked wives and ugly old women:

Z vězení mně pánbůh
pomůže
od škaredé ženy nemůže.
Dal bych si zazpívat rekvije,
kdyby chtěla scípnout
bestyje.¹³

The Lord can help me to escape from
prison,
but not to escape an ugly wife.
I would have the requiem sung to me
if that beast would snuff it [a request
for a mass if the wife died].

13 Ibid., p. 171, no. 1273.

Analogous female monologues were conceived in the form of laments by young women who were forced to marry old men. Old husbands were viewed as miserly, lazy, and suffering from poor health, so looking after them was difficult. In the broadside ballads, young girls were warned against these marriages. Relationships between young men and old women are very rare in the texts of Czech broadside ballads; when they do appear, they usually end in tragedy.¹⁴

In general, broadside ballads depicting unhappy marriages tended to consider the subject from the man's perspective. Women were most frequently viewed as quarrelsome, malicious, lazy, profligate (e.g., wasting money on lotteries), and untidy. Men also criticized women's love of fine clothing and other fancy items (another spur to profligacy), their fastidiousness, and their love of gossip.¹⁵ The authors of broadside ballads, furthermore, took a dim view of women's abilities in the domestic space.

One of the most common topics in marriage addressed by the authors of broadside ballads was the effect of alcoholism on family life. The motif of excessive drinking (especially of beer consumption) and the environment of taverns were predominant. These kinds of establishments were viewed especially as leading to the disruption and ruin of families.¹⁶ Some texts feature monologues by unhappy men sitting in a tavern and complaining about their over-dominant wives. They criticize their wives for restricting them, failing to honour them as the family breadwinners, and even physically assaulting them. The blame for all these wrongs is attributed to marriage, which has stripped the men of their freedom, even though they appear free to drink in excess, which can become the subject of the broadside ballad's moral.

The most tragic consequences of drunkenness attributed to men were described in murder ballads. That alcoholism was in fact a major, society-wide problem in the Czech lands of the nineteenth century is confirmed by the author of the broadside ballad "Píseň o vraždách a samovraždě ve Vartnsdorfu" ("Song about the murders and suicide in Vartnsdorf"), dating from the second half of the nineteenth century. The broadside ballad tells the story of a husband and the father of five children who drank away all of his assets before attempting to solve his resultant problem by killing his entire family and then committing suicide.¹⁷ Another broadside ballad

14 Ibid., p. 335, no. 2576.

15 Holubová et al., *Obrazy*, pp. 133–139.

16 Ryšavá, "Pivo."

17 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 210, no. 1594.

concerns an alcoholic husband who, rather than paying off his debts for the liquor he has drunk in the tavern, prefers to start a fire on purpose, which by an unhappy accident kills his wife and children.¹⁸

Some texts criticize not only men but also women for their drinking habits, most frequently accusing them of enjoying coffee and liqueurs—particularly a sweet type of liqueur known as *rosolka*, made from a carnivorous plant—which caused the wives to squander the household budget and beg their husbands for more money to spend.¹⁹ The popularity of coffee was due to the fact that it was not only seen as a healthy and stimulating beverage and a “good friend” in times of solitude, but also as something without which a woman could not live. Women typically praised coffee in fulsome terms, as cited below:

<p>Ach kafe, ty ženské uzdravuješ, ale často kapsy vyprazdňuješ, vyprazdňuješ, vyčistíš a z bídy do nouze připravuješ. Bože smiluj se nad námi všemi, naděl nám ourody v naší zemi, neb jsme zvyklé kafe píti, bude nám ho těžko odvykati.²⁰</p>	<p>Oh, coffee, you make women healthy, but you often empty pockets, you empty them, you clean them out, and you plunge us from poverty into penury. Lord, have mercy on us all, send us a harvest in our land, because we're used to drinking coffee and it will be hard to give it up.</p>
---	---

Another major reason for conjugal violence was jealousy; men felt this emotion more frequently than women in ballads, and in such cases it also often led to far more extreme consequences. However, one representative example illustrating the wife, not the husband, as the guilty party is the broadside ballad “Nová píseň o dvou vraždách” (“A new song about two murders”), dating from 1859.²¹ This ballad features a jealous seamstress who kills a young female servant because her husband has made shoes for the girl. The appalling nature of the crime is reinforced by the fact that the wife serves up the girl's cooked breasts to her unwitting husband for his dinner. When he finds out what has happened, he kills his wife in disgust and fury and then promptly gives himself up to the authorities for execution. But the nature of this wife's retribution is unusual. When women turned into

18 Ibid., p. 170, no. 1264.

19 The consumption of alcohol was a highly gendered phenomenon in broadside ballads. While men drank beer, women were typically presented as drinkers of sweet liqueurs. The consumption of wine practically did not appear, as it was a privilege of the upper society.

20 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, pp. 127–128, no. 928.

21 Holubová et al., *Obrazy*, pp. 28–29.

murderers out of jealousy, their preferred method of killing their husbands tended to be poison.²²

A particularly popular motif in broadside ballads about criminal acts are instances where the woman (as wife) is condemned despite being innocent of the crime, but is eventually liberated. Rescued, her honour is restored. This common motif can be seen in “Píseň k svaté Panně Marii, která skrže ni jedna žena při živobyčí zachována byla” (“A song to the Holy Virgin Mary who saved the life of one woman”).²³ In this case, the Virgin Mary points out the real culprit—one Johann Fridrich from Vidava, who was an alcoholic and beat his wife, eventually killing his three children and concealing the knife under his wife’s pillow. She is subsequently sentenced to death, but a vision of the Virgin Mary, accompanied by the three murdered children, reveals the truth of her innocence and eventually the real murderer—the husband—is convicted instead.²⁴ At the end of the song there is an appeal by the Virgin Mary, urging that such violence and accusations against women should never happen again; she also promises that she will support anybody who prays to her regularly. It is clearly one of the many broadside ballads that belong to the worship or cult of the Virgin Mary (popular as well across Catholic Western Europe and Britain).

The topic of an unhappy wife injured not so much by fate as by human malice featured in stereotypically constructed tales of the tribulations that such a woman had to endure. The authors of broadside ballads were particularly ingenious when handling this topic; they variously modified, paraphrased, and “grafted” it onto a range of different stories and song motifs. In order to incorporate the subject from another genre into a broadside ballad, and in order to sell it to the middling and low audiences of broadside ballads, she thus typically lived in a poor rural setting (tales of poor town-dwelling woman are rare). These women are brutalized (often in very inventive ways) and sometimes murdered by their lovers or by their lovers’ rivals, or alternatively, by their husbands or sons.

The most effective and compact application of this theme of women brutalized by rivals for their love or by those related to them appears in popular broadside ballads recounting the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. In this broadside ballad narrative, the woman as wife first suffers the death of her beloved husband, and then she is forced to undertake a

22 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 57, no. 352.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 425, no. 3285.

24 The story of innocent women sentenced to death who are then saved by the Virgin Mary is a very old trope dating from the Middle Ages; see Chartier, “The Hanged Woman.”

long journey, tormented by hunger, loneliness, despair, and fear for her children. At the end of her travels, she suffers humiliation, violence, and rejection from her own family. But, as in the tales where the Virgin Mary intervenes, in “Nová píseň o jednom příběhu, který se stal míli od Řezna” (“A new song about one story that happened a mile from Regensburg”) God’s justice does not desert her, and the widow and her children are eventually saved from death.²⁵

Not to be neglected is another important gender-related aspect of broadside ballads focused on the family and women: that is, the ballads’ presentation of the tribulations of motherhood. Here again, the Virgin Mary plays a major role. The religious faith of victims—women who are also mothers—is frequently so strong that their lives are saved by the divine power of the Virgin Mary, the protector of women and the patron of motherhood. Inspired by the widespread Marian cult, numerous texts tell stories of women who are liberated from the clutches of the wicked thanks to the intervention of Mary. Such is the case regardless of whether they are adult married women or very young unmarried girls.²⁶ Many broadside ballads feature illustrations that are known to us thanks to the most widespread Czech sentimental folk narrative “Osiřelo dítě” (“A child was orphaned”).²⁷ In a divergence from the woman as mother motif, these broadside ballads foreground a newly orphaned child weeping on his or her mother’s grave; the dead mother, as an apparition, promises help or wreaks revenge on the evil stepmother (who is the figure who typically mistreats the child) and the equally typical apathetic father. The figure of the evil stepmother seeking to rid herself of troublesome children—or at least treating them very badly—is well known from traditional fairy tales (Cinderella, Snow White).

The most prominent message of broadside ballads, however, was that any disrespectful mention of motherhood was tantamount to blasphemy. Even a light-hearted joke about motherhood was considered a serious offence, with severe penalties.²⁸ Negative examples of motherhood were represented by stepmothers, witches, mothers-in-law (furious and plotting revenge on the women who had stolen their sons away from them), or women whose miserly or sinful nature made them bad mothers; all such figures are presented as evil and condemned. A template for such a sinful character is Lilith (the

25 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 427, no. 3298.

26 In the broadside ballads analysed for this study, only one example was found of the Virgin Mary rescuing a man.

27 Erben, *Prostonárodní české písně*, pp. 383–384.

28 Holubová et al., *Obrazy*, p. 104.

Jewish version of Eve), Adam's first wife and the mother of demons and evil spirits. She does not actually appear in the texts of broadside ballads, perhaps because she is not a biblical figure. There are, however, allusions to her in the text of some broadside ballads where there are certain parallels between Lilith and a woman who gives birth to a monstrous child.

In the nineteenth century, furthermore, childless marriages were still considered a major problem. The birth of a child represented the fulfilment of a marriage.²⁹ In order for a married couple to enjoy respect (and all available rights), it was essential to be fertile and to have children. With only a few exceptions, childlessness was considered to be a divine punishment. In broadside ballads, childless marriages were always viewed as a female problem. Childless women were portrayed as materially rich yet with hearts of stone. They often tormented or murdered their stepchildren and cruelly drove from their homes the children of poor relatives and their suffering mothers. They were beings who utterly negated the principles of motherhood. If such women did become pregnant, the childbirth was always a lengthy and difficult process, through which the mother suffered terribly, and the child was usually born in some way damaged or deformed.³⁰

Special attention was also devoted to widows with children, that is, to incomplete families that had lost their breadwinner and found themselves without recourse, plunged into penury, almost on the lowest rung of society.³¹ In such situations, even the closest relatives refused to help the widow and her children; in order to rid themselves of their poverty-stricken relatives, families undertook the most brutal acts—indeed, in some cases a brother would actually murder his sister.³² At such terrible moments in life, the widows and orphans more frequently received assistance from their sacred patrons and protectors: St. Ann,³³ St. John of Nepomuk,³⁴ and naturally above all the Virgin Mary³⁵—or, even more miraculously, from a sacred image of the Virgin Mary associated with a pilgrimage site such as Svatá Hora near the town of Přebíram³⁶:

29 Van Dülmen, *Kultura a každodennost*, pp. 163–164.

30 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 426, no. 3295.

31 Skořepová, "Ochránkyně," pp. 175–184.

32 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 309, no. 2375.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 46, no. 261.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 195, no. 1476.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 150, no. 1114.

36 Svatá Hora, located near the town of Přebíram around 80 kilometres from Prague, is a typical Baroque pilgrimage site which even today remains one of the Czech Republic's most popular pilgrimage destinations.

Pojďte vdovy a sirotci, lidé bídní na světě,
 sužováni, opuštěni k Marii se utečte!
 Maria jest chudých matka,
 chrání vdovu i sirotka,
 jen volejte k ní, pozdravujte jí.³⁷

Come, widows and orphans, poor people of the world,
 suffering and abandoned, flee to Mary!
 Mary is the mother of the poor,
 she protects widows and orphans,
 just call to her, greet her.

Despite such abuse, widows often had some saved income from their deceased husbands or belongings they could sell, and were thus better able to deal with the hardships of life. With these means, and the earnings from labour such as spinning, they attempted to provide their children with at least the most basic needs—food, clothing, and shelter—even at the cost of humiliation, insults, or physical violence. By contrast, widowers lacked such resilience. They were more prone to see their new life situation as hopeless, so they sometimes turned to radical solutions. In the broadside ballad “Pravdivá událost o strašné vraždě” (“True news of a terrible murder”), written by the well-known Prague songwriter and pilgrimage leader František Hais (1818–1899), a widower hanged himself and his five children.³⁸

To complete our picture of Czech women as depicted in broadside ballads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which might well reflect in many cases their real-life circumstances, let us turn to the physical depiction of women as victims. Their specific appearance is left entirely to the recipient’s imagination, and the only clear guide is the traditional reference to the woman’s unusual beauty. In the large majority of cases, the epithet “beautiful” does not refer to, or at least not solely to, the woman’s physical appearance, but more importantly to the beauty of her soul. This “beauty” is dependent on her innocence, inner purity, naiveté—and above all her piety.

Besides the constantly present attribute of beauty, another specific attribute of female figures is nakedness. The humiliation of a woman through nakedness is a frequent motif in broadside ballads, and it is especially effective since the women exposed in such a manner are usually pregnant,

37 Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 408, no. 3152.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 48, no. 276.

viewed by an entire gang of sinful bandits, who prevent her from hiding her nakedness.

<p>Hned ubohou obnažili, k sloupu přivázali, kterej z nás ji vykucháme, o to se radili.³⁹</p>	<p>They immediately stripped the poor woman, tied her to a pillar, which of us will disembowel her, that's what they discussed.</p>
--	---

Nudity, however, is also found in stories of negative female figures, especially in songs about souls that are trapped in purgatory for having made incomplete confessions, or owing money while still alive (such as a woman who did not pay a girl a certain sum of money she owed).⁴⁰ After their deaths, these figures appear to their families bound by burning chains, surrounded by evil spirits, or riding fiery horses. These scenes do not primarily express humiliation, as in the case of the virtuous woman made naked; rather, in these instances, the naked female form evokes the image of a bloodied, pain-wracked body. It should also be emphasized that this image of a naked body as soul suffering in purgatory appears only in the case of women.

The relationship between pure women extends beyond their nakedness to include their final confession and embracing of the Eucharist (Holy Communion)—these acts are critical to confirming their inner beauty and innocence in broadside ballads. Naturally, such depicted acts reflect the Church's increasing grip on social power and influence. Dying without receiving last rites, making a final confession, and receiving the Eucharist represents a sure path to purgatory. However, it is remarkable how one-sided the texts of broadside ballads are: only women, not men, must follow this ultimately coercive religious path if they desire salvation in the afterlife.

A confession is a speech, and, of course, speech is a double-edged sword that can be used against women. One of the sins for which women are punished in purgatory is their loquaciousness—their delight in chattering and spreading bad news. On the other hand, they often pass up their last possibility of salvation by failing to confess their sins or acknowledge their guilt. A confession consists of words spoken at the right moment and the right time. Those words indicate truth, penitence, acknowledgement, and in speaking them, a woman offers herself up to judgement and condemnation. Here, the word is able to purify a person—even the loquacious woman—of

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20, no. 49.

⁴⁰ Delumeau, *Hřích a strach*, pp. 411–439.

her sins. In broadside ballads, however, a bad woman does not know how and when to use her words; she chatters on her way to purgatory, if not hell.

Not only must a pious woman know more clearly exactly how and when to use words, but in order for a woman to be able to enjoy the privileges of Holy Communion, she needs to be very pious, in her inner (unspoken) soul. This motif reached unprecedented levels of popularity in broadside ballads especially during the nineteenth century. The texts clearly indicate that heroines enjoyed a divine privilege—though only those who were mothers or mothers-to-be.⁴¹

Conclusion

Women in broadside ballads were weak and strong, wicked and “sacred” figures. This mix reflects the contradictory attitudes to women. They were weak because they could not defend themselves against the cruelties and vicissitudes of life, including bandits and violent men. They were not only physically weak, however; they were also often presented as slovenly, poor, unhappy, abandoned, and often unloved. Women’s strength, on the contrary, laid in their souls, which were often full of goodness, faith, and the patience with which they bore endless torments, pains, and humiliations inflicted upon them by their partners, husbands, or close relatives. Women were sacred in the sense that they were blessed with fertility—they bore children—but they were also pious, and they turned to the most blessed among all women, the Virgin Mary. All three of these properties determined the main features or functions performed by women that are exalted in the texts of broadside ballads. More than anybody else (except for children), female heroes needed divine protection because of their physical weakness; but also, more than anybody else they deserved thanks and protection for their great piety and devotion. In the large majority of broadside ballads with the theme of murders and miracles, the real or potential victim is female—but unjustly so and often saved through divine intervention.

For female readers, broadside ballads with gender-related topics most likely offered a reflection of their own lives, and, further, they often provided spiritual and emotional nourishment, a moment of joy and solace, even as they also depicted the constant round of daily drudgeries, worries, and torments women of all kinds amongst the lower sorts faced.

41 It was unacceptable for a child to receive the Eucharist, though girls were allowed to, and only the mother and the eldest daughter were permitted to receive Holy Communion on behalf of an entire dying family.

Works Cited

- Chartier, Roger. "The Hanged Woman Miraculously Saved: An Occasionnel." In *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia Cochrane, pp. 59–91. Princeton, NJ: Polity Press, 1989.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Hřích a strach. Pocit viny na evropském Západě ve 13. až 18. století*. Praha: Volvox Globator, 1998.
- Erben, Karel Jaromír. *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1937.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Obraz ženy v kramářské produkci." *Národopisný věstník* 24, no. 66 (2007), pp. 32–38.
- Holubová, Markéta, et al. *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Kopalová, Ludmila, and Markéta Holubová. *Katalog kramářských tisků*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Monestier, Martin. *Suicides histoire, techniques et bizarreries de la mort volontaire des origines à nos jours*. Paris: Cherche Midi Ed., 1995.
- Navrátilová, Alexandra. *Namlouvání, láska a svatba v české lidové kultuře*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2012.
- Ryšavá, Eva. "Pivo a pijáci v českých kramářských písních." In *Hospody a pivo v české společnosti*, ed. Vladimír Novotný, pp. 19–27. Praha: Academia, 1997.
- Skořepová, Markéta. "Ochránkyně sirotek a vdov. Ovdovění a osiření v českých kramářských písních 18. a 19. století." *Historie—Otázky—Problémy* 9, no. 1 (2017), pp. 175–184.
- Van Dülmen, Richard. *Kultura a každodennost 16.–18. století*. Vol. 1. Praha: Argo, 1999.

Website

- "Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales." https://sites.ualberta.ca/~urban/Projects/English/Content/ATU_Tales.htm.

About the Author

Markéta Holubová: Researcher at the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, <http://www.eu.avcr.cz/en/about-us/staff/marketa-holubova/>. She has co-edited three collections of essays and co-authored eight monographs, most recently, *Etnografický atlas Čech, Moravy a Slezska IX*. (2020). holubova@eu.cas.cz.

10. Give the Devil His Due: Demons and Demonic Presence in Czech Broadside Ballads

Maciej Mętrak

Abstract

Maciej Mętrak analyses devil and demonic presence in Czech broadside ballads. He proves that demons played important roles in the Czech metaphysical world order. Such is also the case across Europe. However, in Czech broadside ballads, he shows that the devil is especially not God's enemy so much as his instrument of discipline and punishment: the devil fulfils God's will, and poses little danger to pious and honest Catholics.

Keywords: Devil, punishment, discipline, Catholic faith, folk piety

The devil, seen as a personification of evil and of all destructive forces in the world, is one of the most popular characters in Central European folk narratives, appearing in almost every genre and playing various roles in different contexts.¹ Since Czech broadside ballads straddled the culture of the upper classes and that of rural folklore,² we hear in them abundant stories about demonic apparitions and supernatural punishment involving infernal powers. The aim of this paper is to pursue the broadside ballad vision of the devil through themes most popular in source material from the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and to discuss its relations with traditional Slavic oral folklore as well as official Catholic Church teachings of the Counter-Reformation era.

1 Ługowska, "Obrazy diabła," p. 8; Röhrich, "Čert," p. 18; Michalec and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, "Jak chłop u diabła," pp. 13–19.

2 Bogatyrev, *Souvislosti tvorby*, p. 116; Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 63.

The primary material I have studied resides in the collection of the Department of Social Sciences in the Comenius Museum in Přerov (Oddělení společenských věd, Muzeum Komenského v Přerově), which contains about 2,800 individual broadside ballads, or, more accurately, broadside ballad “gatherings” (as explained in the introduction, often several broadside ballads were printed on both sides of a single sheet and disseminated as such to sellers; once folded and cut apart, the pages constituting an individual broadside ballad were gathered and sewn together by seller or consumer, resulting in a final ballad product).³ For the whole larger project from which this chapter derives, I examined a representative corpus of 459 secular and religious broadside ballad gatherings mostly printed between 1774 and 1866.⁴ For the purposes of this chapter, I have chosen 39 (appearing in 69 different editions of individual broadside ballad gatherings from the main corpus) that mention the devil, Hell, and demonic apparitions. The content of these texts will be presented and discussed in the latter part of this paper.

Names and Identities of Devils

Demons as presented in the analysed corpus are mainly generic representatives of their kind, often appearing as types, not as individualized characters. They are usually described with the Czech words *dábel* (from Greek *διάβολος*) and *čert* (from proto-Slavic **čьrtъ*), both words for “devil” written without capitalization.⁵ In some of the broadside ballads the demon is also identified by a broader term, *zlý duch* (evil spirit), which brings into focus his malicious character. Specific names of demons are less common and can be found mostly in texts of a religious function (such as prayer songs). Usually, the more sophisticated and poetic of these religious broadside ballads resemble Czech Baroque poetry, suggesting that they were originally works of religious literature from the Counter-Reformation

3 The broadside ballad gatherings at the Comenius Museum in Přerov constitute 2,800 of 2,811 catalogue entries (many of them sewn together into *špalíček* bundles but catalogued individually), the additional entries consisting of a whole *špalíček*. A *špalíček* (translated into English as “block”) was created when consumers bound and sewed their bought broadside ballad gatherings into a larger book for their own personal use.

4 My cutoff dates are based on the chronology of Czech broadside ballad literature as shown in Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, pp. 30–37, and Beneš, *Poslyšte písničku hezkou...*, pp. 10–11. Several exceptions were made for older and newer prints considered to be important for this study; two such earlier examples from the eighteenth century are cited in this text.

5 The words are synonymous, but there is some stylistical difference—*dábel* is more often used in religious context, while *čert* appears in fairy tales, folklore, etc.

era. Among the names for the demon given in most of such songs, we find variations of *Satan*, *Šatan*, or *Satanáš* and *Lucifer*.

Apart from the name itself, however, there is almost no mention of Satan being the adversary of God and the entity responsible for the presence of evil in the world. Out of the analysed texts, only two—the story of Faust and a hymn to St. Barbara⁶—give more space to the idea of the demon as a person with unique interests and duties in the infernal hierarchy. In the first, we find two additional demonic names: Mefistofeles and Auerhán⁷; in the second, we learn about the existence of “an infernal council” (*rada pekelná*) and the titles and duties of other individual devils: Lucifer is called “the prince of Hell” (*Lucifer kníže hlubiný pekelné*), Lokvencius is Hell’s secretary, and Tartarus is a doctor of the law. The main demonic protagonist from this ballad, defeated by St. Barbara, is the devil Junarius, whose main duty is truly unique: he takes shame away from people, so that they can sin without feeling remorse.⁸

Summoning the Devil

The question of the devil’s name and identity is closely connected to the performative power of words, a concept popular in traditional folk narratives. As in oral folk tales, demons in broadside ballads usually gain access to the mortal world through an invitation by a human character, be it deliberate or unconscious. The main motive for intentionally summoning dark powers is to gain material favours, like in the songs “Píseň o jistém mládenci, který chudobnou pannu si oblíbil” (“A song about a certain lad who fell in love with a poor maiden”) and “Nová píseň všem pravověřícím křesťanům vydána” (“A new song published for all righteous Christians”), whose female protagonists, wanting to get rich, ask the devil to help them. In the first case, we hear a narrative of the poor maiden’s words, “Dábla k sobě zvala, že za peníze svou

6 *Vypsání dalece rozhlášeného a známého doktora Fausta*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-1015, and *Nábožná píseň ke cti svaté panny Barbory, mučedlnice*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-516, respectively.

7 Clearly an adaptation of the German *Auerhahn* (wood grouse), a bird traditionally associated with evil powers due to its red and black colouring.

8 It is obvious that both unusual texts cited above were not typical broadside ballads. The story of Faust is described on its printing as a translation from Spanish via German, and the song about St. Barbara is analysed by Josef Vašica as an example of Baroque poetry (Vašica, “Několik poznámek,” pp. 284–285). Based on my study of the whole corpus, I would argue that the only named devil known well among broadside ballad audiences was *Lucifer*.

duši jemu by zapsati chtěla” (“She summoned the devil, saying that she would give him her soul for money”)⁹; and in the second case, we are told, “Ten obyčej měla, ty slova mluvíti, čertu za peníze duši chce prodati” (“She had this habit of saying: I want to sell my soul to the devil for money”).¹⁰ Other kinds of active cooperation between a human character and the devil are unusual; I have found only one example of a broadside ballad mentioning witchcraft and a demonic familiar of the witch.¹¹

More often than through deliberate cooperation, the demonic guest arrives as a result of a human’s rash and unlucky choice of words, leading to his or her doom (usually well deserved). For example, in the song “Pravdivý příběh, který se stal na pomezí saském, v Žitavě” (“A true story that occurred on the Saxon border in Zittau”) a brother, who refuses hospitality to his widowed sister and her six children, casts them out, declaring, “Radš bych sedm ďáblů hned viděl v svém domě, než tebe, žebráčko, a ty pancharty tvé” (“I would rather see seven devils in my house at this very moment, than you, beggar woman, and your bastards”).¹² Seven demons promptly appear, underscoring that the brother’s repudiation of his family has summoned them. The antagonist is summarily taken to Hell, along with his equally callous wife. A similar punishment follows upon the ill-spoken words of an evil rich man in “Píseň pravdivá o jednom bohaprazdném synu” (“True song about a certain godless son”). He organizes a party, but the intended guests, recognizing his unnatural disregard for his own kin, refuse to accept his invitation. The man curses them, and in anger summons demonic visitors to take their place: “Přidte aspoň čerti z pekla, chci s vámi hodovati, když pozvaní hosti ke mně, nechťejí se najíti” (“Arrive, at least you devils from Hell. I want to make merry with you if my invited guests do not like to come”). Following the traditional plotline, his curse seals his fate.¹³

A slightly different version of this same plot mechanism can be seen in the story of a poor woman, from the ballad “Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše, když jedna matka dětem svým zlé vinšovala” (“A terrible story that happened near the town of Windisch, when a mother wished her children ill”), who in the absence of her husband cannot provide for their eight children. In a moment of desperation, the mother mutters that she

9 *Píseň o jistém mládenčí, který chudobnou pannu si oblíbil*, [1750–1800], MKP, call no. J-121.

10 *Nová píseň všem pravověřícím křesťanům vydána*, [1850–1870], MKP, call no. J-1607.

11 *Píseň o mocnostech kříže svatého Benedikta*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-301.

12 *Pravdivý příběh, který se stal na pomezí saském, v Žitavě*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-154.

13 *Píseň pravdivá o jednom bohaprazdném synu*, 1718, MKP, call no. J-120.

is willing to sell her children to the devil: “Kdyby čert přišel s penězy, dala bych mu dvě nebo tři [děti]”¹⁴ (“If a devil came with money, I would give him two or three [children]”). In the evening strange guests arrive at her house: a beautiful and richly dressed couple, asking for three children to be taken as their servants. Unlike the damned characters from the former examples, who have been themselves sinful, the kidnapped children are innocent; as such, they are ultimately rescued with the help of a priest, whose prayer causes an angelic intervention. Likely such a happy ending is possible because the persons abducted by demons were not the same ones who summoned them.

Less typical usage of the summoning motif is present in the story of a Milanese painter tempted and persecuted by the devil.¹⁵ The moment of temptation comes when the artist is painting a fresco in a church depicting the Last Judgement, which contains the image of Satan. In this instance, no audible invitation is needed; apparently, the act of painting an image of the devil would seem enough to attract the demon’s attention. While the emphasis put on the dangers of painting religious imagery may remind one of the iconoclast ideas of the Reformation, the ballad is undoubtedly Catholic. The text emphasizes that the painter was particularly vulnerable to evil powers because he left his blessed medallion of St. Benedict at home. The plotline, then, actually does not deviate from but dutifully follows Catholic tradition.

Finally, as an extension of the examples above, wherein any reference to the devil (even a non-verbal one) may summon the demon himself, we must include the act of impersonating the devil; to do so is to dangerously toy with evil powers. In “Příkladná píseň o jednom lakomém muži” (“An exemplary song about a certain greedy man”),¹⁶ a greedy miller dresses up as the devil to scare a poor widow and extort from her the last of her money. Infuriated by the impostor, a real demon punishes the miller for his evil actions and carries him away to Hell.

Significantly, broadside ballads do not use euphemisms when talking about the devil, such as “the horned one,” “the evil one,” etc., a custom popular in more traditional folk genres.¹⁷ We thus find the terms *čert* and *d’ábel* not only occurring within quotes attributed to characters appearing

14 *Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-945.

15 *Žalostná píseň o jednom majlandském malíři, jenž ukrutně pronasledován byl*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-1777.

16 *Příkladná píseň o jednom lakomém muži*, [1750–1800], MKP, call no. J-140.

17 Di Nola, *Diabel*, pp. 324–325.

within broadside ballads stories, but we also read and hear those words in parts of the broadside ballads spoken, with no ill intent, by the narrator. Authors, printers, and probably singers did not treat the word “devil” as an unspeakable taboo in and of itself.¹⁸ Such distinction between printed and oral folk tales suggests that although the producers of broadside ballads copied popular folklore motifs about devils, they did not fully connect with them at the visceral, or superstitious, mentality of the folk.

Nevertheless, broadside ballad makers marketed their wares widely to all sorts of consumers and could not afford violating their sensibilities. This might explain why, despite the proliferation of illustrations on broadside ballads generally, the whole corpus that I have studied reveals a noticeable lack of illustrations depicting the devil; when demonic images do make an appearance, they do so mainly on the newest prints from the turn of the twentieth century. It would seem that many, if not most, buyers followed tradition and did not want to keep the evoked likeness of a demon in their homes. Such a vivid presence of the devil was likely perceived as a potential bringer of bad luck. Thinking along similar lines, popular chapbooks, which included as a subgenre the broadside ballad, often emphasized that particular religious images (such as the cross of St. Benedict) and certain miraculous prayers printed on paper possessed the power to ward off evil and, by extension, demonic presence. Furthermore, woodcuts were used in magical and apotropaic roles (for example, to create devotional pictures for swallowing¹⁹), especially during the broadside ballad’s heyday in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Devil in the Plot

The various mechanisms of summoning the devil into the physical world and the performative power words play in such conjuring are part of a broader array of themes related to infernal powers. Other motifs connected with demonic characters are largely dependent on the role played by the devil once he is introduced into the narrative. Drawing from the classification formulated by the Polish folklorist Jolanta Ługowska, we may describe several modes of including the devil into types of folk narratives and analyse their

18 Additionally, in rare instances, the word *dábel* is used in humorous songs as an insult to describe an unpleasant and repulsive person.

19 Czech: *Polykací obrázky*, German: *Schluckbildchen*, small woodcuts used as a magical remedy in folk medicine (see: Kafka, *Dárek z pouti*, pp. 194–196).

usage in broadside ballad stories. According to Ługowska,²⁰ there are five main imaginings of the devil in folklore: 1) the devil as creator, active in the past; 2) the devil as evil power, active today; 3) the devil as protector of the moral order; 4) the devil as supernatural enemy; and 5) the devil as subject of ridicule.

The first of these representations, the devil as creator, appears in Central European etiological folk tales, perhaps as a residue of the dualistic Indo-European cosmology, wherein the divine Maker's adversary is actively co-involved in creating the world. However, within the large corpus of broadside ballads I have studied, no such stories exist: there are no instances of the devil interacting with God in any way, as there are no ballads about the origin of Satan, the creation of the world, etc. Those are known only from oral folk tales. A representation of the devil as co-Creator with God would most likely have been deemed unchristian not only by Catholic authors but also by official licensors, who would have acted to prevent any such publication. Furthermore, Czech broadside ballads, with their often-emphasized role as "news songs," usually focus on the present world, not its beginnings. One might posit as an exception those biblical and hagiographical broadside ballads that offer their audience something like a record of religious "history." However, even in these broadside ballads, the devil is not raised to a status aligned with the divine Maker. It would seem that such an alliance is inconceivable, or at least not publicly so. I have to date found no extant broadside ballad that imagines Satan and his demons from a Christian theological perspective and shows their relation to the Godhead.

The second image of the devil in folklore is as an evil power—a supernatural creature who appears to humans always with malicious intent. He can be represented as either a non-threatening bogeyman or as a powerful threat—that is, as a monster who attacks and even kills mortals. Among broadside ballads which imagine the devil in this way are those that convey the motif of demons kidnapping children (stories probably stemming from old Slavic beliefs) and the devil as a tempter, offering a material reward for the act of selling one's soul. Among the variations on this latter motif are stories about the devil pushing someone to sin so that the devil might gain control over their soul after death, as in the famed German legend about Dr. Faustus (whose "history" was also disseminated in popular pamphlets and broadside ballads, before being adapted as a play by Christopher Marlowe and, later, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe). In Czech broadside ballads, the motif of the devil as a tempter

20 Ługowska, "Obrazy diabła," pp. 8–16.

is often present in otherwise realistic narratives about murderers, where a short phrase tells the audience that, although the deadly deed was itself not supernatural in character, the criminal was inspired by devilish whispers, e.g., “dábel mu do uší šeptal, aby ji zmrdoval” (“the devil whispered into his ear to kill her”),²¹ or “on [...] skrze ní ze světa sešel, co jí čert poňoukal” (“he [...] left this world because of her; she was encouraged by the devil”).²²

Rarely, the tempter appears in the flesh, as in the already mentioned story of the Milanese painter²³ and another broadside ballad about an evil rich man and his impoverished brother,²⁴ wherein the devil unsuccessfully tries to lure the pious poor man into sinning with money. The demon in a physical form also makes an appearance in the broadside ballad about a lazy barrel maker, “Píseň truchlivá o bečváři” (“A terrible song about a barrel maker”),²⁵ based on an influential, well-known folklore motif of an unanticipated surprise. The protagonist of this tale, in exchange for gold, agrees to give the devil, whom he met in the woods, something that he will find at home but does not yet know about. This “surprise” happens to be his newborn child; fortunately, the child is ultimately saved from the terrible fate of hellfire thanks to the prayers of the barrel maker’s wife and the intervention of the Virgin Mary.²⁶

Most importantly, however, demons fulfil the role classified as the third kind of representation of the devil in folk tales: as protectors of the moral norm and of the rules of a moral society. In this role, demons are instruments of God’s punishment. Apart from the few examples of temptation shown in the previous paragraph, protagonists of broadside ballads usually sin on their own accord, without an overt infernal temptation. They receive harsh but generally just retribution for their actions. As shown by the already mentioned examples, the sinner is in fact often fully responsible for both the committed evil and the appearance of the demon who punishes him or her. In a paradoxical way, the actions of the devil thus frequently serve as a reminder of the importance of upholding religious virtues and rituals. Sins punished by infernal incursion are often related to the act of breaking

21 *Nová píseň o hrozném vraždě, kterou spáchal jeden rolník na své manželce*, 1864, MKP, call no. J-32.

22 *Píseň nová o přeukrutném mordu*, [1820–1870], MKP, call no. J-1786.

23 *Žalostná píseň o jednom majlanském malíři, jenž ukrutně pronasledován byl*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-1777.

24 *Píseň pravdivá o jednom bohaprazdném synu*, 1718, MKP, call no. J-120.

25 *Píseň truchlivá o bečváři*, [1780–1820], MKP J-554.

26 We may note that similarly to the already quoted *Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-945, the innocents sacrificed by others are saved by Divine providence.

fast, immoral entertainment, and blasphemy against the Catholic tradition. The devil may also serve as a guardian of social justice, smiting the wealthy persecutors of the poor and victimized.²⁷

In the fourth representation of the devil—the demon as a supernatural enemy—he usually plays the role of an obstacle to be defeated by the hero. In such narratives, the devil is typically depicted as an oafish monster (leading us to Ługowska's fifth representation of the devil as a subject of ridicule), outsmarted by the mortal with whom he made a deal. But this kind of story—a reversal of the cautionary horror tale—is not found in the Czech broadside ballads I have studied. Such is the case even though the figure of a ridiculed *čert* (devil) is well known from oral folklore.²⁸ The absence of the notion of the devil being defeated in broadside ballads may be explained by its contradiction with the terrifying demons of religious teachings that strongly influenced broadside ballads during their prominence.

In broadside ballads of the period under study, in sum, religion is key. The only examples of defeated devils in the corpus I studied can be found in narratives ending with the intervention of heavenly powers—often direct actions by saints and angels—or at least the protagonist drawing upon a powerful blessed object to effect the same action (e.g., the cross of St. Benedict, a rosary, or a specific anti-demonic prayer). Based on the analysed material, we can confidently conclude that in the world of broadside ballads, no mortal can outsmart evil powers by him- or herself; rather, humans have to beware of evil and call upon their religion for salvation from it. Because the demon is a serious threat, Czech broadside ballads, unlike their counterparts from Protestant Europe, exhibit no examples of comical tales about the demons acting silly or becoming the victims of a smart human opponent.²⁹

The Physical Image of the Devil

Due to the diverse roles played by the devil in folklore narratives, his physical image may vary greatly between different texts and genres. According to Christian theology, in his true form the devil is immaterial, but to interact

27 Baranowski, *Požegnání z diablem*, pp. 58–62.

28 Röhrich, "Čert," pp. 20–21.

29 This attitude differentiates Czech broadside ballads from similar genres in other European languages, e.g., Dutch penny prints, where humorous stories about the devil can often be found; see Salman, "Devotional and Demonic," pp. 129–130.



Figure 23. Selected panels from a ballad singer's banner (Moravia, second half of the eighteenth century). Left: a devil as a gentleman (though with visible horns), offering a deal to sign, in blood; middle: devil as a hunter, tempting a man with gold; right: a gang of monstrous, fire-breathing devils. Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, B 1 Gubernium, kart. č. 1621, sign. R 11/44a.

with mortals he can take on different shapes and persona that serve his intentions best. In the European tradition, two contradictory images of the devil appeared in antiquity and were reinforced in the medieval period. On the one side, we see a monstrous image of a furry, horned, half-animal beast, partially inspired by the satyrs of classical mythology. On the other, we see a physically beautiful and alluring human, surrounded by an aura of otherworldliness and curiousness. This second image correlates with the idea of demon as tempter. In folk culture, the human-looking devil also often aligns with the traditional opposition between “us” and “them”; that is, the devil appears as a member of a different social class (usually a nobleman) or a person belonging to some foreign group (typically an unliked neighbour or someone distant to all Christendom, such as a Moor or a Jew).³⁰

Apart from a few texts which do not contain any physical description of the demons in their stories, most devils in the analysed corpus appear as humans, at least at the beginning of the stories. The devil is usually depicted as a rich and elegantly dressed man, described as either *pán* (lord) or *kavalír* (gentleman). In two examples, female demons are mentioned: strange ladies willing to dance with blasphemers in “Pravdivá píseň o jednom strašlivém příběhu, který se stal v sardinské zemi” (“A true song about a certain terrible

30 Baranowski, *Požegnanie z diabłem*, pp. 33–43.

story that happened in the land of Sardinia”)³¹ and a she-devil aristocrat accompanying the devil appearing as a nobleman in “Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše” (“A terrible story that happened near the town of Windisch”).³² In another song the devils take on the guise of “wealthy merchants from a faraway land” (“velký kupcy z daleké krajiny”).³³ As such, they are not only alien because of their social position but also because of their exotic ethnic and geographic origins. Finally, in one instance, the devil in the broadside ballad takes the form of a hunter, which closely resembles his image as described in some traditional Czech folk tales.³⁴

The vision of the devil as a rich and elegant person obviously fits into the opposition between “us” and “them.” Since the audience (as well as most protagonists of broadside ballads) was not wealthy, elegant, or beautifully dressed, the emphasis on those qualities served at the same time as a sign of distance and of believable temptation. The descriptions often mention the ornate clothes of the devil: “pekelný duch přišel. V šatech přemovaných, knihu velikou nese, na stůl ji položí a celý se třese” (“the infernal spirit came dressed in garments decorated with braid, carrying a large book that he laid on the table, shaking with emotion”).³⁵

The broadside ballad “Žalostná píseň o jednom majlandském malíři, jenž ukrutně pronasledován byl” (“A sorrowful song about a certain Milanese painter, who was cruelly persecuted”)³⁶ additionally signals the pride and vanity of the devil himself, who asks to be depicted on a painting so beautifully, that people would be mesmerized by his image:

V šatech přemovaných,	In embroidered
zlatem krumplovaných,	and gilded clothes,
jako ňaký kavalír byl ďábel	the devil from Hell was standing there like
pekelný.	some gentleman.
[...]	[...]
Řekl ďábel k malíři:	The devil said to the painter:
Maluj mne pěkného,	Paint me beautifully,

31 *Pravdivá píseň o jednom strašlivém příběhu, který se stal v sardinské zemi*, 1849, MKP, call no. J-1004.

32 *Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-945.

33 *Píseň nová o jistých přiběžích, které se v minulých časech staly*, [1780–1820], MKP, call no. J-197.

34 *Píseň truchlivá o bečváři*, [1780–1820], MKP, call no. J-554.

35 *Nová píseň všem pravověřícím křesťanům vydána*, [1850–1870], MKP, call no. J-1607.

36 *Žalostná píseň o jednom majlandském malíři, jenž ukrutně pronasledován byl*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-1777.

tak jak mne tu vidíš	as you can see me
stát zapremovaného. ³⁷	standing here in these embroidered garments.

Later in the same ballad, the devil takes the form of a Jew to testify falsely before the court. This image fits with the idea of the demon often appearing as a member of a foreign ethnic group and is also consistent with an anti-Semitic Christian stereotype of Jews as belonging to an alien, ungodly community.³⁸

Another material attribute associated with the broadside image of devils as wealthy noblemen is their luxurious carriage (*kočár, krytý vůz, šeza*). In such splendour the demons arrive when summoned and disappear equally fast, usually carrying their victims to the netherworld or to a temporary lair in the human world, situated in an abandoned and remote place:

S kočarem pro ně přijeli, na devět míl v okamžení v jednom pustém hradu byli. ³⁹	They came for them [the humans] in a carriage. Travelled nine miles in an eye-blink and they [the humans] found themselves in an abandoned castle.
--	---

In the next example, infernal guests arrive in three carriages, with the fourth one waiting for their victims. As one of the devils declares:

Tá čtvrtá drahá šeza je pro vás zchystaná, ta je pro pyšné lidi, zlatem ukovaná [...] a tak se s velikým hřmotem	This fourth expensive carriage is prepared for you, for the proud people gilded with gold [...] and so with a thunderous roar
odtud pryč ztratili. Ve velké prudkosti za město vyjeli, sám Ježíš Kristus to ví, kam jsou se poděli. ⁴⁰	they left the place. With great speed they rode out of town, only Jesus Christ knows where they went.

37 Ibid.

38 Dutch parallels can be found in Salman, "Devotional and Demonic," p. 130. For a more in-depth analysis of the image of the Jew in Czech broadside ballads, see Mętrak, "Językowy i kulturowy obraz Żyda."

39 *Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-945.

40 *Pravdivá píseň o jednom strašlivém příběhu který se stal v sardinské zemi*, 1849, MKP, call no. J-1004.

Because the human-like, lordly appearance of the devil is strongly emphasized in descriptions of him, we may suspect that it was not the default form by which Czech audiences imagined the devil's features. In those parts of broadside ballads where demons no longer have to camouflage themselves as humans (and in some texts where no detailed description of the devil is given), their very inhuman and brutal actions (carrying people off high into the air, tearing sinners apart, threatening torture and demonstrating superhuman strength, etc.) imply rather that such demons were more typically imagined in a monstrous form. Such a figuring of the devil is consistent with traditional folk beliefs, religious iconography, and preserved *Bänkelsang* banners (as displayed in images in Figures 23 & 24).⁴¹

Such monstrous demons are described as grossly repulsive, e.g., *šerední hosti* (hideous guests),⁴² *dábel šeredný* (hideous devil),⁴³ *šerední ďáblové* (hideous devils),⁴⁴ and their mentioned ability to fly allows us to envision the demon in his “default” form as a winged beast. Another monstrous trait is the stink of sulphur or tar. The song “*Píseň nová o jistých přiběžích*” (“A new song about certain events”) describes an unpleasant odour arising from an infernal fire that appears when the devils capture a sinner: “*napluli jsou smradem, plamenem svetnici*” (“they have filled the sitting room with a horrid smell and flames”).⁴⁵ Such affinity with fire and heat can also be deduced from the burning torture instruments with which the devils threaten the mortals in the broadside ballad “*Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*” (“A terrible story that happened near the town of Windisch”).⁴⁶

In some of the broadside ballads, infernal apparitions arrive in the human world in recognizable animal shapes. However, it can be hard to distinguish between zoomorphic demons and ordinary animals serving as a tool of God's punishment, as with other forces of nature, such as penalizing lightning and earthquakes. Though these animal forms may resemble those in nature, their infernal origins can be deduced from the authors' choice of animals—mainly species associated with evil powers in the Bible and folk culture, such as serpents, toads, frogs, and scorpions, or black dogs, cats, ravens, and goats.

41 More information about the origin of attached illustrations can be found in Tichá, “K dějinám.”

42 *Píseň pravdivá o jednom bohaprazdném synu*, 1718, MKP, call no. J-120.

43 *Píseň truchlivá o bečváři*, [1780–1820], MKP, call no. J-554.

44 *Vypsání dalece rozhlášeného a známého doktora Fausta*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-1015.

45 *Píseň nová o jistých přiběžích, které se w minulých časech staly* [1780–1820], MKP, call no. J-197.

46 *Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-945.



Figure 24. Selected panels from a ballad singer's banner (Moravia, second half of the eighteenth century). Left: devil speaking with a woman; middle: devil tearing a sinner apart; right: devil giving a signed deal back to a praying woman. Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, B 1 Gubernium, kart. č. 1621, sign. R 11/44a.

The final theme known from traditional culture found in Czech broadside ballads is the devil's affinity with music, especially the kind of tune inviting people to improper dancing (i.e., dancing in Lent or skipping mass because of a party).⁴⁷ The motif of the dance with the devil, ending with the death or abduction of the sinner to hell, can be seen as a specific version of the *danse macabre*, reminding the audience not only of the universality of death but also of the punishment awaiting the sinful in the hereafter. Examples can be found in the song "Pravdivá píseň o jednom strašlivém příběhu" ("True song about a certain terrible event"),⁴⁸ wherein infernal emissaries are accompanied by an orchestra and dancers, and in "Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše," wherein the very "strange" movements of the dancers convey their demonic origin: "Po jídle muziku brali, divně všickni tancovali" ("After the food they had some music, everyone was dancing strangely").⁴⁹

Discordant sounds accompanying such infernal movements were understood as aberrations of angelic choirs, admired as divine voicings harmonizing with the actions of benevolent supernatural powers. It is

47 Röhrich, "Čert," p. 19.

48 *Pravdivá píseň o jednom strašlivém příběhu který se stal v sardinské zemi*, 1849, MKP, call no. J-1004.

49 *Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše*, [1800–1850], MKP, call no. J-945.

such sounds turned awry that lead to wild and “strange” demonic dancing. A hellish dance which cannot be stopped may also be a punishment for sins, as in “Píseň k ustrnutí o rozpustilých tanečnících” (“A song to repent about wanton dancers”). Demonic musicians also appear in this broadside ballad to play for the blasphemers, who unlike the rest of their fellow villagers, refuse to attend holy mass. The sinners, not heeding the repeated warnings of their parents and priest, decide to enjoy themselves instead at the local inn. But in a grotesquely ironic punishment for their “delightful” debauchery, they find themselves supernaturally forced to dance until they die of exhaustion:

Muzikanti pořád hrají, oni posavad tancují, jak šípky pořád běhají, odpočínutí nemají. Od tance z noh krev jim stříká, zem celá krví politá. [...] Od šatů litají kusy, z rukou, z nohouch kůže visí, až jim vidět z těla kosti v tej nešťastné veselosti. ⁵⁰	The musicians play constantly, they are dancing to this moment, running fast like arrows, having no rest. From this dance the blood squirts from their feet, the ground is drenched with blood. [...] Scraps of their clothes are flying around, the skin is hanging from their arms and legs, the bones can be seen under their flesh in this unlucky merriness.
--	---

Conclusion

Demons, although appearing in the texts of Czech broadside ballads far less often than God and benevolent supernatural beings (who are mentioned in almost every song), still play important roles in the Czech metaphysical world order. Their various parts in the ballad narratives allow us to uncover the origins of those stories in Baroque preaching *exempla* rather than in traditional Slavic folklore and demonology. As part of such teaching, the devil of Czech broadside ballads rarely possesses individual character traits; more often he is only one of many evil spirits arriving from Hell to tempt and punish sinful humans. As such, he is terrifying to mortals and often acts violently. But perhaps more frightening, he can also be scheming and deceitful, plotting intrigues instead of using brute force (which is another way of saying he draws out

50 *Píseň k ustrnutí o rozpustilých tanečnících*, 1753, MKP, call no. J-119.

humans' inherent inclination to sin). Demons may appear in different shapes and even stay immaterial, but no matter their form, they always pose a severe threat to humans, broadside ballads tell us, and should not be taken lightly. In the material world, we see that such demons usually lurk in remote places, such as deep woods and abandoned ruins, but the fact remains that no space is completely safe from their influence, even Christian places of worship. This is because, as Baroque teaching instructs the audience of broadside ballads, the devil always lurks within; one might go so far as to say he is of our own making. Indeed, demons gain access to the human world mostly through an invitation made by mortals, usually without overt ill intent but rather due to their inconsiderate behaviour (itself a manifestation of sin). Yet evil or desperate people can also deliberately invoke and sign a pact with the devil, selling their soul for a material reward.

Mechanisms governing the metaphysical order of the world as described in Czech broadside ballads render an important insight into the concept that can be called Czech folk theodicy. In this theodicy, the Czech system of belief combines epistemologies based on both folk tales and Baroque religion. That is, despite the firm folk belief in the existence of an active individual evil in the world in the form of Satan, most of the misfortunes that happen to people in broadside ballads are interpreted in a Baroque system not as the workings of Satan, but as God's will and the result of human failings. Such a dual vision diverges from both the orthodox doctrines of Christianity, with its notion of an active and powerful Satan, and from traditional Slavic folklore, with its dualistic order of the world, wherein actions of the creator are mirrored by his mythical demonic adversary. The texts of broadside ballads never question the agency and sovereignty of God, who single-handedly decides the fate of the whole world. In this latter interpretation, the devil is not God's enemy so much as His instrument of discipline and punishment. The devil, in sum, fulfils God's will, and—by extension—poses little danger to pious and honest Catholics who follow all regulations and rituals of their religion and are equipped with devotional protective items such as a rosary or a crucifix. In such a worldview, the devil may be fittingly described with a famous quote from Goethe's *Faust* as the "Part of the Power that would / Always wish Evil, and always works the Good."⁵¹

51 Goethe, *Faust, Part I*.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Nábožná píseň ke cti svatě panny Barbory, mučedlnice.* N.p.: N.p., [1800–1850]. sign. J-516, MKP.
- Nová píseň o hrozně vraždě, kterou spáchal jeden rolník na své manželce.* Chrudim: S. Pospíšil, 1864. sign. J-32, MKP.
- Nová píseň všem pravověřícím křesťanům vydána.* No tune imprint. N.p.: N.p., [1850–1870]. sign. J-1607, MKP.
- Píseň kustrnutí o rozpustilých tanečnicků,* 1753. MKP, call no. J-119.
- Píseň nová o jistých přiběžích, které se v minulých časech staly o římském pozdravení, které jeho svátost papežská Benedikt 13 do císařských katolických provincií ku potěšení, a věrným duším k spasení vyslati ráčila [...].* N.p.: N.p., [1780–1820]. sign. J-197, MKP.
- Píseň nová o přeukrutném mordu.* No tune imprint. Praha: N.p., [1820–1870]. sign. J-1786, MKP.
- Píseň o jistém mláďenci, který chudobnou pannu si oblíbil, což se divného při tom přihodilo, z této písně se vyrozumí.* N.p.: N.p., [1750–1800]. sign. J-121, MKP.
- Píseň o mocnostech kříže svatého Benedikta.* N.p.: N.p., [1800–1850]. sign. J-301, MKP.
- Píseň pravdivá o jednom bohaprazdném synu.* Hradec Králové: Václav Jan Tybely, 1718. sign. J-120, MKP.
- Píseň truchlivá o bečváři.* N.p.: N.p., [1780–1820]. sign. J-554, MKP.
- Pravdivá píseň o jednom strašlivém příběhu který se stal v sardinské zemi na den narození Krista Pána na příklad vydaná v roku 1849.* Skalica: N.p., 1849, sign. J-1004, MKP.
- Pravdivá píseň o jisté mladé divčicy, která skrze rouhání svatým od Boha potrestaná byla.* N.p.: N.p., [1800–1850]. sign. J-170, MKP.
- Pravdivý příběh, který se stal na pomezí saském, v Žitavě. Všem pobožným křesťanům pro odvrácení takového skutku zlého v nově na světlo vydaný.* N.p.: N.p., [1800–1850]. sign. J-154, MKP.
- Příběh strašlivý který se stal blíž města Vindiše, když jedna matka dětem svým zlé vinšovala.* N.p.: N.p., [1800–1850]. sign. J-945, MKP.
- Příkladná píseň o jednom lakomém muži.* N.p.: N.p., [1750–1800]. sign. J-140, MKP.
- Vypsání dalece rozhlášeného a známého doktora Fausta, předně z špaňhelské řeči na německou opět z německé na českou řeč přeložené.* First lines: "Slyšte křesťané pobožní, o příběhu přehrozném." No tune imprint. N.p.: N.p., Vytištěná roku tohoto [1800–1850]. sign. J-1015, MKP.
- Žalostná píseň o jednom majlandském malíři, jenž ukrutně pronasledován byl.* No tune imprint. N.p.: N.p., [1800–1850], sign. J-1777, MKP.

Secondary Sources

- Baranowski, Bohdan. *Pożegnanie z diabłem i czarownicą*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1965.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Beneš, Bohuslav, ed. *Poslyšte písničku hezkou... Kramářské písně minulých dob*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1983.
- Bogatyrev, Petr. *Souvislosti tvorby. Cesty k struktuře lidové kultury a divadla*. Praha: Odeon, 1971.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.
- Di Nola, Alfonso M. *Diabeł. O formach, historii i kolejach losu Szatana, a także o jego powszechnej a złowroziej obecności wśród wszystkich ludów, od czasów starożytnych aż po teraźniejszość*, trans. Ireneusz Kania. Kraków: Universitas, 2004.
- Kafka, Luboš. *Dárek z pouti. Poutní a pouťové umění*. Praha: Lika Klub, 2009.
- Lugowska, Jolanta. "Obrazy diabła w różnych gatunkach opowieści ludowych." In *Diabeł w literaturze polskiej*, ed. Tadeusz Błażejowski, pp. 5–16. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1998.
- Mętrak, Maciej. "Językowy i kulturowy obraz Żyda w czeskich drukach kramarskich." *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 51 (2017), pp. 89–109.
- Michalec, Anna and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, Stanisława. *Jak chłop u diabła pieniądze pożyczał. Polska demonologia ludowa w przekazach ustnych*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2019.
- Röhrich, Lutz. "Čert v pohádce a pověsti." *Český lid* 53, no. 1 (1966), pp. 18–23.
- Salman, Jeroen. "Devotional and Demonic Narratives in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Dutch Penny Prints." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 121–138. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Tichá, Zdeňka. "K dějinám kramářské písně v 18. století." *Česká literatura* 1, no. 3 (1953), pp. 137–145.
- Vašica, Josef. "Několik poznámek k baroknímu písemnictví." *Řád. Revue pro kulturu a život* V, no. 5 (1939), pp. 281–289.

Website

- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Faust, Part I*, lines 1336–1337 (translated by Anthony S. Kline). <https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/German/Fausthome.php>.

Abbreviations

MKP—Muzeum Komenského v Přerově (Comenius Museum in Přerov)

About the Author

Maciej Mętrak: Postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw, Poland), <https://ispan.waw.pl/default/en/employee/maciej-metrak/>. Mętrak has published several journal articles about minority languages and cultures, linguistic contact in German-Slavic border areas, and Czech nineteenth-century popular literature (broadside ballads and chapbooks) from a linguistic and anthropological perspective. maciej.metrak@ispan.waw.pl.

11. Reality and Fiction in Broadside Ballads and Their Contemporary Reception: A Case Study

Jana Poláková

Abstract

Jana Poláková's paper presents a specific historical and locatable event—a quadruple murder. She traces how it was reflected in a range of regional sources, especially popular genres that have typically fallen outside the historical domain, such as broadside ballads, chapbooks, and songs recorded from the oral tradition. She compares this fictional depiction of the murder with information from the trial and contemporary newspapers.

Keywords: News, murder ballad, orality, crime, fiction

Modern historiography is increasingly exploring subjective experiences of particular events from the past; this new interest, as I shall detail, expands the range of historians' research techniques. In addition to drawing on officially recorded sources (such as newspapers and archive materials from the time of the event), it has become acceptable to use other cultural sources, such as literature and oral tradition. This chapter presents a specific historical event—a quadruple murder which took place on July 5, 1907, 20 kilometres north of the city of Brno—and traces how it was reflected in a range of sources. Particular attention is devoted to popular genres that have typically fallen outside the historical domain, such as broadside ballads, chapbooks, and songs recorded from the oral tradition. Because the crime was unusual, there is good reason to believe that public awareness of it would have persisted for several generations, passed along through such popular genres. Even today, residual traces of the story can still be found in various accounts within the local and wider region. When a report of a

particular event is disseminated, however, we typically find that certain aspects of the “facts” always change or disappear depending on the source of the report. This chapter demonstrates the morphing in accounts of the above historical happening by employing several heuristic analyses of the content of broadside ballads, verbal folklore, newspapers, and other sources. As collective memory fades, we find, it is transformed into place memory (a deliberately created recollection of a particular event, separated from it by a time gap). It may then be revived at the regional level in the course of diverse present-day social activities.

Broadside Ballads as a Historical Source

As noted above, the basis of modern methodological approaches to historiography is shifting from objective, realistic syntheses of collective or national history to the subjective stories of individuals—an approach known as microhistory.¹ The traditional approach has been based mainly on written, officially issued and preserved sources, while the microhistory approach prioritizes personal, family, or collective memory, preserved more privately or regionally in either written or oral form.

The material basis of broadside ballads ranks them among written (and specifically printed) types of sources, but their origins and subsequent dissemination—which also spread orally—places them on the boundary separating these two kinds of sources. This confluence of media makes broadside ballads an inspirational subject for research; it straddles the borderline between the more unchanging, stable, preserved records of writing and the more mutable, fluid, and often eventually lost records of orality.² However, the documentary value of broadside ballads varies, so using them as factual sources creates complications. Particularly for historians, it is essential to take a critical approach to broadside ballads as evidentiary.³ They were always targeted at a broad section of society, and their production and continued survival depended on their ability to succeed in the market. Preserved editions of broadside ballads, on the one hand, bear witness to the wide interests and tastes of their consumers,

1 White, *Metahistory*, pp. 38–42; the most famous Western example of a microhistory is Carlo Ginzburg's *Il formaggio e i vermi* (1976, translated as *The Cheese and the Worms* [1980]), which focuses on the unique religious beliefs and cosmology of a single sixteenth-century miller.

2 Smetana, “K problematice,” pp. 14–15.

3 Kutnar, “Kramářská píseň,” pp. 77–78.

including their hunger for news; on the other hand, they could also be turned to mass propaganda, which in the Czech context was regulated by censorship from the end of the eighteenth century onwards.⁴ Broadside ballads also offer an indirect source of information on the ideology and social status of their authors (whose identity is nowadays usually unknown). To historians, these texts are thus complicated representations of their times, often offering distorted, multiple, or nuanced viewpoints; when read as historical records, fact and fiction can be hard to distinguish. Furthermore, the gap in time between the creation of a broadside ballad and the present day can make the interpretative process even more challenging and lead to inaccurate interpretations (especially of past cultural and social phenomena).⁵

An instance of what we may call temporal “warping” of perspective is that not every past event which we consider important today produced a broadside ballad (at least according to the surviving evidence). Our criteria for privileging events, as we look back on an earlier period, often differed from the official historiographic criteria of the time, especially when it came to popular literature. Broadside ballads generally responded very quickly to occasional events—so much so that the authors and publishers typically saw no need to give dates. The desire for novelty also meant that most broadside ballads were short-lived. However, there are cases in which broadside ballads about the same event were published over several decades—though the places and dates attributed to the event often varied. It is rare to find a broadside ballad published more than ten years after the events to which it refers, and such late versions may contain more inaccurate information.⁶ The functions of broadside ballads were to inform, entertain, educate, provide moral instruction, and—especially in the case of murder songs—to satisfy the audience’s desire for sensation and exhilaration.⁷

When assessing the proportion of facts to fiction in a broadside ballad, it is therefore necessary to assess them alongside other types of sources.⁸ Depending on the form of dissemination, sources can be roughly divided into two types: written and oral. As a consequence of previous methodological approaches in historiography, written sources are associated with a higher degree of objectivity; yet objectivity is actually a relative concept, dependent

4 Scheybal, *Senzace pěti století*, pp. 68–74; Volf, “Z dějin.”

5 Dufka and Poláková, “Společenské události,” p. 48.

6 Poláková, “Jak v Hrabovanech,” p. 86.

7 Grochowski, *Straszna zbrodnia*, pp. 152–166; Wiltenburg, “Ballads.”

8 Casas-Delgado and Gomis, “Female Transgression,” pp. 47–52.

on numerous external and internal factors.⁹ The more recent an event is, the better the chance a historian has of finding and comparing relevant written sources. By contrast, oral sources, which mutate more quickly, have been long neglected by predominantly positivist historiographers.¹⁰ Orality as factual record was not considered relevant, mainly due to its being considered subjective and non-material. The oral was further dismissed as the heritage of the lower, less-educated strata of society, who were prone to mythologizing and inflating facts. Their oral products were considered more suitable for research by ethnologists, anthropologists, literary scholars, and non-expert collectors, rather than by historians.¹¹ But written and oral sources could in fact converge, especially in the face of sensational real-life events, such as a mass murder.

A Real Event and Its Depiction in Written and Printed Sources

In the early morning hours of July 5, 1907, a quadruple murder took place 20 kilometres north of the Moravian city of Brno on the road between the well-known pilgrimage site of Křtiny and the village of Jedovnice. The victims were two married couples: Josef Němec and his wife, Amálie, along with Josef Hrazdára and his wife, Josefa. The brutal nature of the crime shocked the population of this generally peaceful region and evoked huge interest from local and national newspapers. On the same day as the murders, investigators arrested a family of reportedly ill repute and lowly social status from the nearby village of Ostrov: Jan Vajckorn, his wife Marie, and their son, also called Jan. The case went to court in Brno; the prosecutors assembled evidence to use against the accused, including statements from more than 40 persons who testified against the reputation and intent of the accused murderers. The weapons allegedly used to kill the victims were seized from the accused, as were items of their clothing (stained

9 Internal factors include, e.g., the influence of the subjective evaluation of the source's author, the influence of the person who commissioned the song from the author (a monarch, an aristocrat, an ecclesiastical functionary, etc.), differences in the evaluation of historical events by those involved in them, etc. External factors include the fact that descriptions of historical happenings not coincidentally correspond to the knowledge and experiences of the people recording the events, as well as with the time gap between the production of the source records and the actual events they describe. Claus and Marriott, *History*, pp. 3–23; Iggers, *Historiography*, pp. 118–140.

10 The positivistic approach dominated historiography in the second half of the nineteenth century.

11 Vaněk and Mücke, *Třetí strana*, pp. 26–29.

with human blood), the remnants of a bank deposit book, a large sum of money, and other items. From a present-day perspective, the prosecution's case lacked verifiable evidence against the Vajckorns, since the statements of the accused were confused and sometimes mutually contradictory. Some of the testimonies by those called upon to report were also mutually contradictory or were not verified or taken into account at all by the court. Nevertheless, by early-twentieth-century standards, the evidence was considered sufficient for a verdict of guilty. None of the Vajckorns ever confessed to the crime and they appealed against the court's decision. Differences between the individual witness statements appear to have meant that originally the death sentence was imposed, but on March 19, 1908, this was commuted to life imprisonment (the equivalent to a death sentence given the squalid conditions of prisons at the time). The son, Jan, was the first of the three to die in prison (1911). His mother, Marie, died in 1916, and his father in 1920.

Of all the printed sources of the events, Czech- and German-language newspapers are the most numerous. The first reports were printed by the most widely read Moravian and Austrian newspapers on the day following the murders, so the event was considered important enough to achieve cross-national dissemination and interest.¹² However, the newspapers initially provided incorrect information. They recorded that the "Sedlák family" (a nickname for the Vajckorn family) had committed the murders, and only one report gave correct information about the victims. This confusing information (incorrect regarding the perpetrators by using a local nickname, but correct regarding the number of victims) never appeared again in the newspapers; instead, journalists drew on different sources of information (the names of the accused and the witnesses, evidence, parts of witness statements), which was frequently repeated (whether correct or incorrect). Further detailed facts about the case were released gradually as the investigation progressed, but after ten days the interest of both the investigators and the public had dwindled to nothing. All the newspaper articles about the murders demonstrate a rapid alignment with the generally declared opinions of the local population, expanded to the "vox populi," regarding the Vajckorns' guilt, including moral condemnation of them. This published judgement had a substantial influence on the course of the trial.¹³ The next wave of interest focused

12 *Brněnské noviny* and its supplement *Moravské noviny*, *Lidové noviny*, *Rovnost*, *Brünner Zeitung*.

13 Pettitt, "Journalism vs. Tradition," pp. 76–77; Polák, "Soudní dohra," p. 16.

on the trial itself, which lasted three days. Only sporadic information was published about the decision to commute the sentence from death to life imprisonment.

The only two currently known chapbooks on the topic of the quadruple murder near Křtiny—the broadside ballad verse text “Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě” (“Song about a quadruple murder”) and the prose text “Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě” (“Description of a quadruple murder”)—were published probably towards the end of 1907 or in the following year.¹⁴ The author of both publications was Arnošt Chládek (1862–?) from Heřmanův Městec. Chládek’s publishing activities focused mainly on criminal cases. The presentation of these stories in separate verse and prose forms—which differed from the practice used during the previous century in Czech lands, if not, for instance, in England¹⁵—was a relatively common feature of his output. If we compare the content of the prose text “Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě” with contemporary newspaper reports, we find that Chládek copied entire passages from the newspapers, such as “sám čin, potutelné patrně zavraždění čtyř osob ve voze na silnici, připomíná přepadení loupežníků za starších dob” (“the deed itself, the sly murder of four people in a cart on the road, resembles attacks committed by highwaymen in former times”).¹⁶ When describing terrible events, contemporary journalists were keen to emphasize their emotive and dramatic aspects; the texts of news reports thus offered ready adaptation into marketable broadside ballads.

To this end, Chládek’s prose text remains relatively close to the reality as it was depicted in the sources available to him at the time of writing. However, his verse text “Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě” contains many more departures from its prose counterpart. Chládek’s alterations appear to have been mainly motivated by a desire to produce a sensational account, incorporating a bizarrely appealing form of outrage and a strong emotional impact to appeal to the mass popular market of broadside ballads.¹⁷

14 A broadside ballad is type of printed song text which in many cases is accompanied by information about the melody of the song (or by musical notation); see Ivánek, “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu,” pp. 224–226. On the two extant broadside ballads about the murders, see Chládek, *Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě*, [1907?], MZK VK-0000.216, přív. 66; Chládek, *Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě*, [1907?], MZK VK-0000.108, přív. 22.

15 See the chapter by Ivánek and the introduction.

16 “Čtyřnásobná vražda”; Chládek, *Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě*, [1907?], p. 3, MZK VK-0000.108, přív. 22.

17 Bates, *Crime*, pp. 95–97.



Figure 25. Scene from the trial of the Vajckorns. Chládek, "Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě," [1907?], pp. 8–9, MZK, sign. VK-0000.108, přív.22.

The printed ballad, in an effort to follow broadside ballad tradition, evinces rhyming verse structures (with varying degrees of success), and the "factual" content appears to have been sacrificed to this end.¹⁸ Twenty-five stanzas have a two-part structure, but only the first and (partially) the second maintain a regular rhyming structure. In the introduction, the author addresses the public (a typical feature of secular broadside ballads) and presents the place, time, and main people involved in the events. 92% of the text is devoted to the causes as well as to the course and consequences of the event (from the perspective of both the victims and the murderers); in reporting this way, the author makes use of an emotive, naturalistic style of description that was particularly typical of murder ballads.¹⁹

Other types of written sources of our case study of mass murder from the early twentieth century include not only the court files mentioned above, but also local chronicles—though in this case the chronicles do not provide any new insights. For the day of the murders, the municipal chronicle of

¹⁸ Beneš, "Prameny," p. 63.

¹⁹ Benčíková, "Příspěvek," p. 49, gives the figure of 58%, based on the example of a specific broadside ballad.



Figure 26. Title page of a broadside ballad about the quadruple murder near Křtiny. Chládek, "Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě," [1907?], MZK, sign. VK-0000.216, přív. 66. Notice how realistically the scene is portrayed in this engraving, almost as if it was a photograph.

Křtiny only gives information on a children's outing, and the parish accounts of the village of Ostrov only provide a basic summary of the murder events, including the names of the perpetrators and the victims.²⁰

The Depiction of the Event in the Oral Tradition

The events described became part of the oral tradition in the form of a song that has survived in two basic melodic versions. The first version—which uses

²⁰ Pích, "O bestiální," p. 7.

a well-known broadside ballad melody—occurs in the wide vicinity of the crime scene, in six textual variants. The second version has only been recorded in one textual form. These variants of the song, which have been preserved thanks to regional collectors both in written form and as audio recordings, were gathered as part of field research that I carried out in 2018–2020, and they form the basic material for this study. At the outset, it should be kept in mind that in the oral tradition from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, the folk songs were created by an author, whose identity is nowadays unknown, as an expression of the author's artistic ambitions and desire to present or comment on an exceptional event. In the case of broadside ballads, it tends to be unclear whether written forms of any of these texts influenced oral forms, or vice versa, or whether there was influence in both directions.²¹ Robert Smetana and Bedřich Václavek stated that at least half of Czech broadside ballads had originated from folk texts; today the figure is estimated at around one-third.²² Broadside ballads originating from folk songs can be assumed to have been originally oral in form. Over the course of time, they would have been elaborated upon and disseminated in written form, only then to be preserved again as part of the oral tradition. At the start of the twentieth century, the popularity of Czech broadside ballads waned, and their function as a key source of information for wide sections of society was eclipsed. As a result, the oral tradition about this time became disengaged from written forms. It was thus possible for folk singers and songwriters to create folk songs incorporating some remembered well-known and characteristic features of earlier broadside ballads—their composition, rhythmic structure, or melodies—without these folk songs ever being recorded in printed form. This was probably the fate of the above-examined song (and its versions) from the oral tradition telling the story of the Křtiny murders.

Broadside Ballads and the Oral Tradition

Several authors have explored the relationship and mutual influence between broadside ballads and the oral tradition in Britain as well as in Western and—my focus—Central Europe. However, at least in the latter studies, they were based only on songs with documented written and oral forms.²³

21 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 23.

22 Smetana and Václavek, *České písně kramářské*, p. 15.

23 Droppová and Krekovičová, *Počívajte panny*, p. 43.

The song discussed in this chapter represents a type of very recently disseminated broadside ballad that is less well documented and less well researched. The only features that the printed broadside ballad about the Křtiny murders had in common with the oral forms of the song discussed above are the topic and a small part of the text—part of the title of the print, and part of the incipit in one oral variant of the song. Taking into consideration place of origin, verse, and strophic structure, it is reasonable to assume that the oral and printed versions of the song originated and existed independently of each other. The oral version proved longer lasting; the written version has only survived thanks to the initiative of an author, memory institutions (museums, archives, libraries), and collectors, who likely more often wrote down, thus preserving, the oral version, since broadside ballads no longer thrived at this late time. We can only speculate on how long the printed and oral versions would have lasted and influenced each other during a period when broadside ballads enjoyed greater popularity.

The story of the murders has also survived residually in the form of other folk texts (horror tales or stories), preserved within families or the region; however, awareness of the story continues to wane with each new generation.²⁴ Recollection has been retained mainly among members of the older generation and the descendants of people who had a personal connection to the original case. In 2020 I carried out a questionnaire survey of 30 pupils of the Křtiny primary school (born in 2005 and 2006), who lived in or were descended from inhabitants in the wider vicinity of the village; none of the respondents were aware of the story of the quadruple murder. Still, as late as the turn of the twentieth century, inhabitants of Ostrov were sometimes pejoratively known as “Vajckorni” (“Vajckorns”), though few people were aware of the origin of this term.²⁵ Members of the oldest living generation of the area are still aware of the term’s meaning, but it is no longer in general use. Additionally, “Vajckorni” is also used in the region to denote individuals living on the margins of society—with or without knowledge of the term’s origin. The writer Alfred Technik (1913–1986), however, definitely drew on the murder facts, setting his story in the eighteenth century²⁶; in a setting obviously resembling the actual scene of the later real-life crime, an active band of highwaymen is led by a husband and wife and their son, and the band is known as the Vajckorns.²⁷

24 Vansina, *Oral tradition*, pp. 22–27; Hlavačka, “Místa paměti,” p. 603.

25 Bránský, “Strašná”; Plch, “O bestiální,” p. 7.

26 Bartůšková, “Alfred Technik.”

27 Technik, *Mlýn*, pp. 36–37, 52–53, 77–79, 81–82, 157–159. For more on the influence of broadside ballads on twentieth-century Czech literature, see Stýskal, “Kramářské písně.”

“Reality,” “Truth,” and Fiction in Available Sources of the Křtiny Murders

As is the case generally, “reality,” “truth,” and fiction are not identical concepts when it comes to the records of the Křtiny murders. “Reality” refers to the facts that were or are available at the time of the events, which in our case study are contained in archives or other written sources (even when their origins may have been oral). Investigators and judges of the murders when they happened were only able to use the evidence and knowledge that were available to them using the means at their disposal. The evidence used to arrive at the verdict may have been entirely acceptable in terms of the standards of the era, but they would not necessarily have been acceptable to present-day investigators. Viewed from a modern perspective, the outcome of the case would likely not correspond with objective truth based on current Western legal definitions of guilt “nade vši pochybnost” (“beyond a reasonable doubt”). This is not due to a lack of sources, but rather due to their variant content as well as the difference between how crimes are analysed and interpreted today and the practices that were common more than a century ago.

Among the indisputable sources for the murders are the date/time and place of the event and the people involved. Based on selected examples, the following text presents the degree of reality and fiction found in various types of sources. The verse text “Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě” gives the precise date of the murders (July 5), but not the year. However, it can be deduced from the final lines that the printings were issued directly after the trial (which took place in November 1907), though the author incorrectly states that the trial was held six months after the crime. The first stanza of the song correctly locates the events in the vicinity of the pilgrimage site at Křtiny, near the village of Jedovnice. The other main locations are also correctly stated. However, the prose text “Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě,” which offers more space for detailed information, is an example of confused accounting: it contains several inaccuracies in the toponyms or place names used. For example, the village where one of the murdered families lived, Rogendorf (today Krasová) is given erroneously as Rondorf, an error reproduced from a misprinting in the text of a newspaper report. The oral versions of the song give a more general indication of the location of the crime. They state that it occurred near Křtiny or on a road near Křtiny in the forest, or in the deep forest of Křtiny. Probably the most serious inaccuracy is found in the most recent news report on the crime, which was published in print and online to mark the hundredth anniversary of the events, despite its effort

to bolster its “truth” by including a statement from the descendants of the Němec family.²⁸ Although this report was written by a journalist from a regional newspaper, he still overlooked even the computer autocorrect of the name of the village (*Jedovnice* was “corrected” to *nerovnice*, a Czech mathematical term ironically meaning “non-equation”).

Both the verse text “Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě” and the prose text “Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě” present the victims as decent, hard-working people, some of whom, we are told, played an active role in their community and in local politics. Understandably, following stereotypes more necessarily than “facts,” the perpetrators of their murders were described as individuals with a criminal past, of low social status, and alcoholics.²⁹ Their surname (Vajckorn) was given in various spellings, though this was not unusual in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; the name is of German origin. From the surviving records of the interrogations conducted by the investigators of the crime, it is evident that all the families involved earned a living by buying agricultural products near their place of residence and selling them in the nearby city of Brno; however, the Vajckorns’ business was described as less successful. In the chapbooks and the newspaper reports, one of the motives for the murders is identified as a desire for retribution against the Němec family, who the Vajckorns felt had caused their business to fail. According to the interrogation transcripts, the Vajckorns stated that they had ceased trading several years before the crime was committed, and they denied that they had sought revenge against their business rivals. However, statements by local witnesses all reaffirmed the report that the Vajckorns were involved in trading, and they emphasized the hatred between the Vajckorn and Němec families. The court records, contemporary newspapers, and chapbooks of the time stated that the Hrazdíra family were random victims, who had simply been in the wrong place at the wrong time. The above-mentioned 2007 anniversary article about the murders, based on an oral account, includes a further inaccuracy; it states that the Hrazdíras had been the target of the attack, while Josef and Amálie Němec had been random victims. But all the other orally transmitted versions of the song identify the Vajckorns as the perpetrators and, of the actual victims, they briefly mention Josef Hrazdíra and his wife, Josefa. In some variants, there is more elaboration and likely distortion of the victims: they are described not only as traders but also Jews—probably meant to further align them with merchants. (References to Jewish ethnicity generally had negative

28 Mokrý, “Od bestiální.”

29 Bates, *Crime*, pp. 88–92.

connotations in broadside ballads, but in this song no such connotations are present.) Some variants also feature a mysterious (probably in “real-life” non-existent) character, who in one version was described as having survived the murderous attack.

The fourth and fifth stanzas of the verse text “Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě” describes one of the main pieces of evidence in the case—the bank deposit book belonging to the baker Ondřej Kupka from Ostrov. According to this text, on the day before the murder Kupka had handed the book to Josef Němec in public, so the murderers were aware that he had withdrawn the sum of 700 crowns. However, this is the only detail that corresponds with the legal records. Moreover, the text may be misleading if not read carefully, creating the impression that Němec had withdrawn double this amount.³⁰ In his witness statement, Kupka stated that he had handed over the bank deposit book without anybody else seeing (not, as the song declares, “in public”).³¹ Clerks from the bank confirmed that the money had been withdrawn, but the money and the deposit book were both missing from the scene of the crime. When the Vajckorns were arrested, the burned remains of the deposit book were found in their fireplace, but the missing money was not found until three weeks later (on the property of the Vajckorns). The prose text “Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě” correctly gives the name of the bank from which Němec had withdrawn the money, though a different name is given in the verse text “Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě,” probably in order to make the number of syllables fit. In accord with the idea that money was “a” if not “the” motivation for the murders, newspapers and chapbooks described the murder as a robbery.³² However, in the records of the legal proceedings it is reported that a relatively large sum of money was found at the scene.³³ The prose text downplays the size of the sum and states that the murderers searched the bodies of their victims for valuables. To further confuse the reason for the murders, in the orally transmitted songs no motive at all is given for them; these songs also lack information on the events that followed the crime, and to make the cause of the crime more confusing, the statement given to the authorities by the local citizens identifies revenge as the motive.

According to the court files, the victims showed no sign of having resisted the attack, indicating that they were killed in their sleep. (The murder took

30 Polák, *Byli Vajckorni vinni?*, p. 37.

31 *Výslech*.

32 Bates, *Crime*, pp. 93–95.

33 *Součet*.

place some time around midnight. Traders' horses often knew their way home without human assistance, so it was common for people to sleep during the journey.) This fact, which underlines the brutality and premeditated nature of the crime, was emphasized in all the printed sources. Such viciousness is underscored especially in the verse text "Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě," where the author graphically describes the smashed skulls, the brains spilling out of the victims' heads, as well as their severed ears, noses, and limbs. However, although the crime was clearly exceptionally violent, the nature of such violence was not quite as extreme as was depicted in this text, at least according to other reports. In the orally transmitted songs, the horror of the scene is expressed merely by the presence of blood. The folk narrative mentions the women begging for mercy (which also belies the "fact" that they were asleep when killed).

Compared with the other sources, the broadside ballads devote considerable space (three and a half stanzas) to an emotive description of the victims' burials. In another marketing strategy to move their consumers, the newspapers paid more attention to the eight orphans.³⁴ The youngest of the Hrazdíra children was twelve years old, as was the eldest of the Němec children. The fate of the four Němec children following the murder of their parents was marked by further tragedy. The court files mention a legal guardian, and the verse text "Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě" mentions their grandmother; but in reality they were left without any close relative to care for them. They were placed in institutions or dispersed among distant relatives throughout the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Due to the war and post-war events, sadly, they never met each other again. One of the four siblings, František, remained living in what is now the Czech Republic. The murder is still a living topic of conversation among his descendants, though at the time of the murder he was four years old and his recollection of the events must have been mediated through other sources.³⁵

Detailed information about the trial (November 13–15, 1907) can be found in sources of official provenance. The prose text "Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě," though it tailors events for popular readers, gives a detailed account of the trial; the verse text "Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě" only devotes half a stanza to it. Although the Vajckorns were accused of the crime from the very outset, some newspaper reports suggested that the evidence was inadequate. Expressions of regret for the wasted life of the

34 "K čtyřnásobné," p. 465.

35 Solaříková, "Vrazi."

Vajkorns' son Jan are found both in newspaper reports and in the prose text "Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě." This text contains information on the original death sentence, and the verse text "Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě" erroneously states that the executions were carried out. It is not known whether the author of this song had in fact found out that the sentences had been commuted to life imprisonment, but, if he did, he chose not to mention this information in order to reinforce the moralistic message of the text—a typical feature of broadside ballads. In the oral account, the Vajkorns received life sentences, and their son was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

Conclusion

The accuracy, scope, and, indeed, the very existence of available information about the crime discussed in this chapter are rapidly diminishing within the region with the passage of time. After all, the murders were known to only a small number of people in the area and their interest has naturally waned as the events recede further into the distant past. The oldest living generation in the region still retains several variants of a song inspired by the once-popular genre of the broadside ballad, but in some cases their knowledge of it is secondary; they encountered the song in the printed literature and have revived it as part of theatre performances or other presentations at regional events. The transition from collective memory into "place memory" is exemplified in the placement of a modest memorial at the location where the crime was committed, known locally as *U zabitých* (The Place of the Murdered Ones).³⁶ The future bearers of witness to these murders will thus be mainly written and material sources, in the form of legal records, scholarly texts, and preserved popular literature.³⁷ It will be increasingly difficult to identify "objective historical truth," which, as we saw in the various accounts to date—legal records, printed broadside ballads, and oral descriptions—were unstable from the very beginning. Such is the fate of "facts" whenever they pass through human hands or mouths, no matter the genre.³⁸

36 As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the term "place memory" is a deliberately created recollection of a particular event, separated from it by a time gap. Nora, "Between Memory"; Mokry, "U zabitých."

37 Uhlíř, *Brněnský pitaval*, pp. 227–240.

38 Vansina, *Oral tradition*, p. 112.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Chládek, Arnošt. *Píseň o čtyřnásobné vraždě dvou rodin Hrazdírové a Němcové, která se stala na silnici u Křtin blíže Brna*. Litomyšl: Augusta, Vladimír, [1907?], sign. VK-0000.216,přív. 66, MZK.
- Chládek, Arnošt. *Popis o čtyřnásobné vraždě dvou rodin Hrazdírové a Němcové, která se stala na silnici u Křtin blíže Brna*. Litomyšl: Augusta, Vladimír, [1907?], sign. VK-0000.108,přív.22, MZK.
- Součet mincí nalezených na místě činu, soudní proces s rodinou Vajckornových ve věci čtyřnásobné vraždy*. Fond C12 Krajský soud trestní Brno, box 213, fol. 70, MZA.
- Vyprávění o obchodnících z okolí Boskovic*, Karel Grábl (b. 1900), written down by Osvald Hofman, 1954, Benešov u Boskovic. C 286, inv. č. 4234, vyprávění č. 78, EÚB.
- Výslech svědka ze dne 12. 7. 1907, soudní proces s rodinou Vajckornových ve věci čtyřnásobné vraždy*. Fond C12 Krajský soud trestní Brno, box 213, fol. 127.

Field Research Sources

- Časně zrána bral se cestou*. Unknown performer, written down by Zdeněk Farlík, 1964–1969, Křtiny.
- Na silnici ho Křtin v lese*. Helena Ryšková (b. 1939) and Věra Cebáková (b. 1941), recording by Jana Poláková, 2019, Brno.
- Nedaleko u Křtin v lese*. Karel Kovařík (1901–1978), written down by Jana Poláková, 2019, Boskovice.
- Nedaleko vod Křtin v lese*. Sbor Základní školy Křtiny, written down by Jana Poláková, 2020, Křtiny.
- V tom hlubokém křtinském lese*. Unknown performer, written down by Zdeněk Farlík, 1964–1969, Křtiny.

Secondary Sources

- Bartůšková, Sylva. "Alfred Technik." In *Lexikon české literatury. Osobnosti, díla, instituce, part 4/1*, ed. Vladimír Forst, Jiří Opelík, and Luboš Merhaut, pp. 859–860. Praha: Academia, 2008.
- Bates, Kate. *Crime, BroadSides and Social Change, 1800–1850*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Benčíková, Ivona. "Príspevok k štúdiu jarmočných piesní na Slovensku." *Slovenský národopis* 41, no. 1 (1993), pp. 44–54.

- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Prameny a jejich zpracování v kramářských a lidových písních." *Český lid* 44, no. 2 (April 1957), pp. 63–66.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Bránský, Jaroslav. "Strašná hromadná vražda u Křtin." *Nový život Blansko* 24, no. 51–52 (December 21, 1983), p. 6.
- Casas-Delgado, Inmaculada, and Juan Gomis. "Female Transgression and Gallows Literature in the Spanish *literatura de cordel*." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 33–59. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Claus, Peter, and John Marriott. *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- "Čtyřnásobná vražda u Křtin." *Lidové noviny* 15, no. 314 (November 13, 1907), p. 3.
- Droppová, Lubica, and Eva Krekovičová. *Počívajte panny, aj vy mládenci... Letákové piesne zo slovenských tlačiarň*. Bratislava: Ústav evropské etnológie SAV, 2010.
- Dufka, Jiří, and Jana Poláková. "Společenské události a hospodářské změny." In *Do Brna široká cesta: Kramářské písně se světskou tematikou. Katalog k výstavě*, ed. Hana Glombová, pp. 46–48. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 2020.
- Grochowski, Piotr. *Straszna zbrodnia rodzonej matki*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2010.
- Hlavačka, Milan. "Místa paměti." In *Základní problémy studia moderních a soudobých dějin*, ed. Jana Čechurová et al., pp. 602–609. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny & Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta, 2014.
- Iggers, Georg G. *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005.
- Ivánek, Jakub. "Poznámky k vymezení pojmu kramářská píseň (s ohledem na tisky náboženské povahy)." *Listy filologické* 140, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 201–230.
- "K čtyřnásobné vraždě u Křtin." *Nové Illustrované Listy* 14, no. 28 (July 13, 1907), p. 465.
- Kutnar, František. "Kramářská píseň jako historický pramen." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 77–86. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7–24.
- Pettitt, Thomas. "Journalism vs. Tradition in the English Ballads of the Murdered Sweetheart." In *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with the assistance of Kris McAbee, pp. 75–89. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Plech, Josef. "O bestiální loupežné vraždě u Křtin ještě jednou aneb Na silnici ho Křtin v lesi só róbíři skuvaní (2. díl)." *Blanenský deník* 2, no. 178 (August 2, 2007), p. 7.

- Polák, Vladimír. *Byli Vajckorni vinni?* Blansko: Muzeum Blansko a Týden u nás, 1999.
- Polák, Vladimír. "Soudní dohra čtyřnásobné vraždy u Křtin." *Přísně tajně! literatura faktu* 4 (2002), pp. 15–19.
- Poláková, Jana. "Jak v Hrabovanech otec zamordoval svou manželku a 3 děti." In *Do Brna široká cesta: Kramářské písně se světskou tematikou. Katalog k výstavě*, ed. Hana Glombová, p. 86. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 2020.
- Scheybal, Josef V. *Senzace pěti století v kramářských písních*. Hradec Králové: Kruh, 1990.
- Smetana, Robert. "K problematice jevu české písně kramářské." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 13–58. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. *České písně kramářské*. Praha: Fr. Borový, 1937.
- Solaříková, Ivana. "Vrazi čekali na oběti v obilí." *Mladá fronta Dnes: Brno a jižní Morava* 18, no. 155 (July 4, 2007), p. B4.
- "Strašlivá loupežná vražda," *Brněnské noviny* 11, no. 152 (July 6, 1907), p. 3.
- "Strašlivá loupežná vražda." *Moravské noviny: Příloha Brněnských novin* 28, no. 152 (July 6, 1907), p. 3.
- Stýskal, Jiří. "Kramářské písně a novější česká literatura." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 155–163. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Technik, Alfred. *Mlýn na ponorné řece*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1956.
- Uhlíř, Dušan. *Brněnský pitaval*. Brno: Rovnost, 1992.
- Vaněk, Miroslav, and Pavel Mücke. *Třetí strana trojúhelníka: Orální historie a její vývoj*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v. v. i. a Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2011.
- Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition: A Study of Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Volf, J. "Z dějin osvěcenské censure." *Časopis Národního musea* 98 (1924), pp. 221–232.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Wiltenburg, Joy. "Ballads and the Emotional Life of Crime." In *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with the assistance of Kris McAbee, pp. 173–186. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.

Websites

- Mokrý, Lukáš. "U zabitých." https://www.adamovaokoli.cz/pamatniky/u_zabitych.html.
- Mokrý, Pavel. "Od bestiální loupežné vraždy uplynulo sto let." https://www.denik.cz/z_domova/vrazda_krtiny20070705.html.

Abbreviations

EÚB—Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i., knihovna brněnského pracoviště
(Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, library of the Brno branch)

MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)

MZA—Moravský zemský archiv (Moravian Provincial Archives)

About the Author

Jana Poláková: Researcher at the Ethnographic Institute, Moravian Museum, Brno, Czech Republic, <http://www.mzm.cz/etnograficky-ustav>. Poláková has published several journal articles about Czech broadside ballads and popular culture and has written two monographs, the most recent of which is *Dva životy, dvě kultury, dvě země. Řekové na českém území od 2. poloviny 20. století do současnosti* (2020). She has also been the curator of two exhibitions about Czech broadside ballads, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxMF8EudGtc>. jpolakova@mzm.cz.

IV.

Musicology and Transmission

12. Broadside Ballads as a Printed Medium and the Rise of Literacy

Kateřina Smyčková

Abstract

Kateřina Smyčková analyses broadside ballads in terms of their media properties. According to Smyčková the formal features of broadside ballads place them closer to oral communication than to written or printed dissemination; the latter, printed characteristics of the genre made sung Czech broadside ballads more suitable to “intensive” reading, by which she designates the reading of a small number of texts. This kind of reception is based on repetition, listening, memorizing, and internalizing of the printed words. However, broadside ballads also played a key role in the development of “extensive” reading, by which term Smyčková refers to widespread and silent reading of a great number of texts by a broader but more erudite audience.

Keyword: Orality, reading, literacy, reception, media

Broadside ballads can be defined in various ways; most frequently, definitions apply concepts and methods from bibliology (book science) or literary theory.¹ However, it is no less important to explore aspects of broadside ballads connected with their role as a communication medium; this study therefore sets out to analyse broadside ballads in terms of their media properties (specifically, the properties of printed Czech chapbooks, of which broadside ballads were a subcategory), and to delineate broadside ballads within the changing media space of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This transformative space was shaped by interactions between oral and written culture, with printed books occupying the centre of the

1 See the introduction and the chapters by Ivánek and Bydžovská et al.

scriptural system. Typical features of scriptural print include paratextual matters such as indices and lists, prefaces, rubrics, instructions for use, etc. Other written (as manuscripts) or printed (as chapbooks) artefacts were in closer contact with oral culture and absorbed some of its properties in transitioning to print. In this study I will describe some of these oral attributes and employ them to break down what has been treated by critics as a simplistic dichotomy between scriptural (or printed) and oral media. I posit that Czech chapbooks are a unique media system—a system that entered into contact with other modes of communication and, in conjunction with them, co-created a variegated media space in the literary production of the Czech early modern era. Czech chapbooks, in sum, instrumentally shaped and changed the nature of print. Furthermore, as we shall see, their transformative influence was closely connected with changes in literary production.

Czech literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in other cultures, can be viewed from various perspectives: as a list of names and books, made even longer by the inclusion of anonymous works, or as a complex network of mutual interrelations, references, and interactions by authors, printers, publishers, and consumers. From the media perspective that guides this study, however, I look to print essentially as a material space for communication. My focus thus falls primarily not on broadside ballads considered in terms of content; rather, I zero in on their materiality and on the physical format of the larger category of chapbooks. As in the media theory of Friedrich Kittler, to clarify, my key concepts are not topic, author, text, or even society or culture; instead, they are the material aspects of surviving print.² In embracing this perspective, I further align my study with contemporary media theorists who view various media not as mere carriers of information, but as having agency: they influence situations, perceptions, and experiences. From this perspective, the medium is not merely a form, but also an environment and an activity. Some media theories, if taken to their logical extreme, allow absolutely anything to be described as a medium.³ However, in this study I will approach media as a materiality intended for communication. Adding to my material media approach to broadside ballads and their uber-genre, chapbooks, is Yuri Lotman's semiotics. Other theoretical influences on this study include research into the culture of printed and manuscript texts, particularly a seminal monograph by Elizabeth Eisenstein, and the works of Alexandra Walsham and Julie C.

2 Kittler, "Unpublished Preface," p. 93.

3 Krtilová and Svatoňová, "Východiska," p. 8.

Crick, Harold Love, David D. Hall, as well as two influential monographs by Walter J. Ong and William A. Graham, exploring the relationship between orality and scripturality. I will apply concepts from these works to present the chapbook as a medium and to delineate its position within the media space of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In order to concentrate our focus in this chapter, I will restrict my analysis to one area of literary production—religious broadside ballads—though this study also seeks to provide a more general insight into the variegated media aspects of broadside ballads as a whole. The reason for this narrower focus is not merely to reduce the amount of material analysed, and thus allow for a deeper focus. Not only did religious songs represent an important subtype of broadside ballads, but they were also a genre with close links to the oral tradition: most people sang religious songs in church, on pilgrimages, and in going about daily tasks; the singers either knew the words by heart or repeated them as prompted by the hymn leader. The role of orality in the media space of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was far from negligible (which is why I avoid the term “literature” wherever possible—indeed the phrase “oral literature” is quite paradoxical).⁴ The simplest media model is thus that of a space in which the oral and scriptural interact. However, this model needs to be unpacked further to distinguish between communication in manuscript and in print (each form was governed by its own rules) and also to distinguish chapbooks from other types of printed production (the principles on which chapbooks functioned were distinctly different from those which governed book publications more generally). I turn first to describe and clarify these differences.

The starting point will again be the simplest model—the interaction between the scriptural and the oral. Even leaving to one side the technical and economic differences between oral and written or printed communication, there are still several other properties that enable us to define these two poles. Written (mainly printed) communication is usually official in nature; it mediates the literary canon, is aimed at a broad and anonymous (though also elite) readership, and is subject to censorship, either via direct or indirect mechanisms (direct mechanism of censorship: laws, official inspections, confiscating, destroying of books; indirect: the publisher offers some new [“better”] books; the author writes a book with regard to the official rules). Authorized script, especially once turned into print, fixes the text: it makes the text a closed and stable entity, removes it from the processes of ongoing dialogue (and thus debate), and imposes on it a single

4 Ong, *Orality*, p. 10.

or uniform narrative tone. By contrast, the oral tradition is “polyphonic”; it is an endless process of exchange that by virtue of being passed by word of mouth from one person to another becomes open to other systems. It cannot easily be subjected to censorship, or at least it is subject only to “autonomous and also communal mechanisms” of censorship, meaning that if something orally passed along proves unsatisfactory (for whatever the reason), it quite simply tends to be no longer transmitted, and thus eventually ceases to exist.⁵ The oral tradition is closely bound up with communication and the participants in such communication. Orality is in a constant state of flux. At the same time, ironically, it tends to be a conservative medium, in the topics and themes it addresses as well as the formulas and textual structures it depends upon for memorization. Orality, it should further be noted, is also associated with non-verbal means of communication, such as gestures, which can become an elaborate media system in its own right, like sign language.⁶

In this admittedly simplified model I here outline, written culture is best represented by printed books, which occupy the centre of the scriptural system. Other types of scriptural communication, I would argue, are more or less peripheral to printed texts; that is, such print to varying degrees interacts with oral culture. Perhaps the clearest manifestation of the principles of oral culture that interact with texts can be found in manuscript production. After the advent of print, manuscripts were usually vehicles for unofficial (or semi-official) communication; in some cases, they were also a way of evading censorship. Furthermore, they were targeted at a narrow group of recipients—specifically, the reading elite. If they were commissioned (written to order), they were designed to meet the requirements of that patron, who ordered their production either for his own use or to pass on as a gift. Manuscripts also feature fewer purely textual elements, suggesting a limited readership, which would be the case in many scriptural texts. For example, manuscript hymn books contain substantially fewer indices and lists, and are missing much paratextual matter that guides a reader (prefaces, rubrics, instructions for use, etc.). Finally, in manuscripts, communication with the addressee was not restricted solely to the texts. In other words, they relied on an overlap with oral communication. This dependence of the textual on the oral can also be seen in the formulas on written title pages: instead of simple titles such as *Písně adventní* (Advent

5 There is the official accusation of slander that can be filed in the curse (an accusation of a slur spoken, though not written).

6 Ong, *Orality*, p. 67; Assmann and Assmann, “Kanón,” p. 9.

songs), manuscript hymn books feature formulas such as *Počínají se písně adventní o vtělení Pána našeho Ježíše Krista v život blahoslavené a vždycky čisté Panny Marie* (Beginning with Advent songs on the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the womb of the blessed and always pure Virgin Mary).⁷ Such an extensive title includes recognizable formulas that correspond more with a text intended to be heard than one for silent reading. Manuscript communication was also more open to other systems along both synchronic and diachronic lines, as when scribes often left blank spaces in their texts to be completed or corrected later (for example, in hymn books, new songs could be added at a later date, based on a remembrance of a song or a new textual production). Indicating the sympathy of scriptural manuscripts for their often barely literate reader, finally, manuscripts made much more frequent use of glosses, explanatory notes, and similar features than did printed works. All these features align manuscript production not exclusively but very closely with oral forms of communication.⁸

Although chapbooks emerged much later than other forms of print, many of their media characteristics make them more similar to oral than to print culture. Like manuscripts, chapbooks belong primarily to semi-official culture; this is particularly evident in the fact that some broadside ballads are examples of folk-devotional or superstitious texts, as well as of songs taken from the Protestant songbooks produced by exiles from Bohemia. They were also an important medium for the dissemination of the specialized superstitious prayers, transmitted also in the form of manuscripts and orally, for example, *Sedm zámků* (The seven locks).⁹ Furthermore, in printed hymn books we find songs composed by the Bohemian exiles of the post-White Mountain era among broadside ballads: for example, a 1703 printing from Brno contains three such songs.¹⁰ It was easier for chapbooks to evade censorship than it was for printed books—partly because chapbooks were quickly produced in large numbers and disseminated widely,¹¹ and partly because they often lacked information on the name of the publisher and the place and date of publication, thus making it harder for authorities to track them down. It was not unusual for the date to be given merely in

7 Božan, *Slaviček*, p. 1; Raška, *Kancionál*, 1774, H 12 500, Slovákcké muzeum v Uherském Hradišti, p. VII.

8 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word*, p. 7; Ong, *Orality*, p. 123.

9 E.g., *Sedm nebeských zámků*, [1775–1820], KNM L.A.

10 *Písničky nové, pobožné a kající*, 1703, MZK STS-0128.631, přív. 15. For more details, see Smyčková, “Lieder der böhmischen.”

11 For example, from 1780 to 1785 the Hilgartner printing house in Jindřichův Hradec published around 250 pilgrimage songs or prayers, and just 40 books (Šimeček and Trávníček, *Knihy*, p. 78).

the generalized form “vytištěno roku tohoto” (“printed this year”). Such generalized dating did not necessarily reflect an attempt to avoid censorship; it may have served as a way of emphasizing that the printing was new, similar to the frequently occurring description “nová píseň” (“a new song”), which appealed to the public’s love of novelty, as we also see in the English broadside ballad tradition.¹²

In all such cases delineated above, the connection between broadside ballads and oral songs is particularly obvious. As with manuscripts, the printed medium of the time was not based solely on script, whether handwritten or printed. Like manuscripts, chapbooks and their subcategory of broadside ballads further aligned with oral forms of communication in their openness to other media systems—and to the world beyond the borders of the Bohemian Crown lands. They do not feature such typically manuscript-like elements as inscriptions or the practice of leaving some pages blank, but the common practice of consumers sewing together collections of printed texts (mostly broadside ballads or prayers, i.e., chapbooks) into gatherings known as *špalíčky* (blocks) can be interpreted as a practice akin to the collage-like nature of orality.¹³ This practice enabled the owners of individual, small-scale printings to combine and assemble them whichever way they wanted, in unlimited numbers of texts and pages, constituted of whatever content and in any configuration they chose. Unlike books with a single “narrative tone,” these chapbooks or “blocks” combine large numbers of different narrative perspectives; in this sense, once again, they are closer to orality, specifically to the “polyphony” that is typical of oral communication.¹⁴

Some of the common characteristics between chapbooks and orality as media can be verified if we turn our focus away from their purely media properties and focus specifically on the genre of texts collected in chapbooks known as broadside ballads.¹⁵ Chapbooks disseminated many types of texts—for example, they included religious lyric poetry that was specific to the era—but I will here focus on the genre of broadside ballads, which of all the subgenres collected within chapbooks has the deepest roots in oral culture.

Even the wording of many of the title pages of broadside ballads is reminiscent of oral production: like manuscripts, these title pages include an

12 E.g., *Nová píseň aneb smutné připamatování nynějších bídných časů*, vytištěno roku tohoto, KNM L.A., A 41/4.

13 For more details about *špalíček*, see the introduction and the chapters by Ivánek, Dufka, and Bydžovská et al.

14 Ong, *Orality*, p. 133.

15 For more details on broadside ballads as a subgenre of chapbooks, see the chapter by Ivánek.

abundance of information about the content of the printing—e.g., “Pravdivý příběh o dvou bratřích, kterak mladší bratr měl býti z závisti staršího bratra svého k smrti odsouzen, však ale místo mladšího byl starší bratr usmrčen” (“A true story about two brothers, of which the younger brother was to be condemned to death due to the envy of his elder brother, yet the elder brother was killed instead of the younger one”).¹⁶ But such information initiates position taking, if not an actual dialogue; it requires a listener to engage in an exchange, not a reader who has no way of interacting. Indeed, broadside ballads were primarily presented in the form of interactive oral recitation—singing in public places, often accompanied by a hurdy-gurdy or a barrel organ,¹⁷ to stimulate audience participation. In singing along, or tapping one’s toe (or actually dancing to the song), the audience not only necessarily engaged with the subject matter of the broadside ballad but also with the other audience members gathered round, sometimes shoulder to shoulder. The invitation to interact spontaneously with the sung broadside ballad, if only with the presenter, is evident in the frequent opening formula “Poslouchejte...” (“Listen...”), which is again typical of oral communication (and of broadside ballads, as the chapter by Fumerton shows, across nations): for example, “Poslouchejte, lidé málo, co se s Juliánou dalo” (“Listen, people, to what happened to Juliana,” from a broadside ballad about St. Juliana); “Poslouchejte, všickni lidé, o čem se vám spívat bude” (“Listen, everybody, to what will be sung to you,” from a broadside ballad about divine justice); or with slight variations: “Bedlivě mě poslouchejte” (“Listen carefully to me,” from a broadside ballad about the Last Judgement).¹⁸ Audiences of broadside ballads disseminated on the streets were also helped to interpret them by the presenter showing them panels that featured simplified illustrations of the story with expressive gestures and grimaces.¹⁹ All of these imaging elements reinforced the non-scriptural character of broadside ballads; in particular, the elaborate and stylized gestures in the poster illustrations and likely re-enactments by the presenter of the ballad narrative would have had a powerful effect on the listeners’ memory, reinforcing later oral if not necessarily textual dissemination.²⁰

16 *Pravdivý příběh* [...], [1748–1860], EÚ AV ČR, v. v. i. Ia.

17 Šimeček and Trávníček, *Knihy*, p. 81.

18 Ong, *Orality*, p. 34. *Píseň historická* [...], 1732, KNM KP P 380/1; *Píseň nová* [...], 1770, KNM 27 H 45; *Bděte a číňte pokání* [...], [1651–1700], KNM 27 F 25, přív. 4.

19 Beneš, “Dramatické prostředky,” p. 102. This style of presentation is called *Bänkelsang* in the German tradition as the interpreter is standing on a bench (*Bank*). For more details, see the chapter by Ivánek.

20 Ong, *Orality*, p. 67.

The stylized addressing of the audience, as well as other features of the texts, could be seen as “formulas.” Such repeated phrases or words, including formulaic epithets, are considered by Walter J. Ong to be the foundation of oral production. These formulas emerged in response to the need to organize the oral and the printed text in such a way that it would be easy to remember and recall without the help of consulting script.²¹ As a result, many broadside ballads include similar elements; their originality does not lie in the invention of new verbal templates, but rather in the reconfiguration of verbal formulas. It is true that this conception of originality was to some extent shared by all literary production up to the eighteenth century, before the wide spread of literacy; however, in broadside ballads, the formulaic tradition persisted long into the nineteenth century. New material was treated in a traditional manner, or as Ong puts it, “in an essentially formulaic and thematic noetic economy.”²² As in oral culture, novelty was rarely emphasized; the main emphasis was on the text’s rootedness in ancestral traditions and thus a long-lasting sense of familiarity.²³ Examples include the frequently occurring topos of the antiquity of pilgrimage sites, whose origins were claimed to lie way back in the era of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the Byzantine missionaries who evangelized the Slavs of Moravia.²⁴

The conservatism of broadside ballads thus lay not only in the expressive resources they used, but also in preserving age-old formulas and topics. In oral culture, conservatism guaranteed that constantly repeated information would not disappear and was even reassuring or comforting for the people. The media that conveyed such conservatism remained a typical feature of types of written communication that were close to oral principles until the nineteenth century.²⁵ Broadside ballads retained old aesthetic values and methods regardless of contemporary developments in other areas of literary production. In this respect, they appear to have been the most stable medium, the layer of culture that proved the most resistant to “explosions.”²⁶ Although broadside ballads frequently feature the title “Nová píseň” (“A new song”), as in England and other countries, as Fumerton discusses in

21 Ibid., pp. 35, 42.

22 Ibid., p. 42.

23 Ibid., p. 42.

24 E.g., in the song addressed to the Virgin Mary of Žarošice “Na stokrát buď pozdravená, na tisíckrát pochválená” (“Be greeted a hundred times, praised a thousand times”) or in the song from Lutřstěk “Pochválená budiž od nás, Maria” (“Praise be from us, Maria”); Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 69, 220, 283.

25 Ong, *Orality*, p. 40.

26 Lotman, *Culture*, p. 166.

her chapter, genuinely new texts were actually very rare—and the listeners themselves both expected and relished tried-and-tested textual templates and traditional plotlines. The “novelty” of broadside ballads consisted mainly in the moment: in “managing a particular interaction with this audience and this time.”²⁷

A dependence on the communicative context—or at least on a particular region as the source for such context—can also be seen in the topics and themes of broadside ballads: typical examples are the already-mentioned pilgrimage songs, which were usually associated with a specific pilgrimage site. The regionality of broadside ballads is also evident from the number of printing houses that published them—nearly 200, meaning that almost every town had its own printing house.²⁸

Looking to the printing houses returns me to the larger topic of this study: the media properties of broadside ballads as widely printed in their time, with a focus on the chapbooks in which broadside ballads as a subcategory were printed. Chapbooks differed from printed books not only because they were published more by more printing houses and more widely disseminated, but also because they were distributed within essentially self-contained, though broad-ranging, settings: fairs, pilgrimages, religious festivals, and other such gatherings.²⁹ The dissemination of manuscript production was also different than that of printed books. Both media—manuscripts and chapbooks—contained a large repertoire of texts that were not published in large-scale printings (as in the case of religious songs, in hymn books); this applied not only to doctrinally problematic songs (such as those originating among non-Catholic exile communities) but also to some pilgrimage songs.³⁰

All the media features distinct to both manuscripts and chapbooks make it possible to detach them from the dichotomy of the scriptural versus the oral, and instead to view them as interrelated media systems. Of course, these almost symbiotic media frequently interacted with yet other media, combining with them to create a variegated communication space for contemporary literary production. The boundary line between systems of media is in this sense highly permeable; elements from outside any one media system constantly pass through it, while components that originally formed part of that system are excluded from it, continuing to exist beyond the boundaries of the system, from which space they can then potentially

27 Ong, *Orality*, p. 41.

28 Šimeček and Trávníček, *Knihy*, p. 81.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 81–82.

30 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 57–58; Smyčková, *Pavel*, p. 89.

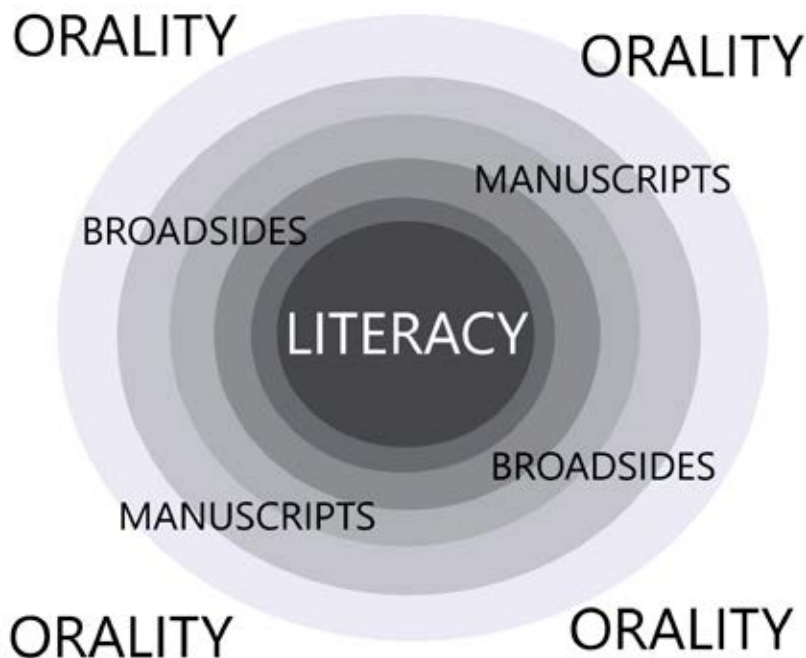


Figure 27. A model of the media spaces surrounding Czech literacy.

be re-integrated into their media scheme of origin.³¹ In the case of religious songs, components of the media may include not only the specific texts of the songs but also variant texts, themes, means of expression, and so on. Media space is thus fundamentally dynamic—both synchronically (the dynamism of inter-systemic interactions) and diachronically (the constant process of development over time). However, we can view this media space in the Czech early modern era as a single semiotic system, in which various subsystems coexist. The question that follows is: What position do chapbooks occupy within this variegated and evolving media space, and how do they inscribe themselves into it?

In accordance with Lotman, we can depict this meaning-making media space in the form of a circular model.

However, my imagined circle does not have clearly delineated edges; rather it is “a specific semantic mass whose boundaries are framed by a multiplicity of individual uses.”³² The limits that form the circle are thus blurred, enabling a constant flow between its inside and outside. Such

³¹ Lotman, *Culture*, p. 115.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

permeability causes the system to function in a dynamic and unpredictable way. Lotman's resulting "semantic mass," in the sense of its centre, is best represented by elements belonging to the scriptural, most strongly defined by printed religious books. The fuzzy edges of the circle, which dissolve into extra-systemic spaces, are created by orality. In this "open" conceptualization of the circle of media communication, we can situate chapbooks and manuscripts as variably moving from centre to (and through) periphery. Such a tenuous placement accords with Friedrich Kittler's notion of the "boundaries" of the title page and preface of a book, along with other metadata.³³ It is no coincidence that Kittler's more defined "boundaries" than Lotman's resemble the elements that are typical of highly developed scriptural texts. They are finished works and, as such, they are removed from the in-progress "edginess" of oral communication. Aligned in so many ways with orality, manuscripts and chapbooks noticeably suppress or simply neglect grounded media elements (for example, an entire work may lack a title). These media, in sum, are less firmly anchored within a centred system than are other printed books. Rather than occupying the centre of the circle of communication, they tend towards its periphery. That is why they play a major role in the dynamism of the entire media system—both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective.

This dynamism arises from the materiality of media, but it may change a literary production. For example, Kittler programmatically reduced all literary works to their fundamentals as technical apparatus. Based on this reduction he reached the conclusion that a change in the "system of inscription" around 1800 is what led to a paradigm shift in literary production. Thinking along these lines, he concluded that "Very simple and technical practicalities, because they ensured a general alphabetization, emerged as the material basis for the success of German classicism and romanticism."³⁴ Universal literacy is also a concept of key importance for such thinking, and 1800 is a milestone year. Studies have shown that the volume of chapbook production increased by several multiples at the end of the eighteenth century.³⁵ We can see a correlation here: the introduction of compulsory basic education brought literacy to all strata of society. Though the process of such education was gradual over time, the thinking is that genuine universal literacy dates only from around 1800 onwards. The boom in the production of chapbooks around this time can thus be viewed as a natural response to the growing

33 Kittler, "Unpublished Preface," p. 98.

34 Ibid., p. 96.

35 See the chapter by Bydžovská et al.; Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 50.

readership—which was expanding to include those middling to low strata of society that were among the most important addressees of these texts.

However, still drawing on Kittler as well as other media theorists, it is also possible to see the connection between the changing media landscape (the increase in chapbook production) and societal changes (increasing literacy) as a flow in the other direction: chapbooks not only responded to the growth in literacy; they may also have helped to facilitate it. Chapbooks were more user-friendly than large printed books: they were more easily accessible (especially due to their lower cost); they were more widely distributed (at markets, fairs, pilgrimages, etc.); and their closer links with oral culture made them more approachable for the strata of society in which the roots of literacy were still shallow.

The boom in the production of chapbooks after 1800 can further be viewed in the context of a shift from intensive reading to extensive reading—a change to which the expansion of literacy was instrumental. In situations of intensive reading, readers ordinarily have access to only a small quantity of text (the Bible, a hymn book, a prayer book, or the like). Such a paucity of available texts leads not only to repeated readings of the same text, but also to listening to the text read out loud (whether in a gathering at home or in church), and to some extent memorizing and internalizing the text. Through such intensive reading, the text becomes part of an individual's internal thought patterns, influencing their speech, gestures, and even relationships. Intensive reading demands only minimal readership skills; reading a well-known text is more akin to recitation, with occasional consultation of the written text as an aid.³⁶ During the nineteenth century, there was a shift from intensive to extensive reading—a change to more widespread and even “surfing” of texts, which German historians associate mainly with bourgeois readership and its re-orientation away from religious literature and towards literary fiction.³⁷ In the Bohemian Crown lands, this shift can also be seen in the context of the boom in the production of chapbooks—as the bi-directional interaction between the media and society.

The features of chapbooks, of which broadside ballads were a subcategory we have seen in this study, in many ways place them closer to oral communication than to written or printed communication, as exemplified in scriptural texts. These same features, furthermore, make them more suitable for intensive reading, based on repetition and listening, than extensive reading based on widespread and often silent reading. Chapbooks differed from

36 Andrllová-Fidlerová, “Lidové rukopisné modlitební knihy,” p. 391.

37 Šimeček and Trávníček, *Knihy*, p. 80.

manuscripts and printed books in one other key respect: they were affordable, both to produce and to purchase. They thus became a form of consumer goods, and, as such, they served to prepare a broad readership for the advent of extensive reading. Chapbooks and broadside ballads thus ultimately made it possible for a new type of literature and readership to emerge—literature that was written to be read extensively. Of course, these popular texts were not the only factor in the emergence of modern Czech literature—linguistic factors were also of particular relevance. German-language novels, for instance, had been published in Bohemia since well before 1800, thus boosting a readership for future fictional literature written in Czech. Nevertheless, a more important factor than a knowledge of novels and other literary genres was the ability to read extensively. Occupying the fuzzy borders between the oral and the scriptural, we find that chapbooks and broadside ballads could be intensively read; but they also played a key role in the development of extensive reading among large sections of the population.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Bděte a činte pokání, nebo nevíte, kdy Pán ráčí k soudu přijíti.* N.p.: N.p., [1651–1700], sign. 27 F 25, přív. 4, KNM.
- Božan, Jan Josef. *Slaviček rájský, to jest kancionál.* Hradec Králové: Václav Jan Tybély, 1719.
- Nová píseň aneb smutné připamatování nynějších bídných časů.* N.p.: N.p., vytištěno roku tohoto [1780–1820], sign. L.A., A 41/4, KNM.
- Píseň historická o svatě Juliáně, panně a mučedlnici Boží, i o divích, kteří se při utrpení jejím daly.* Hradec Králové: Tybély, Václav Jan, 1732, sign. KP P 380/1, KNM.
- Píseň nová, z které jeden každý poznati může, jak Bůh všemohoucí spravedlnost velice hájí, nespravedlnost ale přísně trestá, což z písne lépeji se vyrozumí.* N.p.: N.p., 1770, sign. 27 H 45, KNM.
- Písničky nové, pobožné a kající, každému věrnému křesťanu v tyto nebezpečné časy spívati velmi užitečné, na pěkné noty v nově složené.* Brno: [Marie Alžběta Sinapiová], 1703, sign. STS-0128.631, přív. 15, MZK.
- Pravdivý příběh o dvou bratřích, kterak mladší bratr měl býti z závidi staršího bratra svého k smrti odsouzen, však ale místo mladšího byl starší bratr usmrčen.* No tune imprint. N.p.: N.p., [1748–1860], sign. Ia, EÚB.
- Raška, Pavel, *Kancionál*, 1774. H 12 500. SMUH.
- Seďm nebeských zámeků.* N.p.: N.p., [1775–1820], sign. L.A, KNM.

Secondary Sources

- Andrllová-Fidlerová, Alena. "Lidové rukopisné modlitební knihy raného novověku." *Český lid* 100, no. 4 (2013), pp. 385–408.
- Assmann, Aleida, and Jan Assmann. "Kanon und Zensur." In *Kanon und Zensur*, ed. Assmann, Aleida, and Jan Assmann, pp. 7–27. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1987.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Dramatické prostředky kramářských písní 19. století." In *Otázky divadla a filmu. II*, ed. Artur Závodský, pp. 101–126. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1971.
- Graham, William A. *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Kittler, Friedrich. "Unpublished Preface to Discourse Networks," trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young. *Grey Room* 63 (2016), pp. 91–107.
- Krtilová, Kateřina, and Kateřina Svatoňová. "Východiska a aktuální pozice německé filozofie a teorie médií." In *Medienwissenschaft: východiska a aktuální pozice německé filozofie a teorie médií*, ed. Kateřina Krtilová and Kateřina Svatoňová, pp. 7–21. Praha: Academia, 2016.
- Lotman, Juri M. *Culture and Explosion*, trans. Wilma Clark. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009.
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London–New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Šimeček, Zdeněk, and Jiří Trávníček. *Knihy kupovati... dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích*. Praha: Academia, 2014.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. "Lieder der böhmischen Exulanten und katholische hymnographische Medien des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts." Unpublished manuscript, March 10, 2020, typescript.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. *Pavel Raška: Kancionál založený ke cti a chvále Pánu Bohu všemohoutcímu*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna, 2017.

Abbreviations

- EÚB—Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i., knihovna brněnského pracoviště (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, library of the Brno branch)
- KNM—Knihovna Národního muzea (Library of the Czech National Museum)
- MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
- SMUH—Slovácké muzeum v Uherském Hradišti (The Museum of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště)

About the Author

Kateřina Smyčková: Researcher at the Regional Studies Centre in the Department of Czech Literature and Literary Criticism, Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava, Czech Republic, <https://ff.osu.eu/katerina-smyckova/81197/#3-publikacni-cinnost>. Smyčková has published several journal articles about Czech hymn books and authored the monograph *Krátká věčnost: Vytržení z času v narativních textech od středověku na práh moderní doby* (2022). katerina.smyckova@osu.cz.

13. Melodies of Czech Broadside Ballads in the Historical Contexts of Song Culture

Tomáš Slavický

Abstract

Tomáš Slavický deals in his paper with the possible ways of searching for the melodies to which Czech broadside ballads might be sung. He begins by addressing the available musical sources of the time (e.g., printed hymn books, manuscripts, and even oral tradition). Importantly, he also addresses the problem of textual and melodic variability. Turning first to extant documented tunes, Slavický declares that the initial step of research into any original melody requires searching out recorded evidence of notated sources of the period in which the broadside ballad was composed. This research should be based not only on extant period-specific printings, but also on tracks of collective memory.

Keywords: Musicology, orality, memory, tune imprint, hymn books

Czech broadside ballads all have one feature in common—the absence of notated scores for their melodies. In this chapter, I will deal with the possible ways of searching for the melodies of Czech broadside ballads in different musical sources (e.g., printed hymn books, manuscripts, and oral tradition), and with the complementary problem of textual and melodic variability. For contemporary users of broadside ballads, tune imprints giving references to recommended melodies were entirely sufficient, as they were in Britain; melodies formed part of the collective memory. But having lost such a communal repertoire of songs, the past practice of simply naming melodies on the broadside ballad page today forces us to look to

other relevant sources for those melodies' notations.¹ While the textual and graphic aspects of broadside ballads can be investigated in detail using philological, literary-historical, or art-historical methodologies, research into the melodies of broadside ballads relies upon ethnomusicological methods and other relevant musical-historical knowledge.² This methodology faces the challenge that most notated scores of melodies date from a later period than the printed broadside ballads and very frequently originated as records taken from the oral tradition. Orality mutates over time and within communities; it thus does not necessarily reflect the tune as sung when the broadside ballad was printed.

In order for a broadside ballad to be sung to a particular melody, that melody needed to be already established in the collective memory within the region of the ballad's dissemination. Since melodies named on broadside ballad sheets had various origins, their way of being sung (or speculatively thinking, their notation) must be sought in a range of sources as well.³ However, as the first generations of ethnologists were very aware, many broadside ballads existed for a long time first as part of an oral tradition, undergoing variation before being recorded in print (after which they might well have a continued and mutating oral life).⁴ Thus, passed orally along (even if also existing as printed text with reference to the melody), there was no need or effort made to musically notate them. Research thus focused on various practices involving *contrafacta* (i.e., the setting of different texts, whether religious or secular, to a common melody), *contrapositiona* (wherein a stable text is set to different melodies), and textual paraphrase (see below).

Types of Sources

The three most frequent types of tune imprints given in printings of Czech broadside ballads are "má svou notu" ("has its own tune," i.e., there is a special tune reserved for this ballad), "zpívá se jako..." ("to be sung as...," i.e., a reference to another well-known tune), or "povědomou notou/obecnou notou" ("to a familiar melody/to a general melody," i.e., the choice of melody can be selected by the user from those in the community's repertoire of known tunes). When the production of broadside ballads was at its peak in the Czech

1 For the most recent summary and bibliography, see Skořepová, *Kramářské písně*, pp. 9–12.

2 For more details, see the chapter by Frolcová.

3 Sehnal, "Nápěvy."

4 See Sušil, *Moravské národní písně*, p. 45.

lands (1750–1850), a verbal reference was more practical than an expensive print of a notated score. Notated scores of melodies were generally only used for religious songs when it was necessary to codify a concrete version of a melody for collective singing. As a result, the most reliable sources for musical notation are printed or manuscript hymn books and collections of organ accompaniments from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, even among these sources, notated records of folklore versions of tunes are far from rare. In the case of pilgrimage songs, for instance, it is sometimes deemed necessary to expand the range of concordant sources to include examples from language variants from neighbouring communities. Because these memory melodies were in widespread use at popular pilgrimage sites (such as Mariazell and Częstochowa), visited by people with various native languages, we find many melodies for Czech songs among German, Polish, and Slovak notations of the songs.⁵ Another type of source comprises notated records of secular broadside ballads, which must be sought among all types of ethnomusicological documentation. These records and their melodic variants frequently contain valuable information on the reception of the secular broadside ballads.

The Performance and Reception of Broadside Ballads

The production of broadside ballads was a commercial activity, and printings of this genre of song were among the cheapest types of printed matter on the market. At the height of their popularity (from around 1750 to 1850), their target readership was defined more in terms of social status than nationality. In the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margraviate of Moravia (both of which were part of the Habsburg Monarchy and then part of the Austrian Empire after 1804), German was the official language of the state authorities. Czech, on the other hand, was the majority language used in everyday communication, and it further played a respected role in ecclesiastical life and primary education. But the book market was more stratified in terms of language use: educated people communicated in Latin, graduates of the *Normalschulen* (higher schools in major cities, since 1774) were trained to read in German, and the aristocracy was traditionally multilingual. Czech-language books were targeted at communities for which Czech was the normal medium of communication; these groups mainly had only a basic elementary education

5 Mariazell in Austria and Częstochowa in Poland belong to the most important international Marian pilgrimage sites in Central Europe.

and lower purchasing power. On the other hand, the stable literary form of Czech was widespread: it was accepted even in regions where the local dialect was closer to modern Polish (especially in Těšín Silesia), and Slovak speakers living in Hungary also understood it.

The “target group” for Czech broadside ballads consisted of the large constituency of people who were engaged not only by reading but also by singing or listening to songs in Czech. At the same time, however, this group held to a long-established and varied song repertoire that was passed on by oral tradition. Broadside ballads, in sum, represented only a marginal segment of a large collective memory. Diverse sources indicate that well into the nineteenth century collective singing from memory was an ordinary part of everyday life.⁶ Communal song accompanied all forms of social practice, including public worship and pilgrimages, annual festivals in rural communities, and assorted forms of family meetings and collaborative work. The sellers of broadside ballads were particularly interested in hawking at the occasions attended by large numbers of people (fairs, pilgrimages). At these events, consumers bought the broadside ballads and subsequently brought them to their home communities. It is evident that the majority of producers and composers of broadside ballads were familiar with these expanded cultural occasions, and through broadside ballads they were able to respond to the changing demands of the market as well as to the long-term needs and preferences of consumers. The reception of songs then continued via a range of traditional means, both oral and printed. Orality and print, that is, came into mutual interaction. Even in the mid-twentieth century, some songs originally published as broadside ballads were sung during communal manual labour (e.g., spinning or feather plucking), typically performed during the winter months; furthermore, communal pilgrimage broadside ballads formed part of the church singing repertoire.⁷

An important factor of additional note in the reception of Czech broadside ballads is the substantial growth in literacy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸ Despite this development, however, the traditional

6 Perhaps the best-known statement of this fact is from the composer Antonín Dvořák: “The Slavs all love music. They may work all day in the fields, but they are always singing, and the true musical spirit burns bright within them” (Pry, “Enthusiasts Interviewed”).

7 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 623; Slavický, “Kramářský tisk,” pp. 174–176.

8 General school attendance was introduced in the Bohemian Crown lands from 1774, and it became compulsory in 1869. The census of 1890 found that around 90% of people above the age of six were literate, that is, they were able to both read and write. See Srb, *1000 let*, p. 122. However, we do not know the full extent of literacy in that period. We do know that literacy in Austria (including the Czech and German parts of Czech lands) was generally high. As early

practice of hymn leading (wherein individuals would learn a hymn by repeating lyrics sung by a “leader” familiar with the song) continued to be used in situations where individual reading of a text would not be possible. Religious songs were also sung in this manner by pilgrims when walking, as were secular songs during communal manual labour (as mentioned above). Here, too, the majority of the sung repertoire appears to have consisted of songs whose lyrics were passed on by memory. However, it should be noted, publishers also responded to the growing desire for lengthier songs, or songs which addressed current affairs that could not be memorized quickly (or easily retained in the memory). In such cases, it was simpler for users to buy the songs in the form of broadside ballads.

It should also be mentioned that Czech broadside ballads encompass a broad spectrum of functional types. Among them, there is a slight predominance of religious songs, which in turn are dominated by pilgrimage songs. However, during the nineteenth century, various kinds of secular songs grew in importance—ranging from news songs, to versified versions of stories with an obligatory component of moral instruction at the end of the songs, to tunes that can be best categorized as satirical. Knowledge of the melodies that might have been used for these songs can provide us with an insight into this diversity of genres and their functions.

Interactions between Broadside Ballads and Hymn Books

The oldest Czech broadside ballads, whether religious or secular in content, often contain tune imprints referencing melodies of religious songs. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as noted above, the situation was reversed; religious broadside ballads frequently included tune imprints for melodies derived from secular songs. This interchangeability of tunes—a phenomenon that can be found in the melodies of Czech songs from as early as the sixteenth century—is most clearly visible in pilgrimage songs.⁹ The pilgrimage song repertoire lay outside the normative framework of liturgical singing, and the sheer quantity of such songs reveals the long-term popularity of collective pilgrimages to both local and more distant holy sites. A boom in the production of pilgrimage songs came around the middle of the

as the eighteenth century, for instance, Austrian and Czech peasants who graduated from the local school read music. In the second half of the nineteenth century, furthermore, notated hymn books were published and distributed to the public at large.

9 Hostinský, *36 nápěvů*, pp. 6–8.

eighteenth century, and a further flourishing followed upon the relaxation of the restrictions imposed by Emperor Joseph II (1780–1791), when there was a spontaneous revival of the pilgrimage tradition.¹⁰

The custom of disseminating Czech religious songs in small-format printings (created from a single sheet), lacking notated scores, began to develop after the publication of the first printed Czech hymn book in 1501 (notably—and impressively—the oldest printed hymn book in the world).¹¹ During the Reformation, such broadside ballads, or what some have referred to as “leaflet songs,” also became a popular form for dissemination in Central Europe. However, in the sixteenth century, a strong tradition had already emerged of large-format, bound hymn books, both handwritten and printed, Latin and Czech, and Catholic and non-Catholic (published by such religious institutions as the Utraquist Church, Unity of the Brethren, Unity of the Luleč Brethren, Lutheran Church). During the subsequent era of recatholicization (approx. 1621–1740), this extensive Czech religious song repertoire was not rejected; rather, it was preserved, standardized, and adopted by printed Catholic hymn books, which as late as the end of the seventeenth century still functioned as compendiums of old and new religious songs for all occasions.¹² This repertoire of hymns appears to have remained mostly unchanged during the eighteenth century.¹³ In this later period, however, new religious songs were published mostly as broadside ballads. Such broadside ballads, complementary to the traditional repertoire, were later integrated into both printed and manuscript hymn books.¹⁴ The reforms of Emperor Joseph II (1780–1791) introduced yet new standardized church songs (known as *Normalgesänge*, or “normal songs”), but these subsequently made up just one layer of the entire, more embracing hymn song repertoire. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were three layers of repertoire: old songs (from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), “old-fashioned” *Normalgesänge*, and newly created songs, all of which remained in common use. These new songs were mostly published as broadside ballads.

10 During the Enlightenment reforms of Emperor Joseph II (1780–1791), the state imposed a regulatory framework on Church institutions, including the prohibition of pilgrimages and the closure of places of pilgrimage. Attempts to revive or replace the institutions affected by these measures lasted almost throughout the entire nineteenth century. For the revival of the pilgrimage phenomena and their songs, see Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, pp. 28–33.

11 Kouba, *Slovník*, pp. 250–251.

12 Škarpová, “*Mezi Čechy*,” pp. 53–59.

13 Sehna, “Die Entwicklungstendenzen,” p. 139.

14 Malura et al., *Jan Josef Božan*, pp. 24–25; Smyčková, *Pavel Raška*, p. 27.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, different types of mediums were used for preserving the sung repertoire (old printed hymn books, manuscript hymn books, and broadside ballads). It was not until 1863 that the first modern, standardized Czech Catholic hymn book, known as *Svatojánský kancionál* (St. John [of Nepomuk]’s hymn book), by Vincent Bradáč, was published.¹⁵ Fascinatingly, and not atypical in other countries as well, although its editors expressed a critical view of melodies of broadside ballads, they nevertheless incorporated some of them into their publication.¹⁶ The “St. John hymn book” (1863)—and other hymn books produced in all dioceses throughout Austria as part of the Cecilian reforms—introduced a normative repertoire for church singing. Some of the songs that have origins in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century religious broadside ballads are still featured in diocesan hymn books today.

As part of the subsequent Cecilian reforms,¹⁷ a special normative compendium, *Poutní kniha* (Pilgrimage book), consisting of Czech traditional pilgrimage songs (which were previously, in most cases, disseminated as “mere” broadside ballads) was published in 1893.¹⁸ The editors were also critical of the previous tradition of Czech religious broadside ballads, which had been a substantial part of Czech pilgrimage broadside ballads. Therefore, they included only some pilgrimage broadside ballads in their compendium, and they substantially changed their printed form (following contemporary linguistic, prosodic, and theological norms). The editors also often normatively modified older melodies that had been preserved in oral tradition. However, subsequent reports indicate that the reform of *Poutní kniha* efforts were unsuccessful, and pilgrimage hymn leaders continued to prefer older traditional songs (preserved in earlier broadside ballads, pilgrimage books, and manuscript hymn books).¹⁹

In the following decades of the twentieth century, another paradigm shift can be observed. The negative attitude to the tradition of broadside ballads was reversed. As of the 1940s, local pilgrimage hymn books based on ethnomusicological documentation of traditional songs were published.²⁰

15 Bradáč, *Kancionál*.

16 *Ibid.*, p. [2].

17 Cecilianism was a movement seeking to reform Catholic liturgical singing. It promoted a radical return to Gregorian chant and classical vocal polyphony; in Central Europe it also sought to revive older forms of folk religious singing.

18 Korec, *Poutní kniha*.

19 Kolek, *Radostná cesta*, pp. 267–268.

20 Ethnomusicological documents record not only songs performed orally, but also specific broadside ballads that singers kept with them. Kolek, *Radostná cesta*, pp. 267–268.

Some of them were pilgrimage songs that originated in broadside ballads. This living tradition of pilgrimage songs was preserved even during the ban on public pilgrimages (1951–1989) in communist Czechoslovakia. A new edition of pilgrimage songs, *Salve Regina*, based also on the memories of living witnesses, was published in 1992. The hymn book's notated scores of traditional melodies, importantly, were edited by ethnomusicologists and revised in collaboration with living witnesses.²¹

Interaction between Broadside Ballads and the Repertoire of Secular Songs in Collective Memory

Early collectors of folk songs in the first half of the nineteenth century were well aware that the repertoire of secular songs held in the collective popular memory included numerous printed broadside ballads that had undergone various textual and musical renderings into the oral folk tradition (and vice versa).²² Authors and printers of broadside ballads were in close contact with folk songs, and this was reflected not only in their borrowing of melodies, but also in their extensive use of textual paraphrases. It is common to find different versions of the same song in editions of folk songs and in contemporary broadside ballad prints. A typical example is the long-established song “Loučení, loučení, což je to těžká věc” (“Parting, parting, what a difficult thing it is”), which was published as a folk song by Krolmus (1847) and Erben (1864) but was also printed as a broadside ballad.²³ In the broadside ballad versions, the song was modified into a wedding song, to mark the moment at which the bride parted from her parents, or, alternatively, to mark a son's goodbye to his parents and friends, a soldier's parting from his beloved, or in a parodic form, as “Loučení pijáka s kořalkou” (“A drinker's parting from his liquor”).²⁴ In many other cases, in the absence of detailed information, it is difficult to tell which version (the folk or the broadside ballad, and within those two genres, which specific version) acted as the template for later adaptations.

21 A practical songbook means that it is not a scientific edition, but a book actually for singing. This songbook from 1992 is, of course, notated, as are most songbooks from the beginning of the twentieth century. See Malý, *Salve Regina*.

22 Sušil, *Moravské národní písně*, p. 45.

23 Erben, *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla*, no. 357; Krolmus, *Staročeské pověsti II*, pp. 58–59.

24 *Píseň nová o svatebním loučení*, [c. 1850], sign. KP L 61/6, KNM; *Píseň neb smutné loučení* [...], [1790–1840], sign. KT3119, EÚP; *Nová píseň. Loučení vojína s mlkou*, 1861, sign. KT 313, EÚP; *Loučení pijáka s kořalkou*, 1860, sign. KT1384, EÚP.

Variability of Melodies

Many secular and religious songs were sung to the same melodies, but the style of performance differed. If any form of song (including a dance song) was used for religious purposes, it became assimilated into the traditional style of ritual singing—typified by slow tempos, looser rhythms, and lengthened cadences. Moreover, the standard practice of hymn leading, as noted above, resulted in dividing the songs into separate verses. Such subdividing of hymns was also reflected instrumentally, in many organ accompaniments dating from the nineteenth century, where interludes of adequate length were added at the end of each verse, in order to hear the leader reciting the following verse. It was not until the time of the Cecilian reforms at the end of the nineteenth century that the practice of singing from individually handheld hymn books became common. With this development, hymn leaders were no longer needed in churches, and the organ interludes were replaced by caesuras in the printed scores and texts, allowing the singers to pause for breath. The new organ accompaniments were also now written in faster tempos designed for continuous, uninterrupted singing.

Today, the musical notation of the older style of religious (liturgical, processional, pilgrimage) singing places specific demands on the notation of rhythm and the critical reading of notated scores. Melodies can either be notated in a manner resembling transliteration (i.e., as a rhythmically precise record of the “original” recording, using absolute numerical values), or they can be “transcribed” into a melodically and rhythmically logical pattern accompanied by more dynamic markings.

The growing variability of melodies, furthermore, manifests itself in an increased and universal tendency towards their ornamentation in singing as well as in the notation by which the melodies were first recorded (as mentioned above). Given such elaborations, it is not always possible to reliably determine the original form of a melody. Sometimes melodies exist in so many distinct variants that the only reliable indicator that they are related is the metric structure of the verse. However, here, too, we may encounter the opposite process, in which the melody remains unchanged but is adapted to a different text in a different metre. If necessary (or desired), modifications may happen in the other direction: favourite melodies might be adapted for texts with different metric schemes,²⁵ and, in some cases, they were more substantially modified for various types of asymmetrical

25 See, e.g., the melody of “Nastokrát buď pozdravena” (“A hundred salutations to you”), with the following metric structure: 87 87 88 87 syllables in the strophe. This format was variously

verses or refrains.²⁶ In such instances, it is always necessary to distinguish, admittedly somewhat subjectively but with ethnomusicological experience, what can still tenably be considered a modified version of the same melody and what is in fact a different melody, albeit one which incorporates a very similar melodic motif.

The Principles of *Contrapositum*, *Contrafactum*, and Paraphrase

The principle of *contrapositum* (essentially the option to set the same text to different melodies) is a typical characteristic of the Central European broadside ballad repertoire, as of the British and elsewhere. Some printed Czech hymn books from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries²⁷ frequently attached a simple tune imprint for a second (alternative) melody, which was likely as widely familiar as the main melody written in its score. Notated records of memory songs also document both the replacement of older melodies with newer ones and also the presence of regional melody types.²⁸ During the nineteenth century, the repertoire of secular broadside ballads also demonstrates the international migration of new melodies; an important role was played here by the growing mobility of the general population and the presence of itinerant musicians.²⁹ *Contrapositum* provides the main strategy for investigating the processes that influenced the persistence of old melodies and the incorporation of new melodies into the memory repertoire used by the authors and singers of broadside ballads.

The principle of *contrafactum* essentially involves the opposite of *contrapositum*: the setting of different texts to a melody; this was also a common practice. *Contrafactum* resembles the principle of *contrapositum* but is viewed from the perspective of the melody rather than the text; in its application, the researcher observes the transfer of a melody to various contents and settings. Typical manifestations of this principle can be seen in the use of a general, or “like” notation, or just in the “singability” in the application of tune to text. The most common task in tracking *contrapositum*

adapted for the strophes 85 85 77 85; 87 87 7 87, and 84 84 77 7 (see Malý, *Salve Regina*, pp. 263, 295, 65, and 292, respectively).

26 See, e.g., the melody for “Děkujeme ó Maria” (“Thank you, oh, Mary”) with the strophe 87 87 88 87, which was variously adapted for the strophes 87 87 87 87; 87 87 88 77; 83 83 6 83; and 556 556 66 554 (Malý, *Salve Regina*, pp. 471, 210, 213, and 39, respectively).

27 Božan, *Slaviček*.

28 See the chapter by Frolcová.

29 Kleňha, *Harfenictví v Čechách*, pp. 130–144.

is to follow the long life of traditional melodies or of internationally wandering melodies.

A specific and frequently occurring type of contrafactum in the repertoire of broadside ballads can be seen in the use of textual paraphrase; this essentially involves the modification of a song for a different type of use. Sometimes, in the most minimalized version of this practice, nothing more of the “original” text is retained than the melody, strophic structure, and text incipit. The common denominators are thus the incipit and the melody. However, a new version of the text evolves, adapted for a different audience or function. The simplest examples of contrafactum are the variant forms of pilgrimage broadside ballads, in which the name of the relevant site (or sites) is changed and inserted into the tune as necessary. Examples of this practice can be found dating back to hymn books of the Baroque era (ca. 1620–1775).³⁰ More extensively modified textual paraphrases can also be found in the numerous adaptations of Marian songs, adapting them for pilgrimages to St. Ann³¹ or to Mount Křemešník, for instance.³² We also find that similar incipits often conceal or obliquely reference a wide range of variants and paraphrases of one ballad text and its melody. For example, the broadside ballad “Na cellenské hoře krásná bílá růže” (“On the hillside of Mariazzell, a beautiful white rose”) was also published for regional pilgrimage sites with minor textual changes (“Na vranovské hoře,” i.e., “On the hill of Vranov”); we also find a new but very similar textual paraphrases for pilgrimages to St. Anthony (“Na blatnické hoře,” “On the hill of Blatnice”).³³ The song “Na mariánské [variant: *vranovské*] hoře růže kvete” (“On the hill of Mary [Vranov] a rose blooms”) also has a very similar incipit but, in addition, it has a different strophic structure. Yet other incipit paraphrases include a freer adaptation to St. Catherine (“Na sinajské [variant: *sionské*] hoře kvítek kvete,” “On the hill of Sinai [Zion] a flower blooms”), and St. Mary Magdalene (“V tom berounském kraji kvítek květe,” “In the country of Beroun a flower blooms”). The popularity of pilgrimage broadside ballads is further reflected in more extensive secular paraphrases of them, such as (“Má duše schovej

30 See Božan, *Slaviček*, p. 576. The song “Vítej, tisíckrát vítej” (“Welcome, a thousand welcomes”) includes an instruction to insert the name of the relevant pilgrimage site: *Boleslavská–Svatohorská–Svatokřtinská–ó Tuřanská–ó frýdecká Matičko* (i.e., as rendered in English, the names for Boleslav, Svatá Hora, Křtiny, Tuřany, and Frýdek).

31 See, e.g., Malý, *Salve Regina*, p. 37; Bradáč, *Kancionál*, p. 125.

32 See, e.g., Malý, *Salve Regina*, p. 55; Skořepová, *Kramářské písně*, pp. 126–127.

33 Here and below, I give examples from the living repertoire (Malý, *Salve Regina*, index on pp. 501–570). For the broadside ballads that served as templates, see Knihovna Národního muzea, “Špalíček,” and “Databáze kramářských tisků.”

se”—re-rendered, “Má milá schovej se”; that is, “Hide, my soul”—“Hide, my lover”). Paraphrase can be seen widely used within such secular broadside ballads, as when “Žádný neví co jest láska” (“Nobody knows what love is”) is parodied in the paraphrase “Žádný neví co jest dílo/radost/robota/škola,” i.e., “Nobody knows what a job/joy/work/school is.”³⁴

Types of Melody

In view of the processes of melodic stability, morphing, and dissemination described above, it is more understandable that the tune imprints of Czech broadside ballads refer to a considerable variety of melodic types. Dating, not only identifying, these melodies is consequently often problematic, and in their simplicity as well as in their consistency even as they change, they also offer only very limited scope for critical stylistic analysis. Nevertheless, we can posit the existence of (and we can attempt to define) several types of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tunes that differ both from the common styles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even from melodies that were typical of the late nineteenth century.³⁵ The three most prominent types of tunes can be observed within something like a layering historical process. We witness older melodies derived from pre-Baroque and Baroque hymn books, approximately before 1775 (which are often transformed into modal or pre-harmonic scales and asymmetric rhythms); oral, regionally specific folk melodies, both religious and secular; and simple instrumental-type melodies.³⁶

The last of these three distinctive mutating types has remained common into the twentieth century in the notated records of pilgrimage songs as well as of secular songs. Their typical features include diatonic major scales (i.e., without chromatic tones), a narrow range (often just 5–6 tones), and an absence of modulations—all features respecting the limits of traditional portable accompanying instruments (bagpipes, diatonal harp, hurdy-gurdy, dulcimer, etc.). Josef Leopold Zvonař describes these extended old melodies, with national revival rhetoric, as typical of

ranní a večerní písně zbožného obsahu, které venkované pamatují, ale dnes se vytrácejí; rovněž tak jsou i některé písně k Panně Marii a k sv.

34 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 366.

35 Sehnal, *Die Entwicklungstendenzen*, pp. 147–152.

36 These melodies are typical of eastern Moravia. For more details, see the chapter by Frolcová.

Janu Nepomuckému skoro znárodnělé, a však i ty nevyunikají ničím, co by na národní zpěv náš zvláštního světla dávalo.

morning and evening songs with devotional content, which are still remembered by rural people but are now becoming forgotten; some of them are songs to the Virgin Mary and St. John of Nepomuk, thus becoming almost folk songs, yet they have no characteristics that would be considered typical of our national singing.³⁷

This type of melody matches several descriptions of traditional folk music.³⁸ In 1860, Zvonař attributes the predominance of simple, diatonic melodies to the widespread use of bagpipes and basic brass instruments (such as non-valved French horns, trumpets, and the like), which were able to provide accompaniments only in a restricted range of harmonic functions.³⁹ From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the traditional instruments for the accompaniment of folk music (both urban and village) were replaced by new types of instruments that were able to play a whole chromatic scale and promoted new types of melodies. Then, the traditional type of melody continued to restrict itself to the natural overtone scale that was playable by older instruments. An important indicator of this simple accompaniment is the second voice part recorded by František Sušil as an alternative melody for a traditional Mariazell pilgrimage song (proceeding in typical instrumental “French horn fifths”).⁴⁰ One potential area for future research might productively involve investigating the style of improvised folk counterpoint, including ways in which it has been retained or updated over the course of time.

Perspectives

Systematic research of melodies associated with Czech broadside ballads should focus mainly on revealing the regularities underlying their variability together with developing a better classification of their stylistic layers. From the examples presented in this chapter, it is clear that this mode of research cannot involve simply following traditional documentation in the sense of

37 Zvonař, “Slovo o českých národních písních,” p. 199.

38 Zíbrt, *Jak se kdy v Čechách tancovalo*, p. 348.

39 Zvonař, “Slovo o českých národních písních,” p. 199.

40 Sušil, *Moravské národní písně*, no. 134.

bibliographic searches for melodies based solely on tune imprints in order to allocate them to individual printings of broadside ballads. Instead, the first step must be the documentation of notated sources coupled with analysis of the surviving melodies. The aim of this research will be to reach a fuller understanding of the ways in which these melodies were propagated, transferred, and transformed within the large Czech-language repertoire of broadside ballads from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. Such research must be based not only on extant printings but also on tracks (electronic recordings as well as notations made from surviving collective memory), for better or worse documented in the past and partly still alive, even as such memory continues to fade today.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Božan, Jan Josef. *Slaviček rájský na stromě života slávu tvorci svému prospěvující*. Hradec Králové: Tybely, Václav, 1719.
- Loučení pijáka s kořalkou*. Chrudim: Pospíšil, Stanislav, 1860, sign. KT1384, EÚP.
- Nová píseň. Loučení vojína s mlkou*. Chrudim: Pospíšil, Stanislav, 1861, sign. KT2110, EÚP.
- Píseň neb smutné loučení, jenž se syn od rodičů a všech přátel loučí*. Pardubice: N.p., [1790–1840], sign. KT3119, EÚP.
- Píseň nová o svatebním loučení*. Praha: N.p., [1850?], sign. KP L 61/6, KNM.

Secondary Sources

- Bradáč, Vincenc, ed. *Kancionál čili Kniha duchovních zpěvů pro kostelní i domácí pobožnost I–II*. Praha: Dědictví svatého Jana Nepomuckého, 1863–1864.
- Erben, Karel Jaromír. *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla*. Praha: J. Pospíšil, 1864.
- Hostinský, Otakar. *36 nápevů světských písní českého lidu z XVI. století*. Praha: F. Šimáček, 1892.
- Kleňha, Jiří. *Harfenictví v Čechách. Historie vandrovnických muzikantů z Nechanic*. Praha: Granit, 1998.
- Kolek, Antonín. *Radostná cesta k Staré Matce Boží Žarošské: Starodávná baroková pouť*. Brno: Občanská tiskárna, 1942.
- Korec, František, ed. *Poutní kniha*. Brno: Dědictví sv. Cyrila a Metoděje, 1893.
- Kouba, Jan. *Slovník staročeských hymnografů (13.–18. století)*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.

- Krolmus, Václav. *Staročeské pověsti, zpěvy, hry, obyčeje, slavnosti a nápěvy s ohledem na bájesloví československé, I–III*. Praha: Karel Vetterl, 1845–1851.
- Malý, František, ed. *Salve Regina. Poutnický kancionál pro poutě a laické pobožnosti*. Brno: Salve, 1992.
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek, eds. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Malura, Jan, Pavel Kosek, and Michael Pospíšil, eds. *Jan Josef Božan: Slaviček rájský*. Brno & Ostrava: Host & Ostravská univerzita, 1999.
- Pry, Paul. “Enthusiasts Interviewed. No. XVII—‘Pann Antonin Dvorak,’” *Sunday Times* (London) 3, no. 239 (10 May 10, 1885), p. 6.
- Sehnal, Jiří. “Die Entwicklungstendenzen und Stilschichten im tschechischen barocken Kirchenlied.” In *Musica antiqua* 3, ed. Zofia Lissa, pp. 126–160, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska, 1972.
- Sehnal, Jiří. “Nápěvy světských písní kramářských v 17. a 18. století.” In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 275–286. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Škarpová, Marie. “Mezi Čechy, k pobožnému zpívání náchylnými”. *Šteyerův Kancionál český, kanonizace hymnografické paměti a utváření katolické identity*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2015.
- Skořepová, Markéta. *Kramářské písně z Pelhřimovska*. Pelhřimov: Muzeum Vysočiny Pelhřimov, 2019.
- Slavický, Tomáš. “Kramářský tisk jako hymnografický pramen—několik poznámek k repertoáru mariánských poutních písní 19. století.” In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 169–188. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Smyčková, Kateřina, ed. *Pavel Raška: Kancionál založený ke cti a chvále Pánu Bohu všemohoucímu (1774)*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna, 2017.
- Srb, Vladimír. *1000 let obyvatelstva českých zemí*. Praha: Karolinum, 2004.
- Sušil, František, ed. *Moravské národní písně s nápěvy do textu vřaděnými*. Brno: K. Winiker, 1860.
- Zíbrt, Čeněk. *Jak se kdy v Čechách tancovalo*. Praha: F. Šimáček, 1895.
- Zvonař, Josef Leopold. “Slovo o českých národních písních,” *Dalibor* 3, no. 25 (1860), pp. 199–200.

Websites

- “Databáze kramářských tisků knihovny EÚ AV ČR, v. v. i.” <http://staretisky.eu.cas.cz/>.
 Knihovna Národního muzea. “Špalíček. Digitální knihovna kramářských tisků.”
<http://www.spalicek.net/>

Abbreviations

EÚP—Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i., knihovna pražského pracoviště
(Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, library of the Prague branch)

KNM—Knihovna Národního muzea (Library of the Czech National Museum)

About the Author

Tomáš Slavický: Researcher at the Czech Museum of Music, National Museum, Czech Republic, <https://www.nm.cz/slavicky-tomas-phdr-phd>. Slavický has co-edited a critical edition (*Fridrich Bridelius: Jesličky. Staré nové písničky* [2012]) as well as a collection of essays. tomas.slavicky@nm.cz.

14. The Melodies of Broadside Ballads and Pilgrimage Songs and the Many Media of the Song Tradition

Věra Frolcová

Abstract

Věra Frolcová analyses in her chapter melodies of Czech broadside ballads and pilgrimage songs as well as the media more generally of the song tradition (including printed and manuscript hymn books and pilgrimage books as well as documents of secular and religious songs from the oral tradition). Frolcová's analysis is based on musical scores (sung from memory) of Czech broadside ballads made by folklorists from the 1940s to the 1950s. Frolcová shows a synthesis between folk melodies and broadside ballads, especially in their repertoires of religious songs.

Keywords: Ethnomusicology, musical scores, folk songs, pilgrimage songs, hymn books

Czech broadside ballads, which were published from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, do not contain musical notation. However, musical sources (printed and manuscript hymn books and pilgrimage books, records of secular and religious songs from the oral tradition) indicate that these broadside ballads were indeed sung, and that some were passed on via memorization within a communal oral tradition. Evidence indeed suggests that Czech broadside ballads existed in at least two different forms—as printed (including written) and as sung (oral)—with much mixing of these two media.¹ Via the oral tradition, broadside ballads would have especially come into contact and mixed with folk songs. Folklore

1 For more information, see the chapter by Smyčková.

40

4. Mesias přišel.
Tante.

Dív. a křesťanská píseň, 1882
číslo 2046, 1796
a 1797, 1798

Waltz.

Mesias přišel na svět pravdivý, a prorok vzdušný,
s velkým dívkou, mezi jí - my - ni zavrsky žití a vády
vinné kady, v kavi galy - lepke.

Quděj poroko: Dolno to vinné!
Filip: dly se vly tak robito!
aj, vinné, vinné, vinné,
mihdy tak dobre nebylo
v kavi galy - lepke.

Opřel:
Fraut. Kostíal,
Kas Kory,
Bartara,
zapul. *[Signature]*
1937
A 504

Nová Píseň
o S w a d b ě 7
w Kni Galileastě.

W Státi, v došá 3. Starnica 1882.
Mesias přišel na svět pravdivý. 22.

Figure 28. Two examples of a reception of a song in the collection of the Institute of Ethnology at the Czech Academy of Sciences. Insert, bottom left: in the form of a broadside ballad; Large MS sheet: in the form of a musical score sung from memory and recorded. *Nová píseň*, 1882. EÜB, sign. A 504/40KT; *Mesias přišel*, 1936. EÜB, sign. A 504/40.

collectors have recorded all kinds of melodies sung typically at communal events: pilgrimages, fairs, religious ceremonies (for instance, as part of the rituals of Lent, Advent, and Christmas), as well as weddings and funerals. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, these antiquarians have also recorded the musical scores of broadside ballads sung from memory (an example can be seen in Figure 28).

Sources for the music of broadside ballads have also been studied by ethnomusicologists, who have developed what might be termed a “reception-based concept” for researching songs.² This approach begins with research into broadside ballad gatherings and their production, and then proceeds not only to investigate the notated records of the tunes, but also how they were sung, including audience and community reception (that is, their adoption and dissemination over time and within a cultural space). Ethnomusicological research into broadside ballads also forms part of the interdisciplinary area of hymnology, which more specifically explores recordings of memory sources for folk religious songs as well as connections between secular and religious songs and *contrafacta*.³ From the perspective of ethnomusicology, broadside ballads can (and should) be studied in the context of their vocal performance, dissemination of melodies, and song tradition more generally.⁴ The term “medium,” applied within such contexts, is understood by ethnomusicologists as a category of historical communication, both in the sense of the carrier (bearer) of a song and the mediator of song culture, which includes both carrier and his or her audience, including the larger community.⁵ The material media for the repertoire of Czech broadside ballads, as distinct from the medium who is the bearer or receiver of them, are multifarious: chapbooks (within which gatherings of broadside ballads are a subcategory, as discussed in the introduction and in other chapters of this volume); “blocks” (*špalíčky*), that is, improvised collections of broadside ballads, made by the owners); manuscript and printed hymn books; memory and orality; and vocal performance, including intonation and gestures (at communal events such as fairs and festivals).

Ethnomusicological sources for broadside ballads are dominated by songs with religious themes, especially songs about the Passion or those

2 Hostinský, *Česká světská píseň*, pp. 6–7; Smetana and Václavěk, *České písně kramářské*, pp. 16–17; Holý, “Etnomuzikologie,” p. 781; Holzapfel, *Lexikon*, pp. 198, 277–278.

3 Suppan, “Hymnologie,” pp. 517–518; Slavický, “Kramářský tisk,” p. 183. On relations between hymn book songs and broadside ballads, see the chapters by Slavický and Ruščin.

4 Traxler, “Kramářská píseň”; Urbanová, “Letákové tlače,” p. 123.

5 Schilling, “Das Flugblatt,” p. 26.

devoted to the Virgin Mary or saints (St. Ann, St. John of Nepomuk, etc.).⁶ One specific group of folk religious songs consists of pilgrimage songs, which are viewed as a song genre determined by their specific function.⁷ Research in this area focuses on regional and international melody types in broadside ballads and pilgrimage songs in memory sources from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and on the media through which songs and the song tradition were disseminated. This research seeks to answer the following questions: Which melody types were characteristic of the various vocal performances of broadside ballads? Was there a synthesis between broadside ballads and folklore melodies in the regions of Moravia and Silesia? And, finally, is there a recognizable tradition of Czech broadside ballads and their melodies?

Sources and Methodology

Broadside ballad gatherings, as in English broadside ballads, include tune imprints that are printed above the song text.⁸ These tune imprints were adopted by the publishers of broadside ballads as a tried-and-tested practice that had been used in manuscript and printed hymn books from the era of the Bohemian Reformation onwards.⁹ The idea behind such imprints is that the song was so familiar that audiences would recognize its melody by name alone. However, many broadside ballad gatherings lack tune imprints, so the vocal performance of these songs relied on memorial re-enactment or still-extant tunes, both conveyed orally. The most important sources of information about these melodies are musical sources that are mainly unconnected with the production of broadside ballads. These consist of notations in ethnomusicological and hymnographic sources, as observed above. Some are notated purely from memorial reconstructions (records of vocal renderings of broadside ballads that were still sung in the nineteenth century and then rendered in manuscript or published in folklore and other printed collections, such as hymn books and songbooks). Such musical sources for broadside ballads are complemented by ethnographic sources; these give information on the contexts and functions of vocal performances, which shaped

6 Kouba, "Lidová duchovní píseň," p. 481.

7 Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 61.

8 Tune imprints in English broadside ballads are discussed in the chapter by Fumerton.

9 For more information, see the chapter by Slavický.

oral and printed traditions and influenced the variability of renderings of songs.¹⁰ The memory sources date mainly from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Of particular importance are the notated records made by František Lýsek and Jan Poláček, which are now held by the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology at the Czech Academy of Sciences (Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, EÚB). These sources document the culmination in the development of sung broadside ballads as well as their earlier phases of development. Fascinatingly, the musical sources indicate that the performers of broadside ballads had no interest in musical originality. The singers used and adapted well-known tunes of various origins, precisely because their audiences could easily adopt them. In such re-enactments of melodies, there is only a loose relationship between the text and the recurring tune. The musical history of these songs is one of contrafacta and melodic variants, a distinctive mixture of melodies that travelled with the stallholders, songwriters, itinerant musicians, and pilgrims to sacred places.

One way of carrying out historical ethnomusicological research is to apply what we might term the “retrospective context method.” In the first phase of this methodology, researchers collate variants of melody types with regard to the date and time at which they were recorded as well as their function, context, and the medium of the song. The main criteria for melody type are tectonic: the strophic scheme and the metro-rhythmic model.¹¹ Following this methodology, individual documents are placed in retrospective order, based on time, from the present to the past. In the next phase, researchers analyse and compare variants, characterizing them on the basis of the functions and musical style, or stylistic layer, of folk songs.¹² Folk songs from Moravia and Silesia are characterized by two basic musical styles, known as the Eastern song style and the Western song style, respectively.¹³ The geographical boundary between the regions associated with these two styles is formed by mountainous or upland areas: the Pavlovské vrchy Hills, the Chřiby Hills, the Hostýnské vrchy Hills, and the Beskydy Mountains (in the eastern and southern part of

10 Krekovičová, “Barokový obraz Smrti,” p. 24; Frolcová, “Legenda,” p. 165.

11 From an ethnomusicological perspective, a strophe (stanza) is a musical unit of a song, an entity which is repeated. A strophic scheme comprises the number of syllables in each line of a strophe (expressed numerically) and its metrical-rhythmic form, i.e., the musical form in terms of rhythm and metre (expressed as a letter).

12 The function of the song is determined by its aim and social situation, e.g., wedding songs, pilgrimage songs, etc.

13 Holý, “Na okraj etnografické hranice,” pp. 21–22.

the Czech republic). In the geographical area representative of the Eastern song style, musical features still surviving today include modal elements in harmonic and non-harmonic scales, descending melodies, melismatic elements, and irregular rhythms.¹⁴ The Western song style evolved from modes into the harmonic major/minor system; in this regard it is akin to musical classicism.¹⁵ From the historical perspective, both of these styles existed in parallel with each other during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, yet in different geographic spaces.

To date, I have studied a total of 160 broadside ballads tunes. This sampling is admittedly inadequate for a quantitative methodology, but it does suggest general characteristics of broadside ballad melodies. My approach is qualitative and selective, making it possible to identify significant melody types.¹⁶

Melody Types

One group of melodies, I have found, is represented by widely known secular songs corresponding with the Western song tradition. These tunes were published as broadside ballads from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and they also appeared as tune imprints—for example, after 1870, the broadside ballad “Vímť já jeden krásný zámek” (“I know one beautiful castle”) or the international tune of the broadside ballads called “Harfenice” (“The harper”).¹⁷ These relatively stable melody types were adapted to fit numerous broadside ballad texts. Other melodies display greater variability: one tune imprint or one melody might have multiple versions over time, or versions might differ between regions.¹⁸ Some variants of printed tunes on broadside ballads became part of the oral tradition (and, indeed, may

14 Melodic elements derive from medieval church music modes, such as the seventh mode (Mixolydian) or the fourth mode (Lydian), which occur in various structures in Moravian folk songs (Sušil, *Moravské*, no. 97; Trojan, *Moravská lidová píseň*, p. 205). In melismatic singing, one syllable is distributed over more than one note. Melismatic singing is the opposite of syllabic singing, in which each syllable is sung to just one note.

15 Classicism is an artistic style, and a stylistic epoch in the development of European music covering the period approximately between 1740 and 1810.

16 Tyllner and Vejvoda, *Česká lidová píseň*, p. 12.

17 Sehnal, “Nápěvy,” p. 279; Beneš, *Poslyšte písničku*, p. 151, no. 49; Kopalová and Holubová, *Katalog*, p. 442; Kleňha, *Harfenictví*, p. 132.

18 The same phenomenon in English broadside ballads is mentioned in the chapter by Fumerton.

well have derived or interacted with it), living their own life as folk songs.¹⁹ Thus the culture of the vocal performance of broadside ballads in Moravia and Silesia enabled both regional and international melodies to establish a long tradition.

Regional Melody Types in Broadside Ballads: Folk Tunes with Elements of Modality and Free Rhythm²⁰

We should note that modal tunes of broadside ballads were recorded on the basis of vocal performances even after the “official” establishment in music theory of major-minor tonality and even after formal symmetrical rhythm had gained predominance. For instance, a lyric broadside ballad addressed to the Virgin Mary and entitled “Matičko boží, nebeské zboží” (“Mother of God, heavenly goods”) existed in the oral tradition during the second half of the nineteenth century in two melodic variants.²¹ The older of these variants is as follows:

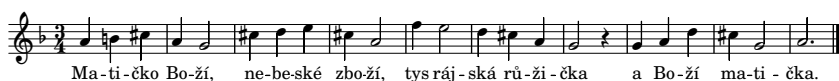


Figure 29. The melody of the Baroque broadside ballad recorded from memory in the mid-nineteenth century (Sušil, *Moravské*, no. 139).

The melody in this notation is modal. It features a descending Mixolydian seventh (descending minor seventh), a modal element which creates a tritone in the melody (the raised fourth interval known as the *diabolus in musica* or “devil’s interval”). Now let us consider more intensively and extensively the history of this broadside ballad in relation to its song, as noted in Table 1. What does such a history show?²²

19 Krekovičová, “Barokový obraz Smrti”; Thořová, “Kramářská píseň.”

20 Modality is a designation for the melodic elements (scales) used in the tonality of medieval church music; modal elements occur in various forms of Moravian folk songs. Free rhythm denotes a rhythm that lacks a regular metrical impulse.

21 Sušil, *Moravské*, no. 139; Bartoš and Janáček, *Národní*, no. 1984; Kučerová, *Sběratel*, p. 298.

22 As I mentioned at the beginning of my paper, I use a “retrospective context method.” This is an ethnomusicological approach drawing first on the most recent sources and proceeding backwards into the past in order to determine the age and context of a song, such as a pilgrimage.

Table 1. Tracing the tradition, melody, and medium (conveyance) of the broadside ballad “Matičko boží, nebeské zboží” (1663–1942)

Date provenance	Text incipit	Melody source, strophic scheme	Medium, function, context
1942 Žarošice Kolek, <i>Radostná</i> , p. 186	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží” (“Mother of God, heavenly goods”)	notation 5a 5a 6b 6b 6r	pilgrimage, pilgrim- age book, singing at a state of the Virgin Mary
1893 Velká nad Veličkou Bartoš and Janáček, <i>Národní</i> , no. 1984	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	notation 5a 5a 6b 6b 6r	memory, oral pilgrimage tradition
1859 Moravia Sušil, <i>Moravské</i> , no. 139	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	notation 5a 5a 6b 6c	memory, oral tradition
1852 Moravia Bečák, <i>Nápěvy</i> , no. 101	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	notation 5a 5a 6b 6b 6r	printed hymn book
[1761–1798] [Moravia] MZK VK- 0000.684,přív. 58	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	tune imprint “Bud’ pozdravena, blahoslavená” (“Be greeted, blessed one”)	broadside ballad
1768 Boršice, J. J. Pomykal AMK 21118	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	tune imprint “Bud’ pozdravena, blahoslavená”	manuscript hymn book
[1730–1755] Rajec, Slovakia Ruščin, “Vplyv,” p. 293	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	notation 5a 5a 6b 6b 6r	manuscript hymn book
1719 Bohemian Crown lands Božan, <i>Slaviček</i> , p. 548	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	notation 5a 5a 6b 6b 6r	printed hymn book
1701 Litomyšl, NK Písnicky IV,přív. 47	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	tune imprint “Bud’ pozdravena, blahoslavená”	broadside ballad
1663 [Telč] Konrád, <i>Dějiny</i> , p. 385	“Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží”	notation 5a 5a 6b 6b 6r	manuscript hymn book

The song “Matičko Boží, nebeské zboží” has a tradition lasting almost 300 years; the oldest known written record of the song is found in a

manuscript hymn book dated by Konrad to 1663.²³ This earliest version, which was disseminated via Baroque (ca. 1620–1775) printed and manuscript hymn books, is a simple melody covering an interval of a fifth and based on a latent major tonality.²⁴ The rendering of the melody can be seen in 1859 adapted into the regional folklore style, a process reflected in the change in the tonality and the melodic line. The tradition of this religious song, we see, was shaped by several media: manuscript hymn books from Moravia (Telc, Borsice) and Slovakia (Rajec), broadside ballad gatherings, printed hymn books, pilgrimages devoted to the Virgin Mary, and oral memory.

Folk Dance Tunes in Harmonic Tonality and Religious Contrafacta of Secular Songs

Another typical feature of Bohemian broadside ballads from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century is the use of melodies from both secular and religious songs. In such interchanges, the melody appears to have had no relation to the content of the broadside ballad itself; secular songs adopted melodies from religious songs, creating secular contrafacta of religious songs.²⁵ There are also documented cases of the opposite process, as religious songs used melodies from secular songs, thus creating religious contrafacta of secular songs. This process occurred in all the media of song culture that were current at the time (hymn books, broadside ballad gatherings, etc.), and it took several forms of expression within Central Europe.²⁶ A typical practice in Moravia and Silesia was the use of dance tunes of the secular folk songs for religious songs. These dance tunes were adopted for religious broadside ballads sung at pilgrimages and weddings during the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. We can see in this practice an example of the spontaneous reception and adopting within an oral tradition of broadside ballads that have been identified from ethnomusicological sources. However, the printings of broadside ballads give no indication of the use of the secular dance tunes for the religious broadside ballads.²⁷ The

23 Konrad, *Dejiny*, p. 385.

24 Bozan, *Slavicek*, p. 548; Ruscin, "Vplyv," pp. 254, 292–293.

25 Sehnal, "Napevy," p. 279.

26 Suppan, "Hymnologie," p. 520; Kouba, "Lidova duchovnı pısen," p. 481.

27 Unlike England, the Bohemian Crown lands had a strong tradition of religious broadside ballads, which were sung (for example) by participants in Catholic pilgrimages. The use of

use of folk melodies for religious songs corresponds with the historical circumstances in the second half of the eighteenth century: Emperor Joseph II's ban on pilgrimages not only sent the pilgrimage tradition into sharp decline, but also strengthened the influence of folk melodies on pilgrimage songs.²⁸

In musical terms, the dance tunes used in the Czech religious broadside ballads belong to the large group of Polonaise-type melodies with triple metre, either in major or minor keys. These melodies generally consist of three components (AAb, ABc), and they were widely used for various texts, with dozens of contrafacta. In historical sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such songs are referred to as *Hanatica* (meaning that their origin was in the Central Moravian region of Haná), where they were played to accompany dancing in aristocratic society.²⁹ During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, dance tunes were also played in instrumental form by folk musicians; however, they were primarily associated with religious broadside ballads sung mainly at weddings and on pilgrimages. They have survived in memory sources in the Opava region of Silesia, and in the Moravian region of Lachia (Lašsko).³⁰ The dances and their melodies had numerous regional designations, including *starodávný* (ancient) and *taněc* (dance; see Figure 28). Typical dance melodies can be found in the broadside ballads “Když milý Pán Ježíš na nebe vstupoval” (“When our dear Lord Jesus rose to heaven”), “Panenka Maria po světě chodila” (“The Virgin Mary walked the world”), and numerous contrafacta.³¹ The media for their dissemination were memory, the oral tradition, and custom.

well-known secular folk melodies made it possible for pilgrims to sing collectively. However, secular dance melodies only represent a small group of the melodies used in religious broadside ballads. In this study I present notated examples of non-dance melodies (notation in Figure 29) and dance melodies (notation in Figure 28, 30 and 32).

28 Slavický, “Kramářský tisk,” pp. 173–174; see also the chapter by Slavický. Although some pilgrimage sites became defunct, Emperor Joseph II's prohibition did not bring a complete end to pilgrimages. However, their organization changed; they were no longer arranged by the secular and ecclesiastical elites (e.g., burghers, the nobility, and religious confraternities), but instead the initiative was taken by less educated and less privileged laypeople, mostly from rural areas.

29 Vetterl, “K historii,” p. 278.

30 Lýsek, *Písně*, p. 14.

31 Lýsek, *Písně*, p. 38, 41; *Panenka Maria po světě chodila*, 1937, EÚB A 504/50; *Pochválený budiž od nás Kristus Ježíš*, 1941, A 509/33, 35.



Figure 30. Notation of a typical Czech melody known as “Taneční svatá” (“Sacred dance”). EÚB, sign. A 504/50 (Proskovice 1937).

International Melody Types Occurring over Large Areas

Secular dance tunes were also adapted by pilgrimage songs that transcended regional and linguistic boundaries. These dance-turned-pilgrimage tunes can be found across relatively large areas. A model example is one of four melodies for the Czech folk ballad “Utonulá” (“The drowned woman”),³² which was used for a pilgrimage song devoted to the Virgin Mary of Frýdek, “Na frýdecké hoře krásná, pěkná růže” (“On the beautiful hill of Frýdek, a lovely rose”).³³ From the end of the eighteenth century, the song can be seen to have travelled: it was also disseminated in broadside ballad gatherings for the pilgrimage site at Mariazell in Austria, and it appears to have spread to other Marian pilgrimage sites, too, both as a text and as a melody.³⁴

In the oral tradition during the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, Czech, Slovak, Silesian, and Polish melodic variants developed as *contrafacta*, and were used for pilgrimages and Christmas events.³⁵ Their characteristic features include an upbeat major tonality, a waltz rhythm, and a shared form (though with varying rhythms in the central section of the song).³⁶ In the mid-twentieth century the melody was used in instrumental form for secular dancing.

The category of international melodies expands further. It includes other tunes for Czech, Silesian, Slovak, and Polish pilgrimage songs as well as legend songs devoted to the Virgin Mary.³⁷

32 Erben, *Nápěvy*, no. 55 (*Bude vojna, bude*); cf. Vetterl and Hrabalová, *Guberniální*, no. 29; Sušil, *Moravské*, no. 188, 189.

33 *Na frýdecké hoře*, 1941. EÚB A 509/27.

34 There are also adaptations of the song devoted to St. Anthony of Padua for the pilgrimage sites at Blatnice pod svatým Antonínkem and Prašivá (Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*, p. 234).

35 EÚB A 221/137, A 507/73, A 509/25; Malý, *Salve Regina*, pp. 72, 214; Pindur, “Poutní kostel,” p. 35; Bartkowski, *Polskie śpiewy religijne*, pp. 294–295; Bartmiński, *Polskie kołedy*, p. 94.

36 Tyllner and Vejvoda, *Česká lidová píseň*, p. 231. Form designates the musical structure of a song, the relationship between the subcomponents (lines) and the larger entity (the strophe).

37 Frolcová, “Legenda,” p. 171.



Figure 31. Title page of the pilgrimage broadside ballad *Na frýdecké hoře. Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii Frýdecké*, [1801–1850], MZK VK-0005.856.

I.
Viem je - den ko - pe - ček, na nem ko - ste - lí - ček,
II.
Na frý - de - cké ho - ře krá - sná, pě - kná rů - že,
III.
Sly - sa - ľem šli - cny glos, Ma - ry - ja wo - ľa nas.
pre - krá - sne ru - ži - čki blí - zo pri Bla - tni - ci, pu - tu - jme tam še - ci.
pře - lí - be - zně vo - ní, ka - ždý dy - chtí po ní, ta všech - něm po - mů - že.
Pó - dźcie sem pať - ni - cy wie - rni stu - żeb - ni - cy, a na - wié - dźcie mnie już.

Figure 32. Above: notations of a Czech-Slovak-Polish melody type for pilgrimage songs. I: 1975 Záblatie (Slovakia). Pilgrimage song devoted to St. Anthony of Padua in *Blatnice pod svatým Antonínkem* (Droppová and Krekovičová, *Počúvajte panny*, p. 58). II: 1941 Mariánské Hory (Czech Republic). Pilgrimage song devoted to the Virgin Mary of Frýdek (A 509/27, EÜB). III: [1873] Kraków region (Poland). Pilgrimage song devoted to the Virgin Mary (Kolberg, *Dzieła wszystkie*, 6, p. 242).

Perspectives

Ethnomusicology demonstrates the benefits of using memory sources and explores the connection between oral and manuscript cultures.³⁸ It reveals the critical limits of historical research. Or rather, it expands such research. The musical documents ethnomusicology studies include historical local variants of songs that show how melodies were integrated into local and regional cultures. Ethnomusicological methodology, drawing on the intermediality and variability of broadside ballads, also generates new insights for verifying Konrád's thesis on the continuity of Old Czech religious songs in some areas of eastern Moravia.³⁹ The tradition of broadside ballads and their melodies, furthermore, plays a key role in this history, as has been demonstrated here from two perspectives:

1. In terms of time: some religious broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have a tradition lasting 200 years or longer. This tradition, however, was not singularly rooted in broadside ballads; it was co-formed by a number of related printed, oral, and cultural media. Broadside ballad gatherings contribute to a larger tradition within which they freely mixed with hymn books, pilgrimage, and other songs, which further invites consideration of vocal performance and local customs.
2. In terms of cultural space: during the process of dissemination of broadside ballads, regional and international melody types emerged especially from pilgrimages and vocal performances (which traversed both space and time).

Broadside ballads, in sum, represent one link in the chain of a song tradition that extends beyond the historical existence of print: some broadside ballads, often passed along orally, are still sung today. In this chapter, I have shown how in Moravia and Silesia there was a synthesis between folk melodies and broadside ballads, mainly in the repertoire of folk religious songs. This can be seen in harmonic dance melodies and, in rare cases, also in modal melodies associated with free rhythm. The melody types of nineteenth-century religious broadside ballads presented here do not occur in the repertoire of Czech hymnology, so they have a unique value as

38 Smyčková, *Růže*, p. 12.

39 Konrád, *Dějiny*, pp. 461–462; Slavický, "Kramářský tisk," p. 177.

sources. Additionally, these melodies remained unaffected by the Cyrilian reforms of church music.⁴⁰ A potential avenue for future research would involve the investigation of melodies as indicators of inter-confessional relations—not only between the song cultures of Catholic and non-Catholic Churches but also between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic cultures. Examples include the broadside ballads about Our Lady of Sorrows. A further possible focus of hymnological and ethnomusicological research would be more extensive and comparative investigation into pilgrimage songs, including those printed as broadside ballads, within regional and international contexts.

Works Cited

Primary Sources (Written)

- Když milý Pán Ježíš na nebe vstupoval*, Ruda nad Moravou 1933, notated by Bohuslav Indra, sign. A 221/137, EÚB.
- Křesťanská dušičko, rozmyšlej maličko*, Mariánské Hory 1941, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 509/25, EÚB.
- Mesiaš přišel na svět pravdivý*, Bartovice 1937, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 504/40, EÚB.
- Na frydecké hoře krásná, pěkná růže*, Mariánské Hory 1941, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 509/27, EÚB.
- Panenka Maria po světě chodila*, Proskovice 1937, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 504/50, EÚB.
- Pochválený budíž od nás Kristus Ježíš*, Proskovice 1941, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 509/33, EÚB.
- Pomykal, Jan Josef. *Kancionál*, Boršice 1768, inv. no. 21118, AMK.
- Poslechněte, lidé, co budu zpívati*, Proskovice 1941, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 509/35, EÚB.
- Ta přesvatá jména Ježíš a Maria*, Brušperk 1939, notated by František Lýsek, sign. A 507/73, EÚB.

40 The Cyrilian reforms were a Bohemian and Moravian manifestation of the Cecilian Movement's efforts to reform church music and singing in the Catholic Church; they were promoted from the 1870s onwards. The reformers sought to exclude secular elements and return to the aesthetics of Gregorian chant (Slavický, "Kramářský tisk," p. 178).

Primary Sources (Printed)

- Božan, Jan Josef. *Slaviček rájský* [...]. Hradec Králové: Václav Tybély, 1719, sign. 4-482, EÚB.
- Nová píseň o svatbě v Káni Galilejské*. Skalica, dědicové J. Škarnicla, 1882, sign. A 504/40KT, EÚB.
- Písničky nové pobožné k Blahoslavené Panně Marii*. Litomyšl: Daniel Vojtěch Kamenický, 1701, sign. Písničky IV, přív. 47, NK.
- Písničky nové pobožné k Blahoslavené P. Marii*. N.p.: N.p., [1761–1798], sign. VK-0000.684, přív. 58, MZK.

Secondary Sources

- Bartkowski, Bolesław, ed. *Polskie śpiewy religijne spoteczności katolickich. Studia i materiały 1*. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1990.
- Bartmiński, Jerzy. *Polskie kolędy ludowe*. Kraków: Universitas, 2002.
- Bartoš, František, and Leoš Janáček, eds. *Národní písně moravské v nově nasbírané*. Praha: Česká akademie císaře Josefa, 1889–1901.
- Bečák, Tomáš. *Nápěvy ke katolickému kancionálu*. Videň: T. Bečák, 1852.
- Beneš, Bohuslav, ed. *Poslyšte písničku hezkou... Kramářské písně minulých dob*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1983.
- Droppová, Lubica, and Eva Krekovičová. *Počívajte panny, aj vy mládenci... Letákové piesne zo slovenských tlačiarň*. Bratislava: Eterna Press, 2010.
- Erben, Karel Jaromír. *Nápěvy prostonárodních písní českých*. Praha: Alois Hynek, 1862.
- Frolcová, Věra. "Legenda o putování Panny Marie, zázračném uzdravení dítěte a kajícím kováři v obřadním zpěvu 19.–21. století jako fenomén střeoevropského kulturního společenství." *Národopisná revue* 22, no. 3 (September 2012), pp. 163–175.
- Holý, Dušan. "Etnomuzikologie (hudební folkloristika)." In *Hudební věda III. Disciplíny hudební vědy*, 2, ed. Vladimír Lébl and Ivan Poledňák, pp. 778–822. Praha: SPN, 1988.
- Holý, Dušan. "Na okraj etnografické hranice na Moravě." *Národopisný věstník československý* 2 (1967), pp. 21–42.
- Holzappel, Otto. *Lexikon folkloristischer Begriffe und Theorien (Volksliedforschung)*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Hostinský, Otakar. *Česká světská píseň lidová*. Praha: V. Šimáček, 1906.
- Kleňha, Jiří. *Harfenictví v Čechách. Historie vandrovnických muzikantů z Nechanic*. Praha: Granit, 1998.

- Kolberg, Oskar. *Dziela wszystkie, tom 6. Krakowskie II*. Wrocław–Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1963.
- Kolek, Antonín. *Radostná cesta k Staré Matce Boží žarošské. Starodávná baroková pout*. Brno: Občanská tiskárna, 1942.
- Konrád, Karel. *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského od XV. věku do zrušení literátských bratrstev*. Praha: Cyrillo-Methodějská knihtiskárna, 1893.
- Kopalová, Ludmila, and Markéta Holubová. *Katalog kramářských tisků*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Kouba, Jan. "Lidová duchovní píseň." In *Lidová kultura: Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska II*, ed. Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek, p. 481. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007.
- Krekovičová, Eva. "Barokový obraz Smrti—nevesty vo folklóre alebo putovanie jednej jarmočnej balady." *Národopisné informácie* XXV, no. 1 (1993), pp. 20–30.
- Kučerová, Judita. *Sběratel lidových písní Martin Zeman z Velké nad Veličkou (1854–1919)*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2011.
- Lýsek, František. *Písně z Lašska*, ed. Marta Toncrová. Brno: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2004.
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek, eds. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Malý, František. *Salve Regina. Poutnický kancionál pro poutě a laické pobožnosti*. Brno: Salve Regina, 2015.
- Pindur, David. "Poutní kostel od první světové války do současnosti." In *Prašivá*, ed. Jan Al Saheb, pp. 35–39. Těšín: Muzeum Těšínska, 2011.
- Ruščin, Peter. "Vplyv českých kancionálov v slovenských katolíckych rukopisných prameňoch z rokov 1657–1809." In *Duchovná pieseň medzi písomnou a ústnou tradíciou: Súvislosti hymnologických prameňov z územia Slovenska*, ed. Peter Ruščin, Eva Veselovská, and Zlatica Kendrová, pp. 189–320. Bratislava: Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2019.
- Schilling, Michael. "Das Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit als Paradigma einer historischen Intermedialitätsforschung." In *Die Intermedialität des Flugblatts in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Alfred Messerli and Michael Schilling, pp. 25–45. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2015.
- Sehnal, Jiří. "Nápěvy světských písní kramářských v 17. a 18. století." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 275–286. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Slavický, Tomáš. "Kramářský tisk jako hymnografický pramen—několik poznámek k repertoáru mariánských poutních písní 19. století." In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 169–188. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.

- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. *České písně kramářské*. Praha: Svoboda, 1949.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. *Růže chuti přerозkošné. Antologie moravských rukopisných kancionálů 17. a 18. století*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2015.
- Suppan, Wolfgang. "Hymnologie und Volksliedforschung." In *Handbuch des Volksliedes. Band II. Historisches und systematisches—interethnische Beziehungen—Musikethnologie*, ed. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Lutz Röhrich, and Wolfgang Suppan, pp. 517–525. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975.
- Sušil, František. *Moravské národní písně s nápěvy do textu vřaděnými*, ed. Robert Smetana and Jaroslava Václavková, 4th ed. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1951.
- Thořová, Věra. "Kramářská píseň jako inspirační zdroj české písně lidové." *Český lid* 97, no. 1 (March 2010), pp. 51–74.
- Traxler, Jiří. "Kramářská píseň." In *Lidová kultura: Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska 2*, ed. Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek, pp. 427–430. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007.
- Trojan, Jan. *Moravská lidová píseň: melodika, harmonika: o harmonické struktuře lidové písně jako výsledku melodické složky*. Praha: Supraphon, 1980.
- Tyllner, Lubomír, and Zdeněk Vejvoda. *Česká lidová píseň. Historie, analýza, typologie*. Praha: Bärenreiter, 2019.
- Urbancová, Hana. "Letákové tlače jako prameň mariánských legend." *Musicologica Slovaca* 27, no. 1 (2010), pp. 122–145.
- Vetterl, Karel. "K historii hanáckého tance Cófavá." *Český lid* 46, no. 6 (November 1959), pp. 277–286.
- Vetterl, Karel, and Olga Hrabalová, eds. *Guberniální sbírka písní a instrumentální hudby z Moravy a Slezska z roku 1819*. Strážnice: Ústav lidové kultury, 1994.

Website

Ústav hudební vědy Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně. "Melodiarium hymnologicum bohemiae." <https://www.musicologica.cz/melodiarium/song.php?>

Abbreviations

- AMK—Arcidiecézní muzeum Kroměříž (Museum of the Archdiocese of Kroměříž)
- EÚB—Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i., knihovna brněnského pracoviště (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, library of the Brno branch)
- MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
- NK—Národní knihovna Praha (National Library, Prague)

About the Author

Věra Frolcová: Researcher at the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, <http://www.eu.avcr.cz/cs/pracovnici/vera-frolcova/>. Frolcová has co-edited three collections of essays and co-authored two monographs, most recently, *Velikonoce v české lidové kultuře*, 2nd ed. (2020). frolcova@eu.cas.cz.

15. Czech Religious Broadside Ballads in Slovak Manuscript Hymnals of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Peter Ruščin

Abstract

This chapter by Peter Ruščin is focused on the influence of Czech religious broadside ballads on Slovak religious songs during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ruščin shows that Czech broadside ballads significantly affected the development of Slovak hymnography during this period. This transfer between shared genres of different countries was enabled by the similarities of the two languages, Slovak and Czech, allowing the publication by printing houses of broadside ballads in both languages. Such a transference can be especially seen in the nation's shared privileging of Marian pilgrimage sites and in the cult of some saints, especially St. John of Nepomuk. Czech broadside ballads published by Slovak printing houses were eventually adopted by other media, such as manuscripts and printed hymn books, to the extent that some of the broadside ballads became an established part of the official Catholic hymnographic repertoire in Slovakia.

Keywords: Musicology, Slovak broadside ballad, hymn book, manuscript, pilgrimage song

The overall influence of devotional broadside ballads on Slovak religious songs (hymns) has not yet been investigated, despite the popularity of religious broadside ballads and other songs in print. In an aim to initiate a key contribution toward filling this critical gap, I turn to the heyday of religious and other broadside ballads—those printed in the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries. A major challenge presents itself, however: from 1700 to 1804, no printed Slovak Catholic hymnals have survived. It is thus only possible to trace the influence on, and development of, Slovak religious songs of this period by investigating the hymnals that *do* survive. I therefore necessarily turn to extant hymnal manuscripts.¹ Taking such a tactic (using manuscripts to deduce connections to the most popular broadside ballads) is not a sure-fire route of influence, I realize. Nevertheless, this approach allows us to posit similarities or “kinships” between the extant repertoire of Czech broadside ballads on Slovak religious songs (whether oral, manuscript, or printed). Such a “crossover” approach is justified in large part because of the long-established cultural links between the Czechs and Slovaks as well as the mutual intelligibility of the Slovak and Czech languages. We can further find similarities between Slovak and Czech broadside ballads generally in terms of their content, genre, function, and distribution. An important role in the relationship between the two lands and languages was also played by the fact that some Slovak printing houses published *both* Slovak and Czech broadside ballads (especially the Škarnicl family’s printing house in Skalica).

This chapter pursues these influences and similarities through the following structure. First, in the introduction, I provide a very brief characterization of the Slovak broadside ballad, including its relationship with the Czech broadside ballad. I then turn to eighteenth-century Slovak hymnography and briefly discuss the generic relationship between broadside ballads and religious songs (hymns). I follow this preliminary discussion with a presentation of chosen individual Slovak manuscript hymnals that also contain a representative repertoire of Czech religious broadside ballads (a significant number of 153 songs).

With this necessary background information, I then proceed to analyse the repertoire of Czech broadside ballads that can be found in Slovak manuscript hymnals of the eighteenth century, focusing not only on the number of texts but also their topics, adaptations, and receptions. This section of my chapter offers four songs as examples that allow us to trace a long tradition crossing Czech broadside ballads, via Slovak manuscript

1 The hymnals published in printed form during this period were of local importance only; they did not introduce new elements to the larger regional repertoire (that is, they consisted of mere reprintings of older hymns). Also—and admittedly this is a problem with Czech broadside ballads and, for that matter, of broadside ballads generally—they did not contain musical notation.

hymnals, to a hypothesis of the features of printed Slovak hymnals (texts, melodies, adaptations).

The Tradition of Broadside Ballads in Slovakia²

The production of broadside ballads within the territory that is now Slovakia developed during the second half of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century, as referenced above.³ In most cases, these ballads were printed in very small formats, thus extending their formal similarity to Czech broadside ballads. Their printed size was the tiny, pocket-sized sextodecimo or duodecimo, though from the second half of the nineteenth century, they were also printed in octavo size. These printings would be produced from one full sheet or a half-sheet, which, I surmise (at least in Slovakia), was then folded as well as cut by the printers. (In Czechia, such printings may have only been folded by the printers; alternatively they may simply have been passed on as a single sheet to the seller—or even potentially the consumer—who himself folded, cut, and then sewed the sheets together into what we have dubbed a “broadside ballad gathering” or “product” made from assembling some double-sided printed leaves of a sheet.) The Slovakian publications, again similar to those in the Czech Republic, contained a descriptive title and a woodcut on the title page. Like Czech broadside ballads, they also sometimes contained more than one broadside ballad.⁴ The oldest known Slovak broadside ballads, based on the date of their publication, were published in 1749 and 1759 by printing houses in Bratislava and Trnava.⁵ Slovak broadside ballads were also published in large print runs by printing houses in the western Slovakian city of Skalica

2 During this period (1700–1804), the territory of present-day Slovakia was part of the Hungarian state, ruled by the Habsburgs (the Hungarian monarchs). The territory is now the Slovak Republic, the eastern neighbour of the Czech Republic.

3 Previous research into Slovak broadside ballads has been conducted mainly by folklorists and bibliographers (Droppová, “Letákové piesne”; Droppová and Krekovičová, *Počujte*; Klimeková et al., *Bibliografia*). These mostly collectors have used various terms to denote the printed songs on which I focus—the terms *jarmočné piesne* (fair songs [for secular texts]), *púťové piesne* (pilgrimage songs [for texts with religious content]), or, more generally, *letákové piesne* (leaflet songs). Since their production and dissemination is mostly the same as that of Czech broadside ballads (though the “naming” of such songs is much broader in Czechia—see the introduction), for the purposes of this chapter, I use simply the term “Slovak broadside ballads.”

4 Similarly, as in the Czech tradition, gatherings of Slovak broadside ballads were collected by the printers.

5 Bálent, *Banskobystrické*, p. 13.

(the Škarnicl and Teslík families), in the central Slovakia city of Banská Bystrica (Tumler, Machold families), Banská Štiavnica (Lorber family), and Levoča (Podhoránsky, Reiss families). In terms of their dissemination in Slovakia, broadside ballads were almost exclusively sold at large public gatherings, fairs, and at pilgrimage sites; they were not usually hawked on the streets or door to door.

From the second half of the eighteenth century, a key role in the dissemination of most Czech broadside ballads in Slovakia was played by members of the Škarnicl family, who were among the most prominent printers in Moravia and Slovakia. The Škarnicl family's history also tells us much of the inter-influence between printers across territories, forming something of a network. Josef Antonín Škarnicl (1729–1813) established a printing house in Skalica (Slovakia) in 1759, but he had learned his trade in the Bohemian town of Jindřichův Hradec. In his youth, he was then employed by Franz Anton Hirnle's printing house in the Moravian town Olomouc (Olmütz). His consequent marriage to Hirnle's daughter Antonia Theresa would later form a basis for close links between the management of the Hirnle printing house and Škarnicl's own business in Skalica.⁶ Furthermore, the broadside ballads published in Skalica by Škarnicl's sons (František Xaver Škarnicl and Jozef Škarnicl) supplied both the Czech and Slovak markets with religious broadside ballads for many decades. Importantly as well, the production of the Skalica printing house had a strong influence on other printers in the Hungarian provinces to which today's Slovakia once belonged.⁷ The Slovak printing houses at Skalica and Banská Bystrica were, in fact, the most important producers of broadside ballads in Slovakia; production at other printing houses was considerably smaller. But these printing "giants" of broadside ballads in Slovakia grew from a many-pronged territorial and linguistic publishing network.

In addition to showing such wide interconnections, a key point of my tracking this print heritage is that it takes us back to the oral tradition. Here again pilgrimages play an important role, as we have seen throughout this volume, underscoring another interconnection—between the oral

6 Brezina, *350-ročná história*, pp. 14–15.

7 The Machold family printing house in Banská Bystrica is one of the examples that this influence was evident. During the interwar period in twentieth century, the Machold family printing house in Banská Bystrica found a small package containing 58 broadside ballads, a large number of which had been produced in Skalica and Litomyšl. It was evident that manuscript alterations had been made to broadside ballads for the purposes of the printing house in Banská Bystrica. This practice was evidently the work of Filip III Machold, who managed the company from 1875 to 1900 (Bálent, *Banskobystrické*, p. 15).

and printed. There is no doubt that one factor which stimulated the print market in broadside ballads was the presence of popular Marian pilgrimage sites, where oral religious songs were integral, in the vicinity of the printing houses (Šaštín, Marianka, Staré Hory, and Levoča). However, the publication of broadside ballads in Slovakia that reflects the pilgrimage oral tradition became prominent only during the final decades of the eighteenth century—from 1762 in Skalica under the printer Josef Antonín Škarničl, and from 1783 in Banská Bystrica under the printer Jan Josef Tumler. We must not obscure the origins of these later publications of religious broadside ballads by ignoring previous oral, manuscript, and printed religious sources, including those from other lands.

Links between Czech and Slovak Hymnography

Czech hymnography had a long-lasting influence on Slovak hymns, thanks to the similarity between the two languages. In the eighteenth century, the only hymn books printed for Slovak Catholics in Hungary were small works containing selections of hymn texts taken from seventeenth-century hymnals or collections of hymns published as appendices to prayer books or catechisms.⁸ The development of Slovak Catholic hymns was to some extent a local and spontaneous process, and it differed from region to region. Surviving manuscript sources confirm that during this period, many Czech hymns entered the Slovak hymnographic repertoire via Czech hymn books, as did numerous Slovak broadside ballads. Czech hymn books were expensive and not very affordable for Slovak users, so it was Czech broadside ballads that played the key role in mediating the adoption of Czech hymns.⁹ This period of influence was reversed in the nineteenth century,

8 The Catholics were dominant in the Slovak-speaking part of Hungary from ca. 1674. The influence of a rich Protestant (Lutheran) hymn tradition was evident, but minor, especially in the eighteenth century, when they were persecuted in Hungary until the Patent of Tolerance was issued by Emperor Joseph II in 1781. The Slovak Catholics, which were the majority, tried to develop their own tradition, but mainly Hungarian Catholic hymnals were published in Hungary in the eighteenth century. For the period from 1701 to 1780, bibliographies of Slovak printings list a total of fourteen editions of various small-scale hymn books without musical notation and of no more than local significance; furthermore, they do not introduce new items into the repertoire and instead merely reprint hymns from earlier collections. See Potůček, *Súpis*, no. 612–615, 619–623, 806–807, 837–839, 856–864, 1013–1020.

9 Notably, during this period the texts of both Czech and Slovak broadside ballads displayed a lesser degree of variability than their melodies. Comparative research of selected Slovak manuscript songbooks from 1657 to 1809 has identified 153 song texts of Czech origin which were

when printed Slovak hymn books began to contribute to the dissemination of printed Czech hymns.

Adding to the complication of influence is the role of broadside ballads as a medium through which a particular repertoire of hymns was disseminated; a sampling analysis reveals the difficulty even in defining the term “broadside ballad” because the repertoire of Czech broadside ballads incorporated numerous songs that had originated in printed hymn books.¹⁰ As a result, the Czech musicologist Jiří Sehnal has used the term “false broadside ballad,” meaning a mixed generic influence.¹¹ In fact, it was not unknown for songs to “travel” in the opposite direction, as is documented by several broadside ballads published in Štejer’s Czech hymn book; these songs were disseminated in the form of Czech broadside ballads before the hymn book was even published.¹²

Consideration of influence, especially when it comes to culturally valued hymn books, also requires including the idea of their “estimation.” Today, as other contributors to this volume have noted, the notion that the textual components of Czech broadside ballads were of poor literary quality, adapted to the limited aesthetic demands of the lower classes, is considered outdated. In fact, a deeper analysis of the repertoire of Czech broadside ballads—especially from the Baroque period (ca. 1620–1775)—has revealed a number of valuable (and even in their own time esteemed) poetic texts, whose quality often exceeded that of the works found in Baroque era hymn books.¹³ The dividing line between broadside ballads with religious content, on the one hand, and songs collected in hymn books, on the other hand, cannot always be clearly drawn—whether in terms of typology (i.e., literary or musical style), genre, or formal features (for instance, verse and strophic structures).

In sum, in terms of Czech to Slovak influence, the migration of religious songs between hymn books and broadside ballads, and their transfer from

not incorporated into the canonical Slovak printed hymn books *Cantus Catholici* and *Cithara Sanctorum*. This inventory is not complete, as many manuscript sources from this period have still not yet undergone bibliographic processing. See Ruščin, “Vplyv,” pp. 243–269.

10 The idea of “medium” is understood by ethnomusicologists as a category of historical communication, both in the sense of the carrier (bearer) of a song and the mediator of song culture, which includes both carrier and his or her audience, including the larger community. In my discussion above, the medium is, for example, the broadside ballad and the printed or manuscript hymn book.

11 Sehnal, “Nápěvy,” p. 277.

12 Štejer, *Kancionál český*; Škarpová, “Mezi Čechy,” pp. 94–96.

13 Ivánek, *Písňe o svatých*, pp. 20–21.

Czechia (Bohemia and Moravia) to Slovakia, followed a number of different paths. These might be schematized as follows:

Czech hymn book → Czech broadside ballad → Slovak broadside ballad
 → Slovak hymn book
 Czech broadside ballad → Czech hymn book → Slovak broadside ballad
 → Slovak hymn book
 Czech broadside ballad → Slovak broadside ballad → Slovak hymn book
 Czech hymn book/Czech broadside ballad → Slovak hymn book → Slovak
 broadside ballad

Of course, it is not always possible to reliably reconstruct the migratory path taken by a particular song, as the existing database of extant broadside ballads is not complete and has not yet been fully catalogued. The transfer of religious songs between religious printed media was also accompanied by shifts in their primary functionality (from their initial use in specific situations, such as being sung on pilgrimages or sold at fairs, to more general functions, such as being sung in churches and not restricted to a particular region—and vice versa). We also must recognize that when the compilers of nineteenth-century Slovak hymn books incorporated Czech broadside ballads into their collections, they frequently abridged the longer texts, or made various linguistic modifications in order to adapt the texts to the standard form of the Slovak language. Modified in this way, texts that had originated as Czech broadside ballads were then further reproduced in later Slovak printed hymn books. Czech religious broadside ballads, having undergone minor linguistic modifications, can also be found among Slovak broadside ballads (that is, outside hymnals).

Minor linguistic modifications of Czech religious broadside ballads appear among such Slovak broadside ballads, especially in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the Slovak texts did not undergo substantial changes that impacted their literary style. So even those Czech broadside ballads with a relatively elevated mode of expression remained essentially unaltered. In this connection, we should recognize the scholarly position that the difference between hymn book songs and broadside ballads is more a matter of the medium through which the texts were disseminated than any stylistic characteristics or generic properties.¹⁴ However, drawing a distinction between songs published as broadside ballads and those published in hymn books *does*

14 Ibid., p. 21.

prove useful when tracing their occurrence in sources covering a long period of time. It was the diversity of the media through which the songs were disseminated that led to the emergence of different versions of the same song. In the Slovak tradition, religious songs published in the form of broadside ballads during the nineteenth century, for example, had a more stable form than their equivalents in hymn books printed during the same period; this fact can be attributed to the relatively large number of editions of Slovak hymn books.¹⁵

Slovak Manuscript Hymn Books from the Period after 1730

In the absence of surviving Slovak printed hymn books, I turned to extant examples of Slovak manuscript hymn books from the period 1730–1831 to determine the presence within them of Czech broadside ballads. These manuscript hymn books originated in the territory of Slovakia (at that time Upper Hungary), mainly in rural areas or monasteries.¹⁶ Local choirmasters, organists, or educated individuals compiled manuscript hymn books for their own use, often copying hymns from printed or manuscript sources. These manuscript hymn books were used not only for singing in church but also in various other acts of worship, religious feasts, or pilgrimages. The oldest among the extant manuscripts that served as sources is a notated hymn book from Rajec (*Rajecký kancionál*), which lacks a title page and has no known author. The town of Rajec is located in the north of Slovakia, and the hymn book is estimated to date from between the 1730s and the 1750s.¹⁷ A slightly later source is a smaller manuscript hymn book with

15 My thesis includes the wide repertoire of older hymns in the Czech language; subsequent divergences between hymns were connected to the fact that the editors of printed hymn books were keen to create better Slovak adaptations of Czech texts than those of their predecessors. A large number of such “refurbished” printed hymn books were published during the nineteenth century. The following editions exemplify the large scale of Slovak hymn books containing new versions of the texts of older hymns, published between 1838 and 1882: Knapp, *Spósob*; Holly, *Katolícky spevník*; Valentovič and Sasínek, *Kresťansko-katolícky spevník*; Egry, *Katolícky spevník*; and Matzenauer, *Duchovný spevník katolícky*.

16 An exception is Fobb, *Cantional*, which was written in the region of Banská Štiavnica—a large town by Hungarian standards, and a prosperous community. In 1782, Banská Štiavnica had 23,192 inhabitants, making it the third largest provincial city in Hungary after Pressburg/Poszony (Bratislava) and Debrecen.

17 [*Rajecký kancionál*]. Manuscript without title page. It’s named after the place where it was found. Apparently, it was written over several decades, finished approximately in the 1730s. Source dating is based upon its repertoire. The “author” rewrote new hymns (that are not in



Figure 33. "Pozdraven bud' Františku," originally a Czech broadside ballad, in the manuscript compiled by P. Paulinus Bajan OFM (*Beckovský slovenský spevník*, pp. 161–162). Slovenská národná knižnica, Literárny archív, fond Vševlad Gajdoš, sign. A XXXVIII-58.

musical notation, known as *Kancionál Antona Dulaya* (Anton Dulay's hymnal); in 1747, it was donated to the (now defunct) Franciscan monastery of St. Catherine at Katarínka near the city of Trnava.¹⁸ The Beckov Slovak manuscript hymn book (*Beckovský slovenský kancionál*), compiled by the Franciscan pastor and musician Paulinus Bajan (1721–1792), is another early example, dating from Bajan's time at the Beckov monastery (1758).¹⁹ The hymn book contains religious songs and arias for the Franciscan choir.²⁰ Bajan not only copied songs for this hymn book from various different sources, but also in several cases he composed his own melodies for the hymns. Additionally, he wrote a number of new works, some of which were inspired by well-known songs from Moravian hymn books or broadside ballads.

A later notated extant manuscript hymn book, entitled *Cantus Catholici*, whose title page bears the date 1770, originated at an unknown location somewhere in central Slovakia.²¹ It's a copy of an older Slovak hymnal by

older printings) from the Czech hymn book of Jan Josef Božan, *Slaviček rajský* (1719), and from the hymn book of Antonín Koniáš, *Cytara Nového Zákona* (1752).

18 Dulay, [*Kancionál*].

19 P. Paulinus Bajan (Order of Friars Minor) was born in Vrátišťe, close to the Hungarian-Moravian border. He grew up in Skalica, a town that had a close cultural relationship with Moravia. After he joined the Franciscan order, he served in the Provinciae Sanctissimi Salvatoris. Many monasteries from Slovak-speaking parts of Hungary and also from eastern Moravia belonged to this area. His longest period in service was in the Skalica monastery. During this time, he preached in many churches in the area, including in parts of eastern Moravia. That's why it's not a surprise that he knew a lot of Czech broadside ballads. After all, many of them were printed in Škarničl's printing house in Skalica.

20 Bajan, *Āterni*.

21 *Cantus Catholici*.



Figure 34. "Pozdraven buď Františku," a Czech broadside ballad. *Pobožná píseň o svatém otci Františku Serafinském*, [1830], MZK, sign. VK-0000.382,přív.24.

the same name, which contains both traditional and newer religious songs from the Catholic and Lutheran traditions. The surviving examples thus suggest that manuscript hymn books were thriving in Slovakia and also often interrelated with both other manuscripts and other printed texts. However, though the written hymn books were evidently in most cases copied from widely disseminated printed sources, their melodies appear to have followed local singing practices (evident from the many instances wherein their notations differ from the melodies given in the printed hymn books that largely functioned as the source).

Not all hymn books contained musical notation, however. Another manuscript hymn book, for instance, more modest than most in its content, was written by Matúš Alšáni in 1784; it contains Catholic hymns without musical notation.²² Such absence of notation can be found in extant rural hymn books as well. Typical is the countryside hymnal of Jozef Tomalák (*Kancionál Jozefa Tomaláka*), compiled in 1787 by an organist from the village of Lendak.²³ The hymnal, we find, provides musical notation only for some

²² Alšáni, *Písně katolické*.

²³ Tomalák, *Cantiones*.

of the songs. Furthermore, the notation is simple and unskilled, befitting someone unschooled in higher musical skills such as we see produced by more urban locales. However, Andrej Ozym's rural hymn book (*Kancionál Andreja Ozyma*) varies significantly from this rule: though originating in a small village, it contains much musical notation, and quite sophisticated notation at that. Ozym, the choirmaster from the village of Kvačany in the Liptov region, surprisingly recorded the local melodies very precisely, even figuring in bass notation. The manuscript lacks a title page, but from marginal notes it can be dated to 1797. It is also atypical for countryside manuscript hymnals to contain a relatively large number of song texts and melodies.²⁴

Continuing the tradition of manuscript hymnals (with or without musical notation) into the nineteenth century—sources, I have argued, that were influenced by broadside ballads and themselves sources for later printed hymnals—are two standout works. These consist of an anonymous hand-notated manuscript hymn book entitled *Laudate Dominum* from 1809,²⁵ with musical notation, and a manuscript hymn book compiled by Ján Potocký, a notary from Veľký Bobrovec, near Liptovský Mikuláš (*Kancionál Jána Potockého*), without musical notation.²⁶ Both works offer significant and unusual contributions to the manuscript and print hymn book traditions, in particular, because they include a very large quantity of song texts. I conclude this section by pointing out the great importance to the overall line of influence I want to trace in this chapter (from broadside ballads to printed hymn books via manuscript hymnals) by noting the key relevance of another later manuscript hymn book by Ozym (1831). This hymn book includes broadside ballads²⁷ and—even more importantly—a large manuscript hymn book by Anton Fobb (*Kancionál Antona Fobba*), from the Banská Štiavnica region—which, though lacking musical notation, contains a very large proportion of broadside ballad texts. In fact, the Fobb manuscript showcases the highest proportion of broadside ballad songs than any of the other hymnals discussed above.²⁸

24 Ozym, [*Kancionál*]. This is evidently the oldest of four surviving manuscript hymn books compiled by Andrej Ozym. Though the title page of the manuscript has not survived, as noted above, it bears similarities to Ozym's other manuscripts in the handwriting and graphic design, as well as the crossed-out name on the first page.

25 *Laudate Dominum*.

26 Potocký, [*Kancionál*]. Manuscript without a title page, lacking the introductory pages.

27 Ozym, *Cantional*. This manuscript hymn book originated when Andrej Ozym was living in Okoličné.

28 Fobb, *Cantional*.

Official Hymn Books versus Non-official (Folk) Hymnals

My objective, of course, is to focus on the key occurrence of Czech broadside ballads in Slovak manuscript hymn books. But to do so, we cannot ignore their “afterlife” in the nineteenth century, as I concluded above. That is, we must also trace their occurrence in later printed hymn books in Slovakia—especially those published from 1804 onwards. The content of the printed Slovak hymn books at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in fact, indirectly confirms what one might term a “culmination” of Czech broadside ballad influence at this time on published Slovakian hymnals. Among these culminating printed hymn books is the published *Fijalka líbeznej vůně* (A pleasant-scented violet). Though the work did not include musical notation, it clearly played a major role in the adaptation of both Czech and Slovak broadside ballads into the church singing repertoire of central and eastern Slovakia.²⁹ The hymn book was so widely popular and adopted by churches that many versions remained in print for 120 years. But though clearly becoming expansively popular (both geographically and temporally), this text was first published simply as a regional church hymn book in 1780 by Michal Podhoránský’s printing house in Levoča.³⁰

Unfortunately, no copies of this first edition of *Fijalka líbeznej vůně* have survived; the earliest extant copy is from the fifth edition, published in 1807.³¹ This later edition, like its predecessors, is printed without musical notation; it also lacks information on its place of publication (though the text was evidently printed by Jozef Karol Mayer in Levoča). The text contains 83 hymns, including, notably, some Czech broadside ballads. No information is available about the other editions, nor about the hymn book’s first, local version—other than the lack of musical notation. Later, in 1835, a new hymn book (though with almost the same title) was published by another Levoča printer, Ján Werthmüller. However, the unknown editor of this text omitted some of the hymns that had appeared in the earlier versions. In their place, he added a substantial number of older songs—including broadside ballads—and published his new collection under a variant of the original

29 *Fijálka*; Still, *Fijalka*; *Velká Fijalka*.

30 See Potůček, *Súpis*, no. 839. Information about this early edition later capitalized on has been provided by Ján Mišianik, who drew his conclusions on the basis of Pohoránský’s own statements, which are held at the Levoča municipal archive; Mišianik, *Bibliografia slovenského písomníctva*, pp. 73–74.

31 *Fijálka*.

title: *Velka fijalka líbeznej vůně* (A large pleasant-scented violet), touting his more expansive collection with the word “large.”³²

Werthmüller’s hymn book—larger than the original he drew upon—was a multifunctional collection of religious songs intended both for private use and for singing in church and on other religious occasions. Though its title evokes the earlier hymn book from the Spiš diocese, the text did not have the Church’s official approval. After several editions of this revision of the original hymn book and its own subsequent edition, a priest from Levoča thus stepped in to right the wrong done to the original. Named Pavel Still, this priest compiled an updated version of Werthmüller’s hymn book, returning to the original title (though with orthographic changes): *Fijalka líbežnej vůně*.³³ However, as if in recognition of their popularity, he kept several songs that included broadside ballads (clearly, he was also in tune with the times as he made substantial changes to the language of the texts in order to bring them closer to the then-standard form of the Slovak language).

Nevertheless, the new—even if it reflects the newly current—can often be perceived as strange, especially to those who embrace tradition. Still’s linguistic modifications, we thus see, did not meet with widespread acceptance. In 1860 yet another version of the hymnal was published by other printing houses in Hungary under the less self-touting title *Velká fijalka* (A large violet). The repertoire of songs gathered in this hymn book was a bit of a mixture attempting to please a wider variety of tastes. The printing thus partly adopted Pavel Still’s version, with its extra songs added, but notably made Still’s linguistic modifications more subtle. As I have suggested, the printer’s goal was likely to reflect versions of the hymn book that were already well established, especially in rural areas, which held on to tradition longer than did urban areas. Additionally, the intent was probably to revert to and thus preserve “fond” older versions of Slovak broadside ballads that were most familiar to the masses.

In subsequent decades, the influence of this “Violet” hymn book spread to other parts of today’s Slovakia and Hungary where Slovak-speaking communities lived—with the exception of south-west Slovakia and Považie (the region bordering on eastern Moravia). So widespread was the hymn book’s influence (especially in its latest version, even though backward-looking in its revision into a more traditional linguistic edition) that it was adopted as the hymn book for Slovak emigrants to the United States (1907). Indeed, it

32 Ruščin, “Vydania,” pp. 25–27. See also Potúček, *Súpis*, no. 668, 669, 812–819.

33 Still, *Fijalka*.

was self-published by Emil Nytray of New York at Jan Steinbrenn's printing house in the Bohemian town of Vimperk—such was the extraordinary popularity and geographical scope of this hymn book.³⁴ Indeed, despite linguistic “tweaking” to satisfy traditionalists, all editions of the hymn book dating from 1860 onwards (when we observe the last adoption of Czech broadside ballads) share the same stable structure and repertoire. In modern terms, the hymn book was, quite simply, a “best seller.”

As my case study tracking the long history of this one widely embraced hymn book demonstrates, we find broadside ballad texts included, either in modified form (taken from the oldest versions of the hymn books published around the turn of the nineteenth century) or even in their original form (as in broadside ballad texts adopted by later versions of hymn books in order to please traditionalists, or what I have inferred in the title to this section, “folklorists”). None of these editions was officially approved by the Church—but they were approved by the populace. It appears that the ecclesiastical authorities tolerated such “folk” hymnals, though they did attempt at times to revise the texts.³⁵ The multifunctional nature of the “Violet,” combining standard liturgical songs with songs *de tempore* (hymns designed for a specific part of the ecclesiastical year) and further including broadside ballads, suited printers because it guaranteed commercial, mass-marketed success.

Certain tactical editorial interventions in the traditional repertoire did receive Church approval. Geography may have played a part in such official sanction. Exemplary is the 1804 hymn book by Juraj Holly, entitled *Nábožné katolícké pesničky* (Catholic religious songs). This hymnal (which helpfully for scholars, contains musical notation) was not only the first to be published in the oldest standard form of the Slovak language, but also served mainly the western area of the country. The contents reflect that the editor took into consideration regional traditions, which were influenced to an extent by the broadside ballads printed at the Škarniľ printing house. But—and here's how the locally popular edition likely received Church approval—the texts and melodies of the songs were subjected to substantial editorial interventions aligning them as well with Church tradition.³⁶ The Czech broadside ballads adopted by Holly also appear in other notated hymn books published in Trnava by Václav Jelínek and later by the Society

34 Potúček, *Súpis*, no. 819. The year of publication is not given in this edition. The catalogue of the Slovak National Library dates this example to 1900.

35 Besides the already-mentioned edition by Pavel Still (1855), two Budapest-printed editions of the “Large violet” (1892 and 1919) were edited by a Slovak Catholic priest living in Budapest: František Bleskáň. See Potúček, *Súpis*, no. 668, 669.

36 Ruščin, “Nábožné katolícké pesničky,” p. 265.

of St. Adalbert in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, specific regional elements persisted in the Catholic hymnographic repertoire of eastern and northern Slovakia, which did not receive Church approval. Likely, such regional dominance was substantially influenced by continued wide popularity in these areas of the “Large Violet,” which we find as well in the hymn books compiled by Štefan Janovčík and Andrej Hlinka that were published in Ružomberok (central Slovakia) at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Repertoire

Examining the sample of Slovak manuscript hymn books from the period 1730–1831, I found they contained a total of 50 Czech broadside ballads.³⁷ Of these, I found 27 (more than half) included in Slovak printed hymn books that were published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Analysis of these sources makes it possible to trace the influence of Czech broadside ballads on Slovak hymns and the place of such ballads in the wider tradition of church singing. My analysis also identifies the preferred themes of the Czech broadside ballads that were adopted into manuscript and then passed onto print hymn books. We can also trace the alteration and updating of both Czech texts and melodies (which happened in Czechia as well) in Slovak manuscript and printed hymn books.³⁸ In terms of themes, the Czech broadside ballads adopted into the extant printed Slovak hymn books can be characterized as follows:

37 I was dealing with the larger hymn books, preserved in Slovak libraries and archives. These hymn books likely include the majority of Slovak hymns in this period.

38 The modifications of Czech broadside ballads in Slovak sources concerned primarily the use of Slovakized forms of Czech words—to the extent of occasionally using entirely different Slovak words than those related to the Czech; this process of linguistic adaptation necessitated some changes to the verse forms, including their syllabic structures. Such changes sometimes involved borrowing words and phrases from other Slovak religious songs on similar themes. We also find cases in which a Czech broadside ballad was adapted to reflect aspects that were specific to local life (such adaptation occurred in Czech broadside ballads themselves, especially when adapting a song about one pilgrimage site to refer to another). In terms of the melodies, editors of Slovak hymn books typically used variations of older versions of broadside ballads, including those found in Czech chapbooks and hymn books; they also sometimes set the Czech-turned-Slovak words to a different melody entirely. In the case of contrafacta, we occasionally observe efforts to update a song by replacing an older melody (from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries) with a newer melody. Such modifications suggest a certain gap between the origin of the Czech broadside ballad (localized in time, place, and historical moment) and the different happenings into which it was adopted for the Slovak repertoire.

- Marian songs (14)
- Songs addressed to Jesus Christ (6)
- Songs about saints (specifically, St. John of Nepomuk, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Francis of Assisi) (12)
- Lenten songs and laments (11)
- Songs with eschatological themes (3)
- Songs of the Eucharist (2)
- Songs relating to narrative legends (2)

The themes covered in the adopted Czech broadside ballads not only reflect their adaptability to a variety of forms of Catholic worship, but they also mirror their suitability to the wider development specifically of late Baroque era religious songs in the Catholic tradition. The thematic core of late Baroque religious poetry generally lay in lyrical texts about Christ, Lenten songs and laments, the Virgin Mary, and (in later decades) a focus on saints (spurred by the cult of St. John of Nepomuk or of St. Anne). The analogous verse structures that we find in several groups of Czech and Slovak broadside ballad texts (suggesting that they, at least for the most part, shared a particular melody) may have been one factor that accelerated the spread of these ballads as hymns; one example from Slovakia is the series of songs by such titles as “Ach já zarmoucený” (Oh, I am full of sorrow”), “Boha mého vzývám” (“I call upon my God”), and “Radostí oplývám” (“I am full of joy”). The process by which Czech broadside ballads became part of the Slovak repertoire can be especially illustrated by examples from the largest shared thematic group: Marian and pilgrimage songs. In sum, these foci are especially simpatico to Slovakia because they contain geographical references to locations that are also mentioned in Slovak manuscript hymn books (such as Our Lady of Šaštín or Our Lady of Staré Hory), as well as in chapbooks, some of which had a purely local scope.³⁹

A more complex issue, however, concerns the adaptation of broadside ballads in printed hymn books during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when texts and melodies were subject to editorial changes (as occurred in the antiquarian movement of England and other countries). The

39 For example, the Czech broadside ballad devoted to the Virgin Mary of Křtiny, “Slyším hlas slavíčka” (“I hear the voice of a nightingale”) was also published by Slovak printing houses (Skalica, Banská Bystrica), which retained the reference to this culturally shared Moravian pilgrimage site. However, pilgrimage songs were often easily adaptable to their referenced pilgrimage site, as we have frequently seen. Tomalák, *Cantiones*, fol. 64, for instance, gives a variant of the song devoted to the Moravia pilgrimage site that was adapted for a different local pilgrimage site in the village of Ždiar (in the foothills of the Tatra Mountains).

problematic question is, What exactly were the sources used by the editors of these hymn books? Were they Slovak broadside ballads, manuscript sources, or—abandoning all these documented forms—the oral tradition of a particular area or region? In most cases, it is likely that editors, as in other countries striving to preserve older “traditions,” drew on a combination of different sources and media, as well as on their own creative input. The high degree of textual variability (not only in the texts from broadside ballads but also in other religious songs of Czech origin), which we find in the Slovak hymnographic editorial tradition, is a consequence of efforts to adapt “original” songs (whatever the format) in order to bring them closer to the existing standard form of the Slovak language—efforts which had varying degrees of success. Here we can observe a tension between the natural conservatism of church singing, on the one hand, and the editors’ not-always-successful attempts to introduce their own innovative elements (even in the spirit of preservation), on the other. Turning to the latter and focusing on the melodies of religious songs, we can observe this problematic play out in the ambitions of two editors responsible for the most important Slovak hymn books of the twentieth century: Jozef Chládek and Mikuláš Schneider.

Moving towards a specific but also an expansive conclusion for this chapter, I turn in the following section to broadly delineate my hypothesis of hymnal heritage (as—not incidentally—exemplified by the two editors above). I will focus, in particular, on a case of a Czech broadside ballad that best illustrates the genre’s adoption by Slovak manuscript hymnal sources and its subsequent key place in the Slovak repertoire of printed hymn books. But I shall also extend that lineage up to those hymn books that were published in the twentieth century. In sum, beginning with just one exemplary Czech broadside ballad but then moving on to others, my goal is to summarize definitively a chronology that can be traced from the earliest occurrences of a religious song among such Czech broadside ballad sources, through its earliest appearance as a Slovak broadside ballad, to its eventual appearance in Slovak hymn books, and right up to the present day.

“Kdež mám hledat Ježíše, jehož sem stratila?” (“Where should I look for Jesus, whom I have lost?”)

The genesis of the song that serves as title to this, the first in a series of case studies, is a telling and also puzzling one. The author of the oldest version of the text was the Slovak Lutheran preacher and poet Joachim Kalinka

(1601–1678). The text was later published in a Slovak Lutheran hymn book, and it appeared in subsequent editions of the same hymn book as late as the twentieth century.⁴⁰ Going against the (up to this point hypothesized) lineage, it would seem, a Czech broadside ballad was derived from the Slovakian hymn (versus an opposite derivation), and the Slovakian version extended its influence far into recent Slovak history. The Czech broadside ballad, on the other hand, was created by expanding the original Slovakian authorized text (from 17 to 27 strophes); it was published at least five years later, in 1683.⁴¹

On further analysis, we find that although the Czech broadside ballad and the original Lutheran one share several identical strophes, the content of the two versions is subtly yet distinctly different. The Slovak original hymn focuses primarily on the image of the Church, which is presented traditionally as a bride seeking her groom, as in the amorous imagery from the biblical texts of the Song of Songs. But the Czech broadside ballad version devotes more attention to the figure of Mary Magdalene, embodying her, also traditionally, as the repentant sinner. Also as in the traditional biblical story, in the Czech broadside ballad she encounters the resurrected Christ, whom she mistakes for a gardener.

This only somewhat later and expanded Czech version of the Slovak hymn found its way into several late Baroque Czech Catholic hymn books; in particular, it was sung to commemorate the feast of St. Mary Magdalene on July 22.⁴² Now the heritage from Czech to Slovak broadside ballads begins. The Czech text was published as a broadside ballad in Slovakia at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴³ The song's melody, we find, was recorded in Slovak manuscript hymn books at a somewhat earlier date, though the melody was also appended to the Lutheran version of the text, which at the time was better known in Slovakia. Despite this apparent overlapping of influence, we must note that the melody is almost identical to the version found in a Czech printed hymn book, suggesting a Czech heritage.⁴⁴ The Czech broadside ballad later spread into Slovakia via the production of local printing houses, and also found its way into printed

40 Tranovský, *Cithara sanctorum*, pp. 740–741. On the appearance of the song in subsequent editions, see Augustinová, *Cithara*, pp. 300–301.

41 *Písničky duchovní*, [1683], KNM 1683, sign. 27 H 25. See *Knihopis*, no. 13.514. The date is estimated according to Škarpová, "Mezi Čechy," p. 289.

42 Štejer, *Kancionál český*, p. 1083 (see Škarpová, "Mezi Čechy," p. 449); Božan, *Slaviček rajský*, p. 662; Koniáš, *Cytara*, p. 483.

43 *Nová píseň k Panu Ježíši*, [...], [1783–1794], KNM, K 110/21.

44 Božan, *Slaviček rajský*, p. 662; *Cantus*, [1770], fols. 118–121a.

hymn books (though it underwent minor linguistic alterations in the process).⁴⁵

“Mária pod křížem stoje (stála), žalostně plakala” (“Mary stood under the cross, weeping in sorrow”)

Here, as the title indicates, we find another telling, if variant, case study, more along the lines of the path of influence I have foregrounded in this chapter. It is a Czech Lenten Marian lament originally found in printed Czech hymn books. Its text exemplifies the highly emotive Baroque style, and indeed, it was featured in Czech Baroque era hymnals dating from around the turn of the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, following the trajectory we have frequently noted, it was often published as a broadside ballad in Moravia and Bohemia.⁴⁷ Again, as is typical of the Czech broadside ballad influence on Slovak hymnals, the oldest written record of the song in Slovakia (including a notated melody) is in a manuscript hymn book dating from the first half of the eighteenth century; the melody, not surprisingly, is similar to versions found in Czech hymn books.⁴⁸ The Slovak hymn book lists it as a Lenten song, as do later Slovak manuscript hymn books (although later editions only provide the text, without melodic notation).⁴⁹ The song was even later published in a Slovak printing house located in Banská Bystrica as a pilgrimage broadside ballad devoted to Our Lady of Staré Hory (a nearby pilgrimage site that was known for its Stations of the Cross).⁵⁰ The song does not feature in church hymn books of the nineteenth century; however, it does not disappear from Slovak hymnal history. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it reemerges in an abridged form (with substantial linguistic modifications, reflecting the times) in two major Slovak hymn books. In a kind of return to the song’s Slovak roots, these shortened hymnals give variants of the melody from the above-mentioned eighteenth-century manuscript hymn

45 *Velká Fijalka*, 1860, p. 191.

46 Holan and Karel, *Capella*, p. 203; Božan, *Slaviček rajský*, p. 118; Koniáš, *Cytara*, p. 79.

47 *Písničky pobožné* [...], Brno: J. M. Svoboda heirs, 1749, MZK, STS-0450.088.

48 *Rajecký kancionál*, pp. 98–99.

49 Alšáni, *Písneň katolícké*, fols. 26–27; Fobb, *Cantional*, p. 249, Potocký, [*Kancionál*], pp. 360–363. The most widespread version of the text is in Alšáni’s hymn book, *Písneň katolícké* (1784), where the song has 31 strophes.

50 *Píseň rozlučná k Panně Marii Starohorskej* [...], 1841. SNK, SD 3408/11.

book.⁵¹ History, especially when it comes to religious broadside ballads and hymns, *does* repeat itself.

“Boha mého (svého) vzývám, píseň si zaspívám” (“I call upon my God, I sing this song”)

I cannot fully round out the history of the Slovak tradition of religious hymns and broadside ballads without turning, finally, to those many derived from Czech religious broadside ballads celebrating the cult of St. John of Nepomuk. The song to St. John titled above became extremely popular in Slovakia. Accessible databases of Czech broadside ballads record its original dating to the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵² Several decades later, it was published as a broadside ballad by the printing house in the Slovakian town of Skalica.⁵³ Surprisingly, however, given the lineage of influence that has dominated my argument, this trajectory represents an aberration in that the song did not appear in Slovak manuscript hymn books until the end of the eighteenth century (that is, *after*, not before, its Slovak publication as a broadside ballad); however, the text corresponds with the Czech versions and the version printed in Skalica.⁵⁴ Perhaps even more surprisingly, given its unusual trajectory—directly from Czech broadside ballads to Slovak broadside ballads—the manuscript hymnal, once printed, was adopted by official church hymn books soon afterwards, and it has remained in these hymn books up to the present day. Nevertheless, the latest printed adaptation, found in a hymn book dating from 1804,⁵⁵ refers to the melody of a *Czech* broadside ballad about St. Anne, entitled “Ach já zarmoucený” (“Oh, I am full of sorrow”).⁵⁶ This tune imprint is evidently a later development, and indeed, the Czech broadside ballads give different melodies of which this printed tune is but one.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, we see ultimately not a direct line of lineage so much as a swirl of interconnection between Czech and

51 Hlinka and Chládek, *Nábožný křesťan*, no. 156; Půstényi, *Jednotný katolícky spevník*, no. 147.

52 *Dvě nové písně o svatým Jánú Nepomuckým* [...], [1731–1761], MZK VK-0000.025,přív. 22.

53 *Nová píseň o svatým Janu Nepomuckým* [...], [1751–1800], MZK VK-0001.000.

54 Fobb, *Cantional*, p. 396; Potocký, [*Kancionál*], p. 360.

55 Hollý, *Nábožné katolícké pesničky*, p. 213.

56 This was a variant of the popular melody of the German folk song “Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär.”

57 In Czech broadside ballads from the eighteenth century, the song is accompanied by a tune imprint referring to the melody “Pojďte sem hříšníci” (“Come here, sinners,” notation by Božan, *Slaviček rajský*, p. 120).

Slovak broadside ballads as well as hymnals—an interconnection, as we have often seen, that reaches across bordering lands, and that is, as the last section will show, international.⁵⁸

Conclusion

My analysis of Slovak manuscript hymn books from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has shown that Czech broadside ballads had a major, if variable, influence on the development of Slovak hymnography during this period. Such influence resulted from the intercultural exchange between Czech and Slovak broadside ballads and hymn books (both manuscript and printed), which was in turn a consequence of the fact that Slovak printing houses (especially that of the Škarnič family) published broadside ballads in both languages. In general—though not always in a direct line, as we have seen—Czech broadside ballads published by Slovak printing houses were eventually adopted by other media, particularly manuscript hymn books. This transfer was also affected by other factors, chief among them being the cross-border cult of Marian pilgrimages (whose destinations were located near to several printing houses). When Czech or even Slovak broadside ballads were incorporated into Slovak manuscript hymn books, their function often shifted (for example, from a Lenten song to a more general-purpose hymn). Furthermore, longer broadside ballads were abridged for the purposes of inclusion in hymn books—which needed to be singable within a service—and linguistic modifications were sometimes made to fit the Slovak language usage. Some of the songs adapted in this manner became an established part of the official Catholic hymnographic repertoire in Slovakia, though, as we have also noted, many remained unofficial representations of regional hymns, to which the official Church often wisely turned a blind eye. One simply cannot deny either the local or the wider relations between religious broadside ballads, folk songs, and hymns. In fact, I am inclined to conclude that, ultimately, these intermixed media, as the voice not so much of the Church but of the people, have an organic life of their own. All were a shaping part of the religious broadside ballad and hymnal tradition of Slovakia.

58 Egry, *Katolícky spevník*, pp. 144–145; Radlinský, *Nábožné výlevy*, p. 1005; Janovčík, *Aleluja*, no. 115; Pöstényi, *Jednotný katolícky spevník*, no. 423. Since broadside ballads, tunes, and even hymnals and related songs continually mutate, it should be noted that later printed Slovak hymn books and collections contained different versions of the melody. All these hymn books give the same melody as the 1804 hymn book for this song.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Alšáni, Matúš. *Písne katolícké* [...]. 1784, msc., sign. B IV/1, SNK LA.
- Bajan, Paulinus, P. OFM. *Æterni Patris* [...]. Beckov, 1758, msc., sign. A XXXXVIII-58, SNK LA.
- Božan, Jan Josef. *Slaviček rájský* [...]. Hradec Králové: V. J. Tibelli, 1719.
- Cantus Catholici. Písne katolícké* [...]. [Levoča: V. Brewer], 1655.
- Cantus Catholici. Písne katolícké* [...]. 1770, msc., sign. B VI-109, SNK LA.
- Dulay, Anton. [*Kancionál*]. [1747], msc., sign. A 133, EKB.
- Dvě nové písně o svatým Janu Nepomuckým* [...]. Praha: Václav Urban Suchý, [1731–1761], sign. VK 0000.025, přív. 22, MZK, sign. 27 H 121, KNM.
- Dvě písně k Pánu Ježíši Kristu*. N.p.: N.p., [1781–1820], sign. VK-0001.013, MZK.
- Egry, Ján. *Katolícky spevník so sprievodom organu*. Brno: Buschák and Irrgang, 1865.
- Fijálka líbežnej vüňe, aneb Rozličné písně*. N.p., 1807, sign. SD 10750, SNK.
- Fobb, Anton. *Cantional obsahující v sobě rozličné pobožné písničky*. [1792], msc., sign. I-10628, SBM.
- Hlinka, Andrej, and Jozef Chládek. *Nábožný kresťan: Cirkevný, katolícky spevník* [...]. Ružomberok: self-published, 1906.
- Holan Rovenský, and Václav Karel. *Capella Regia Musicalis* [...]. Praha: J. Labaun, 1693.
- Hollý, Ján. *Katolícky spevník*. 1842.
- Hollý, Juraj. *Nábožné katolícké pesničky* [...]. Trnava: V. Jelínek, 1804.
- Janovčík, Štefan. *Aleluja, kniha modlitebná, poučná a spevácka*. Ružomberok: K. Salva, 1906.
- Knapp, Anton. *Spôsob pred- i popoledných službi bozkých pre ľud kresťansko-katolícki s doložením v obecných potrebách modlitbami a pesňami*. Trnava: 1838.
- Koniáš, Antonín. *Cytara Nového Zákona* [...]. Hradec Králové: V. J. Tibelli, 1727.
- Laudate Dominum in sonoribus* [...]. 1809, msc., sign. B VI-3, SNK LA.
- Matzenauer, František Oto. *Duchovný spevník katolícky s rituálom* [...]. Trnava: Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1882.
- Nová píseň k Panu Ježíši*. Banská Bystrica: Jan Jozef Tumler, [1783–1794], sign. K 110/21, KNM.
- Nová píseň o svatým Janu Nepomuckým* [...]. Skalica: N.p., [1751–1800], sign. VK-0001.000, MZK.
- Ozym, Andrej. *Cantional duchovnými* [...]. Okoličné, 1831, msc., sign. B V-19, SNK LA.
- Ozym, Andrej. [*Kancionál*]. [Kvačany, 1797], msc., sign. B IV-78, SNK LA.

- Píseň nábožná o Spasiteli našem Pánu Ježiši Kristu.* Banská Bystrica: N.p., 1858, sign. SE 3031, SNK.
- Píseň nová k Pánu Ježíši [...].* Hradec Králové: Václav Jan Tibelli, 1733, sign. Velký špal., přív. 102, Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v. v. i.
- Píseň rozlučná k Panne Marii Starohorskej.* Banská Bystrica: N.p., 1841, sign. SD 3408/11, SNK, sign. SG 3037, Univerzitná knižnica Bratislava.
- Písničky duchovní [...].* Praha: Jan Arnolt, 1683, sign. 27 H 25, KNM.
- Písničky pobožné obsahující v sobě žalost Panny Marie [...].* Brno: Dediči Jakuba Maximiliána Svobodu, 1749, sign. STS-0540.088, MZK.
- Půstényi, Ján. *Jednotný katolícky spevník.* Trnava: Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1937.
- Potocký, Ján. [*Kancionál*]. [1790–1810], msc., sign. M 121, Etnografické múzeum, Martin.
- Radlinský, Andrej. *Nábožné výlevy [...].* Wien: Mechitaristen, 1872.
- Radosná cesta [...].* Litomyšl: Václav Tureček, 1782.
- [*Rajecký kancionál*]. [1730–1735], msc., sign. Fasc. 200, no. 6, Archiv Spolku sv. Vojtecha.
- Štejer, Jan Václav. *Kancionál český [...].* Praha: K. Jeřábek, 1697.
- Still, Pavel. *Fijalka lubežnej vóne [...].* Levoča: Jan Werthmüller a syn, 1855.
- Tomalák, Jozef. *Cantiones de nativitate [...].* Lendak, 1787, msc., sign. Fasc. 200, no. 12, ASV.
- Tranovský, Jiří. *Cithara sanctorum.* Levoča: Samuel Brewer, 1696.
- Valentovič, Jozef, and František Viktor Sasinek. *Kresťansko-katolícky spěvník [...].* Buda: M. Bagó, 1858.
- Velká fijalka [...].* Rožňava: J. Killyén, 1860.

Secondary Sources

- Augustínová, Eva. *Cithara Sanctorum. Bibliografia.* Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2011.
- Báľent, Boris. *Banskobystrické pútové tlače.* Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 1947.
- Brezina, Peter. *350-ročná história kníhtlače v Skalici.* Skalica: Západoslovenské tlačiarne, 2015.
- Droppová, Lubica. “Letákové piesne a ich tematika v európskych kontextoch.” In *Slovenská ľudová pieseň—texty a kontexty*, ed. Lubica Droppová, pp. 78–84. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2000.
- Droppová, Lubica, and Eva Krekovičová. *Počujte panny, aj vy mládenci... letákové piesne zo slovenských tlačiarň.* Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, 2010.
- Ivánek, Jakub. *Písneň o svätých v české barokní literatúre.* PhD diss., Ostravská universita, 2011.

- Klimeková, Agáta, Janka Ondroušková, Eva Augustínová, and Miroslava Domová. *Bibliografia jarmočných a púťových tlačí 18. a 19. storočia z územia Slovenska*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1996.
- Mišianik, Ján. *Bibliografia slovenského písomníctva do konca 19 storočia: Doplnky k Riznerovej bibliografii*. Bratislava: SAVU, 1946.
- Potúček, Juraj. *Súpis slovenských nenotovaných spevníkov a príbuzných tlačí (1585–1965)*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1967.
- Ruščín, Peter. “Nábožné katolícke pesničky Jura Hollého—prvý notovaný kancionál slovenských katolíkov po Cantus Catholici.” *Musicologica Slovaca* 5, no. 2, pp. 255–310.
- Ruščín, Peter. “Vplyv českých kancionálov v slovenských katolíckych rukopisných prameňoch z rokov 1657–1809.” In *Duchovná pieseň medzi písomnou a ústnou tradíciou: Súvislosti hymnologických prameňov z územia Slovenska*, ed. Peter Ruščín, Eva Veselovská, and Zlatica Kendrová, pp. 189–320. Bratislava: Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2019.
- Ruščín, Peter. “Vydania katolíckeho spevníka Veľká fíjalka libeznej vône.” In *19. storočie v zrkadle písomných prameňov: z dejín knižnej a duchovnej kultúry Slovenska*, ed. M. Domenová. Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica Prešov, 2016.
- Sehnal, Jiří. “Nápěvy světských písní kramářských v 17. a 18. století.” In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 275–286. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Škarpová, Marie. *Mezi Čechy, k pobožnému zpívání náchylnými.” Šteyerův Kancionál český, kanonizace hymnografické paměti a utváření katolické identity*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2015.

Abbreviations

- ASV—Archív Spolku sv. Vojtecha v Trnave (Saint Adalbert Association Archive)
- EM—Etnografické múzeum Slovenského národného múzea, Martin (Ethnographic Museum of the Slovak National Museum, Martin)
- EK BP—Egyetemi könyvtár, Budapest (University Library, Budapest)
- KNM—Knihovna Národního muzea (Library of the Czech National Museum)
- MK—Městská knihovna, Praha (Municipal Library, Prague)
- MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
- SBM—Slovenské banské múzeum, Banská Štiavnica (Slovak Mining Museum, Banská Štiavnica)
- SNK—Slovenská národná knižnica, Martin (Slovak National Library, Martin)
- SNK LA—Slovenská národná knižnica, Martin, Literárny archív (Literary Archive of the Slovak National Library, Martin)

About the Author

Peter Ruščin: Researcher at the Institute of Musicology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, Slovakia, <http://uhv.sav.sk/ustav/vedecki-pracovnici/mgr-peter-ruscin-phd/>. Ruščin has edited and co-edited two collections of essays as well as authored two monographs, the most recent of which is *Cantus Catholici a tradícia duchovného spevu na Slovensku* (2012). peter.ruscin@savba.sk.

V.

Language

16. The Language of Czech Popular Broadside Ballads: Revisiting the Low

Jana Pleskalová and Olga Navrátilová

Abstract

This chapter is devoted to the language of Czech broadside ballads. The authors here examine the opinions about the “lowly” language of broadside ballads that have prevailed among Czech linguists and literary scholars during the twentieth century. They claim that the language of broadside ballads does not differ substantially from that of other texts, even of the elite, from the same era. However, they do find substantial linguistic differences when comparing older printed ballads (of the seventeenth century) and newer ones (of the eighteenth century) as well as religious and secular broadside ballads.

Keywords: Linguistics, Czech language, grammar, religion, class

Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study is to explore the language of Czech broadside ballads produced for the populace in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We begin towards the end: with the opinions on such lowly language that have prevailed among Czech linguists and literary scholars during the twentieth century. We then revisit such opinions from a more systematic approach: we use a representative sample of texts to determine whether and to what extent contemporary judgements and observations are tenable and reliable. Our research also considers whether it is possible to identify differences in the language of the investigated texts depending on their thematic nature (specifically, secular vs. religious) and the era in which they were produced (seventeenth century vs. eighteenth century).

Previous Opinions on the Language of Broadside Ballads

Although twentieth-century scholars have conducted extensive research into Czech broadside ballads, the language of these texts has not yet been systematically investigated. This may be the reason why scholarly publications (both by linguists and literary theorists) frequently contain negative evaluations of the printed songs. The negative evaluation was not specific only for the Czech broadside ballads. For example, in her discussion of popular English printed ballads, Fumerton observes such negativity was also the case among the English literary elite even of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Czech modern (de)evaluations of its broadside ballads reflect a more general modern view that the entire Czech language, not just that of the streets or populace, was “a language in decline” during the period following the Battle of White Mountain (1620). The language of this period—and the language of Czech broadside ballads—is discussed below in (a) synthetic works covering the general history of the Czech language, and (b) studies and monographs focusing specifically on the language of broadside ballads.¹

Older publications on the history of the Czech language, we see, generally take a negative stance towards the language of the Baroque period, ca. 1620–1775 (including the language of broadside ballads, if this genre is explicitly mentioned in them).² For example, Miloš Weingart states that books from this period “po stránce gramatické správnosti upadají [...] čím dál tím více” (“show an increasing decline from the grammatical perspective”).³ Only a minority of authors takes a dissenting view towards this overall negative evaluation.⁴ More recent works on the history of Czech literature, as noted above, likewise take a predominantly negative stance towards Baroque literature (including the language in which it was written): e.g., “Byla to tvorba konvenční snažící se hovět vkusu a často vkus kazící” (“It was conventional literature, which pandered to tastes and often degraded tastes”).⁵ One scholar who focused specifically on the language of broadside

1 A complete overview of all publications addressing the language of broadside ballads of the Baroque era (ca. 1620–1775) in general will be made available on the project website (Kosek et al., “Broadside Ballads”).

2 E.g., Weingart, *Vývoj*; Vondrák, *Vývoj*; Cuřín, *Vývoj*. The Baroque era dated approximately from 1620 to 1775.

3 Weingart, *Vývoj*, pp. 30–31.

4 Havránek, *Vývoj českého spisovného jazyka*; Havránek, “Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého”; Šlosar et al., *Spisovný jazyk*.

5 Daňhelka et al., *Dějiny*, p. 477.

ballads was Věra Michálková.⁶ Her study is an important document of contemporary attitudes towards the language of Czech broadside ballads (and Czechian Baroque era, in general):

V textech kramářských písní se setkáváme s typickou češtinou úpadkového období pobělohorského se všemi znaky její rozkolísané normy. [...] Do jazyka pronikají prvky nespisovné a regionalismy. [...] Toto prosakování nářečních a nespisovných jevů [...] dotvrzuje vnitřní rozklad veleslavínského jazyka.

In the texts of broadside ballads, we encounter the typical Czech language of the post-White Mountain period of decline, with all the features of its unstable standard form. [...] [The language is] infiltrated by non-standard and regional elements. [...] This infiltration of dialect and non-standard features [...] underlines the internal disintegration of Veleslavín's language.⁷

Among the examples of this supposed decline that Michálková cites are the following phonological changes: /u:/ > /ou̯/, /i:/ > /ɛ̯/, /ɛ:/ > /i:/. Bohuslav Beneš further documents the occurrence of these features (and also the dialect elements that were typical of broadside ballads).⁸

It is evident from the above that all levels of the language of Czech broadside ballads (and indeed the Czech language in general during the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century) contain elements that were later (from the perspective of the codification of modern standard Czech) evaluated as substandard.⁹ In particular, these include phonological features including vowel raising /ɛ:/ > /i:/, the prothetic consonant /v-/ and diphthongization /i:/ > /ɛ̯/ and /u:/ > /ou̯/, as well as lexical features (elements of dialect and other forms of spoken language, etc.).¹⁰ More recent

6 Michálková, "K jazyku."

7 Ibid., pp. 224–225. Daniel Adam z Veleslavína (1546–1599) was a prominent Prague printer and author. He is considered one of the most important representatives of Humanist literature in the Czech language. The linguistic quality of the Czech-language works published by his printing house was highly esteemed. For this reason, the Czech language dating from around the turn of the seventeenth century is sometimes known as "Veleslavín Czech" (Koupil, "Veleslavínská čeština").

8 Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*.

9 Michálková, "K jazyku," pp. 224–225.

10 For this phonological reason, the present study focuses primarily on spoken language, even when printed, which secondary sources identify as the level of language most affected by non-standard forms, as it is in most countries. This study carries out a detailed analysis of

studies of texts from the Baroque era (1620–1775) indicate that these “progressive” features generally co-occurred with older, more conservative forms.¹¹ The co-occurrence of both conservative and progressive forms could have been motivated by various factors, such as rhyme schemes, syllable counts, printers’ or composers’ habits, stylistic dissimilation or variation, the author’s attempt to capture the audience’s attention, and so on. The latter two factors are connected with a further important issue. In Baroque era Czech (as in other periods in the development of the Czech language) we can distinguish two basic styles: higher style (biblical, archaizing) and lower style (deliberately adopting elements of the spoken language, including novel phonological and morphological features).¹² However, during the Baroque era no stable standard existed for either of these styles. Quite the contrary, in fact: texts from this period are characterized by a mixing of elements from both the higher and the lower style. This occurs both in texts that strive to attain linguistic prestige and also in low-style texts. The deliberate mixing of elements from both styles often performed the function of stylistic dissimilation, and in texts that were intended to be read aloud (such as sermons), it was a means of capturing and maintaining the hearer’s attention.¹³ It is therefore important not to view the presence of innovative forms in broadside ballads as a symptom of a low style, but rather to understand the phenomena as a commonly used stylistic resource that was present in many other texts of the period, whichever style they belonged to.

The Linguistic Material for This Study

The material for this study consists of 131 broadside ballad gatherings (library inventory numbers) containing a total of 254 broadside ballads. The texts from the seventeenth century comprise 48 broadside ballad

individual phonological changes, exploring 1) their occurrence in the analysed broadside ballads and 2) a comparison of their features with texts in other genres (especially of the high style), and information given in contemporary grammars. In view of the restricted scope of this study, other levels of language are dealt with only briefly. Slashes denote /phonemes/, the symbol “>” denotes phonological change.

11 See Kosek, “Kancionál”; Šimečková, *Hláskosloví*.

12 See Fidlerová et al., *Dějiny*, p. 87.

13 For example, Baroque era rhetorical manuals recommended that sermons should alternate between high style and “medium” style (i.e., elements of vernacular language, including expressive lexical terms, etc.) in order to maintain listeners’ attention (Fidlerová et al., *Dějiny*, p. 102).

gatherings (165 individual broadside ballad songs, consisting of 157 religious and 8 secular), and from the eighteenth century 83 broadside ballad gatherings (89 individual broadside ballad songs consisting of 58 religious and 31 secular). The disproportion between the numbers of religious and secular songs is caused by the well-known fact that secular individual broadside ballads exist in substantially lower numbers than do religious broadside ballads. It is generally estimated that religious broadside ballads make up around two-thirds of the total production of such printed songs, with secular broadside ballads accounting for less than one-third.¹⁴ In addition, many printings of secular broadside ballads lack information on the year or place of publication, which lays considerable limitations on the reliability of a linguistic analysis. This study, therefore, works mainly with printings that give explicit information on the place and year of publication.¹⁵ Specifically, we analyse texts printed in Brno, Prague, Olomouc, Litomyšl, Hradec Králové, and Kutná Hora during the period 1650–1799. Our linguistic analysis is substantially influenced by the topics of the texts, which vary only slightly. The main topics of religious broadside ballads are expressions of praise for God, the Virgin Mary and the saints, and appeals to them for assistance. The topics of secular broadside ballads centre on love stories, accounts of natural disasters, and the like. Such stereotypical content means that the linguistic material at our disposal is relatively uniform, which is reflected in the frequent occurrence of the same lexemes, phrases, and clauses. On the one hand, this naturally limits the options for investigating the lexical and syntactic aspects of the broadside ballads; on the other, it allows for consistent analysis across the available analytical spectrum.

Analysis

Phonology

We considered the following phonological changes to be examples of the general process of “decline” that the Czech language supposedly underwent during the Baroque era of 1620–1775:

¹⁴ See, e.g., Beneš, *Světská kramářská píseň*, p. 27. Also see the introduction.

¹⁵ We have also included some printed songs lacking information on the place of publication, but only in the case of the seventeenth century, when a relatively low number of broadside ballad gatherings included information on the location and date of publication.

1. /u:/ > /ou/ (*úmysl* > *oumysl*—“intention”);
2. prothetic /v/ (*okno* > *vokno*—“window”);
3. /i:/ > /ɛi/ (*dobrý* > *dobrej*—“good”; *být* > *bejt*—“to be”);
4. /ɛ:/ > /i:/ (*pěkné dítě* > *pěkný dítě*—“pretty child”; *mléko* > *mlíko*—“milk”).

However, the negative evaluation of the above listed changes is ahistorical: in essence, it viewed the language from the perspective of codified standard Czech, yet such codification did not occur until the period that followed the Baroque era (i.e., during the nineteenth century). In fact, the codified form of modern Czech did not incorporate these changes into its phonological system.

Based on the occurrence of these phonological changes in broadside ballads, it may appear that the language of these texts is indeed “non-standard”; however, we wish to emphasize a very important point. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Czech language had not yet been codified, so it is not yet tenable to speak of a dichotomy between standard and non-standard forms. Based on contemporary grammars and an analysis of the language of historical texts in various genres, we can only gain an idea of the cultivated form of the Czech language at any time; we cannot speak of the existence of standard (e.g., codified) Czech as such. For this reason, it is not appropriate to evaluate the Czechian Baroque era as “non-standard” on the basis of the occurrence of the above-listed phonological changes. In any case, several such changes did not appear for the first time in the Baroque period; they can also be found in texts from the sixteenth century, a period which is often referred to as a “golden age” in the history of the Czech language.¹⁶ Some features of Baroque Czech thus represent an integral part of a natural process of development that began much earlier (in the sixteenth century).

Contemporary Bible translations can be of assistance when attempting to determine the stylistic status of progressive changes in the language that was used during the Baroque era. Throughout the history of printed literary production, the language of Bible translations has always been viewed as a model of cultivated, prestigious language use, as it was in European countries/languages. We can thus assume that the features that were adopted by Bible translators were not at the time considered to belong to the “declining” form of the language. Our analysis of phonological features in broadside ballads, therefore, compares the occurrence of selected later

16 Fidlerová et al., *Dějiny*, p. 108.

phonological changes with the situation previously found in contemporary Bible translations.

Diphthongization /i:/ > /ɛĭ/

In word-medial position (in the root or the prefix), this change began to occur during the seventeenth century, and it became widespread in the written language during the eighteenth century. It was found in word-medial position in both high-style and low-style texts, but in suffixes it was found only in low style. The results of this change in word-medial position can be seen in contemporary Bible translations (see, e.g., Optát's New Testament [1533], Blahoslav's New Testament [1564/1568], the Melantrich Bible [1570], the Severýn Bible [1537]).¹⁷ In some word bases, the diphthong /ɛĭ/ is also accepted by the translators of the Kralice Bible.¹⁸ Similarly, the text of the St. Wenceslas Bible includes the progressive /ɛĭ/ in word roots, and the commentaries on the translation contain occasional examples of this suffix change.¹⁹ Baroque era grammars generally accept the variant forms /i:/ and /ɛĭ/ regardless of the position in the word.²⁰

Our analysis reveals that the diphthongization /i:/ > /ɛĭ/ is also clearly present in broadside ballad texts. However, we observed certain differences in its occurrence.²¹ In the seventeenth-century broadside

17 Kyas, *Česká bible*, p. 152; Porák, *Humanistická čeština*, p. 137; Šimečková, *Hláskosloví*, p. 125.

18 The Kralice Bible (Bible kralická) is one of the sixteenth-century Bible translations that was strongly influenced by contemporary biblical Humanism. It was produced by the Unity of the Brethren (Unitas Fratrum, Jednota bratrská) between 1579 and 1594, and it was the first Czech translation to draw on the original languages of the Bible texts (Hebrew and Greek). From its publication to the present day, it has always been highly esteemed in Czech society for the quality of its language; for a long time, it was considered the model for correct usage; Kyas, *Česká bible*, pp. 182–210.

19 A typical lexical item which frequently occurs in this Bible translation with the new diphthong is, for example, the noun *pejcha* (pride). For details of the differing extent of this change in the text of the St. Wenceslas Bible and in the commentaries on the text, see Vintr, "Jazyk," p. 200. The St. Wenceslas Bible originated between 1677 and 1715 as the official Catholic Bible translation. The text was produced by members of the Jesuit order on the basis of the official Latin Sixtine Vulgate that was prepared following the Council of Trent. The language of the St. Wenceslas Bible (and parts of its text) draws on the traditional Kralice Bible.

20 E.g., Rosa, *Čechořečnost*; Štejer, *Žáček*. For an overview of contemporary Czech grammars, see Koupil, *Grammatykáři*.

21 However, our claim is somewhat relativized by the fact that the analysed texts (which display little variation and have similar topics) do not contain many examples of the older form -ý- in word-medial position. In some songs there are no examples, while others (due to the lack of variation among the texts) contain the same words, derived from just a small number of lexical morphemes.

ballads, this diphthongization is common in the lexical root, e.g., *pejcha* (pride), *zmejlila* (she made a mistake).²² There are more examples in the eighteenth-century texts, where a clearer difference emerges between the secular and religious broadside ballads. Examples of /ɛj/ in suffixes, we have found, hardly occur at all in the religious texts, whereas they are more common in the secular texts: e.g., *velkej* (big), *nebohej* (“poor” in the sense of “unfortunate”).²³ However, even this diphthongization is relatively infrequent in the secular broadside ballads. An almost complete absence of diphthongization is a typical feature of Baroque hymn books, which tend towards a high style and thus use more conservative linguistic forms.²⁴ In this regard, then, the situation in the texts of religious broadside ballads corresponds closely with that of contemporary hymn books. In addition, we find secular broadside ballads are more open to the influence of the spoken language, and thus they adopt more progressive variants reflective of contemporary usage; such was entirely in accord with contemporary practices.

Diphthongization /u:-/ > /ou-/

The /u:-/ > /ou-/ diphthongization occurred in most parts of the Czech-speaking territory as early as the fifteenth century. It gradually penetrated into high-style language during the sixteenth century, and later it became established in word-initial positions.²⁵ The course of this change in word-initial position was influenced by the fluctuating vowel quantity associated with this placement. The new diphthong /ou-/ was also adopted in the language of Bible translations, as can be observed in Optát's New Testament (1533), the Melantrich Bible (1570), the Severýn Bible (1537), Blahoslav's New Testament (1564/1568), and the St. Wenceslas Bible (1677–1715); the only translation in which it does not occur is in the Kralice Bible (1579–1594).²⁶ The new diphthong was also positively received by some authors of Humanist or Baroque grammars.²⁷

22 The examples *pejcha* and *zmejlila* were documented in *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 11, 1v, and *Písničky pobožné*, 1651, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 25, 5r.

23 The examples *velkej* and *nebohej* were documented in *Nová píseň mládencům a pannám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752, přív. 17, 3v, and *Nová píseň mládencům a pannám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752, přív. 16, 3r.

24 See Kosek, “Kancionál,” pp. 237–238.

25 Porák, *Humanistická čeština*, p. 107.

26 Kyas, *Česká bible*, p. 152; Vintr, “Jazyk,” p. 200; Šimečková, *Hláskosloví*, p. 85.

27 See, e.g., Nudožer, *Grammaticae*; Rosa, *Čechořečnost*; Štejer, *Žáček*.

The texts of the broadside ballads contain so few examples that they make it impossible to determine the systematic extent of these changes with any degree of confidence.²⁸ Nevertheless, we can observe in broadside ballads a more rapid increase in the quantity of diphthongized forms during the course of the eighteenth century. Some lexical items still exist only with the original /u:/ or /u/, but others exhibit the new diphthongs—for example, compare *usta* (mouth) × *ourodu* (harvest).²⁹ The form of other lexical items fluctuates between the older and newer variants: e.g., *úmysl* × *oumysl* (intention).³⁰

Prothetic Consonants /v-/, /h-/

Examples of prothetic /v-/ (prothesis meaning the addition of an extra sound or syllable to the vocal beginning of a word, in theory to help make it easier to pronounce) already occur in the Bible translations from the sixteenth century: Optát's New Testament (1533), the Melantrich Bible (1570), and occasionally in Blahoslav's New Testament (both translations—1564 and 1568).³¹ However, prothesis is entirely lacking from the Kralice Bible (1579–1594) and to a large extent also from the St. Wenceslas Bible (1677–1715; here it is present only in several isolated cases).³² Grammars from the Humanist and Baroque eras provide contradictory opinions on prothesis: some grammarians did not recommend the use of prothetic /v-/ in high-style texts,³³ others viewed prothesis as appropriate mainly in poetry inspired by the metrical schemes of ancient Greek and Latin verse (alternating long and short syllables),³⁴ and some authors of Baroque era grammars recommended not to use prothesis at all.³⁵

Prothetic /h-/ does not occur in any of the analysed texts. Prothetic /v-/ occurs only very occasionally in both the seventeenth-century texts (seven occurrences) and the eighteenth-century texts (six occurrences). In a few cases, prothesis would seem to serve as a means of linguistic expressivity,

28 There are a total of 120 examples in the religious and secular broadside ballads.

29 Both were written using the grapheme *v*-. The examples *usta* and *ourodu* were documented in *Písničky nové a velmi pěkné*, 1693, MZK VK-0000.542, přív.18, 7v, 13v.

30 The examples *úmysl* and *oumysl* were documented in *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543, přív.11, 6v, and *Truchlivá píseň*, 1751, MZK VK-0000.778, přív. 63, 2v, 4r.

31 Kyas, *Česká bible*, p. 152; Šimečková, *Hláskosloví*, p. 30.

32 Kyas, *Česká bible*, p. 199; Vintr, "Jazyk," p. 201.

33 Blahoslav, *Grammatica*; Jandit, *Grammatica*.

34 Rosa, *Čečořečnost*; Doležal, *Grammatica*.

35 E.g., Konstanc, *Lima*; Štejer, *Žáček*.

as documented in lexical items such as *vožralý* (an expressive word for “drunk”),³⁶ and in other cases it reflects a process of lexicalization, e.g., *vorati* (to plough).³⁷

The occasional occurrence of the prothetic consonant in the analysed broadside ballads of our study is very important. As has been mentioned above, prothesis was almost entirely absent from Baroque era Bible translations, and it was also rejected by the Baroque era grammarians. It is also quite rare in other printed genres from this era.³⁸ From this pattern of occurrence, we can deduce that phonetically prosthetic forms were viewed as examples of low style. However—and this fact is key—the minimal occurrence of these forms in the broadside ballads we analysed indicates that the tendency we discussed by modern scholars to stereotype broadside ballads as examples of low style is not a tenable approach—certainly by the consumers for whom ballads were aimed, within their own time. Indeed, at least with regard to this issue (and others, for that matter), Czech broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have more in common with high-style texts.

Vowel Raising /ɛ:/ > /i:/

The change /ɛ:/ > /i:/ occurs only sporadically in Humanist era Bible translations.³⁹ Humanist grammars devote very little attention to this change, which evidently reflects its slow pace of spread. The main text of the St. Wenceslas Bible contains occasional examples of /i:/, but it is much more frequent in the accompanying commentaries and prefaces—both in lexical roots and in suffixes.⁴⁰ Baroque grammarians take a relatively positive stance towards the results of this change; they generally accept the occurrence of variant forms that serve stylistic dissimulation.⁴¹

It is further evident from our analysis that there is a substantial difference between the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century texts with regard to this particular change. In seventeenth-century texts the vowel raising /ɛ:/ > /i:/ is rather sporadic (in both word bases and suffixes): e.g., *líhal* (hatched).⁴² However, in eighteenth-century texts there are many more examples of this

36 *Písničky pobožné*, 1651, MZK VK-0000.542, přív.24, 3v.

37 *Ibid.*, 5v.

38 Šimečková, *Hláskosloví*, pp. 55–56.

39 Porák, *Humanistická čeština*, p. 148; Šimečková, *Hláskosloví*, p. 185.

40 Vintr, “Jazyk,” p. 200.

41 Drachovský, *Grammatica*; Rosa, *Čechořečnost*; Konstanc, *Lima*.

42 *Písničky pobožné*, 1651, MZK VK-0000.542, přív.24, 2r.

phenomenon (especially in suffixes). It is also evident that the new form /i:/ is considerably more frequent in secular broadside ballads—see, e.g., “od Víry Katolický, Mocnáře velikýho” (“From the Catholic faith, Great Sovereign”).⁴³ In some instances, the use of the progressive form /i:/ is motivated by the rhyme scheme: e.g., “Bok ostrým Kopím prohnáný, všeckno Tělo obnažený” (“His side pierced by a sharp spear, His entire body naked”).⁴⁴

Morphology

Some Baroque era texts contain examples of progressive morphological features (changes in word forms) which gradually penetrated from spoken language into low-style texts, and which (with the exception of the verb suffix) were not accepted in the later codification of the standard Czech language.⁴⁵ With regard to declension (changes in word forms to reflect syntactic function), these features are: progressive dual forms of the instrumental case in plural nominal, pronominal, and adjectival declination (e.g., *s těmi hezkými hochy* → *s těma hezkýma hochama*); the unification of gender differences in the nominative plural forms of adjectival declension (e.g., *hezcí chlapci* → *hezký chlapci*, *hezké ženy* → *hezký ženy*, *hezká děvčata* → *hezký děvčata*); and feminine forms of the nominative plural used in place of neuter forms in pronominal and adjectival declination (e.g., *ta stará města* → *ty staré města*). With regard to conjugation, these features are multiple: the change to the progressive form of the infinitive suffix (*-ti* → *-t*; e.g., *nésti* → *nést*) and non-congruent transgressive forms (e.g., *on nesa* → *on nesouc/neseuce*; *ona jdouc* → *ona jdouce*, etc.).

Declension

Dual Forms of the Instrumental Case in Plural Nominal Declension

Certain differences can be observed within the analysed texts with regard to the formation of the instrumental case of plural nouns. The

43 *Truchlivá píseň*, 1751, MZK VK-0000.778, přív. 63, 2v, 3r.

44 *Písničky nové a velmi pěkné*, 1693, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 18, 6v.

45 Contemporary texts included many more progressive morphological forms than we can discuss here; due to space constraints, this chapter presents only the most important of these forms.

seventeenth-century texts feature the traditional forms across all declension types: e.g., *nad Pády svými* (over his falls),⁴⁶ *s Ženami* (with women).⁴⁷ In the eighteenth-century texts, we find a greater occurrence of progressive instrumental forms (reanalysed characteristics of extinct dual markers): e.g., *s bramborama* (with potatoes), *s chlupama* (with hairs).⁴⁸ However, the secular broadside ballads display a stronger tendency to the unification of instrumental plural suffixes by using otherwise extinct dual. Such forms occur only very rarely in religious broadside ballads, as in *věky věkoma* (for all time).⁴⁹ We can conclude that these progressive forms were not used in religious broadside ballads due to the very nature of the texts: when addressing God and the saints, broadside ballads privileged the traditional high-prestige language of Bible translations.

New Forms of the Instrumental Case in Plural Pronominal and Adjectival Declension

Progressive forms of the instrumental plural (formally dual) in pronominal and adjectival declension also appeared during the seventeenth century, though some grammarians did not recommend the use of these practices.⁵⁰ They also occur occasionally in broadside ballads, especially in secular texts from the eighteenth century, e.g., “Lidma jinejma, kleštma ohnivýma” (“Through other people, with fiery tongues”).⁵¹ The use of the progressive instrumental suffix in only one of the elements of a noun phrase (either the head noun or the modifying adjective/pronoun) is very often motivated by stylistic dissimilation, as it deliberately distinguishes between different forms of instrumental plural suffixes within the same noun phrase,⁵² e.g., *mezi vzáctným pány* (among noble lords), *s velikým bolestmi* (with great pains).⁵³ In view of the very low number of examples we found in the analysed texts, it is evident that the progressive

46 *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543, přív.11, 6r.

47 *Písničky nové a velmi pěkné*, 1693, MZK VK-0000.542, přív.18, 7v, 13r.

48 *Nová píseň mládencům a pannám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752, přív. 16, 4r.

49 *Písničky pobožné*, 1651, MZK VK-0000.542, přív.24, 3v.

50 Kosek, “Kancionál,” p. 248; see Konstanc, *Lima*.

51 *Jistý strašlivý příběh*, 1750, MZK VK-0000.386, přív.6, 2v, 4r.

52 This feature of texts from the period is explored by Vykypělová, “K distribuci,” p. 223.

53 The examples *mezi vzáctným Pány* and *s velikým Bolestmi* were documented in *Truchlivá píseň*, 1751, MZK VK-0000.778, přív. 63, 2v, 3v, and *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543, přív.11, 5r.

forms were viewed by the authors as stylistically “marked” (spoken or expressive).

Unification of Gender Differences in the Nominative Plural Forms of Adjectival Declension

A gradual unification of gender differences in the nominative plural forms of adjectival declension can be observed in the texts we studied; this process began in the spoken language during the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ In the broadside ballads from the seventeenth century, these traditional forms still predominate: e.g., *mnohé neřesti* (many vices), *krásná města* (beautiful cities).⁵⁵ However, during the eighteenth century we discovered a significant increase in the number of progressive forms (though they were still in a minority compared to traditional elements): e.g., *heský chlapci* (handsome boys), *jaký hosti* (which guests).⁵⁶ In some cases, the use of these forms appears to have been motivated by the rhyme scheme: *srdce bolí, hříchy mnohý* (the heart hurts, many sins).⁵⁷

Feminine Forms of the Nominative Plural in Place of Neuter Forms in Pronominal and Adjectival Declension

Neuter nouns with feminine pronominal and adjectival declension began to appear in the spoken language during the sixteenth century, and then penetrated into low-style texts. They are very infrequent in the analysed broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, occurring only occasionally in the eighteenth-century texts: e.g., *ty svaté slova* (the holy words).⁵⁸ As often happens with transitional changes, they also frequently co-occur with the original forms: e.g., *na své kolena* × *na kolena svá* (to his knees).⁵⁹

54 Kosek, “Kancioná,” p. 248.

55 *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543, přív.11, 2v, 2r.

56 The examples *heský chlapci* and *jaký hosti* were documented in *Nová píseň mládencům a panám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752, přív. 17, 2r, and *Jistý strašlivý příběh*, 1750, MZK VK-0000.386, přív.6, 4r.

57 *Píseň k Panně Marii*, 1799, MZK VK-0000.340, přív. 23, 3r.

58 *Nová píseň k Pánu Ježíši*, 1798, MZK VK-0000.002, přív. 28, 4r.

59 The examples *na své kolena* × *na kolena svá* were documented in *Píseň pobožná, kterak Panna Maria Cellenská*, 1766, MZK VK-0000.100, přív.19, 6v, and *Píseň k Panně Marii*, 1799, MZK VK-0000.340, přív. 23, 2v.

Conjugation

Infinitives

Again as often happens during linguistic transitions, in reviewing the texts of our sample, we find infinitives co-occur with the older suffix *-ti* at the same time as with the more progressive suffix *-t*.⁶⁰ The co-use of these variant forms, it would appear, depends mainly on the number of syllables in the line or the rhyme scheme: e.g., “jestli světa neopustíš, muky věčné trpět musíš” (“if you do not leave this world, you have to suffer eternal torment”: linguistic forms determined by eight-syllable lines)⁶¹; “Některé dítě jen nepočne růsti, souc staří v letech v pěti nebo šesti” (“Some children do not begin to grow until they are five or six years old”; in this case, rhyme dictates language use).⁶²

Transgressives

The Czech language has a specific verb form known as the transgressive (*přechodník*). Transgressives have the formal properties of adjectives, since they are bearers of the grammatical categories of case, gender, and number, but they are also able to form phrases with a function corresponding to that of adjunct clauses. During the historical development of Czech, transgressives became extinct in the spoken language approximately during the sixteenth century. In present-day standard Czech they are considered archaisms. The disappearance of transgressives from written Czech occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, in this written format, reflected violations of their concord with the clause subject. But the usage was expansive. The formal aspects of transgressives in broadside ballads, for instance, correspond with those documented in hymn books of the same era.⁶³ The ratio of congruent to incongruent transgressives is approximately 1:1, reflecting a fine fulcrum of change—though certain differences can be observed between texts from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The seventeenth-century texts contain a large number of transgressives (especially present tense transgressives; past tense transgressives occur

60 This situation is fairly typical of Baroque era texts (ca. 1620–1775); e.g., for the Baroque hymn book *Jesličky*, it is described by Kosek, “Kancionál,” p. 251.

61 *Písničky nové a velmi pěkné*, 1693, MZK VK-0000.542.přív.18, 5r.

62 *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543.přív.11, 3r.

63 Kosek, “Kancionál,” p. 251.

only sporadically). But in the eighteenth-century texts there are fewer transgressives, and there are more incongruent forms than in the previous century. For example, the use of singular feminine forms and plural forms for masculine nouns: e.g., “Anjel [...] chtíc” (“the angel [...] wanting”),⁶⁴ which reflects the gradual loss of awareness of “correct” or traditional transgressive forms.

Lexis

The vocabulary used in broadside ballads corresponds entirely with their genre and the topics they address. Ecclesiastical lexis is typical of religious broadside ballads: e.g., *hřichy* (sins).⁶⁵ Secular broadside ballads—dealing with situations from everyday life such as love or natural disasters—use vocabulary from everyday life, such as *kafé* (coffee), *koště* (broom),⁶⁶ as well as proper nouns such as the hypocoristics *Baruška* (diminutive form of Barbara) and *Cecilka* (diminutive form of Cecilia).⁶⁷

Although secondary sources cite the frequent use of dialect elements as evidence that the language of broadside ballads belonged to a lower style—a phenomenon, incidentally, that we *do* frequently find in English broadside ballads—our research did not substantiate this claim. On the contrary: we found that the vocabulary of religious broadside ballads was in fact typical of the language of higher literature. This is reflected in the relatively small number of lexical items from spoken language and the frequent occurrence of elements that were typical of high style, such as a series of synonyms or pairings of words which emphasize key points in the text: e.g., “v nouzi chudobě” (“in need—poverty”),⁶⁸ or in the habitual use of lexical derivation expressing abstract concepts, as in words denoting qualities by means of the suffix *-ost* (an approximate equivalent of the English *-ness*): e.g., *pobožnost* (“piety,” literally “pious-ness”).⁶⁹ The only exception comprises loanwords from German suggestive of an opposing position (which were frequently used in the spoken language); these can be found in both secular and religious broadside ballads: e.g., “do marštale,

64 *Píseň pobožná o svatém Otci Františku Serafinském*, 1763, MZK VK-0000.100,přív.20, 3r.

65 *Píseň k Panně Marii*, 1799, MZK VK-0000.340,přív. 23, 3r.

66 *Nová píseň mládencům a pannám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752,přív. 16, 4r.

67 *Nová píseň mládencům a pannám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752,přív. 17, 2r.

68 *Nová píseň k Pánu Ježíši*, 1798, MZK VK-0000.002,přív. 28, 2r.

69 *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.543,přív.11, 2r.

hurtem” (“to the stables, quickly”).⁷⁰ However, these lexical items occur only sporadically, and they often co-occur with Latin loanwords, which belonged to the language of higher literature: e.g., *lilium* (lily), *konvalium* (lily of the valley).⁷¹ In view of the topics they address, the secular broadside ballads are far more open to vocabulary from spoken language than their religious counterparts. Still, we must recognize that even here they occur relatively rarely—for example, in the case of expressive lexical items with pejorative connotations: e.g., *vyžéře* (denotative meaning “eat up”), *vožralý* (denotative meaning “drunk”).⁷² Secular broadside ballads also contain fewer of other above-mentioned elements of high style (series of synonyms, etc.). The topic, therefore, played a key role in determining the lexical properties of broadside ballads. All said and done, our analysis did not reveal any substantial differences between the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century broadside ballads.

Syntax

In brief, the syntax of broadside ballads (both at the clause level and at the sentence complex level) is very simple, corresponding entirely with the song-like character of the texts. Most sentence complexes are not very elaborate, mainly having just one degree of dependence. This is a key distinguishing feature of them from “high” literature.

Conclusions

The study presented in this chapter demonstrates that the traditional negative evaluations of the language of Czech broadside ballads—promulgated by Czech linguists during the twentieth century—are not tenable. The root cause of the problem is that they were not based on a representative analysis of authentic linguistic material. In addition, they took no account of the historical context, and they were ahistorical to the extent of comparing the language of the Baroque era with modern codified standard Czech, although such codification did not occur until the nineteenth century.

70 *Jistý strašlivý příběh*, 1750, MZK VK-0000.386, přív.6, 2r, 3r.

71 *Píseň pobožná o svatém Otci Františku Serafínském*, 1763, MZK VK-0000.100, přív.20, 1v.

72 The examples *vyžéře* and *vožralý* were documented in *Nová píseň mládeňům a pannám*, 1789, MZK VK-0000.752, přív. 16, 2v, and *Písničky pobožné*, 1651, MZK VK-0000.542, přív.24, 3v.

On the basis of our research, it is evident that the language of the analysed broadside ballads does not differ substantially from that of other texts from the same era (especially hymn books and sermons). However, our study also reveals that the two criteria of comparison (secular vs. religious broadside ballads; seventeenth century vs. eighteenth century) are of key importance when describing broadside ballad linguistic material. While broadside ballads from the seventeenth century tend to reflect the conservative linguistic situation at the end of the sixteenth century and are only partially open to progressive changes, eighteenth-century broadside ballads are far more reflective of these changes, both in phonology and in morphology. We also found substantial differences when comparing religious and secular broadside ballads. Religious broadside ballads maintain the tradition of high-style biblical language; this is evidently caused in part by the authors' respect for the topic and in part by the fact that certain phrases from Bible texts or sermons were firmly anchored in common people's minds. By contrast, secular broadside ballads—dealing with everyday life and sometimes describing it in an overly naturalistic manner—are far more open to influences from spoken language. As we found, research into the language of Czech broadside ballads thus represents a fascinating journey through the various styles of this most popular of printed forms in Czechia.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Jistý strašlivý příběh, který se stal v Markrabství moravském mezi Brnem a Náměští* [...]. Kutná Hora: N.p., 1750, sign. VK-0000.386, přív. 6, MZK.
- Nová píseň k Pánu Ježíši*. Litomyšl: [Václav Tureček], 1798, sign. VK-0000.002, přív. 28, MZK.
- Nová píseň mládencům a pannám pro zasmání vydaná*. Praha: N.p., 1789, sign. VK-0000.752, přív. 16, MZK.
- Nová píseň mládencům a pannám pro zasmání vydaná*. No tune imprint. Praha: N.p., 1789, sign. VK-0000.752, přív. 17, MZK.
- Píseň k Panně Marii*. Brno: F. K. Siedler, 1799, sign. VK-0000.340, přív. 23, MZK.
- Píseň pobožná, která Panna Maria Cellenská líbezně své poutníky k sobě volá* [...]. Brno: E. Svoboda, 1766, sign. VK-0000.100, přív. 19, MZK.
- Píseň pobožná o svatém Otci Františku Serafinském*. Olomouc: J. Hirnleová, 1763, sign. VK-0000.100, přív. 20, MZK.
- Písničky nové a velmi pěkné* [...]. Brno: F. I. Sinapi, 1693, sign. VK-0000.542, přív. 18, MZK.

- Písničky pobožné, k těmto časům přežalostným složené* [...]. Litomyšl: Dorota Březinová, 1651, sign. VK-0000.542,přív.24, MZK.
- Písničky velmi pobožné v tyto nynější těžké časy zpívati užitečné a potřebné* [...]. Olomouc: J. J. Kylián, 1681, sign. VK-0000.543,přív.11, MZK.
- Truchlivá píseň o dvouh krásných pannách* [...]. Kutná Hora: J. V. Kyncl, 1751, sign. VK-0000.778,přív. 63, MZK.

Primary Sources (Older Czech Grammar Books)

- Blahoslav, Jan. *Grammatica česká*, ed Mirek Čejka, Dušan Šlosar, and Jana Nechutová. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1991 [MS before 1571].
- Doležal, Pavel. *Grammatica Slavico-bohemica*. Bratislava: J. P. Royer (heirs), 1746.
- Drachovský, Jan. *Grammatica Boëmica in V libros divisa*. Olomouc: Vít Jindřich Ettl, 1660.
- Jandit, Václav. *Grammatica linguae Boëmicae, methodo facili*. Praha: Vojtěch Jiří Koniáš, 1704.
- Konstanc, Jiří. *Lima linguae Bohemicae. To jest: Brus jazyka českého*. Praha: Impresí akademická, 1667.
- Nudožer, Benedikt Vavřinec. *Grammaticae Bohemicae* [...] *libri duo*. Praha: Jan Otmar Jakubův Dačický, 1603.
- Rosa, Václav Jan. *Čechořečnost seu Grammatica linguae Bohemicae*. Praha: Jan Arnolt z Dobroslavína, 1672.
- Štejer, Matěj Václav. *Žáček aneb Výborně dobrý způsob*. Praha: Tiskárna jezuitská, 1668.

Secondary Sources

- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Cuřín, František. *Vývoj spisovné češtiny*. Praha: SPN, 1985.
- Daňhelka, Jiří, Josef Hrabák, Eduard Petrů, Emil Pražák, František Svejkovský, and Antonín Škarka. *Dějiny české literatury 1. Starší česká literatura*. Praha: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1959.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. *Vývoj českého spisovného jazyka*. Praha: SPN, 1980.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. "Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého." In *Československá vlastivěda, řada II. Spisovný jazyk český a slovenský*. Praha: Sfinx, Bohumil Janda, 1936.
- Kosek, Pavel. "Kancionál Jesličky jako jazykovědný pramen." In *Fridrich Bridelius. Jesličky. Staré nové písničky*, ed. Pavel Kosek, Tomáš Slavický, and Marie Škarpová, pp. 228–258. Brno: Host, 2014.

- Koupil, Ondřej. *Grammatykáři. Gramatografická a kulturní reflexe češtiny 1533–1672*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015.
- Koupil, Ondřej. "Veslavinská čeština a veslavinská doba." *Česká literatura* 66, no. 2 (2018), pp. 263–280.
- Kyas, Vladimír. *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1997.
- Michálková, Věra. "K jazyku kramářských písní." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 209–226. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Porák, Jaroslav. *Humanistická čeština. Hláskosloví a pravopis*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1983.
- Šimečková, Marta. *Hláskosloví v češtině 16.–18. století*. PhD diss., Masaryk University, 2016.
- Šlosar, Dušan, Radoslav Večerka, Petr Malčík, and Jan Dvořák. *Spisovný jazyk v dějinách české společnosti*, 3rd ed. Brno: Host, 2009.
- Vintr, Josef. "Jazyk české barokní bible Svatováclavské." *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1992), pp. 197–212.
- Vondrák, Václav. *Vývoj současného spisovného českého jazyka*. Brno: Filosofická fakulta, 1926.
- Vykypělová, Taťána. "K distribuci koncovek instrumentálu plurálu typu hromovýmá skutky ve střední češtině." In *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik 7*, ed. Markus Bayer, Michael Betsch, and Joanna Błaszczak, pp. 220–225. München: Otto Sagner, 2004.
- Weingart, Miloš. *Vývoj českého jazyka*. Praha: J. R. Vilímek, 1918.

Websites

- Fidlerová, A. Alena, Robert Dittmann, František Martínek, and Kateřina Voleková. *Dějiny češtiny*. <https://docplayer.cz/32265193-Dejiny-cestiny-alena-a-fidlerova-robert-dittmann-frantisek-martinek-katerina-volekova.html>.
- Kosek, Pavel, et al. *Broadside Ballads in the Historical Collections in Brno*. <https://www.phil.muni.cz/kramarskepise>.

Abbreviations

MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)

About the Authors

Jana Pleskalová: Full Professor of Czech Language in the Department of Czech Language, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic,

<https://www.muni.cz/en/people/218-jana-pleskalova/zivotopis>. Pleskalová has co-edited four collections of essays and authored two books: *Tvoření nejstarších českých osobních jmen* (1998) and *Vývoj vlastních jmen osobních v českých zemích v letech 1000–2010* (2011). pleskalo@phil.muni.cz.

Olga Navrátilová: Assistant Professor of Czech Language in the Department of Czech Language, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.muni.cz/en/people/109306-olga-navratilova>. Navrátilová has authored two books, the most recent of which is *Slovosled posesivních zájmen ve staré češtině* (2018). olga@phil.muni.cz.

17. The Orthography of Czech Broadside Ballads from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

*Pavel Kosek, Veronika Bromová, Alena Andrllová Fidlerová,
and Dmitrij Timofejev*

Abstract

The authors of this chapter present the first ever analysis of the orthography of Czech broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Aligning with the previous chapter by Pleskalová and Navrátilová, they show that the features of the language of broadside ballads in fact do correspond with the general orthography of Czech printers of the time, whatever their targeted class of consumer. They show that the orthography of Czech broadside ballads is influenced by a mixture of long-preserved archaic features and innovative tendencies (including the use of capitalization). The chapter also reflects the concurrence of both types of Czech black-letter typefaces typical for Czech printings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Schwabacher and Fraktur).

Keywords: Linguistics, language, Czech orthography, black letter, capitalization

Our aim in this paper is to analyse the orthography—the letters and spelling or graphemes and their distribution—of Czech broadside ballads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More specifically, we seek to demonstrate and characterize an orthographic system, as well as to trace this system’s dynamic historical development. Due to space constraints, we cannot supply a comprehensive coverage of this topic here—that would require a book unto itself. Instead, we focus on select phenomena that will still provide scholars with invaluable insights into some key features of the orthography of Czech broadside ballads. Our focus is thus related to that

of the chapter by Pleskalová and Navrátilová, which analyses the language of broadside ballads. As was mentioned in that piece, scholars have not yet devoted adequate attention to such linguistic aspects of Czech seventeenth- and eighteenth-century broadside ballads. The same observation applies to an absence of scholarly studies of their orthography. This paper thus represents a first analysis of the orthography of broadside ballads.¹

From the end of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, Czech orthography underwent a series of reforms that imposed fundamental changes on broadside ballads. Given such dramatic alterations in this later period, we decided to limit the scope of our analysis to the earlier, what one might term “originary,” development of orthography in broadside ballads (the period covering the first half of the seventeenth century to the second half of the eighteenth century). Due to the exceptionally large number of broadside ballads that have survived even from this more limited time period, we have further narrowed our focus to representative broadside ballads published by those printing houses in towns and cities that played an important role as regional centres and that provided different book-printing traditions: Litomyšl (East Bohemia), Brno and Olomouc (both Moravia). We also only chose broadside ballad printings that give information about the place and year of publication, or those for which the place and year can be deduced from the narrative content or bibliological interpretation. The resulting material totalled 33 gatherings of broadside ballads, which we transliterated from black letter into modern typeface; these transliterations formed the basis for our orthographic analysis.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, we describe the orthographic system used in Czech book printing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (to situate the reader, we also provide a very brief account of the history of Czech orthography). Having thus historically narrowed our focus, we dig deeper within this period to uncover the repertoire of selected graphemes used in the investigated broadside ballad gatherings (including punctuation marks) and the rules governing their distribution. We further complement this focus on graphemes with an analysis of the typefaces used in printing them, which, as our study reveals, influence the distribution of some graphemes. We conclude with a section describing the distribution of minuscules and majuscules in these broadside ballad texts; this last section addresses an

1 Though unique in studying the orthography of the genre of broadside ballads, this study has the advantage of being able to draw on previous findings of research into the orthography used in Czech printed and manuscript texts of other genres from the sixteenth century (and also partly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries): e.g., Porák, *Humanistická čeština*, pp. 158–160; Vykypělová, *Wege*, pp. 141–252; Fidlerová, “Orthography and Group Identity.”

important dispute in early modern scholarly orthographic discussion, which varies greatly according to the different text types addressed.

Development of Czech Orthography in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Orthographic usage in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Czech was the result of the turbulent development of Czech orthography that began at the end of the thirteenth century and culminated in the second half of the sixteenth century. Between approximately 1550 and 1600, orthographic practice stabilized in book printing, even as it continued to vary widely in manuscripts. For this reason, Czech orthography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries needs to be divided into two separate domains: printers' orthography and scribal orthography.² Because Czech broadside ballads were by definition printed, their orthography belongs to the first of these two domains. The foundations for this orthographic practice were already laid in the first grammar of the Czech language, published in 1533.³ During the seventeenth century, the books printed by the Unity of the Brethren at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century came to be viewed as a model for linguistic correctness—to such an extent that their orthographic practice was commonly known as “Brethren's orthography.”⁴

The Degree of Obligatoriness Associated with Printers' Orthography

Historically, printers' orthography was not codified. However, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, grammars and orthographic handbooks were published that presented relatively detailed information on proper

2 As, we have already noted, a series of reforms were implemented between the end of the eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century that were most unsettling; they caused Czech orthography to break with its previous tradition and to evolve into new forms (which will not be the purview of this study). For an overview of the history of Czech orthography, see Berger, “Religion and Diacritics.”

3 Optát et al., *Gramatika česká*, pp. 4–32.

4 The Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*, *Jednota bratrská*) was established around the middle of the fifteenth century as a radical variant of the Czech Reformation. Members of the church helped to create the standard form of the Czech language in the early modern era. This standard form was respected in subsequent periods, and ultimately it became the basis for the codification of modern Czech. To follow the evolution of the terminology of Middle Czech orthography, see Kosek, “Bratrský pravopis.”

orthographical practices.⁵ Some of these works thus attempted to influence contemporary orthographic usage; that said, the fact is that their actual impact was limited.⁶ The unification of printers' orthography took place to a large degree on the basis of previous practice as well as the mass production of printed materials (which resorts to standardization in the commercial goal of minimizing production costs so as to gain competitive advantage with cheaper products). In this case we might best speak of "market-driven" standardization. However, even though the printers' orthography became relatively stabilized during the course of the sixteenth century, it still incorporated a certain degree of variability as a result of the interplay of the following factors:

1. Gradual acceptance of linguistic changes that had taken place in the spoken language
2. The (un)availability of specific letters (mostly majuscule and/or minuscule letters with diacritics or special letters, e.g., "hard <ł>")
3. Absence of spelled-out codification

Characteristic Features of the Orthography Used in this Study's Investigated Broadside Ballads

In this section we will present the characteristic features of the orthography of the broadside ballads under investigation (from the first half of the seventeenth to the late eighteenth century). In most respects, the orthography of these publications is typical of a shared system of orthography of the time, although it also reflects the historical evolution of that system.

On a very general level, the orthographic system used in these texts can be classified in terms of distinct units of sound, or segmental (more generally, phonological) units, and characterized by the following correspondence⁷:

1 phoneme ↔ 1 grapheme

This orthographic principle is based on the Roman alphabet. When the Roman alphabet lacks graphemes representing Czech phonemes, a number

5 See Porák, *Humanistická čeština*, pp. 158–160; most of the Czech grammars from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries that also deal with orthography are cited in the chapter by Pleskalová and Navrátilová.

6 With the exception of the above-mentioned Optát et al., *Gramatika česká*.

7 Beneš, "Grafémika."

of possible solutions have been applied in accordance with the Czech orthographic tradition. Some solutions are as follows:

1. A combination of a Roman letter and a diacritical mark: i.e., we see a diacritized grapheme in which a glyph denotes a specific phonological value associated with the grapheme. More specifically⁸:

a. the use of a diacritic distinguishes long vowels from their short counterparts: <á> /a:/ × <a> /a/, <é> /ɛ:/ × <e> /ɛ/, etc.; a distinct Czech diacritized long vowel is <ů>, which denotes /u:/⁹

b. the use of a diacritic distinguishes palatal consonants from their non-palatal counterparts: <ť> /c/ × <t> /t/, <ď> /j/ × <d> /d/

c. the use of a diacritic distinguishes palatalizing vowels from non-palatalizing vowels: <ě> /'ɛ/ × <e> /ɛ/; e.g., <tě> /cɛ/ × <te> /tɛ/

d. the use of a diacritic distinguishes palato-alveolar sibilants from alveolar sibilants: <š> / <ṣ̌> /ʃ/ × <s> /s/, <ž> /ʒ/ × <z> /z/

2. A combination of two Roman letters, i.e., digraphs, as in <Sf> for majuscule /ʃ/, <ff> and <fs> for minuscule /ʃ/, <ti> before <a> / <á> for /c/, <ni> before <a> / <á> for /ɲ/.

3. The texts also feature combinations of both above-listed solutions, i.e., diacritized digraphs, especially for majuscules—primarily <Rž> for /ʃ/, <Cž> for /tʃ/.

4. A typical feature of orthography from this period is the fact that the phonemic value of a grapheme can be determined by its combination with the subsequent grapheme, e.g., the graphemes <d>, <t>, and <n>, when preceding <i>, <ij> / <j> or <ě>, represent the phonemes /j/, /c/, /ɲ/, respectively, whereas when they precede other graphemes, they represent /d/, /t/, /n/, e.g., <děti> [jɛci] “children” × <nebudete> [nɛbudɛtɛ] “you will not be.”

5. Some graphemes are distinguished by a specific typographic form:

a. for a long palatalizing /i:/, the unigraph <j> or the digraph <ij> is used, distinguishing it from a short palatalizing /i/, which is written as <i>

b. to distinguish between two l-graphemes, the upper part of the stem slopes rightwards for the originally hard /l/, transliterated as <ł>, distinguishing it from the straight stem of the so-called central /l/, transliterated as <l>.

8 The tradition of using diacritic markings with Roman letters to represent specific Czech phonemes was established by the treatise *Ortographia Bohemica* at the beginning of the fifteenth century; Berger, “Religion and Diacritics,” pp. 258–260.

9 Pointed brackets denote <graphemes>, slashes denote /phonemes/, multiplication sign × denotes counterparts. We use the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) to represent phonemic values.

Reflection of Phonetic Changes

Table 2. The number of occurrences (absolute frequencies) of selected orthographic features in the investigated Czech texts

	Č	Cž	Rž	Ř	Ž	Zi	6	h	†	š	š
1641 Olomouc, KNM KP K 115i 1	-	4	6	-	16	2	-	164	-	-	-
1650 Litomyšl, MZK VK-0000.542,přív.22	2	1	-	-	4	45	24	237	2	0	-
1652 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.385,přív.10	-	3	3	-	4	-	-	107	-	5	-
1655 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.542,přív.11	-	5	-	-	4	3	-	42	-	-	-
1659 Litomyšl, MZK VK-0000.543,přív.6	-	4	-	-	3	24	23	99	1	-	-
1664 Litomyšl, MZK VK-0000.542,přív.8	-	11	4	1	18	70	29	188	1	-	-
1676 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.543,přív.19	-	10	4	-	3	-	-	132	-	-	-
1681 Litomyšl (?), MZK VK-0000.316,přív.3	-	2	3	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
1682 Litomyšl (?), MZK VK-0000.316,přív.1	-	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1685 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.542,přív.6	-	6	1	0	2	-	-	34	-	-	-
1686 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.543,přív.5	-	3	2	-	7	-	-	220	-	2	-
1692 Brno, MZK VK-0000.543,přív.16	-	1	3	-	3	-	-	107	-	4	-
1693 Brno, MZK VK-0000.542,přív.18	-	8	1	-	2	-	-	35	-	1	-
1695 Brno (?), MZK VK-0000.543,přív.24	-	4	2	1	5	-	-	8	-	1	-
1695 Olomouc, MZM uc ST 0323 08	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	96	-	-	-
1699 Olomouc, MZM uc_ST 0323 07	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	75	-	1	-
1702 Brno, MZK STS-0128.631,přív.31	-	8	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
1703 Litomyšl, MZK VK-0000.316,přív.2	1	-	1	-	-	3	3	17	-	-	-
1704 Litomyšl (?), MZM uc ST 0323 06	3	1	-	1	10	25	17	130	-	1	-
1712 Olomouc, MKP P-52	-	5	3	-	2	-	-	87	-	-	-
1713 Litomyšl, MZK VK-0000.001,přív.9	-	-	-	-	1	18	7	68	-	-	-
1742 Brno, MZK VK-0000.175,přív.31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	2	-
1744 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.534	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	4	-
1745 Brno, MZK VK-0000.085,přív.10	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	40	-	1	-
1746 Litomyšl, MZK STS-0449.267	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-
1746 Olomouc, MZM uc ST 0323 09	-	18	1	-	9	-	-	95	-	1	-
1748 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.100,přív.30	-	8	-	-	4	-	-	76	-	1	-
1748 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.100,přív.36	-	13	7	-	9	-	-	106	-	3	-
1751 Olomouc, MZM uc ST 0323 11	-	11	2	-	7	-	-	105	-	-	-
1756 Brno, MZM uc ST 0323 04	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	24	-	1	-
1762 Brno, MZK VK-0000.100,přív.38	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-
1763 Olomouc, MZK VK-0000.457,přív.13	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-
1788 Olomouc, MZK ST1-0374.069	14	-	7	-	8	-	-	114	-	3	-

fs	ij	j	Vo	uo	ú	ů	,	/	.	=	:	!	?	;	()
8	105	108	-	-	-	23	25	338	104	134	9	-	3	-	-
5	36	114	-	-	-	21	29	287	73	102	9	-	3	-	-
12	72	63	1	9	-	17	6	265	87	95	12	-	-	-	-
14	45	49	-	1	-	16	5	118	56	60	2	-	-	-	-
5	3	157	-	-	-	24	8	253	63	67	22	-	-	-	-
66	116	159	-	-	-	69	35	521	128	177	20	-	-	-	-
25	66	145	-	-	-	37	35	361	109	96	5	-	8	-	-
4	-	134	-	-	-	28	15	170	59	60	1	-	-	-	-
14	-	66	-	-	-	13	9	151	47	41	5	-	-	-	-
8	37	79	-	-	-	24	-	155	47	77	10	-	-	-	-
5	15	128	-	-	-	18	2	299	91	85	9	-	2	-	-
9	-	156	-	-	-	-	14	314	63	92	3	-	-	1	-
12	-	150	-	-	-	27	5	217	70	43	9	1	3	-	-
11	-	150	-	-	-	8	9	202	66	61	10	-	-	-	-
3	6	158	-	-	-	28	-	275	55	86	25	12	2	-	-
8	3	95	-	-	-	17	3	187	71	72	15	-	3	-	-
9	-	113	-	-	-	20	0	226	48	87	11	-	-	-	-
6	-	85	-	-	-	24	3	150	46	50	1	-	-	-	-
20	-	173	-	-	-	26	24	300	76	81	18	5	5	-	-
2	-	56	-	-	-	11	7	101	39	34	1	-	-	-	-
8	-	48	-	-	-	9	4	134	21	33	1	-	-	-	-
5	-	27	-	-	-	13	8	67	22	21	1	1	-	-	-
9	-	64	-	-	-	16	-	98	45	41	1	-	-	-	-
12	-	44	-	-	-	5	-	111	25	33	1	-	-	-	-
7	-	38	-	-	-	3	-	58	19	32	2	-	-	-	-
11	-	186	-	-	-	32	2	297	87	85	14	-	-	-	-
8	-	50	-	-	-	3	3	133	48	32	9	-	-	-	-
4	-	107	-	-	-	25	2	256	72	97	21	-	-	-	1
6	-	278	-	-	-	61	-	403	108	108	5	2	-	-	-
20	-	28	-	-	-	1	52	-	21	28	1	1	-	-	-
2	-	24	-	-	-	5	62	-	28	24	1	-	-	-	-
3	-	64	-	-	-	6	1	119	35	44	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	100	-	-	-	25	238	-	75	97	20	-	-	-	-

The investigated broadside ballad gatherings reflect the phonetic changes that took place in the spoken Czech language during the fifteenth century, which began to penetrate into the written form of the language during the sixteenth century.¹⁰ However, the extent to which the orthography reflects these changes differs among the individual broadside ballad gatherings¹¹:

1. Monophthongization /ɔo/ > /u:/ and monophthongization /i̯ε/ > /i:/, which took place in Czech during the fifteenth century, meant that for a certain period long /u:/ was written with the digraph <uo> and long /i:/ with the digraph <ie>. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century this representation began to be replaced by forms corresponding with the spoken language. Long /u:/ began to be written with the grapheme <ú>, and long /i:/ with the graphemes <j> and <j>, though for a certain period both forms existed alongside each other: <ie>—<j> / <ij> and <uo>—<ú>. Similarly, the diphthongization /u:/ > /oɔ/ occurred in the spoken language during the fifteenth century, whereas in the written language, the grapheme <ú> persisted during the sixteenth century. It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that the diphthong form of the grapheme <au> became established, though <ú> continued to occur sporadically until the beginning of the seventeenth century. As Table 2 shows, the investigated broadside ballad gatherings contain no examples of the older written forms <ie> for /i:/ and <ú> for /u:/. Only two of the texts contain occasional examples of the digraphic graphemes <Vo>, <uo> for /u:/. The grapheme <ú> does not occur anywhere, and the diphthong /oɔ/ is always written as <Au> / <au>.
2. The historical depalatalization that took place in the second half of the fourteenth century caused most palatalized consonants to become hard consonants. The only consonants to remain fully palatal were /j/, /c/, /ɲ/. Other consonants underwent hardening, and this affected the quality of some vowels following palatalized / hard consonants.¹²
3. This historical depalatalization caused the so-called central /l/ to merge with hard /t/ in most parts of the territory where Czech was spoken; it was only in eastern and northern Moravia that the original distinction was retained. However, despite the fact that there was only one phoneme /l/ in most of the territory, the Czech printers' orthography mainly preserved the tradition of two l-graphemes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is confirmed by an analysis of the investigated broadside

10 Table 2 displays the absolute frequencies of selected orthographic features in the investigated texts.

11 For an overview of these changes, see Porák, *Humanistická čeština*, pp. 48–160.

12 Lamprecht et al., *Historická mluvnice*, pp. 86–97.

ballads. Table 2 shows that most of the analysed texts include both <ł> and <l>. Only two texts do not contain the grapheme <ł>, and in three texts the total number of occurrences of this grapheme is lower than ten.

4. The original articulatory distinction between soft /i/ and hard /i/ became extinct in most of the Czech language territory during the course of the fifteenth century (in approximately the same areas where /l/ and /ł/ were merged). However, the combinatory difference remained between palatalizing and non-palatalizing /i/ × /i/; e.g., <pány> /pa:ni/ × <páni> /pa:ɲi/. In other cases, the distribution of i-graphemes was governed by analogy or the historical principle, or it became lexicalized. This original distribution was not always respected, so hard <y>, <ý> or soft <i>, <j> / <ij> occur in etymologically non-original positions. After alveolar sibilants <y>, <ý> is always written, even though etymologically it was soft /i/, /i:/: <cyzý> “foreign/strange,” <fýto> “sieve.”

Typographic Factors

The existence and distribution of some graphemes was influenced by the development of the typefaces used and the typographic options open to printing houses. It is evident from the investigated texts that the existence of some orthographic features depended on the typefaces that were used. When typesetting broadside ballad gatherings, printers' workshops often used letters that were worn with use and that could not be used for more prestigious types of printed works (see also the section “Typefaces” below). Because these worn letters were relatively old, they preserved orthographic features that were already archaic when the broadside ballad gathering was published:

1. As has already been noted, majuscule letters usually lacked diacritics, so specific solutions were applied:

- a. similar letters without diacritics were used, mainly in the case of long vowels (<NOWA> “new”)
- b. digraphs (<TIELA> “body”), or digraphs with diacritics were used (<Cžłowěk> “man/person”)
- c. position marks were used; e.g., <z> was always followed by hard <y> / <ý>, so the majuscule /z/ could be represented by the combination of the grapheme <Z> and soft <i>; e.g., <Ziwý> “alive”

2. The distribution and form of some graphemes was influenced by the existence of ligatures. For instance, the form of <ě> underwent a shift during

the sixteenth century, as the diacritic mark gradually moved from its original position above a consonant, via a position between the consonant and the following vowel, and finally to the position above the vowel, as follows:

<te> → <ṭe> → <tě>

The form <ṭe> was a ligature.¹³ The existence of such ligatures is a typical feature of older printed texts.¹⁴ The “survival” of older typefaces (from the sixteenth century) during the seventeenth century is evident from Table 2, which shows that ligatures were present in eight broadside ballad gatherings dating from the 1640s.

3. The existence of ligatures also influenced the distribution of competing graphemes for long /i:/. In the mid-sixteenth century, there was competition between <j> × <ij>.¹⁵ However, during the seventeenth century <j> definitively gained the upper hand. This development is again illustrated in Table 2. Both forms, <ij> and <j>, are documented in all texts up to the 1670s. However, in the texts dating from the final third of the seventeenth century the digraph <ij> occurs only sporadically, and from 1700 onwards only <j> is found. The presence of <ij> in editions from the second half of the seventeenth century can be viewed as a symptom of the continued use of older typefaces. Nevertheless, the use of <j> or <ij> could also have been influenced by how many <j> and <ij> letters the typesetter had at his disposal in a particular typeface; if he lacked <j>, he would use the digraph <ij> instead.

4. The printers’ orthography includes allographs (alternative graphemes) denoting the same phoneme:¹⁶

a. A typical feature of the printers’ orthography is the use of two graphemes for the phoneme /s/. Among minuscule graphemes there is competition between <s> and <f>, and this can be seen in all the investigated texts. The distribution of these graphemes depends on their position in a word: <s> occurs as the separate non-syllabic preposition *s* (with), in the function

13 Similarly, for <ḍe>, <ṇe>, <ḅe>, <p̣e>, <ẉe>, <f̣e>, <ẉe>.

14 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, pp. 819–820.

15 It is likely that during the sixteenth century this competition reflected confessional differences: the printed texts of the Unity of the Brethren preferred <j>, while Utraquist texts used <ij>; see Vykypělová, *Wege*, pp. 235–252.

16 The distribution of competing graphemes for /b/, /i/, /i:/, /l/, /s/ and /ʃ/ in five versions of a song about St. Vojtěch (Adalbert), printed between 1595 and 1719, is analysed in Vytlačilová, “Proměny písně.”

of a prefix, in the consonant clusters /ss/ (orthographically <sf>), /šs/ (orthographically <ffs>) and in word-final position, while <f> occurs in all other positions.

b. Another prominent feature of the printers' orthography is the existence of several different graphemes used to represent the phoneme /ʃ/. Among the minuscule graphemes there are three forms, <ff>, <fs>, <š> (with the typographic variant <š̂>), which have complementary distribution: <ff> occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, whereas <fs>, <š> / <š̂> occur in word-final position or in the first position in the consonant group /ʃʃ/. The occurrence of <š> / <š̂> depends on the typeface used: in some editions it is not found at all, while in others the diaeresis <š̂> is used, and the diacritic <š̂> is only used in exceptional cases.

c. In some versions of Schwabacher typefaces there are two variants for the phonemes /b/ and /h/ (× <ḅ>; <h> × <ḥ>), which (like the graphemes <l> and <ḷ>) differ in that one variant has a straight stem, while the other variant has a rightward slope in the upper part of the stem. These allographs are a known element of typography in this era, but they were never particularly widespread because the difference in graphic form did not represent a phonological difference.¹⁷ This is confirmed by the investigated corpus of Czech broadside ballad gatherings; the allographs only occur in the texts published up to the 1660s (see Table 2).

Typefaces

Like other genres during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Czech, printed broadside ballads featured two typefaces, both of which resembled what the English would call “black letter” or “Old English”: Schwabacher and Fraktur.¹⁸ We can usually observe a functional difference between the two: Schwabacher was generally used for the main text, while Fraktur was used for prominent elements not belonging to the main text (titles, headings, incipits). Larger or smaller Schwabacher lettering was also used for this second function. Only four examples from the investigated corpus of broadside ballad gatherings use Fraktur for the main text.¹⁹ However,

¹⁷ Kosek, “Bratrský pravopis,” pp. 183–187.

¹⁸ Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, pp. 274–275, 869–871.

¹⁹ *Novina jistá*, 1681, MZK VK-0000.316,přív. 3; *Novina jistá*, 1682, MZK VK-0000.316,přív. 1; *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1685, MZK VK-0000.542,přív. 6; *Písnička nová*, 1695, MZK VK-0000.543,přív.

Fraktur is entirely dominant for initial letters. Some of the letters display signs of considerable wear, supporting the thesis (outlined above) that printers used older typefaces that were unsuitable for more prestigious publications. The age of these typefaces may have influenced the presence of certain elements such as the above-mentioned ligatures: e.g., <tě> or the digraph <ij>. Other outdated features include several printers' abbreviations that occasionally occur in the analysed texts from the 1650s: <gaké^o> = *gakého*, <každé^v> = *každému*, <trwā> = *trwám*.²⁰ These old-style abbreviations disappeared from Czech book printing by the beginning of the seventeenth century.²¹

Punctuation

The repertoire of punctuation marks is very simple compared to other texts printed in the same era. The investigated broadside ballad gatherings usually include commas <,> and slashes </> (absolute frequencies are given in Table 2). Each of the investigated texts also includes colons <:>, periods (full stops) <.> and hyphens <-> (used to divide words). Question marks and exclamation marks appear sporadically; brackets and the semi-colon <:> occur in just one text, and just once each. Commas <,> and slashes </> were alternative forms that performed the same function until the mid-eighteenth century: commas were used in the middle of a line, while slashes appeared at the ends of lines (as opposed to English broadside ballads, where the slash indicated the line continued to the right and above or below the line).²² The slash began to disappear in this function in the mid-eighteenth century, and it was eventually replaced entirely by the comma.

Majuscules

The use of majuscules (capital letters) in older Czech texts has attracted relatively little attention from scholars.²³ Understandably, majuscules have been studied more in older German texts, and German scholars have

20 <gaké^o> in *Piseň o svaté Panně Barboře*, 1650, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 22; <každé^v> in *Písničky nové*, 1652, MZK VK-0000.385, přív. 10; <trwā> in *Písničky nové*, 1652, MZK VK-0000.385, přív. 10.

21 Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy*, p. 1036.

22 Kosek, "Bratrský pravopis," pp. 183–187.

23 An overview of the (relatively sparse) older literature is given in Fidlerová et al., "Užívání," pp. 285–286, 289–290.

developed a detailed methodology for such research.²⁴ For this reason, here (as in the research by Fidlerová, Dittmann and Vladimírová into the use of majuscules in early modern Czech Bibles, i.e., from the end of the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century) we follow the approach taken in the most extensive German study of this topic, authored by a team led by Rolf Bergmann and Dieter Nerius and published in 1998.²⁵ In line with this approach, we distinguish between the use of majuscules motivated by textual reasons (in titles and headings, at the beginnings of texts, sections, chapters, paragraphs, etc.), syntactic reasons (to mark the beginnings of simple sentences or sentence complexes, citations, direct speech, etc., and within a sentence complex to mark the beginnings of main and dependent clauses), and lexical reasons (according to word class, with a more elaborate classification based on semantic and word-formation criteria applied to nouns and adjectives).

Textually Motivated Uses of Majuscules

a. *Majuscules in titles and headings.* The titles of the investigated broadside ballad gatherings, and the headings of individual broadside ballads (if the gathering contains more than one broadside ballad) always begin with a majuscule. The description of the situation elsewhere within the titles and headings is more complicated due to the large number of lexically motivated majuscules used at the beginning of nouns and adjectives—a common feature in all of the investigated texts (see below). For this reason, the only majuscules within the titles/headings (except the initial letter) that can be considered to be demonstrably textually motivated are those at the beginning of other word classes, e.g., relative pronouns, adverbs not derived from nouns, prepositions, or conjunctions.²⁶ However, in the large majority of cases, these majuscules appear at the beginning of a line—and,

24 Modern German orthography differs significantly from the orthographies of other European languages. In German, all nouns are capitalized today. Thus, the capitalization of all nouns is a matter in dispute in Germany even today and its origins have been thoroughly studied (Bergmann et al., *Die Entwicklung*).

25 Bergmann et al., *Die Entwicklung*; a detailed description of the modified methodology used for Czech can be found in Fidlerová et al., “Užívání”; Fidlerová, “Uplatnění” (this topic was later taken up by Nývtová, “Psaní”).

26 Relative pronoun, for example, in *Novina jistá*, 1682, MZK VK-0000.316, přív. 1; adverb not derived from noun in *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1685, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 6; prepositions in *Písničky tři nové*, 1695, MZM uc ST 0323 08; *Píseň nová*, 1745, MZK VK-0000.085, přív. 10; *Písničky o dni soudném*, 1751, MZM uc ST 0323 11; conjunction in *Píseň nová*, 1746, MZK STS-0449.267.

in some cases, the word is the only word in a line. They are thus motivated more by typographic than textual considerations. Their occurrence is more frequent in the texts published from the 1740s onwards, regardless of the town or city in which the broadside ballad gathering was printed.

b. *Majuscles at the beginning of tune imprints.* These occur without exception in all the broadside ballads investigated. If a tune imprint begins with an introductory word or phrase (such as *Jako...*, *Spívá se jako...*, etc., meaning “Like...,” or “It is sung like...”) followed by a colon, the majuscule is always used both at the beginning of the introductory formula and at the beginning of the tune imprint itself (after the colon).

c. *A second majuscule after the more or less decorative initial letter with which the text of all the investigated broadside ballads begins.* In a large majority of cases, this majuscule is used regardless of the size and graphic design of the initial letter. However, from the 1760s onwards this rule became less obligatory; in two of the three most recent texts in the sample this majuscule is not present, and the initial letter is followed immediately by a minuscule.²⁷

d. *The words Amen or Konec (End), signalling the end of a broadside ballad.* These words always follow the period (full stop) or, exceptionally, slash at the end of the last strophe, so they always begin with a majuscule. However, in almost half of the investigated broadside ballad gatherings (fifteen), this final word is printed entirely in majuscules, while in eighteen of the broadside ballad gatherings this is not the case. It appears that the use of all majuscules in these final words was considered optional up to the mid-eighteenth century (some texts have this feature, others do not), but it later started to prevail (it is present in all the texts from 1748 onwards).

e. *Majuscles at the beginning of sentences, after a period (full stop).* In a normal text, this would fall under the syntactic principle that governs the positioning of majuscules, but in the investigated broadside ballads it is (at least in part) textually motivated. All the investigated texts are divided into strophes; each strophe begins with a majuscule and ends with a period (full stop), and periods are never found within a strophe.²⁸ This rule also applies if one sentence extends over more than one strophe (e.g., the first and second strophes of a broadside ballad published in Olomouc in 1686

27 Majuscule after the initial letter: *Píseň velmi pěkná*, 1763, MZK VK-0000.457.přív. 13; minuscule after the initial letter: *Písničky adventní*, 1748, MZK VK-0000.100.přív. 38; *Písničky adventní*, 1788, MZK ST1-0374.069.

28 In exceptional cases, a strophe may end with a slash or a colon, but (as in the other investigated broadside ballad gatherings) the beginning of a strophe is always marked with the symbol <¶> and a majuscule, e.g., *Píseň o svaté Panně Barboře*, 1650, MZK VK-0000.542.přív. 22, and *Písničky pobožné o umučení Krista*, 1704, MZM uc ST 0323 06.

consist of one simple sentence, but the first strophe ends with a period and the second strophe begins with a majuscule).²⁹

f. *The strophes of some broadside ballads (not necessarily all the broadside ballads in one gathering) are divided into two equal parts by a colon, which is often followed by a majuscule.* In such cases, majuscules are also used in word classes where they otherwise hardly occur at all, such as conjunctions, prepositions, verbs or adverbs. Here a majuscule is used despite the fact that it does not mark the beginning of a sentence. This form of division within strophes occurs in thirteen broadside ballad gatherings from the investigated sample, most commonly in those from Olomouc and more rarely in those from Litomyšl or Brno.³⁰ In five broadside ballad gatherings the colon is always followed by a majuscule, in seven there is a predominance of majuscules after the colon, and in just one there is a predominance of minuscules (ratio 20:2).³¹ We can thus observe a tendency to treat this division similarly to the division between different strophes, and thus to use a majuscule after it. However, this was evidently not felt to be an obligatory rule, as the printers usually followed it inconsistently.

Syntactically Motivated Uses of Majuscules

The only use of majuscules in the investigated broadside ballads that can be classified as syntactically motivated is their positioning after a colon at the beginning of a passage of direct speech that is not at the beginning of a strophe. Such passages of direct speech are found in just six broadside ballad gatherings, with a total of eighteen occurrences: of these, in twelve cases the direct speech begins with a majuscule and in six cases with a minuscule.³²

29 *Píseň historická*, 1686, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 5.

30 Olomouc: *Písničky historické*, 1641, KNM KP K 11511; *Písničky nové*, 1652, MZK VK-0000.385, přív. 10; *Písničky velmi pobožné*, 1685, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 6; *Písničky tři nové*, 1695, MZM uc ST 0323 08; *Písničky nábožné*, 1699, MZM uc ST 0323 07; *Písničky ranní*, 1746, MZM uc ST 0323 09; *Písničky adventní*, 1748, MZK VK-0000.100, přív. 36; *Písničky adventní*, 1788, MZK ST1-0374.069; Litomyšl: *Písničky velmi pěkné*, 1659, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 6; *Písničky pobožné o umučení Krista*, 1704, MZM uc ST 0323 06; *Písničky nové*, 1693, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 18; *Písnička nová*, 1695, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 24; *Písn[í]čky pobožné*, 1702, MZK STS-0128.631, přív. 31.

31 *Písničky tři nové*, 1695, MZM uc ST 0323 08.

32 Passages of direct speech are found mostly in the broadside ballad gatherings printed in Olomouc (*Píseň historická*, 1676, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 19; *Píseň historická*, 1686, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 5; *Písničky adventní*, 1748, MZK VK-0000.100, přív. 36; *Písničky o dni soudném*, 1751, MZM uc ST 0323 11), less frequently in Litomyšl (*Píseň o svatě Panně Barboře*, 1650, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 22; *Novina jistá*, 1682, MZK VK-0000.316, přív. 1).

In such cases we can thus observe a relatively inconsistent tendency to use majuscules—similar to the situation with colons marking internal divisions of strophes (see above). The fact that in both situations there was a tendency rather than an obligatory rule indicates that printers did not consider one or the other level of textual division important; instead, the punctuation mark which preceded the particular word seems to be the decisive factor.

Lexically Motivated Uses of Majuscules

a. Nouns:

i. Proper names: In the large majority of the investigated broadside ballads, all proper names and other names begin with a majuscule.³³ The only exception is the text published in Litomyšl in 1664, in which not all but still 94.87% of proper names and other names begin with majuscules.³⁴

ii. Appellatives: The percentage of appellatives beginning with majuscules differs considerably, from 50.30% to 100.00%; the mean value is 84.61%.³⁵ If we divide the investigated broadside ballad gatherings chronologically into successive groups of between five and seven according to their date of publication, we see that the percentage of appellatives beginning with majuscules increases over the course of time, from a mean value of 69.80% (gatherings published in 1641–1659) to 94.13% (gatherings published in 1751–1788). Already at the beginning of the period under investigation, majuscules were used in the large majority of cases for *nomina sacra*, nouns denoting persons (human beings) and other concrete nouns. Thus, the increase in the percentage of appellatives with majuscules over the course of time is not related to them, but it is due to an increase in the capitalization of abstract nouns (which rose from a mean value of 46.86% during the period 1641–1659 to 88.51% for the period 1751–1788—see Table 3).³⁶ While the date of publication was found to have a substantial effect on the total

33 The number of nouns of this type (i.e., those where the use of the majuscule is not textually motivated, as the noun is not positioned at the beginning of a title, strophe, etc.) in one text ranges from 44 to 672; the mean value is 246. In total 8,134 nouns were evaluated.

34 *Písničky pobožné*, 1664, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 8.

35 50.30% in *Písničky nové*, 1652, MZK VK-0000.385, přív. 10; 100.00% in *Nová píseň*, 1756, MZM uc ST 0323 04.

36 The traditional, but not always clearly defined categories of abstract and concrete nouns we delimit according to Ewald, “Konkreta versus Abstrakta.” Simply speaking, as concrete we count all the cases when a noun is used to denote an entity that can be detected by at least one of our physical senses; all remaining cases are counted as abstract.

proportion of appellatives printed with majuscules, the influence of the place of publication only had a small effect: the broadside ballad gatherings printed in Brno contain an average 86.36% of appellatives with majuscules, while the figure for Olomouc is 84.84% and for Litomyšl 84.25%.

iii. *Nomina sacra* and names of the saints have one more specific feature: in some cases, they are printed not with one majuscule, but with two or three at the beginning of the word, or they may be printed entirely in majuscules. Two majuscules are used at the beginning of the words *Bůh* (God), *Ježíš* (Jesus), *Kristus* (Christ) and adjectives derived from these nouns, as well as (in exceptional cases) in the word *Pán* (the Lord) or the name *Maria* ([Virgin] Mary). The word *Kristus* is occasionally printed with three majuscules. Words sometimes printed entirely in majuscules are *Bůh*, *Boží* (God's), *Ježíš*, *Kristus*, *Pán*, *Syn* ("Son," denoting Jesus) and *Maria*, or the names of the saints that form the subject of the text (*Josef*, *Jan*). This means of expressing a special degree of respect is found in the large majority of the investigated texts, though it is generally not used in a systematic manner (i.e., a single text may feature the same word printed sometimes with one majuscule and other times with two or more).³⁷ The frequency and systematicity of the use of two, three, or more majuscules increase over the course of time: while in the older broadside ballad gatherings this practice was used in a non-systematic way and in a minority of cases, by the 1740s, it had become the predominant practice, albeit only applied to a narrower range of lexemes (it ceased to be applied to the words *Syn*, *Pán*, and *Kristus*).

b. Adjectives: We also observed an increased use of majuscules with adjectives over time, ranging between 11.00% and 65.52%.³⁸ However, throughout the entire investigated period majuscules were used substantially less in adjectives (total mean value 26.75%) than in nouns, and the proportion increased only slightly over the course of time (see Table 3). As is the case with nouns, the place of publication has only a small effect on the use of majuscules with adjectives, though the differences here are somewhat larger than for nouns (Brno 30.38%, Olomouc 26.26%, Litomyšl 24.40%).

c. Other word classes: Majuscules are used only in exceptional cases at the beginning of other word classes—they appear in cases in single figures and only in a small number of broadside ballad gatherings. In these instances,

37 Exceptions: *Písnička pobožná*, 1655, MZK VK-0000.542, přív. 11; *Píseň historická*, 1686, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 5; *Písnička nová*, 1695, MZK VK-0000.543, přív. 24; *Písn[í]čky pobožné*, 1702, MZK STS-0128.631, přív. 31.

38 The number of adjectives in one broadside ballad gathering ranges from 26 to 264; the mean value is 91. In total, 3,019 adjectives were evaluated—11.00% in *Nová píseň*, 1756, MZM uc ST 0323 04, and 65.52% in *Písn[í]čky pobožné*, 1702, MZK STS-0128.631, přív. 31.

the practice is the most common in numerals, personal pronouns referring to God or the saints, verbs derived from nouns or expressing respect, and adverbs derived from nouns.³⁹

Table 3. Percentage of words with majuscules in selected groups of nouns and in adjectives

Period of publication	Mean percentage of words with majuscules					
	Nouns					Adjectives
	All appellatives	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Nouns denoting persons	Other concrete nouns	Abstract nouns	
1641–1659	69.80	98.57	88.16	87.36	46.86	23.57
1664–1686	81.57	93.90	97.95	94.21	63.35	23.54
1692–1699	79.86	100.00	96.79	97.18	61.64	17.67
1702–1713	89.20	86.78	99.19	93.30	81.18	30.20
1744–1748	91.12	100.00	100.00	98.84	78.20	30.54
1751–1788	94.13	99.46	99.72	100.00	88.51	33.88

Conclusions

The orthography of the investigated broadside ballads corresponds with the printer's orthography that was current at the time of their publication. In many aspects it displays a degree of variation, but in most cases this variation is in line with contemporary usage. Both Schwabacher and Fraktur typefaces were used when printing broadside ballads, but printers generally used older letters to reduce costs (newer lettering was reserved for more prestigious printed works, as is the case in most countries). Several tendencies can be observed in the orthography of the analysed broadside ballads, such as the rapid decline of the digraphs <uo>, <ie> during the first half of the seventeenth century, the definitive replacement of the digraph <ij> by the unigraph <j> in the second half of the seventeenth century, the relatively late adoption of the diacritized majuscules <Č> and <Ř> in the mid-eighteenth century, and the decline of the slash </> and its replacement with the comma <,> in the second half of the eighteenth century. Our

39 Examples of verbs: *kralovati*, *rytěřovati* (*Píseň historická*, 1676, MZK VK-0000.543.přív. 19) or *ráčiti* (*Písničky ranní*, 1746, MZM uc ST 0323 09). Examples of adverbs: *letos*, *doma* (*Novina jistá*, 1682, MZK VK-0000.316.přív. 1) or *smrtedlně* (*Píseň nová*, 1692, MZK VK-0000.543.přív. 16).

analysis also confirms the influence of typefaces on the distribution of several graphemes: e.g., the pairs of alternative graphemes for /b/ and /h/ are found in the oldest printings, mainly those from Litomyšl. A growing tendency toward employing majuscules was also observed, mainly in cases where the majuscules were lexically motivated. This tendency is so strong that in the texts printed in the 1740s and later, almost all nouns and a third of adjectives begin with majuscules. In sum, we find, on the one hand, an interesting mixture of long-preserved archaic features, caused mostly by the use of old typefaces; on the other, a progressive tendency (which was, however, later rejected by the creators of modern Czech codification) to capitalize an increasing number of words.

Works Cited

Primary Sources (Printed in Litomyšl)

Novina jistá a pravdivá, kteráž se stala léta 1682 Den svateho Antonína měsíce [...].

[Litomyšl]: N.p., 1682, sign. VK-0000.316,přív. 1, MZK.

Novina jistá a pravdivá, kteráž se stala za Rejnem Kolinem ve vsi Gelbdorffě [...].

[Litomyšl]: N.p., 1703, sign. VK-0000.316,přív. 2, MZK.

Novina jistá a pravdivá o hvězdě a kometě [...]. [Litomyšl]: N.p., 1681, sign. VK-

0000.316,přív. 3, MZK.

Píseň nová aneb truchlivé volání k Marii Panně [...]. Litomyšl: Jan Kamenický, 1746,

sign. STS-0449.267, MZK.

Píseň o svatě Panně Barboře mučednici Boží [...]. Litomyšl: Matouš Václav Březina,

1650, sign. VK-0000.542,přív. 22, MZK.

Písničky pobožné na modlitbu Páně Otče náš etc. a na Pozdravení anjelské Zdravas

Maria etc. Litomyšl: Jan Arnolt, 1664, VK-0000.542,přív. 8, MZK.

Písničky pobožné o umučení Krista Pána nyní v nově vytištěné. Litomyšl: N.p., 1704,

sign. uc ST 0323 06, MZM.

Písničky velmi pěkné a pobožné v nově složené [...]. Litomyšl: Jan Arnolt, 1659, sign.

VK-0000.543,přív. 6, MZK.

Žalostivá cesta Ježíše Jozefa a Marie z Nazaretu do Ejipta [...]. Litomyšl: N.p., 1713,

sign. VK-0000.001,přív. 9, MZK.

Primary Sources (Printed in Olomouc)

Novina o jednom chudobném člověku, který žalostivě kmotra h[le]dal [...]. Olomouc:

N.p., 1712, sign. P-52, MKP.

- Píseň historická o svatém Jiří Rytíři a Mučedlníku.* Olomouc: Jan Josef Kylian, 1676, sign. VK-0000.543,přív. 19, MZK.
- Píseň historická o svatě Panně Barboře [...].* Olomouc: Jan Josef Kilian, 1686, sign. VK-0000.543,přív. 5, MZK.
- Píseň horlivá rozjímání cesty Pána Ježíše do Jeruzaléma.* Olomouc: František Hirnle, 1744, sign. VK-0000.534, MZK.
- Píseň nová a pobožná každému člověku křesťanskému pro duchovní potěšení zpívati a rozjímati užitečná.* Olomouc: N.p., 1748, sign. MZK VK-0000.100,přív. 30.
- Píseň velmi pěkná k svatému Janu Nepomuckému.* Olomouc: N.p., 1763, sign. VK-0000.457,přív. 13, MZK.
- Písníčka pobožná v těchto nebezpečných časích jednomu každému pobožnému křesťanu zpívati užitečná. K nížto jest druhá přidaná [...].* Olomouc: Vít Jindřich Ettel, 1655, sign. VK-0000.542,přív. 11, MZK.
- Písníčky adventní o vtělení Syna Božího [...].* Olomouc: N.p., 1748, sign. VK-0000.100,přív. 36, MZK.
- Písníčky adventní o vtělení Syna Božího [...].* Olomouc: N.p., 1788, sign. ST1-0374.069, MZK.
- Písníčky historické o sv. Filipu a Jakubu [...].* Olomouc: Mikuláš Hradecký, 1641, sign. KP K 115i 1, KNM.
- Písníčky nábožné k Panně MARIJI [...].* Olomouc: Jan Josef Kylian, 1699, MZM uc ST 0323 07.
- Písníčky nové na Žalmy svatého Davida [...].* Olomouc: Mikuláš Hradecký, 1652, sign. VK-0000.385,přív. 10, MZK.
- Písníčky o dni soudném.* Olomouc: N.p., 1751, sign. uc ST 0323 11, MZM.
- Písníčky ranní každému křesťanskému člověku zpívati užitečné a potřebné [...].* Olomouc: N.p., 1746, sign. uc ST 0323 09, MZM.
- Písníčky tři nové žalostné o umučení KRISTA Pána [...].* Olomouc: Jan Josef Kylian, 1695, sign. uc ST 0323 08, MZM.
- Písníčky velmi pobožné v tyto nynější těžké časy zpívati užitečné a potřebné [...].* Olomouc: Jan Josef Kylián, 1685, sign. VK-0000.542,přív. 6.

Primary Sources (Printed in Brno)

- Nová píseň k svatému JOZEFU, pěstounu Krista Pána.* Brno: Emmanuel Svoboda, 1756, sign. uc ST 0323 04, MZM.
- Nová píseň o svatém JANU Nepomuckém.* Brno: N.p., 1762, sign. VK-0000.100,přív. 38, MZK.
- Píseň nová historická, divná a velmi příkladná o jednom pobožném svatém pacholátku [...].* Brno: N.p., 1692, sign. VK-0000.543,přív. 16, MZK.
- Píseň nová k Panně Marii Vranovské.* Brno: Svobodovi dědicové, 1745, sign. VK-0000.085,přív. 10, MZK.

- Písnička nová o jednom Proroku, kterýž se na panství slepickém [...]*. [Brno]: N.p., 1695, sign. VK-0000.543, přív. 24, MZK.
- Písničky nové a velmi pěkné, každému člověku křesťanskému pro duchovní potěšení zpívati užitečné a potěšitelné*. Brno: František Ignác Sinapi, 1693, sign. VK-0000.542, přív. 18, MZK.
- Písn[í]čky pobožné každému křesťanskému člověku spívati užitečné, nyní v nově vytištěné*. Brno: František Ignácius Sinapi, 1702, sign. STS-0128.631, přív. 31, MZK.
- Žalostivé naříkání synků a vdov k svatému Janu Nepomuckému [...]*. Brno: Svobodovi dědicové, 1742, sign. VK-0000.175, přív. 31, MZK.

Secondary Sources

- Beneš Martin. "Grafémika a česká grafická soustava." In *Studie k moderní mluvnici češtiny 5. K české fonetice a pravopisu*, ed. Oldřich Uličný and Martin Prošek, pp. 122–138. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2013.
- Berger, Tilman. "Religion and Diacritics: The Case of Czech Orthography." In *Orthographies in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Baddeley and Anja Voeste, pp. 255–268. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.
- Bergmann, Rolf, et al. *Die Entwicklung der Großschreibung im Deutschen von 1500 bis 1700*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1998.
- Ewald, Petra. "Konkreta versus Abstrakta. Zur semantischen Subklassifikation deutscher Substantive." *Sprachwissenschaft* 17 (1992), pp. 259–281.
- Fidlerová, Alena A., "Orthography and Group Identity: A Comparative Approach to Studying Orthographic Systems in Early Modern Czech Printed and Handwritten Texts (ca. 1560–1710)." In *Advancements in Diachronic Spelling Variation: 1500–1700*, ed. Marco Condorelli, pp. 154–175. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Fidlerová, Alena A. "Uplatnění lexikálního principu v užívání velkých písmen v českých tištěných biblích raného novověku." *Historie–Otázky–Problémy* 5 (2013), pp. 159–174.
- Fidlerová, Alena A., Robert Dittman, and Veronika S. Vladimírová. "Užívání velkých písmen v českých tištěných Biblích raného novověku." In *Dějiny českého pravopisu (do r. 1902)*, ed. Michaela Čornejová, Lucie Rychnovská, and Jana Zemanová, pp. 285–308. Brno: Host & Masarykova univerzita, 2010.
- Kosek, Pavel. "Bratrský pravopis." In *Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, ed. Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, and Jana Pleskalová, pp. 183–187. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Lamprecht, Arnost, Dušan Šlosar, and Jaroslav Bauer. *Historická mluvnice češtiny*. Praha: SPN, 1986.
- Nývltová, Martina. "Psaní velkých písmen v samostatně vydaných českých Nových zákonech 15. a 16. století." *Naše řeč* 99, no. 4 (2016), pp. 189–206.

- Optát, Beneš, Petr Gzell, and Philomathes. *Gramatika česká*, ed. Ondřej Koupil. Praha: Akropolis, 2019.
- Porák, Jaroslav. *Humanistická čeština. Hláskosloví a pravopis*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1983.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy*. Praha: Libri, 2006.
- Vykypělová, Taťána. *Wege zum Neutschechischen. Studien zur Geschichte der tschechischen Schriftsprache*. Hamburg: Kovač, 2013.
- Vytlačilová, Veronika. "Proměny písně o sv. Vojtěchovi z hlediska pravopisného." *Naše řeč* 102, no. 5 (2019), pp. 295–305.

Abbreviations

- MZK—Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
- MZM—Moravské zemské muzeum (Moravian Museum)
- KNM—Knihovna Národního muzea (Library of the Czech National Museum)
- MKP—Muzeum Komenského v Přerově (Comenius Museum in Přerov)

About the Authors

Pavel Kosek: Full Professor of Czech Language at the Department of Czech Language, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.muni.cz/en/people/4755-pavel-kosek>. Kosek has co-edited four critical editions and three collections of essays, and he has authored two books: *Spojovací prostředky v češtině období baroka* (2003) and *Enklitika v češtině barokní doby* (2011). kosek@phil.muni.cz.

Veronika Bromová: Researcher in the Department of Czech Language, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic, <https://www.muni.cz/en/people/11829-veronika-bromova>. Bromová has authored the monograph *Textová struktura nejstarších českých listin se zvláštním zřetelem k vývoji formuláře* (2009). bromova@phil.muni.cz.

Alena Andrlová Fidlerová: Assistant Professor of Czech language at the Institute of Czech Language and Theory of Communication, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Czech Republic, <https://ucjtk.ff.cuni.cz/ustav/lide/zamestnanci/mgr-alena-andrlova-fidlerova-ph-d/>. Fidlerová has edited one critical edition, three textbooks, and co-authored two books: *Repertorium rukopisů 17. a 18. století z muzejních sbírek v Čechách. Part I, A–J, and Part II, K–O* (2003). alena.fidlerova@ff.cuni.cz.

Dmitrij Timofejev: Researcher at the Czech Language Institute, Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, <https://ujc.avcr.cz/zakladni-informace/pracovnici/timofejev-dmitrij.html>. Timofejev has co-edited six electronic critical editions and co-authored the book *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea, signatury 1 D, 1 E a 1 G* (2016). timofejev@ujc.cas.cz.

VI.

The Wider Context

18. English “Heyday” Broadside Ballads

Patricia Fumerton

Abstract

Patricia Fumerton investigates English “heyday” broadside ballads, wherein single-sided sheets of paper by the late sixteenth century expanded in size to accommodate lots of decorative black-letter text, divided into two parts (the second part pursuing the verse and tune of the first), as well as an abundance of woodcut illustrations and other ornaments, and, of course, the required tune title(s). The English heyday broadside ballad lasted until circa 1690, by which time ornamentation (except for musical notation), tune titles, and black letter temporarily died out for some 15 to 20 years (the ballad’s size forever diminished and black-letter text never made a comeback beyond the occasional word or phrase).

Keywords: English broadside ballads, collectors, black letter, illustrations, tunes

Introduction: The Global Protean Broadside Ballad

Why, you might ask, would the founding director of the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA, <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>) not only collaborate on a collection of essays focused on *Czech* printed ballads but also contribute a chapter to such a collection? A preliminary answer was sketched out in the introduction to this book: the Czech lands especially of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries published ballads that not only originated in the sixteenth century as single-sided printed sheets, but that also resemble in many ways pre-1701 English broadside ballads. Essentially, they share key features of what I and my team at EBBA have termed the English broadside ballad “heyday.” To summarize in a sentence the far-flung printed ballad commonality we observe: each country, in its ballad heyday, printed on

a single sheet multiple media—text, art, and song—that addressed an array of topics intended for cheap, mass marketing to the populace at large. But my co-editors would assuredly agree with me in posing a significant caveat: even in boldly advancing such shared print features, we by no means propose identity. The vast geographical, temporal, and cultural distances that separate the heyday printed ballads of England and those of Czech lands (and, for that matter, other countries) make such twinning impossible. In many ways, indeed, this chapter underscores the difference, not sameness, between English and Czech broadside ballad phenomena. But such can be said of the English broadside ballad itself, even in its heyday, as one tracks its progress from the late sixteenth century through to the end of the seventeenth century (not to mention beyond its heyday death, marked by the loss of “Old English” or black-letter typeface and the temporary absence of illustrations on such ballad artefacts), as the genre continues to morph distinctly for two more centuries. In sum, the English broadside ballad as a genre was, by its very nature, protean.

Perhaps—and here I am admittedly surmising—such continual mutation is due to the constantly repositioned needs and demands of the masses. Certainly, they must regularly adjust their jobs, places, and thinking in order to just get by. With limited education, they are also especially susceptible to shifting marketing forces (what we today call “social media”). I have painstakingly detailed what defines an English broadside ballad in developing EBBA; but I have been persistently flummoxed by the artefact’s shape-shifting character, as if it were an organic creature. To study the broadside ballad, whatever its location in space and time, I have concluded, is to wrestle with a constantly mutating entity. At the risk of over-glorifying our academic endeavours, broadside ballad scholars internationally must become something of an intellectual Menelaus. Like that mythological king, who physically wrestled with the shape-shifting god, Proteus, we must critically grapple with an always mutating artefact if we have any hope of pinning down the broadside ballad entity to make it speak Truth, however momentarily.

Given the inherent mutation of broadside ballads, this expansive section of our collection, which looks to the printed ballad genre in countries bordering but also far afield from Czech lands, naturally reveals many differences. However, it also uncovers surprisingly strong likenesses in the very face of continual change. I embrace Bruce Smith’s positivist vision of the cultural scholar’s potential for accomplishment in their attempts to inhabit a seemingly long-past cultural phenomenon, specifically his addressing the modern-day study of the historically distanced English broadside ballad.

Smith outright rejects academic attempts at achieving intellectual or even emotive identification or sameness with the past. Instead, he advocates what he terms sympathetic "analogy." From our present "is," he argues, we can still inhabit a powerfully felt "like" or, what he alternatively terms, a "kinetic analogy" of the "was."¹ My chapter seeks to capture just such a moving analogy or, in my own alternative phrasing, an "intellectual and affective approximation" with England's once vibrant broadside ballad experience. Additionally—especially in its last section—I seek to adventure one step further: to gesture towards an analogy that can even more affirmatively cross the vast expanses of space and time to inhabit another culture's analogous experience, specifically that of the Czech populace who, like the English, once lived and breathed broadside ballads on a daily basis. With a sympathetic analogy to the English habitation of their own heyday broadside ballads, we might just recognize—without flagrantly affirming sameness—that we can as scholars create a bridge that allows us to cross even wide cultural divides.

In my efforts to traverse the historical bridge between the now and then, I focus, in this chapter, specifically on defining the English heyday broadside ballad: its features, dissemination, function, and consumption. Exemplary is the ballad imaged in Figure 35.

The remarkable phenomenon of the heyday broadside ballad, as illustrated in Figure 35, saturated the late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century popular London market—hence my foregrounding of the term "English." It specifically targeted and captivated a barely tapped market base: that of the lower middling to poor. But, if sometimes only furtively, broadside ballads were also admired and purchased by the socially elite and erudite, including collectors who proudly owned them. Many actually lived during the artefacts' heyday. These included John Bagford (a shoemaker by trade, who rose to become a ballad collector for others, even as he amassed his own collection, and also a learned scholar who aspired to write—but sadly, never realized—a history of print); the maniacally devoted Oxfordian, Anthony Wood; the 1st Earl of Oxford, Robert Harley; and socially aspiring Samuel Pepys. Even many elite nineteenth-century antiquarians, such as the 25th and 26th Earls of Crawford and James Halliwell-Phillips, privileged heyday broadside ballads, not only collecting them but also republishing their texts for scholarly access. They did so despite fierce antagonism in their time from folklorists. The folklore movement's most famous and vocal crusader was the American scholar James Francis Child, who flourished in

1 Smith, *Phenomenal Shakespeare*, pp. 170–171.



Figure 35. Example of an English “heyday” broadside ballad: “A merry Dialogue betwixt a married man and his wife, concern the affairs of this carefull life,” ca. 1619–1629, EBBA 30190. Facsimile sheet; manipulation done by English Broadside Ballad Archive. @ British Library Board. Roxburghe 2.266–267, C.20.r.7.266–267.

the latter half of the nineteenth century. Valuing and seeking to recover what he termed the “traditional,” “oral,” and “pure” ballad (that is, oral song predating what he considered its contamination by print), Child dubbed the most immense and famous heyday broadside ballad collections of the seventeenth century “veritable dunghills.”²² So captivating was Child’s holy grail myth of the purely oral ballad that it was embraced by scholars and the general public well into the mid-twentieth century (and for some, up to the present day).

Most influential in later casting scholarly light on the nineteenth-century antiquarians’ efforts and their objects of devotion, and thus in recovering the broadside ballad genre as worthy of academic attention, was Tessa Watt, in her groundbreaking study published in 1999, *Cheap Print and*

22 Cited in Brown, “Child’s Ballads,” p. 67. Ironically, as Brown points out, though Child disparaged printed ballads, he often drew on them for source materials.

Popular Piety. But it wasn't until broadside ballads re-emerged on the popular scene in digital archives, with the public dissemination of the World Wide Web circa 1990, that the full affordances of heyday broadside ballads could be made available both to scholars and the general public. Most influential in recovering extant heyday broadside ballads as well as their multimedia—individually catalogued and searchable—is the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA). Founded in 2003 and archiving to date 10,000 of the estimated 11,000 surviving heyday ballad artefacts (of the millions lost to disposal, recycling, and the ravages of overuse and time, to which cheap print is always vulnerable), EBBA stands out globally as the most important digital broadside ballad resource for scholars of the early modern genre. Through EBBA—and I do not mean to “toot my own horn” since it took a village of over 400 people and 20 years to date to create this expansive resource—anyone can thus now re-appreciate by inhabiting something analogous, if not identical, to an early modern multimedia broadside ballad experience. I draw on EBBA extensively in the course of this chapter.

The English Broadside Ballad Heyday

Primarily, then, let us focus on what we at EBBA mean by the English broadside ballad “heyday,” in all its permutations. I further ask you, in the last section of this chapter, to open your minds to embrace an imaginative, if not entirely unfounded, analogy. There I propose that you consider what I firmly believe is a, if not *the*, key social function—even perhaps internationally—of heyday broadside ballads: individualization. Though differently manifested, I argue, an intense “subjectivity,” or making the artefact one's “own,” dominates the consumption of both English and Czech broadside ballads in their respective heydays. Indeed, the countries' respective mass-marketed ballad artefacts, we find, were ironically—considering their ephemerality—very much not impersonal but rather personalized objects. They were regarded across their lowly consumers as treasured extensions of their very beings. They were expressions of their individual identity or “I.”

The heyday of the broadside ballad virtually burst onto the London print scene in the 1590s, brashly dominating urban popular culture into the 1640s (though more covertly through the dangerous print era of the English Civil War from 1642 to 1651 and Cromwell's Commonwealth up to 1659); they then prominently re-emerge, if on smaller sheets and with more pastoral topics,

with the restoration of monarchy in 1660, continuing up to the 1690s.³ The term “heyday” for this remarkable development refers to an enhancement of the ballad’s multimedia: prominent eye-catching, ear-catching, and toe-tapping text, art, and song—all printed on one side of a sheet of paper (in this way, these artefacts were significantly unlike the double-sided printing of Czech heyday single-sheet ballads, if not unlike their original single-sided format of the sixteenth century).

Catching the eye was the swirling black-letter typeface, which was dubbed fondly from its inception, and known even today, as “Old English,” although also often referred to as Gothic font. Black-letter type resembled its handwritten counterpart, forming a continuum between script and print. The intensely serified type consisted of elaborately formed curls, tails, and feet on its letters. Such an aesthetically appealing font, I posit, would have been especially alluring to the barely literate or illiterate, for whom it would have appeared more like decoration than meaningful words. But most eye-grabbing in the ballad’s heyday would have been the many (typically four) large illustrations, which ran across the top of the broadside ballad sheet, just below the ballad’s title. Such “eye candy” was sweetened with an abundance of prettified flourishes made from ornamental arrangements of tiny metal pieces, often evoking floral patterns, as well as the frequent appearance of elaborately carved rectangular woodblocks, usually placed as “headers” or “footers” to the body of the ballad’s text. All such fancified embellishments framed or divided the ballad’s columns of black-letter verse and larger illustrations; most can be seen in Figure 35 above. An ear-catching melody, furthermore, can as easily be read and heard. Tunes were signalled by a tune title or titles, printed between each ballad’s main title and its illustrations (on its own line, as exemplified by “To the tune ‘Dulcina’” above). Such tune titles usually referenced what would have been a well-known melody, like “Dulcina,” or if it were new, one easy to learn.

Furthermore, black-letter text and tune collaborate in broadside ballads to form rhythmically recognizable patterns of measures, rhymes, and refrains, though not always, or even as a rule, following the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry*’s definition of ballad measure (four lines consisting of 4-3-4-3 stresses and rhyming abab or abcb).⁴ The *Encyclopedia*’s definition actually draws on the measure and rhyme schemes of the oral “folk” or “traditional” ballad. Printed or broadside ballads, we find, are much more variable in their

3 Evidence that broadside ballads continued to be published during the English Civil War is provided by the extremely rare survival of the Manchester ballads, most (covertly) pro-Royalist.

4 See Gahan, “Ballad Measure in Print.”

patterning of text and rhyme. Such is the case between and even within printed ballads, which can morph before one's very eyes on reading or singing the verse. The line stanzas alone might transition from 4 to 6 to 8 lines. More shape-shifting verse was common. In any given four-line stanza, for instance, the measure might be 4-4-4-4, or 4-4-3-4, or 3-3-3-3, or any combination of such patterns, especially when extended to longer stanzas. Finally, the rhyme scheme might appear as abab or abcb, but also as aabb, or abac, or some other variation on such simple rhyming patterns. There are even broadside ballads written and sung in iambic pentameter as well as famous tunes that fit this measure, such as "Fortune my Foe" and "Death and the Lady." Even broadside ballad refrains can vary, usually just subtly, throughout the text, alternating just as a melody in music might improvise upon an instrumental or sung base line. Even in acknowledging such mutations, however, we still find that English heyday broadside ballads are overall *relatively* regular in whatever patterns they set. They are also most certainly "catchy," whatever were their varying measures, rhymes, or refrains. Just listen to any ballad recording in EBBA, and you'll be struck by how quickly the tune sticks in your brain, so that you find yourself (sometimes maddeningly) humming that melody for the rest of the day or longer.

In listening to a heyday ballad tune, you'll also likely experience something of a kinetic experience, if only subliminally, akin to that of dance. Not surprisingly, as Smith observes, the English word "ballad" derives from the Old French *balare*, meaning "to dance."⁵ Many English ballad tunes were originally dance melodies. Foreign courtly dance tunes, such as "Greensleeves" and "Rogero," frequently crossed the Channel and were quickly naturalized or "Englished." But dance tunes also migrated into London from the countryside along with the approximately 10,000 immigrants a year—necessary to replenish the large numbers of city labourers who died off, especially in plague years, as well as to feed the city's expanding maw, hungry for more labour. Those migrating to London from the countryside were in many ways like the migrants to Brazil's cities from the north-eastern arid *sertão*, as discussed by Kateřina Březinová. Both sets of migrants sought a better life by travelling to urban areas, even if their dreams were usually and sadly dashed. And just as poor migrants to cities from north-eastern Brazil brought with them their own local culture, including their beloved *cordel*, so the impoverished from across today's United Kingdom brought with them to London their home town customs, including their cherished country dances and songs.

5 Smith, "Putting the 'Ball' Back in Ballads," p. 323.

Ben Jonson mocks the adoption of countrified dance tunes by broadside ballad marketers as well as their eager and, in his mind, ignorant consumers in his play *Bartholomew Fair*. The doltish country “gentleman,” Bartholomew Cokes, becomes so entranced by Nightingale’s hawking of a broadside ballad that he is unsuspectingly pickpocketed by the balladeer’s partner in crime, Edgeworth. Jonson jabs even deeper at such silly ballad engagement. Enthusiastically singing along to the ballad’s tune, which Nightingale names, “*Paggington’s Pound*” [a deliberate bowdlerization of the popular tune title “*Packington’s Pound*”], Cokes exudes, “Fa, la la la, la la la, fa la la la”—a common ballad nonsense refrain—adding, “Nay I’ll put thee in tune, and all!” He then—and here’s the clincher—proudly declares the tune’s origin: “*my own country dance!*” (3.5.56–57, my emphasis). Country dancing is sometimes even illustrated in heyday broadside ballads, as in the familiar image of the circle dance around a piper, made from a woodblock much like the cracked survivor held today at the Huntington Library, in San Marino, California (both shown in Figure 36).

One could thus not only see but also hear, sing, hum along, or even kinetically sway, with muscle memory of a country dance, to heyday broadside ballads—and not just at fairs like Jonson’s staged *Bartholomew Fair*. As heyday broadside ballads became objects of mass dissemination in London, marketed in the millions of copies by the late sixteenth century (as Tessa Watt estimates⁶), they were encountered just about *everywhere*. Printers and publishers sold them in their shops, of course, and their apprentices mounted them on cleft sticks protruding from makeshift printers’ stalls. But heyday broadside ballads were also pasted up on posts, walls, and just about every available public space in London. They were waved by hawkers strategically positioning themselves on street corners; held up and belted out by kindred peddlers at public gatherings, such as market places and executions; mongered and posted up in the many alehouses dotting every block of London’s streets; seen and sung in shops by workers, especially carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, and other tradesmen who would pace their labours to the rhythms of the ballad tunes; and embraced as both art and melody in domestic spaces, where the women of the house might sing along as they spun, again labouring to the rhythms of the ballads, perhaps occasionally glancing up to admire the decorative broadside ballad they sung that might well be pasted on their home’s wall—the poor man’s oil painting, if you will.

I would argue, in fact, that the English heyday broadside ballad privileged the visual over all of its other multimedia (especially if one considers the

6 Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 11.



Figure 36. Impression from an English broadside ballad and an extant woodcut of country dancing. Left: woodcut impression from "The Dairy-Maids Mirth and Pastime on May-Day. [...] To the Tune of, Over His and High Mountains," ca. 1685–1688, Pepys 3.201, EBBA 21214, showing a ring of country dancers, with a piper in the centre. By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Right: woodcut of a similar scene, in Huntington Library, Armstrong #9, labelled likely incorrectly on the back as "Witches Dance," though likely noted correctly as "much earlier than 1700." Inherited by John White of Newcastle ca. 1700 on the death of his parents, who were printers in York.

black-letter text as part of the ballad sheet's decoration). Certainly, Samuel Pepys thought so. In the handwritten title page to his five-volume collection of broadside ballads (assembled before his death in 1703), Pepys proudly identifies his assemblage as "My Collection of Ballads"; even more significantly for the purposes of my argument, he lamentably adds that after 1700 "the Form, till then peculiar thereto, vizt of the Black Letter with Pictures seems (for cheapness sake) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter [roman type] without Pictures" (EBBA 32621). Ben Jonson, in his aforementioned staging of the country bumpkin Cokes enraptured by the ballad-monger Edgeworth's wares, foregrounds not only the attraction for Cokes of the ballad's country-dance melody. He also capitalizes on what he sees as the masses' fondness for ballad illustrations. Mistress Overdo, Cokes' sister, notably asks him, "Has't a fine picture, brother?" Cokes responds nostalgically, "O sister, do you remember the ballads over the nursery chimney at home o' my own pasting up? There be brave pictures!" (3.5.45–47). In sum, England and Czech heyday broadside ballads were both unquestionably multimedia fare, consisting each of text, art, and tune; but if the Czech artefacts most prominently served up the decorative black-letter text, to the

extent of printing it on both sides of a sheet, the English foregrounded the visual, to the extent of printing not only ornamental black-letter typeface but also multiple illustrations and other decorations on one side of the sheet so that the disseminated artefacts could be pasted up as eye-catching art.

The insatiable demand for especially visually enticing heyday broadside ballads in London was not restricted to that city. Certainly, London dominated ballad printing up to 1701 (with Edinburgh coming in a distant second and Glasgow third). But London printers and publishers made sure to capitalize on the rural market as well—not to the extent that we see in Czech lands, where their ballad artefacts were *primarily* aimed at a rural consumer—but still seeking to reach a major sector of that population as well. Chapmen carried London's published ballads in their packs far into the countryside, stopping at villages and especially seeking out rural fares or feasts, like the sheep-shearing feast in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, at which the rogue Autolycus is enthusiastically welcomed on his arrival in the guise of ballad-monger.⁷

A Smorgasbord of Topics

Producers of English broadside ballads by the late sixteenth century and massively in the seventeenth century expanded all facets of their wares. They increased the literal size of the ballad sheets, now typically printed in landscape format, to accommodate two parts of the subject addressed as well as a plethora of illustrations and other ornaments. But they also vastly amplified the previous period's range of ballad topics. They especially included many more secular and often everyday—what one might dub “common”—subjects. In doing so, they fascinatingly moved topically in the opposite direction to Czech heyday broadside ballad makers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Czech producers privileged religion. English heyday ballad producers did not reject this subject by any means, however, nor did they reject other pre-heyday and familiar sixteenth-century ballad themes: in addition to religion (foremost), these prominently included elegies on deceased elites, wonders or monsters, and a topic-cum-format called “flytings.” Such flytings took the form of back-and-forth exchanges, such as the series initiated by Thomas Churchyard in his “Davy Dicars Dream” (ca. 1551–1552) against Thomas Camel, which subsequently snowballed to involve other authors in the flyting, each using his own broadside ballad to attack another. Authors engaged in flytings called upon

7 See especially Fumerton, *The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England*, pp. 321–379.

ad hominem strategies to accuse another author, rather grandiosely and based on little evidence, of heresy and treason. But in seventeenth-century heyday broadside ballads, we can find only traces of such earlier flytings in the form of back-and-forth exchanges on all sorts of topics *spoken from the position of various "I's" within a single* broadside ballad.⁸

Even as flytings of the sixteenth century morphed by the late sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century into exchanges between personas within a ballad, so ballad topics transformed their subjects considerably beyond the sixteenth-century repertoire that included flytings topics about religion, death of the high-born, and wonders/monsters. Seeking a popular market, broadside ballad producers offered a much larger range of topics. These included—and this is but a partial list—good fellowship (which, though often celebrated, we as frequently hear could bankrupt drinkers, alas); ironically glorified citified fashions; disputes over whether city or country life was better; the attractions and corruptions specifically of London; familial duty (sadly, we are informed, often not observed); abuse by masters of their apprentices; the latest news from neighbouring and faraway foreign lands; occasional local topics that bore especially on the detriment of the poor, such as hoarding corn by the rich in times of famine, or rack-renting by landlords when housing was in much need; misfortunes of the lower sorts generally; love of all social classes as well as between social classes, whether fortunate or unfortunate (Pepys's two categories that end up getting quite mixed up in his table of contents); gender disputes; sex—whether sanctioned, illicit, or forced—more sex, and yet more sex. A subgenre of marriage was the topic of which partner worked harder—the husband or the wife—as well as the advantages and disadvantages of marrying widows (of which there was an abundance in the early seventeenth century, to the lament in ballads of lusty and available maids). But perhaps sex sold most. Exemplary of this topic is the heyday broadside ballad wherein a maid laments her lack of a "dil doul" (dildo). By "dil doul," the maiden does not mean an artificial penis (as we would today) but the real thing—she wants sex with a man, loss of her virginity, and seemingly only incidentally, marriage—and she is willing to pay to get it. EBBA holds no less than four versions of this lewd ballad, all like that from the Bagford collection, EBBA 37514. They are locatable in EBBA as a group by a simple text search of the text word "dil doul"; the keyword "sex" returns a mind-boggling number of ballads on the topic, too numerous to allow one to find our "dil-doul" ballads within the returns.

8 See Nebeker, "Textual Publics."

Heyday broadside ballads not only offered a wide variety of such topics in their wares; they also appealed to differing subject positions. As noted above, flytings were common in the sixteenth century. But in the ballad's heyday, the back-and-forth strategy is localized or internalized to a single sheet. A single broadside ballad took the form of sung dialogues between individualized characters who are each, literally, given a voice. This marketing strategy was far unlike that of Czech heyday broadside ballads, which were typically sung by a narrator, as if the producers wanted to create, by contrast with the English, a common vocal ground (and thus something like a communal voice). In the English phenomenon, such common ground was not possible: the persona in the heyday broadside ballads vocalized different sides of an issue, and in reading or singing along, one would be inclined to pick sides. Not only hawkers but also potential consumers, who gathered around the mongers and likely joined in the song, were forced to adopt every subject position in singing the broadside ballad, but at the same time, they could especially boisterously take on the position with which they most identified. Heyday broadside ballads even offered ballads on opposite stances of the same subject about which they were written, one after another—a bit like “flytings,” except they were often written by the very same author! This marketing tactic was skilfully employed by one of the few named seventeenth-century ballad authors—and the most famous such author—Martin Parker. Exemplary of Parker's multi-marketing strategy are his series of heyday broadside ballads on widows and marriage: consider one, exemplified by EBBA 20179, issued circa 1625, which strongly favoured young men marrying widows (they were wealthy, sexually experienced, unlikely to wander, etc.); but this was soon followed by a second ballad, EBBA 20178, published just over a year later, circa 1627, which took up the position of poor maidens faced with their prospective husbands, young men, marrying older widows, and arguing for the attraction of marrying maids instead (they are young and lusty, not old and shrivelled up). Both subject positions appealed to the populace at large, depending on the position the auditors/consumers favoured (and were willing to purchase).

Affordability

“Purchase” is the key word. Appeal to the masses meant nothing if ballad artefacts were not affordable. Their makers (primarily printers and publishers) ensured that English, like Czech heyday broadside ballads, were exactly that. The former sold for a penny at the beginning of the seventeenth century

and a half penny by its end—the cost of a pint of ale or a loaf of bread. In Czech lands, they were even cheaper: 2 kreuters for the usual four-times folding of a double-sided single sheet that produced a tiny sextodecimo-sized product (beer at the time cost more—about 4 kreuters in a pub).⁹ In fact, heyday broadside ballads in both England and Czechia were the cheapest form of print, affordable to even the “low,” if only on an occasional basis for the very poor. But let’s say the would-be purchaser didn’t have the means on hand actually to buy a broadside ballad. No worries—the English urban and Czech rural indigent could still hear and see broadside ballads since the artefacts were hawked visually and orally just about everywhere. The printed ballads were made available to, in a word, *everybody*. Given people’s skill at the time for memorization and the ballad’s easy-to-learn tunes (aided by the English ballad’s relatively regular—even in variability—textual measures, rhymes, and refrains), learning a ballad by heart would not be that difficult. Furthermore—a point we will return to in the concluding section—owners were always eager to show off any broadside ballads they purchased, often folding them up and carrying them in their pockets to pull out at a moment’s notice, proudly displaying and/or singing them. Perhaps that’s why Rollins conjectures that English stall sellers and hawkers likely only posted up or sang the first part of the two parts that constituted heyday broadside ballads—doing so created more incentive for potential consumers to purchase and thus know (as well as own) the whole story and all its illustrations.¹⁰

Keeping costs low depended, in both England and Czech lands, on printers and publishers using the cheapest forms and practices of printing. Foremost in importance, as is true of all print in all times, was figuring in the high cost of paper. To keep the cost of their wares low, producers of broadside ballads employed budget paper, known in England as “brown”—the cheap kind used today by grocers to wrap fish bought in stores, wherein you can see flecks of dirt and other impure matter, even the odd hair or bug. In addition to low-cost paper, printers employed the lowest-cost ink, whether soot- or iron-based (the latter turned to a rusty hue over time and, by virtue of its acidic nature, literally ate through the paper, thus tragically ruining the artefact its consumers so cherished). Printers also recycled cheaply obtained (because much-used and often worm-eaten) woodcuts. Holes can

9 For English prices, see Fumerton, *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection*, p. 16n6; for Czech ones, I am indebted to the research of my collaborator, Marie Hanzelková, communicated in conversation with me.

10 Rollins, “Black-Letter Broadside Ballad,” p. 26o.

be seen in such aged cuts where the larvae of worms ate through the wood, thereby showing literally the woodblock's age—the older the woodcut, the more wormholes—which, as a side benefit, aids scholars in dating the cuts. Finally, the printers' mantra for the entire broadside ballad production process might best be summarized as "quick and dirty" production: fast composing of the type and illustrations as well as of the ballad's printing. Proofing, to the extent any was done, was typically performed "on the fly" (that is, the printer might, or might not, stop the press to correct a composing error discovered as the sheets ran through the press, such as the frequent error of setting an "n" upside down so that it looks like a "u" (as in, "Loudon")—or he might just let the error go). In their determination to produce the lowest-cost product, printers and publishers—and it's often difficult to distinguish between the two¹¹—necessarily cut corners. Based on the abundance of compositors' and printing errors that we find in extant broadside ballads (such as skewed type on a page, or a wrinkle in the paper that obscures part of the print or ornament, or upside-down, reversed, or overly cramped letters and words), it would appear that the masses truly did not care about such minor deformities. They bought the artefacts anyway.

Another important strategy of cost-cutting was for printers/publishers to dodge the fees of officially registering their planned jobs. All works printed in England by the mid-sixteenth century were required by law to be recorded by the Stationer's Company. Costs of registration depended on the length of a work, with a one-page broadside ballad running at the lowest fee of 6 pence. Still, that sum was equivalent nationwide to a wage labourers' daily earnings circa the mid-seventeenth century, so printers/publishers often dodged the law. Rollins—who has scoured the surviving Stationers' registers—estimates that only half of extant printed broadside ballads were registered.¹² Given that a broadside ballad could be composed and printed quickly ("on the fly") with no imprint on the sheet that would allow authorities to track the artefact's source, and that all traces of the print job—the type and ornaments—could be broken up and redistributed into their "sorts" easily within a day, authorities were pretty much at a loss in their efforts to track down and censor broadside ballad producers.

Printers, furthermore, reused all or parts of texts, and especially tunes and woodcuts, thus further cutting costs. They typically called the published

11 Many printers were also publishers, and vice versa. The only clear signal of designation is when the imprint at the bottom of the broadside ballad page declared "printed by xxx, for xxx." In most of these instances, the "by" indicated the printer and the "for" indicated the publisher.

12 Rollins, "Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," p. 281.



Figure 37. Examples of woodcut impressions from three separate Pepys ballads of the “Lady with Fan” (known to EBBA as “The Artichoke Lady”); taken in order from Pepys 1.32–33 (EBBA 20154), 1.332–333 (EBBA 20117), and 2.39 (EBBA 20663). By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Notice, in the third image, that though the lady has lost her signature fan and is much worm-eaten, the printer considered her still marketable.

product “new,” though technically it was (mostly) recycled. This strategy not only cut costs; it also appealed to the paradoxical popular desire for something both fashionable and yet also familiar. Known tunes were thus often retitled after the latest “hit” broadside ballad to circulate it; but such tunes would be instantly recognized by the masses as not only a reused but often a familiar melody, perhaps deriving from one of their own home country’s dances. Evoking a similar “homey” response were the reused woodcuts that we see over and over again. Strikingly, when cuts became so worm-eaten or worn down as to be unusable, printers would often not have a new woodcut drawn but the same, or a strikingly similar, illustration carved. Consider the manifold appearances of the woodcut of a lady holding a fan, whom the EBBA team early on fondly dubbed “The Artichoke Lady” (since her strange fan looked to the team like a California artichoke). So popular was this otherwise undistinctive image in the heyday of the English broadside ballad, that the woodcut, when it became too worm-eaten or worn down, was frequently recut, if in a slightly different—but still recognizable—mode. Even when sorely degraded, the Artichoke Lady continued to be used by printers on broadside ballad after broadside ballad. She even made an appearance when her signature fan hand wore off (see the three different impressions of the Artichoke Lady from the English heyday broadside ballads in the Pepys collection, where no less than 50 such impressions appear; Figure 37).¹³

13 I have referred to the patchwork making of heyday broadside ballads by various terms over the years, most recently, in 2021, as “moving media” in *The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern*

Morphing beyond Recognition

The above narrative defines and tracks the English heyday broadside ballad from its emergence in the late sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century, during which time it sported a clearly recognizable format. That said, the broadside ballad “heyday” as defined by this chapter—decorative black-letter text printed on one side of a sheet of paper together with multiple illustrations and one or more tune titles suggesting how the ballad might be sung—does not evade the protean morphing of the broadside ballad genre. Most notably often arising in the seventeenth century were relatively undecorated white-letter typeface broadside ballads (what we today would call roman font ballads) usually devoted to in-the-know political subjects, as documented by Angela McShane Jones. These later printed political ballads in subject matter look back to their sixteenth-century predecessors, which arose at the time of Henry VIII’s schism with the Catholic Church of Rome. But the later political ballads (typically also intertwined with religion) document in detail “in-the-know” machinations for the politically astute and court-savvy. Their foci are diverse: in-depth particulars of political manoeuvrings during the English Civil War of 1642–1651; positionings regarding the restoration of the monarchy in 1660; or the so-called “Glorious Revolution,” when the Catholic-leaning James II, after his short reign of 1685–1688, fled to France under Protestant resistance that ushered in the reign of King William and Queen Mary of the Netherlands. A political incident that perhaps triggered the greatest flurry of white-letter broadside ballads in the period was the contrived plot to murder Charles II, known as the Popish Plot, which was promulgated by Titus Oates. Though increasingly white-letter (roman font) “documented” such political events, we nevertheless find that, over the course of the entire seventeenth century, the heyday broadside ballad was—no matter the political focus of the day—increasingly losing its distinctive “Old English” or black-letter typeface, as well as its ornamental features. Pepys, as noted above, lamented in the title page to his collection such a loss—the death stroke to the heyday broadside ballad. Countering McShane Jones’s thesis, furthermore, we find that one reaction against the period’s civil discord that appears post-1660

England. An early article by Alexandra Franklin (“The Art of Illustration”) describes the cut-and-paste production of broadside ballad images as resembling “collage.” Of the many publications devoted to this topic, see my most recent: Fumerton and Palmer, “Lasting Impressions of the Common Woodcut.” Una McIlvenna, in her expansive book on execution ballads (*Singing the News*), discusses the reuse of tunes across both religious and secular ballads in Western Europe; she dubs this phenomenon “contrafactum.”

An Heroical SONG
 On the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of our Noble Lord General
GEORGE Duke of ALBEMARLE, &c.
 Both by LAND and SEA.
 Made in August, 1666.

To the Tune of St. George.

King Charles and his Men they valiant were and bold, the Table Round was high renown'd, twelve hardy Knights did hold, all in the
 days of old renown'd for Chivalrie: but they long since are dead, and under ground do lie, to keep up England's Fame, our present Story
 tells, How Lord George, Lord George, is proven now excell. Lord George was born in England, *Rejoice his Country's Joy, come let us sing Vive le Roy.*
Lord George was born in England, Rejoice his Country's Joy, come let us sing Vive le Roy.

he *Monarchs*; all four, were purchased with blood &
 arbitrage of old, and Rome as hold, each other long withstood;
 and many Lives were kill in every enterprise.
London's *English*, he was more salt than wife:
 as never heard before, so well countin'd a thing,
 Now Lord George, Lord George, in Peace brought home our King.
Lord George was born in England, Rejoice his Country's Joy, come let us sing Vive le Roy.

French *Abominable* Compliments his Cracks and Cringes many;
 The Spanish *One* his Hat keeps on, and looks as big as any;
 The Dutch *Very* *French*; *containe* Courage Hot;
 The *William* still high born; most subtle is the *new*;
 but yet among them all, deny it now who can,
 still Lord George, Lord George Renowned *Englishmen*.
Lord George, &c.

Dearly and Exp'd hath did Noble Martyrs die,
 Their lives beath, unto the Death, persuing Loyalty;
 Good Subjects many more, did suffer Deaths most vile;
 a *Widow* have *Amour* was murdered by *Argyle*;
 'er King and Countries sake, all those laid down their Lives;
 for Lord George, Lord George, to serve his Prince survives.
Lord George, &c.

True famous Noddemes, and others here did fight
 For Charles his Cause, when gain'd the Lovers obtained was His right;
 In their unhappy Wars, dy'd many Worthie good;
 Did win Immortal Fame by Losing Loyal blood;
 Yet manage all their Force, Murtherers got the Throne;
 But Lord George, Lord George, He gave the King his men.
Lord George, &c.

In many Battles fought, the Turk's a Potent Lord;
 King *Polish* Son of *Sweden*, got all the World by a Sword;
 Great *William* gain'd this Land, and all the *Deer* drove out;
 With *Henry* Cooper'd *France*, by force and valour stout;
 Their Generals to Encrease, their exercis'd their might;
 But Lord George, Lord George, doth for his Master fight.
Lord George, &c.

Jephtha and *Abime* by Miracle did strike;
 The Son of *Nor* did lay the Sun, no Man did do the like;
Joseph was the strength beget of Justice etc;
Jacob and *David* kill'd *Philistines* spare;
 All these did fight on Land, their Foes when slaughter'd they;
 But Lord George, Lord George, rides Conquerour at Sea.
Lord George, &c.

Of many brave Exploits do ancient Stories tell,
 But Sea-fights such as ours with *Dutch*, yet none could parallel;
 Towards *Stolme* the Moon works strongly on their brain,
 If in the Mouth of *June* they venture once again;
 For thrice they had the word at that time of the year,
 And Lord George, Lord George still keeps them all in fear.
Lord George, &c.

We often read of Knights, Wilde Beasts did overcome;
 Our General, beyond them all, beats *Rejoice* *June* home;
 A Beast of woodcock Sire, sometime did hold him play,
 But he the *Woodcock* gain'd, upon *St. James*'s day;
 The *Lyse* then was hurt, did lamentably rore,
 But Lord George, Lord George since that did wound it more.
Lord George, &c.

The *Valley* obtain'd, was further still made good,
 Our *Englishmen*, unto their Den, the *Dutchmen* home purf'd;
 Their *Fort* in Harbour furd, their Village sack'd and burn'd;
 Made *Antwerp* fear the *Devil* was turn'd;
 As firm'd the *Troyan* Walls, so did their Ships or worle,
 For Lord George, Lord George lost in the *Wooden*-borle.
Lord George, &c.

If daring *Frenchmen* now our Valour longs to try,
 Soon as he will, we ready fill, his Mind to lathie;
 His Inch shall quickly Cure, when he shall find our Sould
 With *Death* not blunted yet, we's *Order* *Fort* afford;
 And if he thinks it good, the *Case* may shew it call;
 For Lord George, Lord George doth hope to beat them all.
Lord George, &c.

Success wait on his Arm, till Triumph bring him home
 To Native Soil, seek'd with Spoil of *Enemies* o're-come;
 Whilst they by *Whipping* *Crack* are driven back again,
 May he with joy return to his Dear Sovereign;
 And in his proper Oyle, with Honour still attend,
 Till Lord George, Lord George *many* *Angels* shall attend.
Lord George was born in England, Rejoice his Country's Joy, come let us sing Vive le Roy.

[Listen'd according to Order.]

London, Printed by W. Goulet for John Playford at his Shop in the
 Temple. 1667. 22. 9. 4)

Figure 38. Example of a late broadside ballad with musical notation: "An Heroical Song on the Worthy and Valiant Exploits of Our Noble Lord General George Duke of Ablemarle. [...] To the Tune of St. George," 1667, EBBA 36420. The British Library Board. Luttrell Ballads. V.20.f.3 (101).

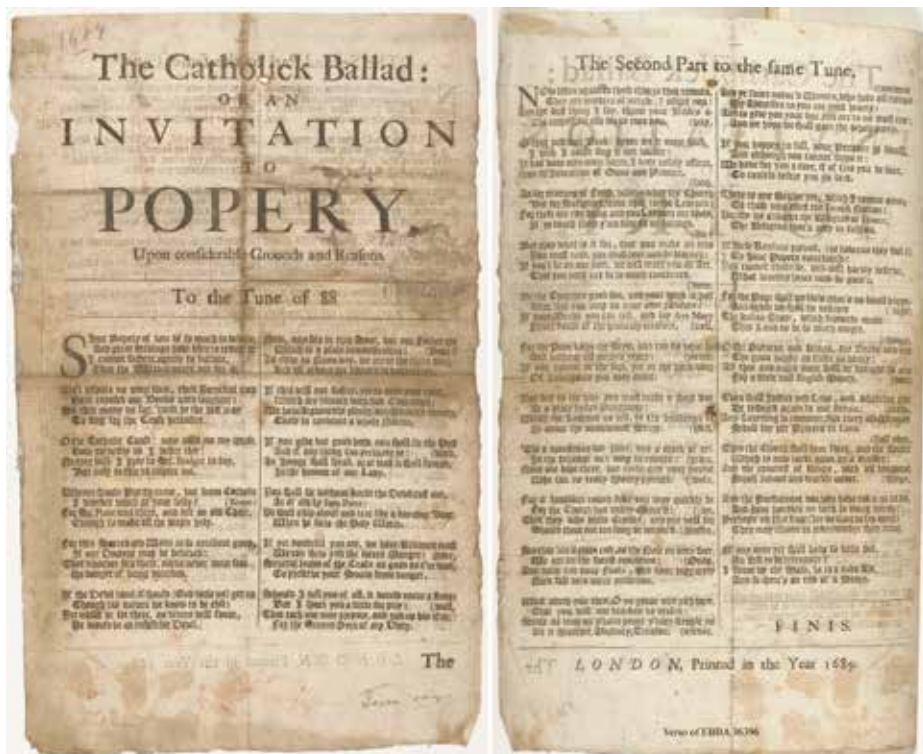


Figure 39. "The Catholick Ballad: Or An Invitation to Popery, upon Considerable Grounds and Reasons. To the Tune of 88," 1689, by Walter Pope; printed on both sides of the sheet, EBBA 36396. Courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Dyson-Perrins 3, 48.

is the publishing of many *non*-political pastoral broadside ballads that are as likely to be printed in white-letter as in black-letter typeface. My point, along with that of Pepys, is that black letter, whatever the ballad's topic, was dying out *for good* (or for worse?) in England as we approach the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Further indicative of the broadside ballad's continual morphing, however, to the extent of mutating almost beyond recognition, are the many lookalike single-sheet verses that appeared on the scene in the seventeenth century, taking on an "analogous" but not quite "the same" form of broadside ballads. Though typically printed on one side of a single sheet, the verses usually lack the multimedia, multiple topics, and rhythmic song quality of heyday broadside ballads. They most resemble the relatively plain sixteenth century, pre-heyday ballad genre, especially elegies. Also surging in abundance are broadside verse panegyrics and eulogies (what one might think of as the reverse of elegies), which, other than being broadsides, in no way resemble

the broadside ballad genre. In addition, towards the end of the seventeenth century, in response to the populace's demand for cheap songbooks—whether the "low" could read the notation or not—many a broadside ballad sported musical notation instead of a woodcut impression (scholars often point out that such notation is "nonsense" in that it cannot be made to fit the accompanying printed text; in sum, it itself functions something like an ornament). See, as an example of musical notation in place of an image, Figure 38 (though in this case, most musicologists would accept the notation as, with slight adjustments, meaningful). Significantly—and a tribute to the broadside ballad always morphing as an artefact—we find self-declared "ballads" in black letter printed on *both* sides of a sheet of paper. Such texts dominated the later ballad "heyday" of Czech lands, but they appear in England as well. Figure 39 flaunts such a double-sided printed sheet, still in black letter (if absent of other decoration), and still with a tune title, and—importantly—declaring itself in its title a "ballad." How odd! Or rather, how fitting for a protean genre that constantly shape-shifts before one's very eyes.

It's Personal

I conclude with a brief but telling focus on one facet of broadside ballads that is consistent across the genre's heyday in England and in Czech lands, however differently manifested. That key feature is intimacy. The hawked artefacts, on consumption, become literal extensions of the individual consumers who purchased them. The ballad objects are without doubt "personal." In England, for instance, we often see extant fold creases on sheets, indicating that they likely were often carried around in their owner's pockets. At a moment's notice, they could be taken out and shown, even passed around, if only to a select few, as the owner desired. In one most moving anecdote that demonstrates just such an instance, Pepys tells the story of a young naval officer turning up with most of the naval pride for a public funeral procession in London on May 15, 1668. "Lord," he admires, "to see [...] the young commanders and Thomas Killigrew and others that came."¹⁴ This comment could have led to a critique by Pepys of those "very young commanders," whom he often criticized in his diary, complaining that Charles II and his brother, York, were stocking the navy with inexperienced courtiers rather than seaworthy sailors.¹⁵ But instead, Pepys's attention

¹⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, 9.200.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.10–22 and n19.

is diverted: “[H]ow unlike a burial this was, Obrian [one of these young, court-appointed officers] taking out some ballets [ballads] out of his pocket, which I read and the rest came about me to hear; and there very merry we were all, they being new ballets.” Pepys appears not to have sung these ballads—which would have been most inappropriate for him to do at a funeral—but he nevertheless reads them aloud to the small public gathering he has spontaneously created. At this very moment, while surrounded by a gathering of young officers he would have otherwise criticized, Pepys seems to have lost all track of time and the social as well as the political context. His next paragraph begins: “By and by the Corpse went.”¹⁶

Obrian’s pulling out of his pocket some new ballads, which were read by Pepys, not only creates an intimate circle but also a circle of forgetting—of losing track of time and of the social as well as the political context—that extends the personal being (the subjective “I”) beyond even mortality.

Such a personal investment in purchased broadside ballads—to return to the terms of Bruce Smith, with which we began this chapter—offers us a “kinetic analogy,” and, I would also add, an affective one, to that of Czech consumption of printed ballads. First, even more than the English, as my co-editors and I noted in the introduction to this collection, citing Josef Petřtyl, Czech purchasers of ballad artefacts played a key role in making them. That is, consumers may very well have purchased a flat double-sided multimedia sheet from a seller, and then personally hand-folded, hand-cut, and hand-sewn the resultant pages. In such intimate production, the resultant broadside ballad booklet was everywhere marked by the owner’s own hand. Indeed, since he or she would add to their sextodecimo-size block gathering with more ballads or other sheets (always representative of the owner’s interests, to the extent sometimes of reflecting a personalized theme to the collection), the block organically grew as an extension of the owner’s “I.” Second, as with the English ballad artefacts, the many tiny—in so many ways—“blocks” (Czech blocks, like the one shown in Figure 2 in the introduction, as we noted there) fit neatly in one’s pocket for carrying around. Like their English counterparts, they could thus also be pulled out for an occasional showing and singing in an impromptu but owner-initiated gathering.¹⁷ Across expanses of space and time, we thus see a highly

16 *Ibid.*, 9.200.

17 Czech blocks also organically grew along with their owners as they were increasingly added to and inherited by several generations of one family. In the process, they would become more corpulent “homebodies.” Sometimes very thick and heavy, these enlarged blocks were even more precious, in the sense of valued, but unlike their tiny, pocket-sized beginnings, they lost their easy mobility as they grew.

personalized presentation of broadside ballads—at a particular time and place, and to a select audience of the owner's own choosing. English and Czech heyday broadside ballads were intimate affairs. They were extensions of the consumer's very being, if only for and in a passing moment. Through such an intimate, if ephemeral, experience the heyday broadside ballad allowed the English urban and Czech rural masses to momentarily create an enduring subjective and thus personal memory.

Works Cited

- Brown, Mary Ellen. "Child's Ballads and the Broadside Conundrum." In *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with Kris McAbee, pp. 57–74. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Child, Francis James. *The English and Scottish Ballads*. 8 vols. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., and Cincinnati, OH: Moore, Wilstach, Keys and Co., 1857–1859.
- Fox, Adam. "Jockey and Jenny: English Broadside Ballads and the Invention of Scottishness." In *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016), pp. 201–220.
- Franklin, Alexandra. "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads before 1820." *Bodleian Library Record* 17, no. 5 (2002), pp. 327–352.
- Fumerton, Patricia. *The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England: Moving Media, Tactical Publics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020.
- Fumerton, Patricia, ed. *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.
- Fumerton, Patricia, ed., with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016).
- Fumerton, Patricia, and Anita Guerrini, eds., with the assistance of Kris McAbee. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Fumerton, Patricia, and Megan E. Palmer. "Lasting Impressions of the Common Woodcut." In *Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Gaimster, Tara Hamling, and Catherine Richardson, pp. 382–399. Milton Park, Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2017.
- Fumerton, Patricia, Andrew Griffin, and Carl Stahmer, eds. *The Making of a Broadside Ballad*. UCSB: EMC Imprint, February 2016. <http://press.emcimprint.english.ucsb.edu/the-making-of-a-broadside-ballad/index>.

- Marsh, Christopher. *Music and Society in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Marsh, Christopher. "A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England." In *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016), pp. 245–262.
- McIlvenna, Una. *Singing the News: Execution Ballads in Europe 1500–1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Nebeker, Eric. "Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies, and the Lyric in Print." *ELH* 76, no. 4 (2009), pp. 989–1013.
- Nebeker, Eric. "Textual Publics and Broadside Ballads." *SEL: Studies in English Literature* 51, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1–19.
- Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews. 11 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Percy, Thomas. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. 3 vols. London, 1765.
- Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger, Frank J. Warnke, and O. B. Hardison Jr. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Rollins, Hyder E. "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad." *PMLA* 34, no. 2 (1919), pp. 258–339. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/457063>.
- Smith, Bruce R. *Phenomenal Shakespeare*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Smith, Bruce R. "Putting the 'Ball' Back in Ballads." In *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016), pp. 323–339.
- Uglow, Jenny. *Nature's Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick*. London: Faber & Faber, 2006.
- Watt, Tess. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Websites

- Egan, Gerald, and Eric Nebeker. "Other Common Papers: Papermaking and Ballad Sheet Sizes." EBBA, <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/papermaking>.
- English Broadside Ballad Archive. Dir. Patricia Fumerton. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>.
- Gahan, Bill. "Ballad Measure in Print." EBBA, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/ballad-measure-in-print>.

About the Author

Patricia Fumerton: Distinguished Professor of English at the University of California, Santa Barbara, California, and Director of the English Broadside Ballad Archive, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>. Fumerton has edited nine collections of essays and authored three monographs, most recently, *The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England: Moving Media, Tactical Publics* (2020). pfumer@ucsb.edu.

19. Broadside Ballads in Poland: Content, Forms, and Research Perspectives

Piotr Grochowski

Abstract

Piotr Grochowski examines broadside ballads published in Poland, focusing on their genres as well as the dominant perspectives and achievements in Polish scholars' research. At the same time, he presents the most typical features, forms, and trends in the development of Polish broadside ballad research. His study covers especially the decline of Polish broadside ballads as mass-marketed artefacts, which can be traced to the turn of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries.

Keywords: Polish broadside ballads, chapbooks, printers, pilgrimage sites

Introduction

Polish and Czech broadside ballads are characterized by numerous relationships and kinships. The vicinity of both countries, the existence of border areas inhabited by a mixed population, and the fact that in different historical periods part of the present territories of Poland and the Czech Republic lay within the same political and administrative units, has led to intense cultural and economic contacts. This interrelationship also applied to printers and publishers specializing in the production of chapbooks, which included, as we've seen, broadside ballads; they frequently adopted the experiences, strategies, and business models practiced by their neighbours, and sometimes even published printings aimed at both Polish- and Czech-speaking audiences.¹ In the case of such bilingual publishing enterprises, the

¹ Such bilingual activities were carried out and published by, among others, Franciszek Orzeł (František Orel) from Frydek (Frydek) and Karol Prochaska (Karel Procházka) from Biała/Cieszyn.

similarity of the two languages was particularly important. This “language likeness” significantly facilitated the publishers’ use of each other’s printings in preparing works for their own audiences. The translation of songs was quite common, many of which can be found in the extant repertoire of Polish and Czech broadside ballads.² The intense pilgrimage movement played a key role in encouraging these devotional translations because many pilgrims from the Czech lands travelled to popular Polish sanctuaries in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Częstochowa. Such pilgrimage across borders created an important community of those eager to purchase the broadside ballads sold at their sacred destination sites.³ The cultural inter-crossings outlined above make Polish publications an important point of reference and comparative material for a researcher of Czech broadside ballads. Pursuing these relationships in this chapter, I will examine the broadside ballads published in Poland, with an eye to their various genres as well as the most important perspectives and achievements in the field of research on them. My ultimate goal is to expand our perspective on both Polish and Czech broadside ballads so as to more fully understand them as closely intertwined phenomena.

I begin with three introductory remarks or guides for the readers on their pilgrimage through this chapter. Firstly, I will treat the term “broadside ballad” not as a genre so much as a physical artefact, following the definition presented at the start of this volume. This artefact, to summarize that definition, consisted of a single sheet of paper on which were usually printed one or two songs by the cheapest methods—what one might call “quick and dirty” printing (the printer not wasting any space by printing on both sides of the sheet, using low-quality paper and ink and worn typeface, and having little concern for smudging or errors). These cheap prints, as the introduction further details, were then folded, cut, and (rarely) loosely sewn into a very small, typically sextodecimo size, “gathering” (though it is not entirely clear whether the printer himself had a hand in some stage(s) of this process of creating the broadside ballad gathering).⁴ Secondly, my goal is to present the most typical features, forms, and trends in the development of Polish broadside ballads; thus, the less common or only

See also the chapter by Szturcová, which focuses on Czech-Polish interrelations specifically in Marian songs of the nineteenth century.

2 Szturcová, “Česko-polské.”

3 Szturcová, “Kult poutních míst.”

4 Contrary to Czech marketing practices, wherein the printer as well as a hawker might sell broadside ballads, the Polish artefacts were distributed most of all at fairs and pilgrimage sites by itinerant merchants.

occasional phenomena and forms will be omitted. Thirdly, my analysis is based on materials collected by me in libraries and archives during my research on so-called news songs (in Polish, *pieśni nowiniarskie*) from the turn of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries, as well as on the collection of printings made by Natalia and Piotr Wawrzkiwicz.⁵ This approach thus means that my focus on broadside ballads in this chapter covers mainly the span of time in which they were in decline as mass-marketed artefacts. However, it should be noted that this phenomenon was present in Polish culture from the sixteenth century onwards and was subject to many historical changes, which are not the primary focus of this study. I also omit here the diversity of Polish broadside ballads, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this span of time, due to variant political conditions in different parts of Poland, we find radically divergent socio-cultural conditions and legal regulations influencing the development of the market of chapbooks, as well as the nature of the texts published within them.⁶

Terminology and Research Perspectives

In Polish research practice, no single concept has developed that would correspond to the English term “broadside ballad.” Among the various Polish terms used by scholars for printed artefacts akin to English broadside ballads, the most commonly employed words would be translated closer to phrases foundational upon the noun “song.” The following such translated phrases are most prominent:

1. A “stall song” (Pol. *pieśń kramarska*)—a phrase derived from the words “stallkeeper” or “stall” (Pol. *kramarz/kram*), indicating a typical way of distributing broadside ballads by itinerant traders selling their products from stalls they would set up on squares and streets (this Polish term is similar to Czech denotation *kramářská píseň*).⁷
2. A “fair song” (Pol. *pieśń jarmarczna*)—a phrase created from combining song with the noun “fair” (Pol. *jarmark*), which indicates a typical

5 Grochowski, *Straszna zbrodnia*, pp. 18–22; Wawrzkiwicz, *Katalog druków ulotnych*. Hereafter in references to the original language, “Polish” will be abbreviated to “Pol.”

6 From 1795 to 1918, Poland did not exist as a sovereign state, and its lands were within the borders of Russia, Prussia, and Austria (from 1867 Austria-Hungary).

7 For more details, see the introduction and the chapter by Ivánek.

place for the distribution of broadside ballads (this Polish term is similar to the Slovak denotation *jarmočná pieseň*).⁸

3. A “street/yard/cobblestone song” (Pol. *pieśń uliczna/podwórkowa/brukowa*)—expressions formed from the nouns “street”/“yard”/“cobblestone” (Pol. *ulica/podwórko/bruk*), respectively, and like the first and second, indicating places of distribution: i.e., in yards and streets that were commonly covered with cobblestones at that time.
4. An “indulgence song” (Pol. *pieśń odpustowa*)—a phrase that draws on the noun “indulgence” (Pol. *odpust*), indicating both the circumstances of the distribution of the songs and their content. This content was related to the characters and events connected to the sanctuaries where indulgences were held.
5. A “*dziady* song” (Pol. *pieśń dziadowska*)—a phrase derived from the word *dziad* (plural *dziady*), which formerly had several meanings. Among many possible referents, the noun was used to describe wandering beggars; such itinerants, as in Britain, and as indicated by some Polish researchers, were among the singers who would perform and/or sell broadside ballads.
6. A “news song” (Pol. *pieśń nowiniarska*)—a phrase created from tying “song” to the noun *nowina*. In old Polish, this word meant an account of a famous (usually seen as extraordinary) and current event. Such subject matter stands out as one of the most important themes of broadside ballads.

In research practice, some of the terms indicated above are usually used in a broad sense and refer to all songs published in the form of broadside ballads (such as a “stall song”). Others are employed in a narrower sense to describe broadside ballads with specific content and/or formal genre-related features (an “indulgence song,” a “news song”). Most of them also derive from the specific places and circumstances under which the broadside ballads were performed or distributed (a “street/yard/cobblestone song,” a “*dziady* song”)—even a “stall song” references a place (a stall). However, it should be underscored, Polish scholars did not make a precise distinction or classification of particular types of broadside ballads, and the terms indicated above are usually used quite freely and interchangeably.

Unlike the instability and inconsistency in its use of terms for broadside ballads, Polish research, we find, is quite systematic when it comes to disciplinary approaches. Basically, the scholarship is dominated by

8 For more details, see the chapter by Ruščin.

three different methodologies: book history (specifically, research in book publishing, disseminating, and reception); history and ethnography; and literary studies.

The first systematic approach of book history to Polish broadside ballads was conducted by Karol Badecki, who collected and prepared for publication a scholarly edition of broadside ballads from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The working title for his collection was “A Secular Folk Song of the Polish Baroque in Contemporary Print”; unfortunately, however, Badecki’s death in 1953 stopped all work on the project, and the planned publication remains extant only in typescript to this day.⁹ Polish broadside ballads from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries were also included in the papers of Konrad Zawadzki, who incorporated them into his bibliography of news leaflets, treating them as an early production of the printing press.¹⁰ His work was continued by other researchers in the project “A Digital Library of Leaflets Published in Poland or Concerning Poland from the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries,” which included the creation of an online database. The web archive contains descriptions and scans of almost 2,000 prints, including dozens of early broadside ballads.¹¹ Extensive bibliographic work on popular publications from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is currently being carried out, also in digital form, by the aforementioned Natalia and Piotr Wawrzkiwicz. However, the electronic database they are creating is only in the design and testing phase; it is presently only partially available as a text document.¹²

An important place in Polish research on broadside ballads lies in the related field of bibliographical studies to which the work of Zawadzki as well as of Natalia and Piotr Wawrzkiwicz have contributed, as noted above. This approach is adopted by the works of two researchers who dealt with prints from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Janusz Dunin, one of these two scholars, in a book on popular publications distributed by stallholders, devoted two chapters to broadside ballads. He therein described their content, publishing forms, and methods of production and distribution. At the same time, he introduced a fundamental division between broadside ballads distributed mainly in a rural environment, which contained a more traditional repertoire (called *pieśń kramarska* [stall songs]), and

9 Karol Badecki’s materials are kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow (manuscripts section); manuscripts no. 7779 and no. 7780.

10 Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne polskie*; Zawadzki, *Początki prasy polskiej*.

11 See the database of Polish news leaflets: “Digital library.”

12 Wawrzkiwicz, *Katalog druków ulotnych*.

those that embraced more new, fashionable songs, which were circulated mainly in cities (those called *pieśń podwórkowa/brukowa* [yard/cobblestone songs]).¹³ In subsequent research, he continued his analyses of individual types and methods of the publication of broadside ballads.¹⁴ The second of the aforementioned scholars, Stanisław Nyrkowski, authored the only anthology of Polish broadside ballads to date. This singular edition is entitled *Karnawał dziadowski. Pieśni wędrownych śpiewaków (XIX–XX w.)* (Dziadowski carnival: Songs of itinerant singers [nineteenth–twentieth centuries]). The collection became quite popular, to the extent of finding a wider audience than academic scholars; it thus had a significant impact on both public knowledge and academic research concepts regarding Polish broadside ballads. However, the assumption expressed in Nyrkowski's book title—that the performers and distributors of these types of songs were wandering beggars—is particularly important because it is, in fact, controversial. I will pursue this contentious topic in more detail later in this chapter.

The selection of texts presented in Nyrkowski's anthology is also problematic: it fails to reflect the full thematic diversity of Polish broadside ballads during the period of his focus. The major content problem is that he includes hardly any religious broadside ballads, even though they were at the time a very important part of the repertoire of Polish broadside ballads. Such neglect—what one might go so far as to call “erasure”—is typical of the research practices of the communist period. In that era, religious topics were often deliberately eliminated from research on folk culture and other popular forms of writing. Behind this exclusion lay the fear of exposing oneself to interference or more unpleasant punishments by the official censors. Scholarship in Nyrkowski's time, in sum, was constrained by the iron fist of Marxism.

It is worth adding that, within the large category of book history, in addition to the above-mentioned editions and bibliographies of Polish broadside ballads, there are also many helpful insights on this subject included in bibliological studies that were devoted to the history of popular religious literature and the art of printing, especially in the publications of Renata Hołda and Tomasz Ratajczak.¹⁵

The second clear systematic methodology we find in the study of broadside ballads—adopting a historical and ethnographic perspective—is best

13 Dunin, *Papierowy bandyta*, pp. 15–86.

14 Dunin, *Studia o komunikacji społecznej*; Dunin, “Druk i wielkomiejski.”

15 Hołda, “Druki religijne z oficyny wydawniczej Teofila Nowackiego w Piekarach Śląskich”; Hołda, “Druki religijne z oficyny wydawniczej Nowackich w Mikołowie”; Ratajczak, *Druki wadowickie*; Ratajczak, *Książki religijne i quasi-religijne*; Ratajczak, “Pieśni religijne.”

represented by the works of Franciszek Kotula. Engaged in extensive field research, Kotula gathered a collection of about 300 chapbooks that included broadside ballads (currently held at the Ethnographic Museum in Rzeszów). In his works, he analysed both the broadside ballads' cultural function in former rural communities and their reflection of current historical events.¹⁶

In my own various work on broadside ballads, I primarily adopt the third system in approaching broadside ballads: a literary studies perspective. Adopting this methodology, I examine their genesis and early forms,¹⁷ as well as describe individual genres of broadside ballads (e.g., news songs, verse legends, pilgrimage songs, parodies, etc.) or analyse specific themes (e.g., the end of the world and Judgement Day, historical events, natural disasters, and the like).¹⁸ In many of my works, however, I try to combine a literary with an anthropological approach, treating the texts of popular broadside ballads as something like social documents that reflect specific types of mentality, religious beliefs, and stereotypes. A similar methodology, one that combines a literary perspective with attempts to illuminate the historical and socio-cultural context of various broadside ballads, also appears in the works of other researchers, such as Czesław Hernas, Jacek Sokolski, Michał Waliński, and Tomasz Ratajczak.¹⁹

Forms of Publication and Methods of Distribution

The combination of a literary with a historical and a socio-cultural approach reveals that the formal characteristics of Polish broadside ballads depended on the time and place of their publication. It should be noted, however, that both these parameters (time and place) are usually difficult to establish unequivocally. In earlier publications, the publishers typically did not provide either the year or the place of the publication. Later, information about a publisher's and/or printing house's location usually appears on the printed artefact, but the year of publication is still very rarely indicated. Approximate dating of broadside ballads is thus usually possible only on

16 Kotula, "Polityczne pieśni"; Kotula, "Ryciny odpustowych."

17 Grochowski, "Staropolskie pieśni."

18 For my publications devoted to those genres and themes, see in parallel order, these works by Grochowski: *Straszna zbrodnia*; *Jarmark tradycji*; "Polskie pieśni"; "Lamenty dziadka"; "Nastroje społeczno-religijne."

19 Hernas, "Z epiki dziadowskiej"; Sokolski, "Dziadowska pieśń"; Waliński, "Pieśń jarmarczna?"; Ratajczak, "Obraz męki Chrystusa"; Ratajczak, "Od Biblii do poezji kramarskiej."

the basis of their content (described events), typographic features, and knowledge about the activities of publishing companies and printing houses.

In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the printings in quarto format (4°), consisting of four pages and commonly containing one broadside ballad, dominated publications of the form. During this period, illustrations were rare; most often, only small decorative motifs were used at the beginning and end of the text. Relatively often, however, on the first page we find a hint about the melody to which a given song was to be sung; this took the form of an allusion in incipit or refrain invoking the title or part of the text of another popular song whose tune was well known.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the forms of publishing broadside ballads changed significantly. The transformation can be attributed to new developments in printing techniques but also in the market of chapbooks. We notice a gradual decline of interest in broadside ballads among the nobility and educated urban populations, which runs parallel with an increase in the reading skills among peasants (in Poland this expansion in literacy took place only in the second half of the nineteenth century). The audience for broadside ballads thus shifts. Now it consisted of mainly the poor inhabitants of villages and lowly city workers. This phenomenon forced publishers to adapt their offerings to consumers who had far fewer financial capabilities and different interests than the elite.

To cater to the desires of the lower financial spectrum of society, who wanted more for less, publishers switched from the quarto to the sextodecimo (16°) format. They also occasionally resorted to the octavo [8°] format, which still offered relatively small and portable cheap print. Thus, publications of broadside ballads now usually consisted of small gatherings of eight or sixteen pages, each assembled from a single double-sided printed sheet.²⁰ Printings containing the traditional four or exceeding the newly minimalized sizing of sixteen pages appeared rather rarely (in the latter case, this was probably because when publications are not so tiny, they become more expensive to produce and less accessible to audiences). When it comes to the number of published texts and illustrations, we discover another new divergent tendency emerge: printings of religious broadside ballads that often contain one long broadside ballad enriched with various types of woodcut illustrations whereas those of secular broadside ballads, on the other hand, tend to include several, shorter broadside ballads and few, if any, illustrations. This divergence in form and aesthetics along the lines

20 The materiality of Polish broadside ballads (format and size) is similar to Czech broadside ballads. For more information, see the introduction.

of theme or topic of the broadside ballads is probably due to the printers' and publishers' desire to lower the production costs (and thus consumer costs) of the latter, which were becoming more popular, while at the same time make their goods more marketable by widening the circle of potential recipients (placing several texts on various topics within a single folded, cut, and gathered sheet increases the odds of appealing to audiences with varied interests). Again, in the aim to serve a mass market, in later editions of broadside ballads, from the 1920s and 1930s, we find that the first page of the printing often functions as an advertisement: it includes a list of the broadside ballad titles contained within the gathering. The aim to clarify and attract are simultaneous: the titles exhibit a characteristic extensive form, indicating the main themes of the individual broadside ballads, the place and heroes of the events included, and sometimes even a kind of summary of the narrative (e.g., "An Amazing Event. A Maid Buried Alive. Her Fiancé Saves Her from Inevitable Death in Order to Stand with Her on a Wedding Carpet"; or "A Terrible Crime of Biernacki and Karczmarczyk Committed on a Cripple Named Talar in Rębków near Garwolin").²¹

We also find in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that broadside ballads were distributed primarily by itinerant stallholders and peddlers. These hawkers sold their printed artefacts at secular and church fairs, popular pilgrimage sites, or simply wandering from house to house, mostly in villages and small towns. The vendors usually obtained their goods in bulk from publishers who specialized in the production of cheap literature for uneducated audiences, but sometimes they themselves were publishers of distributed broadside ballads, ordering them to be printed in small, provincial printing houses. The content of the printings was most often copied and compiled from earlier publications of the same type, but sometimes the publishers also created new texts that capitalized on current events, duplicating the stylistic and compositional patterns specific to particular varieties of broadside ballads.

Most stallholders usually offered a wide variety of goods at their booths; apart from broadside ballads and other forms of popular literature (prayer books, songbooks, dream books and prophecies, romances, stories about saints, etc.), they also sold devotional items (rosaries, scapulars, holy pictures) and even toys. Some traders, however, specialized in selling broadside ballads, which were also often sung by them. These merchants were not itinerant singers in the strict sense of the term; singing was rather a form of advertising intended to attract passers-by, and the main source of income

21 Nyrkowski, *Karnawał dziadowski*, pp. 232, 276.

was the sale of broadside ballads. An account of the performance of such a stall seller-singer in Częstochowa can be found in a report by Stanisław Wasylewski from the beginning of the 1930s:

Stallholders, more than ever, are soliciting for clientele, but with less success than ever before. Thus, the indulgent singer yells louder and makes a desperate effort to be heard in the crowd. You should take a closer look at this. After all, he is the only representative of this poetry of indulgence, the heir to the notorious *dziady* from Częstochowa, whose lyre is nowhere to be found. He has changed beyond recognition. He is rather similar to a Parisian boulevard singer. He is actually a song distributor by profession, but who would buy a printed scrap of two or three songs for 30 cents from him? There is nobody in the pilgrimage bookshops. There is no turnover. Then the publisher turns into a performer. He makes a stage of a cabbage barrel and begins: "Ah, listen, gentlemen, ladies, what a sad story this is."

At first, a small group of ladies and gentlemen in striped woolly coats stops and, initially, listens indifferently. [...] I watch the singer. He's far from the type of his forefather from Kalwaria. Rather, he is a would-be cabaret singer. He squeezes the resources of a weak baritone excessively until he sweats blood. Clear diction accentuates each syllable separately. And this naive pathos from the 1930s! [...] Despite the failure of the first stage of the programme, the singer is hopeful. He manages to interest the audience. They wait to see what will happen next. Not only have they not gone away, but there are even a few more of them. And the better off ones. A few farmers, four crones from near Kalisz. The singer on the cabbage barrel becomes the centre of interest. He is reaching for the words to create the desired effect: "The Terrible Crime of a Natural Mother Who Killed Her Son for Money." [...] The tragedy is primitive and not so complex, yet, it makes a huge impression on the audience. Sobs and tears among the woolly coated. I watch an old lady who indulged a bit while shopping beforehand. [...] Now she lets out her emotions without thinking. She sniffs and reaches for her purse. Others jump in when they are given the sign. The singer's success is considerable. He collected some money. [...] The woman carefully hid the scrap of paper inside her coat. She doesn't regret spending 30 cents.²²

22 Wasylewski, "Niespodzianka na odpuście," p. 8. Original: "kramarze więcej niż kiedykolwiek zbiegają o klientelę, z mniejszym niż kiedykolwiek rezultatem. Toteż śpiewak odpustowy wydziera się głośnieji i czyni rozpaczliwe wysiłki, by uzyskać posłuch w tłumie. Należy przyjrzyć

The above-quoted account provides significant information on another issue related to the distribution of Polish broadside ballads: the question of whether they were, in fact, sold and/or performed by wandering beggars (*dziady*). As I mentioned earlier, this notion was reinforced by the popular anthology of Stanisław Nyrkowski. Indeed, his theory contributed significantly to the fact that, in Polish research, broadside ballads are often referred to as “*dziady songs*” (*pieśni dziadowskie*). In the report cited above, Wasylewski emphasizes the significant differences (in appearance, behaviour, and singing) between beggars coming to Częstochowa and the described stall singer. Different ways of acting and relations between beggars and stallholders are also described in the memoirs of Edward Kozieł, who for many years participated in itinerant trade in northern Poland.²³ The source materials, however, indicate that in Poland there were also poor market singers who did not sell chapbooks but performed a repertoire of common broadside ballads, and in terms of society, they were closer to the beggars (*dziady*).²⁴ Ultimately, we can assume that the sellers of broadside ballads and the wandering beggars were two different groups but that their activities overlapped to some extent. My research on the forms of activity and the song repertoire of both groups leads to two conclusions. Firstly, wandering beggars rarely dealt with the sale of broadside ballads because

mu się bliżej. Wszak to jedyny reprezentant poezji odpustowej, spadkobierca słynnych dziadów częstochowskich po których lirze już dziś ani śladu. Zmienił się nie do poznania. Podobny raczej do bulwarowych śpiewaków paryskich. Z fachu jest to właściwie kolporter piosenek, lecz któż kupi zadrukowany świstek z dwiema czy trzema piosenkami za trzydzieści groszy. W księgarniach odpustowych pustki. Obroty żadne. Tedy kolporter zmienia się w wykonawcę. Urządził sobie estradę na beczcze od kapusty i zaczyna: ‘Ach, posłuchajcie, panowie, panie, jakie to smutne opowiadanie.’

Niewielka zrazu grupka pań i panów w pasiastych wełniakach przystaje i słucha zrazu obojętnie. [...] Obserwuję śpiewaka. Odbiegł on daleko od typu dziada kalwaryjskiego. Raczej niedoszły śpiewak kabaretowy. Zasobami słabiutkiego barytoniku szafuje do zbytku i do sódmego potu. Dykcja wyraźna akcentuje każdą zgłoskę z osobna. I ten naiwny patos z roku trzydziestego! [...] Mimo niepowodzenia pierwszego punktu programy śpiewak jest dobrej myśli. Zdołał zainteresować słuchaczy. Czekają, co będzie dalej. Nie tylko nie odeszli, ale nawet trochę przybyło. I to lepszej publiczności. Kilku gospodarzy, cztery kumoszki spod Kalisza. Śpiewak na beczcze od kapusty staje się ośrodkiem zaciekawienia. Tym bardziej, że sięgnął do efektów niezawodnych: ‘Straszna zbrodnia rodzonej matki, która zabiła syna swego za dolary.’ [...] Tragizm jest prymitywny i niezłożony, czyni wszelako olbrzymie wrażenie na słuchaczach. Szloch i łzy wśród wełniaków. Obserwuję babinę, która przedtem grymasiła w zakupach, [...] teraz zaś idzie bez namysłu za głosem swego wzruszenia. Pociąga nosemi dobywa supełek. Na dany znak rzucają się i inni. Sukces śpiewaka jest znaczny. Uzbierał trochę grosza. [...] Kobięcina schowała starannie świstek za pazuchę. Nie żałuje trzydziestu groszy.”

23 Kozieł, *Wspomnienia wędrownego kramarza*, pp. 159–173.

24 Łuczkowski, “Opoczyński grajek.”

they did not have sufficient financial resources to produce or purchase them for dissemination. Furthermore, their primary activity was prayer (often in the form of singing), for which they received appropriate remuneration in the form of donations from passers-by. Secondly, the repertoire of songs sung by them only partially overlapped with that of broadside ballads, which was much broader; evidence for this claim derives from the fact that the extant collection of broadside ballads as well as the documentation by ethnographers of broadside ballads being sung includes many texts not found in the recordings made directly from beggars.²⁵

Still, the consumers of Polish broadside ballads were among the poorest of the populace, and thus the form, content, and methods of distribution of the ballads was constrained by the unstable economic condition of the purchasers. The political and economic situation in Poland in the nineteenth century, the economic crisis at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, and the fact that the main recipients of broadside ballads in these periods were not only the poor but also the rural population, prevented the development of typical European forms of distribution, which were often combined with extensive stage performances. The most sophisticated example of such marketing is the German *Bänkelsang*, wherein a seller's dramatized singing of a broadside ballad was accompanied by him standing on a box or bench and using a pointer to mark the stages of the sung narrative by pointing to one of many pictures imaged on a board, which is propped up for all to see (thus both guiding and attracting the gathering audience through the stages of song with the eye-catching illustrations).²⁶ Although some German publishers (e.g., Herman Reiche) tried to direct some of their productions of broadside ballads to communities of the Polish-speaking population by translating *Bänkelsang* printings into Polish, such efforts, due to the expense involved, were nevertheless isolated initiatives and did not contribute to the spread of this mode of marketing broadside ballads in Poland.²⁷

Not only the limited economic conditions of the new primary potential consumers of this cheap print, but also the enormous role played by Catholicism in the culture of the rural poor further explain why the repertoire of Polish broadside ballads was dominated by religious topics, as we also find is the case in Czech lands. If we follow this devotional line of thinking, we can understand why religious broadside ballads were additionally stimulated by the popular pilgrimage movement. According to various

25 Grochowski, *Straszna zbrodnia*, pp. 176–181; Grochowski, *Dziady*, pp. 191–223.

26 Braungart, *Bänkelsang*. See also the chapter by Ivánek.

27 Grochowski, "Polskie druki."

sources, even very poor peasants were willing to spend a certain amount of money on the purchase of a broadside ballad related to the sanctuary to which they made a pilgrimage. Such a broadside ballad was treated not only as a souvenir but as a sign of the pilgrim's presence in a holy place, and even as something of a relic with sacred properties (similarly to rosaries, holy pictures, and holy medals purchased at pilgrimage sites). After returning home, printings of such pilgrimage broadside ballads were usually carefully stored, collected, and often even sewn and bound together, creating a kind of songbook (called "block," Pol. *klocek* in the nomenclature of musicologists and archivists), which were later employed, especially by local leaders, on various occasions that involved collective religious song: e.g., during funeral ceremonies or on subsequent pilgrimages.²⁸ Such consumer collecting practices, as a fortunate result, contributed to the better preservation of religious broadside ballads in Polish and Czech ethnographic archives and library collections. Secular broadside ballads topics were not usually treated with such devoted attention by their consumers; they were thus the most ephemeral of the already transient, because so cheap, broadside ballad artefacts—quickly destroyed, reused, and even deliberately disposed of as worthless publications for uneducated recipients. Thus, today their survival in rare book rooms and other archival sites do not fully represent their large popular production, even during their period of relative decline in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Types of Topics and Genres

Investigating the content of Polish broadside ballads, we can discern that they fall into two basic and separate groups: religious and secular. It was rarely the case that religious and secular texts were published side by side in one printing of a sheet. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the border between religious and secular broadside ballads was quite fluid, just as we find in Czech broadside ballads and even in English broadside ballads.²⁹ Many secular texts contained numerous religious motifs (e.g., prayer formulas and interpretations of the described events as acts of God or of the Virgin Mary), which made them ideologically similar to religious texts.

²⁸ The Czech broadside ballads were also often sewn together by their consumers; in Czech terminology, the resulting "block" of sewn broadside ballads is called *špalíček*. For more information, see the introduction and the chapter by Ivánek.

²⁹ For more information, see the introduction as well as the chapters by Ivánek and Fumerton.

The thematic specificity of religious broadside ballads meant that in this group we deal with a significant repetition of the published texts. Examples include numerous broadside ballads related to sanctuaries, popular Catholic saints, and some apocryphal legends, which have been reprinted many times by various publishers. Because of their multiple reprintings (and, as discussed above, their ephemerality), the exact number of editions of individual texts is very difficult to determine from religious broadside ballads extant today. In the case of secular texts, there were much fewer such publishing “hits” (in the sense of such popular texts that were multiply reprinted), but there is a visible tendency by printers, publishers, and authors to compose new texts based on current and local events; many of these broadside ballads are known today only from a single, unique surviving edition.

If we delve more deeply into religious broadside ballads, we find that the most important place in their repertoire was occupied by two thematic subgroups. The first such group concerns songs associated with popular sanctuaries—sites wherein are sited images of Catholic saints (primarily the Virgin Mary). In terms of genres, these texts can themselves be divided into two categories. The first are verse legends that contain narrations about the revelation of the saint figure that led to the creation of the sanctuary in honour of them, as well as songs about the miracles they performed, such as the granting of graces and healings in addition to prayer songs addressed to the saint and pilgrimage songs sung at specific times during a trip to or from the sanctuary.

The second subcategory of religious broadside ballads concerns the death of Christ. Such songs specifically narrate in detail the various stages of the Passion and crucifixion, or they take the form of meditation songs containing prayer formulas connected with various moments related to Christ’s death (e.g., songs that focus on his wounds, scourging, and falls on the way to the hill of Calvary in Jerusalem), and the so-called “Calvary songs,” which were performed during special rituals popular in Poland which enacted spatially the places and events related to the last moments of Christ’s life.³⁰

Apart from the above-mentioned major subgroups, the repertoire of religious broadside ballads also included several apocryphal legends (e.g., about the rich man and Lazarus, or about the escape of the Holy Family to Egypt) as well as numerous prayer broadside ballads directed to patron saints, broadside ballads containing the basic truths of faith and moral principles, and quite a large repertoire of prayer-lamentations, and also a few narrative eschatological broadside ballads (about the decline in social

30 Mitkowska, *Polskie kalwarie*.

morals, the end of the world and Judgement Day, death and the posthumous fate of the human soul, and the like).

In the case of secular broadside ballads, the main category is clear: news broadside ballads dominated. Containing reports about various types of current, and at the same time unusual, events, they were set in specific real-time occasions (detailing the time, place, heroes, etc.) with great emotion in order to move the feelings of the audience—evoking fear, pity, indignation, and other strong affective reactions. The most common subject of such broadside ballads were murders within the family circle, usually following one of several life-patterns: a wife and her new lover murder her husband to get him out of the way, children murder their old parents for their inheritance, a son or daughter murder their siblings or the whole family (out of jealousy, hatred, or, again, for the sole inheritance), and a daughter-in-law murders her father-in-law or mother-in-law because of greed to overtake their property or sheer hatred. Songs about children, seen as burdens and murdered by their parents or surviving relatives as well as persecuted orphans, were especially popular in this group. The slayings described in news broadside ballads, as detailed above, are very often motivated by material reasons relating to marriage and family life (e.g., the burden of supporting old parents or children from a previous marriage, or poverty that makes it difficult to get married). At the same time many such stories contain a religious interpretation of the presented events and some supernatural intervention; they often refer to the miraculous salvation of would-be victims or the divine punishment after the crime that falls upon the murderer(s), such as instant death from a lightning strike, a farm fire destroying all their property, or their suffering a severe and incurable disease.³¹

Surprisingly, however, compared to the European broadside ballads repertoire, including neighbouring Czech collections, Polish materials contain relatively few texts about natural disasters and stories of unhappy loves that end with the suicide of one or both lovers; another otherwise globally popular topic is completely lacking: stories about famous highwaymen. We also find that high-profile socio-political or military events (such as battles, wars, assassinations, or election of rulers), which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were one of the most important topics of Polish broadside ballads—not surprisingly so, given their impact on the country at large—definitively receded into the background in the

31 See similar divine punishments of murders, most usually after the killing, in English broadside ballads; see also the chapter by Fumerton.

nineteenth century.³² In the materials from this period, only a very few broadside ballads about individual military figures involved in historical socio-political events are repeated (example of such songs include broadside ballads about Stefan Okrzeja, who was executed as a participant in the fight for Polish independence, and King Jan III Sobieski, who defeated the Turkish army in the Battle of Vienna).³³ In the broadside ballads from World War I and the interwar period, there survive only a small group of a dozen or so texts about the war; notably, they do not refer to any specific events, contain only general images of the suffering of soldiers and civilians and war tragedies, and more prominently sing of popular travelling themes (e.g., brothers meeting on the battlefield and fighting against each other). These broadside ballads, nevertheless, often include a religious moral, presenting war as a punishment for human sins, as well as contain numerous prayers, especially prayers to God for mercy and peace. Their affiliation with the group of secular historical broadside ballads is therefore problematic; they lean strongly towards the religious. In the context of secular broadside ballads, however, there is one more, not very numerous, although clearly distinct thematic group. This set of broadside ballads consists of satirical and moralistic texts that criticize and condemn various human flaws and immoral behaviours, usually stereotypically ascribed to particular genders, most often stigmatizing drunkenness (in men) and quarrelsome attributes, naivety, and stupidity (in women). Though clearly not belonging to the larger theme of religion, then, the prominence of morality in these so-called secular satires is notable.

Finally, in terms of considering themes and genres within the Polish ephemeral publications specifically from the 1920s and 1930s, one kind clearly stands out. I refer to publications issued in large cities that are addressed to a big urban audience (mainly in Łódź and Warsaw). Their affiliation with the phenomenon of broadside ballads may be debatable, but they should be mentioned here because of their similar publishing format, and also partly their like method of distribution. Printings of this type from this period contain a completely different repertoire of songs to those we have so far discussed. Firstly, they consist of popular songs in revues and cabarets, and later also in radio and films as well as released records for playing at home

32 The absence of broadside ballads on these otherwise internationally popular topics is probably related to the fact that they were quite distant from the realities of life of poor rural recipients, were less likely to arouse emotional responses or interest among them, and, consequently, were not preferred by publishers and printers.

33 Another notable exception to this absence was the printings published in Warsaw during World War I, containing anti-Prussian propaganda songs.

on gramophones. Secondly, their texts belong to urban folklore performed by street singers and backyard bands. Humorous or sentimental songs predominate amongst this repertoire, most often broadside ballads about love and male-female relationships, but also satirical songs about current social, political, and economic events.³⁴ They would seem to represent the uncertain times between the two world wars, represented in media of other large cities as well, such as Paris, Berlin, and Venice.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of publishing broadside ballads in Poland basically ends with the outbreak of World War II. The political, legal, and economic conditions prevailing in Poland during the Second World War made it impossible to produce and distribute broadside ballads, which necessarily involved open street dissemination in some form.³⁵ After the war, some publishers tried to resume and continue their printing activities, publishing both pre-war news broadside ballads and current texts relating to the tragic events of the recent years. However, this post-war production is relatively modest and never takes off. There are several reasons for this failure. Firstly, the structural determinants of the production and distribution of broadside ballads (which requires a network of printing houses, fairs, church fairs, and pilgrimage traffic) had been radically disrupted by the war. Secondly, there were serious difficulties in supplying the materials and equipment necessary for the publication of any printed matter. Thirdly, the financial capabilities of potential buyers, especially in the first years after the war, were very limited. The death blow to the activity of publishers of broadside ballads came in 1948, when the communist authorities in Poland issued a decree liquidating private printing houses and publishing companies. This year can also be considered not only the end of free printing as the public knew it, but also the end of the history of Polish broadside ballads, which have never been reborn since in their original form.

In the end, however, it is worth adding that many of the religious broadside ballads continued to be disseminated for a long time in the villages both orally (from memory) and in the form of handwritten notebooks. They were

34 This phenomenon is presented in more detail in Dunin, *Papierowy bandyta*, pp. 61–88; Wieczorkiewicz, *Warszawskie ballady podwórzowe*.

35 A separate issue that does not fall within the scope of this study is the leaflets published by underground organizations related to the resistance movement.

mainly performed during funeral rites, Passion services, and pilgrimages. Also, specific genre forms and stylistic conventions that had developed within secular broadside ballads (especially news broadside ballads) appeared from time to time in folk songs in connection with certain dramatic events, such as the assassination of Pope John Paul II in 1981, the murder of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko in 1984 (associated with the anti-communist opposition),³⁶ and the crash of a passenger plane in the Kabacki Forest near Warsaw as late as 1987. Currently, these conventions are also used in cabarets as well as in amateur and professional satirical works related to current political events. In sum, broadside ballads, both religious and secular, may be ephemeral and subject to repression, but they have a spirit that lives in the culture of the people, both in Poland and globally.

Works Cited

- Braungart, Wolfgang, ed. *Bänkelsang. Texte–Bilder–Kommentare*. Stuttgart: Philip Reclam, 1995.
- Dunin, Janusz. "Druk i wielkemiejski folklor." *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 15 (1972), pp. 53–66.
- Dunin, Janusz. *Papierowy bandyta. Książka kramarska i brukowa w Polsce*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1974.
- Dunin, Janusz. *Studia o komunikacji społecznej*. Łódź: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Ekonomicznan, 2004.
- Grochowski, Piotr. *Dziady. Rzecz o wędrownych żebrakach i ich pieśniach*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2009.
- Grochowski, Piotr. *Jarmark tradycji. Studia i szkice folklorystyczne*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2016.
- Grochowski, Piotr. "Lamenty dziadka z Targówka. Parodie na dziadów i pieśni dziadowskie." *Literatura Ludowa* 54, no. 4/5 (2010), pp. 3–13.
- Grochowski, Piotr. "Nastroje społeczno-religijne pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w świetle pieśni nowiniarskich." *Napis* 12 (2006), pp. 21–33.
- Grochowski, Piotr. "Polskie druki Bänkelsang." *Literatura Ludowa* 49, no. 4–5 (2005), pp. 57–66.

36 Father Jerzy Popiełuszko was murdered by the security service at the request of the communist authorities. In 1980–1984 he was a priest associated with the independent self-governing free trade union Solidarity (Solidarność), which was an organization fighting against the communist regime in Poland.

- Grochowski, Piotr. "Polskie pieśni pielgrzymkowe i kalwaryjskie." *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 55 (2016), pp. 23–45.
- Grochowski, Piotr. "Staropolskie pieśni nowiniarskie." *Pamiętnik Literacki* 99, no. 3 (2008), pp. 105–123.
- Grochowski, Piotr. *Straszna zbrodnia rodzonej matki: Polskie pieśni nowiniarskie na przełomie XIX i XX w.* Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2010.
- Hernas, Czesław. "Z epiki dziadowskiej." *Pamiętnik Literacki* 49, no. 4 (1958), pp. 475–494.
- Hołda, Renata. "Druki religijne z oficyny wydawniczej Nowackich w Mikołowie." In *Tematyka religijna Górnośląskich druków ulotnych i okolicznościowych XIX i XX wieku: studia i materiały*, ed. Jerzy Myszor, pp. 77–108. Katowice: Fundacja Centrum Badań nad Historią Kościoła im. ks. Wincentego Myszora, 2018.
- Hołda, Renata. "Druki religijne z oficyny wydawniczej Teofila Nowackiego w Piekarach Śląskich." *Literatura Ludowa* 57, no. 6 (2013), pp. 15–33.
- Kotula, Franciszek. "Polityczne pieśni odpustowe z Galicji." Part 1, *Literatura Ludowa* 17, no. 4–5 (1973), pp. 28–43; part 2, *Literatura Ludowa* 18, no. 1 (1974), pp. 32–43; part 3, *Literatura Ludowa* 18, no. 2 (1974), pp. 36–45.
- Kotula, Franciszek. "Ryciny odpustowych pieśni." *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* 29, no. 4 (1975), pp. 237–250.
- Kozieł, Edward. *Wspomnienia wędrownego kramarza*, ed. Antoni Olcha. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1975.
- Łuczkowski, Jan. "Opoczyński grajek odpustowy." *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 26 (1984), pp. 97–114.
- Mitkowska, Anna. *Polskie kalwarie*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2003.
- Nyrkowski, Stanisław (ed.). *Karnawał dziadowski. Pieśni wędrownych śpiewaków (XIX–XX w.)*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1973 (2nd ed. 1977).
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. *Druki wadowickie XIX i pierwszej połowy XX wieku: Źródło do dziejów drukarstwa galicyjskiego*. Wadowice: Wadowickie Centrum Kultury im. Marcina Wadowity, 2007.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. *Książki religijne i quasi-religijne z wadowickich oficyn drukarskich (1825–1940)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. "Obraz męki Chrystusa w XIX-wiecznych ulotnych drukach jarmarczno-odpustowych." *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 95 (2011), pp. 305–315.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. "Od Biblii do poezji kramarskiej. O biblijnym motywie ucieczki Świętej Rodziny do Egiptu w polskich pieśniach jarmarczno-odpustowych." *Literatura Ludowa* 55, no. 3 (2011), pp. 3–10.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. "Pieśni religijne w galicyjskim obiegu jarmarczno-odpustowym (XIX–XX w.)." In *Kraków–Lwów: Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki*, ed. Halina

- Kosętko, pp. 518–528. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2006.
- Sokolski, Jacek. “Dziadowska pieśń o Sądzie Ostatecznym z wieku siedemnastego.” *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Prace Literackie* 34 (1995), pp. 5–10.
- Szturcová, Monika. “Česko-polské písňové vzťahy na príkladu vydavateľskej stratégie Orlovy tiskárny.” *Historica: Revue pro historii a príbuzné vedy* 8, no. 1 (2017), pp. 44–55.
- Szturcová, Monika. “Kult poutních míst slezsko-polského pohraničí v Českých kramářských písňích 18. A 19. století.” *Historie–Otázky–Problémy* 9, no. 1 (2017), pp. 167–174.
- Waliński, Michał. “Pieśń jarmarczna? Nowiniarska? Ballada? Czy—pieśń dziadowska? Prolegomena do badań pieśni dziadowskiej.” In *Wszystek krąg ziemski. Antropologia, historia, literatura*, ed. Piotr Kowalski, pp. 164–194. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998.
- Wasylewski, Stanisław. “Niespodzianka na odpuszcie.” *Kurier Poznański* 25, no. 410 (1930), p. 8.
- Wieczorkiewicz, Bronisław. *Warszawskie ballady podwórzowe*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971.
- Zawadzki, Konrad. *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia*, 3 vols. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977–1990.
- Zawadzki, Konrad. *Początki prasy polskiej. Gazety ulotne i seryjne XVI–XVIII wieku*. Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2002.

Websites

- “Digital Library of Polish and Poland-Related News Pamphlets.” <https://cbdu.ijp.pan.pl/>.
- Wawrzekiewicz, Piotr. “Katalog druków ulotnych z pieśniami z zasobów wybranych Bibliotek i Muzeów Podkarpacia i Małopolski.” http://muzykadawna.jaroslaw.pl/wp/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Druki_ulotne_Katalog.pdf.

About the Author

Piotr Grochowski: Associate Professor in the Institute of Culture Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland, <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Piotr-Grochowski-2>. Grochowski is the author of several monographs and papers dealing with Polish broadside ballads, folklore and popular culture, inter alia, *Straszna zbrodnia rodzonej matki: Polskie pieśni nowiniarskie na przełomie XIX i XX w.* (2010). Piotr.Grochowski@umk.pl.

20. Czech-Polish Interrelations: The Example of Marian Songs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Monika Szturcová

Abstract

Monika Szturcová focuses on Czech-Polish interrelations in the field of broadside ballads. She takes as her sample case study popular Marian broadside ballads from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She focuses on the specific circumstances by which the printing industry operated along the Czech-Polish border (where many pilgrimage sites were located). Foreign-language songs, both Polish and Czech, she importantly observes, were incorporated into specific domestic song traditions, both via spontaneous adaptation among ordinary people—especially Czech and Polish pilgrims who met at pilgrimage sites—and also via the commercially motivated activities of printers/publishers seeking the widest consumer market they could target.

Keywords: Czech broadside ballads, Polish broadside ballads, Silesia, Virgin Mary, pilgrimage site

Polish Chapbooks and Broadside Ballads in Těšín Silesia¹

An important subject, and one which has not yet been systematically researched, is the publication of Polish chapbooks in the Těšín Silesia region. This region is situated in the north-eastern part of today's Czech Republic, along the borders with Poland and Slovakia; it takes its name from the town of Těšín

¹ For more information on the connections between chapbooks and broadside ballads, see the introduction and the chapter by Ivánek.

(Cieszyn in Polish, historically Teschen in German). The region underwent a distinctive course of historical and ethnic development as a result of the co-existence of Czech, Polish, German, and Jewish cultures. Polish chapbooks were published in Těšín Silesia from the mid-nineteenth century—not only for the autochthonous Polish population, but also for export and sale to nearby territories that are now in Poland. Těšín became an important regional printing centre at the beginning of the nineteenth century, followed by the nearby town of Frydek towards the middle of the century. The relaxation of censorship following the upheavals of 1848 created favourable conditions for Polish-language printing in Těšín Silesia, which in turn led to the increasing use of Polish in public life (in official communication, education, and religious life).

The roots of Těšín's role as a printing centre can be traced back to Tomáš Procházka (1771–1817), who came to the town from Prague and bought a local printing shop from Fabian Beinhauer in 1807. The business was run by five successive generations of the Procházka family for more than 130 years, and during that time it made an indelible mark on both Czech and Polish printing, playing a central role in the cultural life of the region and beyond. Thanks to the business acumen of its owners, the company established itself as one of the foremost printing houses in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (in 1883 it was granted imperial approval, gaining the official status of a printing and publishing house by appointment to the emperor's court in Vienna). The business began to falter in the challenging circumstances that followed the First World War and during the Great Depression, when it had to scale down its production substantially. During the Second World War it was taken over by German owners, and after the communist takeover of 1948 it was nationalized.

Reflecting the unique ethnic composition of Těšín Silesia, the printing house published in Czech, Polish, and German. It first began issuing Polish-language printings after 1848, in response to growing public demand. Although the owners of the printing house (the Procházkas) were pro-German in their sentiments, the key motivation for their commercial strategy was profit, so they attempted to build up a base of Polish customers by printing advertisements stating that the company specialized in publishing Polish-language books and periodicals. It is also relevant to the subject of this chapter that the Procházkas not only owned a printing shop in Těšín itself; in 1848 they established a branch of the company outside Těšín Silesia, in the city of Bielsko (Poland), which distributed the products of the Těšín printing shop in what is now Poland. We have little information about the activities of the Bielsko branch, but we do know that during the 1860s it was still owned by the Procházka family.

In terms of the genres and subject matter covered by the printing house, its Polish-language production was quite diverse and wide-ranging, encompassing Polish newspapers and periodicals, prayer books, songbooks, hymn books, chapbooks, textbooks, and other printings for use in the region's schools, as well as various other printed materials. Literature aimed at a broad readership from the lower strata of society played an important role in the company's production portfolio—especially chapbooks. Unfortunately, relatively few Polish chapbooks produced by the Procházka printing house have survived to this day.² Because many of these printings were exported to what is now Poland (as mentioned above), surviving examples can be found not only among the holdings of Moravian and Silesian memory institutions, but also in Polish institutions.³

The most common types of texts published in Polish chapbooks were Catholic religious broadside ballads, though other types of religious texts were also printed (sermons or prayers). A distinctive feature of this production is the fact that it catered not only to Catholic readers, but also to the local Lutheran community; sporadic examples have survived. It is surprising that Polish secular songs do not feature among the surviving examples of the company's production (unlike the secular songs published by the printing shop established in Frýdek at a later date by František Orel); this can be explained by the fragmentary nature of the sources that have survived.

The Catholic broadside ballads cover the traditional range of subjects; they are dominated by songs about the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, with a large number of songs for pilgrimage sites and somewhat fewer examples of songs about saints. Pilgrimage songs played an important role among the broadside ballads aimed at a Catholic readership. Polish songs were printed for Marian or Calvary pilgrimage sites, which were popular among pilgrims from Těšín Silesia: Góra Świętej Anny (St. Ann's Hill) in Opole Silesia, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska in Lesser Poland, and especially Jasna Góra in Częstochowa—the most popular Polish pilgrimage site. However, the pilgrimage songs published by the company also included original works publicizing pilgrimage sites of regional renown in Těšín Silesia.

A small number of surviving examples of Polish broadside chapbooks from Těšín Silesia were aimed at the local Lutheran population. Such texts

2 The Polish chapbooks from the Procházka printing house analysed for this study are held by the following institutions: Książnica Cieszyńska (Cieszyn), Biblioteka Śląska (Katowice), Muzeum Těšínska (Český Těšín), Muzeum Beskyd (Frýdek-Místek), Slezské zemské muzeum (Opava), Moravské zemské muzeum (Brno).

3 Windakiewiczowa, "Katalog pieśni."

include *Pieśni ludowe o założeniu Kościoła Ewangelickiego przed Cieszynem. Na uroczystość 150-letniego jubileuszu dnia 24. maja 1859 obchodzonego, na pamiątkę wydane* (Folk songs about the establishment of the Lutheran church near Těšín), published in Těšín in 1859 to mark the 150th anniversary of Emperor Joseph I's official approval (1709) for plans to build a church (later known as Jesus's Church), which was one of six so-called Churches of Grace.⁴ The printing contains three narrative songs with the following incipits: "Cieszynscy ewangelicy, posłyszcie prawdziwe rzeczy" ("Lutherans of Těšín, listen to true words"), "Roku potem tysięcznego, siedmsetnego dziewiątego" ("Later in the year 1790"—probably a continuation of the first song), and "Radość nam już nastąpiła w tej cieszynskiej ziemi" ("Now we have joy in this land of Těšín").

During the final quarter of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, the Procházka printing house published not only broadside ballads, but also Polish-language folk reading books, mainly with secular content. These printings were associated with a publishing house owned by the Feitzinger family, founded in the 1850s by Edward Feitzinger Sr. (1809–1869). Feitzinger ran a bookshop and published both religious and secular literature in Polish, Czech, and German. During these decades, the Procházka printed more than 20 titles for Feitzinger's publishing house, including adventure books, books about history and legends, educational texts, and practical instructive texts. Most of these books presented stories that were internationally popular (e.g., the stories of Magelone, Melusine, or Doctor Faustus), though there were also some well-known Polish tales as well as original texts by Polish authors, with subject matter connected with the region (such as stories about the Silesian bandit Ondřej). In terms of genre, they were quite varied, including adventures, fairy tales and legends, dream books, occasional speeches, explanatory or didactic texts, and practical instructive texts. When internationally popular stories were adapted, the source language was usually German or French. There is no indication that these texts were adapted from Czech—though Czech was used as the source language for many religious songs (see below).

Another company that made an important contribution to the tradition of printing in Těšín Silesia was the Orel printing house in Frýdek, which operated for more than seven decades. Its founder was František Orel (1849–1927), who had learned the printing trade at the renowned Foltyn printing shop in Wadowice (Lesser Poland). The Orels' company supplied printed forms for shops, industrial businesses, banks, various associations,

4 *Pieśni ludowe* [...], 1859, SZM N 5577.

and private customers. It also sold paper goods. Thanks to the Orel's business acumen, their products (especially their chapbooks containing pilgrimage songs) became renowned even beyond the borders of Silesia. The outbreak of the First World War caused the company to scale down its production.

The Orel printing house (like the Procházka company) published literature and printed materials in Czech, Polish, and German. It is relevant to the subject of this chapter that František Orel also established a branch outside the borders of Těšín Silesia, at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska in Lesser Poland; the branch remained in operation until 1914. Orel's decision to set up a business at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska was undoubtedly motivated by the popularity of this pilgrimage site among Catholics in the Těšín region, and he was probably inspired by the time he had spent living and working in nearby Wadowice.

As is the case with the Procházka printing house, not many Polish broadside ballads printed by the Orel Company have survived; around 60 different broadside ballad gatherings were analysed for the purposes of this research, held at several Polish and Czech institutions.⁵

Also, similarly to the Procházka printing house, most of the Orel company's production consisted of religious literature—broadside ballads, prayer books, and so on. The Polish songs are mainly about the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ, and pilgrimage songs are also strongly represented (with the choice of pilgrimage sites the same as those in the Procházka's production). To a lesser extent the printings also included songs about saints, miracles and miraculous apparitions, as well as secular printings (e.g., for weddings). However, no examples of folk reading books or songs for Lutherans were found.

Bi-directional Translation of Religious Songs

The research conducted for this chapter compared Czech and Polish broadside ballads (not only from the Procházka and Orel printing houses). One interesting finding of the analysis was that popular religious songs were borrowed in both directions; Czech songs were adapted into Polish and vice versa. When tracing the connections between the Czech and Polish

5 The Polish chapbooks from the Orel printing house analysed for this study are held by the following institutions: Książnica Cieszyńska (Cieszyn), Biblioteka Śląska (Katowice), Muzeum Etnograficzne (Kraków), Muzeum Těšínska (Český Těšín), Muzeum Beskyd (Frýdek-Místek), Slezské zemské muzeum (Opava).

repertoires of pilgrimage songs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the research focused on identified demonstrable influences on the genesis of specific texts; it did not explore typological connections (such as analogous tendencies in the development of Czech and Polish pilgrimage songs) or the ways in which the same religious texts were adapted into Czech and into Polish.

During the period under investigation, chapbooks were an important printed medium for the dissemination of pilgrimage songs. However, the research faced a challenge: the disproportionate numbers of surviving Czech and Polish printings that were available for analysis. The oldest Czech broadside ballads date from the end of the sixteenth century, and their development reached a peak in the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. However, Polish broadside ballads only began to emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century. There is no doubt that these songs were disseminated among Polish-speaking communities at an earlier date than is indicated by the printed sources; however, this dissemination took a different form, evidently via oral transmission or via manuscript copies.

To determine the direction of translation, a linguistic analysis of the broadside ballads was conducted (most of the adapted texts contain elements that are traceable to interference from the vocabulary or structures of the source language). Other indicators sometimes also proved useful—such as the date given, the number of changes made in the text (it was common for broadside ballads to be adapted from “templates,” with only the names of the pilgrimage sites changed according to the publisher’s needs), or different editions (it was common for printing houses to adapt each other’s texts). However, caution is necessary especially when comparing the dates of Czech and Polish sources. As has already been mentioned, all the Polish sources date from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, whereas the Czech sources are mostly older—though this does not necessarily mean that the Czech broadside ballads were the original texts. The analysis also traced which pilgrimage sites were chosen for the Czech and Polish broadside ballads, as this indicates how well known these sites were and the extent to which they had become established in the song tradition. In some cases, both Czech and Polish broadside ballads exist for the same pilgrimage site in the Czech-Polish border region; here it is very likely that the second language version originated at that particular site, as a result of meetings between pilgrims of both nationalities. We know that popular destinations for Moravian and Silesian pilgrims during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Wambierzyce,

Góra Świętej Anny (St. Ann's Hill) in Opole Silesia, Piekary, and especially Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, a Polish pilgrimage site of central importance (numerous literary and visual sources demonstrate that the Black Madonna of Częstochowa was widely revered in Moravia and Silesia).⁶

The research identified around 30 pilgrimage songs with Czech- and Polish-language versions (ten examples of these songs are given in Table 4).⁷ The following discussion focuses on interesting examples that illustrate the process by which songs were borrowed from one language into another.⁸

The first example for discussion is a relatively rare case of songs produced for the same pilgrimage site. Understandably, the texts chosen for translation were mainly popular and widespread. An exceptionally popular song in the Czech community was “Žádný neví, co jest láska, kdo ji nezkusil, nešel bych já za svou milou, kdybych nemusel” (“Nobody knows what love is unless they have experienced it, I would not go to see my love unless I had to”),⁹ whose the Polish counterpart was “Żaden nie wie, co jest łaska, Maryja, Maryja” (“Nobody knows what love is, Mary, Mary”).¹⁰ This incipit was very popular; it appeared not only in religious songs, and during the eighteenth century it was also found (in various forms) in secular songs. Both the Czech and Polish versions of the song were intended for the pilgrimage site at Jasna Góra in Częstochowa (in fact, it was the most frequent of the Czech songs for Częstochowa), and there are printings dating back to the mid-eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, a Czech version of the song was also produced for the pilgrimage site at Mariental (now Marianka, Slovakia).

6 For information on the cult of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa in Moravia and Silesia, see Ivánek et al., “Pod ochranu”; Ivánek et al., “Kramářské písně.”

7 The chapbooks analysed for this study are held by the following institutions: Czech: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR (Brno branch), Knihovna Národního muzea (Prague), Městské muzeum a galerie (Hranice), Moravská zemská knihovna (Brno), Moravské zemské muzeum (Brno), Muzeum a galerie (Prostějov), Muzeum Beskyd (Frýdek-Místek), Muzeum Komenského (Přerov), Muzeum regionu Valašsko (Valašské Meziříčí), Muzeum Těšínska (Český Těšín), Muzeum Vysočiny (Jihlava), Muzeum Vyškovska (Vyškov), Ostravské muzeum (Ostrava), Regionální muzeum (Chrudim), Regionální muzeum (Litomyšl), Slezské zemské muzeum (Opava), Zemský archiv (Opava), Slovácké muzeum (Uherské Hradiště), Státní okresní archiv (Frýdek-Místek), Vlastivědná knihovna (Olomouc), Vlastivědné muzeum (Olomouc), Polish: Biblioteka Jasnogórska (Częstochowa), Biblioteka Narodowa (Warszawa), Biblioteka Opolska (Opole), Biblioteka Śląska (Katowice), Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Kraków), Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Warszawa), Książnica Cieszyńska (Cieszyn), Muzeum Historyczne (Kraków), Muzeum Etnograficzne (Kraków).

8 A listing of the editions of all the Czech songs discussed in this chapter up to 1850 is given in Malura and Ivánek, *Horo krásná*.

9 E.g., the printing: *Píseň nová ke cti a chvále* [...], 1751. VMO E 19601.

10 E.g., the printing: *Pięć pieśni* [...], [1850–1890], BŚ 214655.

Printings of the Polish version of the song date back to the second half of the nineteenth century, and these were only intended for Częstochowa. It is a typical pilgrimage song that skilfully handles motifs of passionate love. The Madonna is addressed as “my love” and “my lover,” and the pilgrim expresses a powerful emotional experience on the physical level. The Czech and Polish texts have the same number of strophes, but the strophes in the Polish version are longer, as the song also includes a salutation to the Virgin Mary. The similarity between the Czech and Polish languages made it possible to replace Czech words and phrases with similar-sounding Polish words and phrases, though in many cases the meaning is different. As a translation from Czech, the Polish version of the song also includes numerous elements that are traceable to the Czech language.

However, it was far more common for the same song to be used for different Czech and Polish pilgrimage sites—and this necessitated more changes in the text. The text was borrowed and adapted to meet specific needs; however, the changes to the text are usually relatively minor, generally restricted to replacing the name of the patron and the pilgrimage site. A good example is the popular Czech song “Horo krásná spanilá” (“Oh, lovely fair hill”),¹¹ whose Polish equivalent is the (likewise very popular) song “Gwiazdo śliczna wspaniała” (“Oh, beautiful fair star”).¹² The analysis of the Czech songs revealed several adaptations for different pilgrimage sites. It is probable that the song was originally composed for the pilgrimage site at Křtiny; it was published as such from the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the first half of the nineteenth century, a version was also published for Ivančice (Stará Hora), and also during the first half of the nineteenth century a version was published for Chlumeck, with different first lines. In the Polish tradition, this text was used for Częstochowa and an unidentified Virgin Mary of Calvary (in all cases dating from the second half of the nineteenth century). The Czech version can be classified as a typical pilgrimage song, featuring typical motifs associated with pilgrimages (such as the image of a hill). The speakers are an individual singer, a group of pilgrims, and the Virgin Mary, who calls the pilgrims to her as if they are her children. Love motifs play quite an important role in the song; the pilgrims give their hearts to Mary, who is said to be beautiful and lovely, and is described as a stunning jewel. She is celebrated not only by the pilgrims, but also by all creatures. The artistic effect of the song is generated by the final verse in each stanza, in which a verb form is repeated twice with the insertion of an emotive interjection.

11 E.g., the printing: *Nábožné volání* [...], [1800–1850], SZM N 5198.

12 E.g., the printing: *Dwie pieśni* [...], 1884, BUW XX B2t.

The end of the song features the obligatory appeals for the Virgin's blessing, protection, and intercession at the hour of death. The translation from Czech is of good quality. The Polish version retains the structure of the Czech song, though with minor changes in motifs. In particular, the love-related motifs are less prominent in the Polish version; Mary is not portrayed as the pilgrim's lover, but only as a protector and mother.

The research found a substantial predominance of translations from Czech to Polish—though the borrowing worked in both directions. A valuable example of a translation from Polish to Czech is the song “*Marš, marš, mé srdce na Kalvárii*” (“March, march, my heart, to Calvary”),¹³ which is noteworthy both for its language and its motifs; it was adapted from the Polish song “*Marsz, marsz, me serce na Kalwaryjã*” (whose title has the same meaning as that of the Czech version).¹⁴ Both the Czech and Polish versions referred to an unidentified Calvary; surviving examples of Czech printings date from the late eighteenth century, and examples of Polish printings from the second half of the nineteenth century. The song incorporates military motifs and conceptualizes the pilgrimage as part of a spiritual struggle. The song's origin as a Polish text is evident from numerous lexical and morphological features in the Czech version.

Today, it is not possible to determine the circumstances in which individual translations originated. We can only assume that the texts were translated when Czech-speaking and Polish-speaking pilgrims came into contact with each other at pilgrimage sites. However, an insight into the process by which a foreign-language song was adapted into the domestic tradition is provided by a valuable source of Polish origin—a manuscript collection of religious songs recorded by the prolific Silesian folk song collector Jan Kupiec from Łąky (1841–1909), which contains translations of Czech religious songs. Kupiec was a hymn leader on pilgrimages, and his activities as a song collector led him to travel not only within his home region, but also to Moravia.¹⁵ It is also instructive to compare other song texts from Kupiec's manuscripts with the texts of songs published in the form of chapbooks.

This process can be illustrated using the example of a pilgrimage song collected by Kupiec and entitled “*Słoneczko zaszło, pójdziemy spaci*” (“The sun has set, let us go to sleep”). The Czech template for this song was the

13 E.g., the printing: *Píseň nová o kalvárii* [...], [1790–1810], ZAO KT 410.

14 E.g., the printing: *Trzy pieśni*, 1873, BŚ 214655.

15 An edition of the songs is presented in Burzywoda and Myszor, “Pieśni pątnicze ze zbioru Jana Kupca.”

widespread broadside ballad “Slunéčko zašlo, půjdeme spáti” (whose title has the same meaning).¹⁶ This Czech song was very popular, and it was adapted for various pilgrimage sites; at the end of the eighteenth century for Suchdol, and in the first half of the nineteenth century for Mariazell (Austria) and Žarošice (Moravia). The song is addressed to the Virgin Mary, and it could be sung by pilgrims in the evening before going to bed. Kupiec’s transcription of the song includes numerous lexical and morphological elements traceable to the Czech language. The translation is literal, evidently motivated either by the desire to retain the same number of syllables in the verses or by a lack of understanding of the Czech words. This led to some awkward choices of words or distortions creating words that sound similar to the Czech original. Besides featuring in Kupiec’s manuscript, Polish versions of the song can also be found in chapbooks from the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Unlike Kupiec’s text, the printed versions do not contain errors or evident cases of interference from Czech.

It appears likely that songs were adapted not only spontaneously, among ordinary people, but also as a result of the commercial activities of printing houses in the Czech-Polish border region, which specialized in publishing texts for a wide readership—specifically, the two printing houses mentioned above. However, it is probable that these printing houses also played an active role as intermediaries in the process of borrowing and adaptation; songs that were particularly popular (and could thus be judged to be “successful”) may have been translated for commercial reasons. Information about the translation sometimes found its way into the title of the printing itself. Examples include the printings of the broadside ballads “Pieśń nowa o najświętszej Pannie Maryi Kalwaryjskiej z morawskiego języka na polski przełożona” (“A new song about the holiest Virgin Mary of Calvary, translated from the Moravian language into Polish”),¹⁸ “Pieśń w podróży o najświętszej Pannie śląskiej na polską przełożona” (“A pilgrimage song about the holiest Virgin of Silesia translated into Polish”),¹⁹ “Pieśń z morawskiego języka na polski przełożona” (“A song translated from the Moravian language into Polish”), or a broadside ballad accompanied by the remark “z německého na polské, pak z polského na moravské přeložená od velebného kvardiána na kalvárii” (“Translated from German to Polish, then from Polish to Moravian by the magnificent guardian of Calvary”).²⁰

16 E.g., the printing: *Pobožná píseň* [...], 1790, ČT, H 10206/1.

17 E.g., the printing: *Sześć pieśni* [...], 1858, BŚ 213455 I.

18 Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska III*, p. 387.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 388.

20 *Nová píseň* [...], 1811, MT H 14371.

Returning to the two main printing houses in Těšín Silesia (Procházka and Orel), it is evident from the sources that in several cases, both companies published the same religious song in both Czech and Polish versions simultaneously. Procházka's repertoire includes the songs to Our Lady of Sorrows "Smutnou píseň začínáme, zanecháme radosti"²¹ and "Smutne pienie zaczynamy, zaniechajmy radości" (both "We begin with a sad song and end with joy")²²; the pilgrimage songs "Horo krásná, spanilá" ("Oh, lovely fair hill")²³ and "Gwiazdo śliczna, wspaniała" ("Oh, beautiful fair star")²⁴; the pilgrimage songs "Slunéčko zašlo, půjdeme spáti" ("The sun has set, let us go to sleep")²⁵ and "Słoneczko zaszło, już zasnąć potrzeba" ("The sun has set, we need to go to sleep now")²⁶; the songs of praise and supplication "Když jsme přišli k tobě, Královno, před tvůj zázračný obraz, Královno" ("When we came to you, oh, Queen, before your miraculous image, oh, Queen")²⁷ and "Gdyśmy przyszli do kościoła, Królowo, przed tak cudowny obraz twój, o Królowa" ("When we entered the church, oh, Queen, before your wonderful image, oh, Queen")²⁸; and the Passion songs addressed to Christ "Veliká to milost Boha Otce byla"²⁹ and "Wielka to miłość Boga Ojca była" (both "It was a great mercy from God the Father"),³⁰ both of which were also published by Orel in Frýdek.³¹

Conclusion

The publication of Polish-language broadside ballads in what is now the Czech Republic is a phenomenon that has previously remained neglected by researchers, yet it certainly deserves our attention due to the specific circumstances in which the printing industry operated in the Czech-Polish border region. The research presented in this chapter has shown that Polish broadside ballads from Těšín Silesia were published for the local

21 *Píseň k Bolestné* [...], [1857], SZM N 5636.

22 *Pieśń o siedmiu boleściach* [...], [1858], MZM ST 1796.

23 *Píseň ku Panně Marii* [...], 1811, MT H 14368.

24 *Pieśń o N. Pannie Maryi* [...], [1850–1864], ME, no sign.

25 *Pobožná píseň* [...], [1807–1850], MT S 6872-3.

26 *Pieśń na dobrą noc* [...], [1850–1864], SZM N 5659.

27 *Nová píseň* [...], 1811, MT H 14371.

28 *Pieśń o najświętszej* [...], [1850–1864], MZM ST 1328.

29 *Píseň o umučení* [...], 1866, MB FM 11866 S.

30 *Pieśń o catej męce* [...], 1862, SZM N 5601.

31 *Píseň o umučení* [...], [1877–1899], MB FM 12422 S; *Pieśń o catej męce* [...], [1877–1899], MB FM 11067 S.

Table 4. Selected Czech and Polish versions of Marian (pilgrimage) songs published as chapbooks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

First lines	Pilgrimage sites referenced	Printing houses and oldest identified publication
1a) <i>Ach, mé milé potěšení, ó Matičko moje!</i> ('Oh, my dear joy, oh my Mother')	Mariázell Mariéntal (Marianka) general-purpose song	Litomyšl (1790), Těšín (1st half of 19th c.) Skalica (18th/19th c.) 18th/19th c., Litomyšl (1st half of 19th c.), Bystrica (1st half of 19th c.)
1b) <i>Ach, me mile pocieszenie, o Matuchno moja</i> ('Oh, my dear joy, oh my Mother')	Calvary Częstochowa general-purpose song	Wadowice (2nd half of 19th c.), Wieliczka (2nd half of 19th c.) Racibórz (2nd half of 19th c.) Mikołów (2nd half of 19th c.)
2a) <i>Horo krásná, spanilá, Svatočtínská Maria</i> ('Oh lovely fair hill, Mary of holy Křtiny')	Křtiny Stará Hora (Ivančice) Chlumek	Těšín (1811), Skalica (1st half of 19th c.) 1st half of 19th c. Litomyšl (1st half of 19th c.)
<i>Růže krásná, spanilá, Svatochlumecká Maria</i> ('Oh lovely fair rose, Mary of holy Chlumek')		
2b) <i>Gwiazdo śliczna, wspaniała, Kalwaryjska Maryja</i> ('Oh beautiful fair star, Mary of Calvary')	Calvary Częstochowa	Bielsko (mid-19th c.) Warsaw (1883), Piekary (2nd half of 19th c.)
<i>Gwiazdo śliczna, wspaniała, Częstochowska Maryja</i> ('Oh beautiful fair star, Mary of Częstochowa')		
3a) <i>Já jsem si vyvolil za ochranu bábu Krista Pána, svatou Annu</i> ('I chose for my protection the woman of Christ the Lord, Saint Ann')	Drozdovice (St. Ann) Mariázell	Olomouc (1779) Litomyšl (18th/19th c.), Skalica (1st half of 19th c.)
<i>Já jsem si vyvolil za ochranu Matičku Cellyskou, svatou Pannu</i> ('I chose for my protection the Mother of Mariázell, the holy Virgin')		

First lines	Pilgrimage sites referenced	Printing houses and oldest identified publication
3b) <i>Jam sobie wyzwoili z obronę Babkę Chrystusa, świętą Annę</i> ('I chose for my protection the woman of Christ, Saint Ann')	general-purpose song Góra Świętej Anny	Bielsko (Cieszyn) (mid-19th c.), Mikołów (2nd half of 19th c.), Piekary (2nd half of 19th c.) Bielsko (Cieszyn) (mid-19th c.)
4a) <i>Marś, marś, mé srdce, na kalváriju, tam jest twój kwartýr, tam hřišni žiju</i> ('March, march, my heart, to the Calvary, there is your home, there live sinners')	Calvary	Olomouc (1790), Těšín (1st half of 19th c.)
4b) <i>Marsz, marsz, me serce na kalwaryją, tam jest twój kwarter, tam grzeszni żyją</i> ('March, march, my heart, to the Calvary, there is your home, there live sinners')	Calvary	2nd half of 19th c., Frydek (2nd half of 19th c.), Częstochowa (1873), Piekary (around 1890)
5a) <i>Na frydecké hoře krásná pěkná růže přelíbezně voní</i> ('On the hill of Frydek a beautiful rose smells so sweet')	Frydek Hostýn	Těšín (1st half of 19th c.) Skalica (mid-19th c.), Brno (1845)
Na hostýnské hoře krásná pěkná růže přelíbezně voní ('On the hill of Hostýn a beautiful rose smells so sweet')	Křtiny	Jihlava (18th/19th c.), Litomyšl (1st half of 19th c.)
Na té křtínské hoře krásná pěkná růže přelíbezně voní ('On the hill of Křtiny a beautiful rose smells so sweet')	Římov	Jindřichův Hradec (18th/19th c.)
Na římovské hoře krásná pěkná růže přelíbezně voní ('On the hill of Římov a beautiful rose smells so sweet')	Częstochowa	Piekary (2nd half of 19th c.)
6a) <i>Sluncečko zašlo, půjdeme spáti, musíme Matičce dobrou noc dáti</i> ('The sun has set, let us go to sleep, we must say goodnight to our Mother')	Mariaszell general-purpose song Suchdol Žarošice	Litomyšl (1810) Litomyšl (1812) Olomouc (1790), Těšín (1st half of 19th c.) Skalica (early 19th c.), Těšín (1st half of 19th c.)
6b) <i>Słoneczko zaszło, pójdziemy już spać, pójdziemy już spać</i> ('The sun has set now, let us go to sleep, let us go to sleep')	general-purpose song	Bielsko (mid-19th c.)

First lines	Pilgrimage sites referenced	Printing houses and oldest identified publication
7a) <i>Slyším hlas slavička v jednonou oudolí, kteráž ta Maticka v těšinském kraji</i> ('I hear the voice of a nightingale in the valley of the Mother in the land of Těšín')	Frydek Křtiny Mariázell	Těšín (mid-19th c.) turn of 19th c., Skalica (early 19th c.) turn of 19th c., Litomyšl (early 19th c.)
<i>Slyším hlas slavička v jednonou oudolí, kteráž ta Maticka v brněnském kraji</i> ('I hear the voice of a nightingale in the valley of the Mother in the land of Brno')		
<i>Slyším hlas slavička v jednonou oudolí, kteráž ta Maticka v cellenském kraji</i> ('I hear the voice of a nightingale in the valley of the Mother in the land of Mariázell')		
7b) <i>Špiewa mi słowiczek na rajskim dworze</i> ('A nightingale sings to me in the court of paradise')	Częstochowa	Cieszyn and Bielsko (mid-19th c.), Mikołów (2nd half of 19th c.), Częstochowa (1873), Jasło (end of 19th c.)
8a) <i>Vale v ale smutně dávám a odchádzím z města toho</i> ('I say a sad farewell and leave this town')	Częstochowa	18th/19th c., Těšín (1st half of 19th c.)
8b) <i>Wale, wale smutne daję, odchodzę z miejscy tego</i> ('I say a sad farewell and leave this town')	Częstochowa Calvary	Mikołów (2nd half of 19th c.) Frydek (2nd half of 19th c.)
9a) <i>Vinšované jaro, ó nebeský ráji</i> ('Oh longed-for spring, oh heavenly paradise')	Wambierzyce Svatý Kopeček	probably Litomyšl (early 19th c.), Wambierzyce (mid-19th c.), Jihlava (mid-19th c.), Prague (1840), Chrudim (mid-19th c.) Těšín (mid-19th c.), Skalica (1st half of 19th c.)
9b) <i>Winszowana wiosno, o niebieski raj</i> ('Oh longed-for spring, oh heavenly paradise')	Wambierzyce	Mikołów (2nd half of 19th c.), Piekary (around 1890)
10a) <i>Žádný neví, co jest láska, kdo ji nezkusil</i> ('Nobody knows what love is unless they have experienced it')	Częstochowa Mariental (Marianka)	Olomouc (1751), Brno (1760), Opava (2nd half of 18th c.), Těšín (1811) Skalica (1st half of 19th c.), Těšín (1st half of 19th c.)
10b) <i>Žaden nie wie, co jest łaska, Maryja, Maryja</i> ('Nobody knows what love is, Mary, Mary')	Częstochowa	Mikołów (2nd half of 19th c.), Poznań (1886), Piekary (around 1890)

Polish-speaking population as well as to be exported and sold in the territory of today's Poland—especially at pilgrimage sites in the Czech-Polish border region which were popular with pilgrims from Těšín Silesia. The research also demonstrates the bi-directional process of borrowing and translating (adapting) songs from the semi-folk repertoire that were disseminated as broadside ballads in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Printing houses located in different state entities borrowed widely from each other's production. Foreign-language songs were incorporated into the domestic song tradition both via spontaneous adaptation among ordinary people (especially when pilgrims of different nationalities met at pilgrimage sites) and also due to the commercially motivated activities of publishers of popular religious literature; the linguistic similarity between Czech and Polish made it possible to draw not only on the domestic repertoire, but also on the repertoire of the neighbouring community (in most of the analysed cases the translation was from Czech into Polish). This process did not require any substantial creative input. The songs were translated more or less literally (sometimes leading to awkward choices of words or opaque meanings), the genre characteristics remained unchanged, and in most cases the speakers also remained the same. The only alterations concerned the names of the patrons or pilgrimage sites, and there were only slight shifts in meaning, leaving the overall message unchanged. In terms of genre, the translated texts were mainly songs of praise and supplication, or texts with a promotional or meditative function. The research did not reveal any translations of narrative songs; this can be explained by the difficulty of adapting such a song for a different place. For the sake of completeness, it must be noted that Czech-Polish and Polish-Czech adaptations were not limited solely to Marian pilgrimage songs. This process was also applied to songs that were addressed to Christ or the saints (a subject which would merit a separate study). However, both the Czech and the Polish song traditions were affected by this process of borrowing more in quantitative terms than in qualitative terms; by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the genre of pilgrimage songs was highly stable in both cultures. Comparison of the songs indicates that the adaptation of foreign-language songs into the domestic repertoire was a smooth and unproblematic process; this is reflected in the fact that the songs subsequently went on to live their own lives as part of the production of broadside ballads, and continued to be adapted according to specific needs. This demonstrates that when a cultural phenomenon spans the boundary between nations that are similar both linguistically and culturally, the process of exchange functions in a similar way to the analogous process within a single national or regional tradition.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

- Dwie pieśni o najświętszej Pannie Maryi Częstochowskiej.* Warszawa, Lange, D., 1884, sign. XX B 2t, BUW.
- Nábožné volání k blahoslavené Panně Marii Křtinské.* Skalice: N.p., [1800–1850], sign. N 5198, SZM.
- Nová píseň k Panně Marii.* Těšín: Procházka, Karel, 1811, sign. H 14371, MT.
- Pięć pieśni o najświętszej Pannie Maryi.* N.p.: N.p., [1850–1890], sign. 214655 I, BŚ.
- Pieśni ludowe o zatożeniu Kościoła Ewangelickiego przed Cieszynem. Na uroczystość 150-letniego jubileuszu dnia 24 maja 1859 obchodzonego, na pamiątkę wydane.* [Těšín]: Prochaska, Karol, 1859, sign. N 5577, SZM, Národopisné pracoviště, sbírka kramářských tisků.
- Píseň k bolestné Panně Marii.* Těšín: Procházka, [1857], sign. N 5636, SZM.
- Píseň ku Panně Marii Křtinské.* Těšín: Procházka, 1811, sign. H 14368, MT.
- Pieśń na dobrą noc najśw. Maryi Pannie.* Bielsko: Prochaska, Karol, [1850–1864], sign. N 5659, SZM.
- Píseň nová ke cti a chvále blahoslavené Panny Marie Častochovské složená a všem tam putujícím pobožným poutníkům ku potěšení v tisku vydaná.* Olomouc: N.p., 1751, sign. E 19601, VMO.
- Píseň nová o kalvárii. Všem věrným křesťanům k pobožnému rozjímání na světlo vydaná.* N.p.: N.p., [1790–1810], sign. KT 410, ZAO.
- Pieśń o całej męce Pana Jezusa Chrystusa.* Cieszyn: Prochaska, Karol, 1862, sign. N 5601, SZM.
- Pieśń o całej męce Pana Jezusa Chrystusa,* Frydek: Orzeł, Franciszek [1877–1899], sign. FM 11067 S, Muzeum Beskyd
- Pieśń o najświętszej Pannie Maryi.* Bielsko: Prochaska, Karol, [1850–1864], sign. MZM ST 1328, MZM.
- Pieśń o N. Pannie Maryi Kalwaryjskiej.* Bielsko: Prochaska, Karol, [1850–1864], no sign., ME.
- Pieśń o siedmiu boleściach najświętszej Panny Maryi.* Bielsko: Prochaska, Karol, [1858], sign. ST 1796, MZM.
- Píseň o umučení Pána Ježíše Krista.* Frýdek: František Orel, [1877–1899], sign. FM 12422 S, Muzeum Beskyd.
- Píseň o umučení Pána Ježíše Krista.* Těšín: Procházka, 1866, sign. FM 11866 S, MB.
- Pobožná píseň k Panně Marii Sukdolské.* Těšín: N.p., [1807–1850], sign. S 6872-3, MT.
- Pobožná píseň večerní v čas putování na milostné místo Marie Sukdolské.* N.p.: N.p., 1790, sign. H 10206/1, MT.

Sześć pieśni o najświętszej Pannie Maryi. Mikołów, 1858, sign. 213455 I, BŚ.
Trzy pieśni. Częstochowa, 1873, sign. 214655 I, BŚ.

Secondary Sources

- Burzywoda, Urszula, and Jerzy Myszor. "Pieśni pątnicze ze zbioru Jana Kupca," *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 15 (1982), pp. 243–272.
- Estreicher, Karol. *Bibliografia polska III*. Kraków: Uniwersytet krakowski, 1876.
- Ivánek, Jakub, and Jan Malura, eds. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Ivánek, Jakub, Jan Malura, and Monika Szturcová. "Kramářské písně o Panně Marii Čenstochovské." In *Śladami Polaków na czeskim/austriackim Śląsku—Stopami Polaków v českém/rakouském Slezsku*, ed. Krzysztof Czajkowski and Aleš Zářický, pp. 79–92. Częstochowa: Fundacja Silva Rerum Polonarum, 2016.
- Ivánek, Jakub, Jan Malura, Jaromír Olšovský, Marie Schenková, and Monika Szturcová. "Pod ochranu tvou se utíkáme. Kult Panny Marie Čenstochovské v českém Slezsku na Moravě / Pod twoją obronę uciekamy się. Kult Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej na Śląsku czeskim i na Morawach." Unpublished manuscript, May 26, 2020, typescript.
- Szturcová, Monika. "Česko-polské písňové vztahy na příkladu vydavatelské strategie Orlovy tiskárny." *Historica: Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy* 8, no. 1 (2017), pp. 44–55.
- Szturcová, Monika. "Polské kramářské tisky z těšínské Procházkovy tiskárny." Unpublished manuscript, May 26, 2020, typescript.
- Windakiewiczowa, Helena. "Katalog pieśni polsko-morawskich." *Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne. Dział etnograficzny X* (1908), pp. 3–43.

Abbreviations

- BŚ—Biblioteka Śląska (Silesian Library, Katowice)
 BUW—Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Warsaw University Library)
 MB—Muzeum Beskyd (Museum of the Beskydy Mountains, Frýdek-Místek)
 ME—Muzeum Etnograficzne (Museum of Ethnography, Kraków)
 MT—Muzeum Těšínska (Museum of the Těšín Region, Český Těšín)
 MZM—Moravské zemské muzeum (Moravian Museum, Brno)
 SZM—Slezské zemské muzeum (Silesian Museum, Opava)
 VMO—Vlastivědné muzeum v Olomouci (Regional Museum in Olomouc)
 ZAO—Zemský archiv (Provincial Archives, Opava)

About the Author

Monika Szturcová: Researcher at the Silesian Museum and at the Centre for Regional Studies, Department of Czech Literature and Literary Criticism, Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava, Czech Republic, <https://www.osu.eu/monika-szturcova/45359/>. Szturcová has published several journal articles about Czech and Polish pilgrimage broadside ballads and co-authored a book: *Pod ochranu tvou se utíkáme. Kult Panny Marie Čenstochovské v českém Slezsku a na Moravě/Pod twoją obronę uciekamy się. Kult Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej na Śląsku Czeskim i na Morawach* (2019). szturcova@szm.cz.

21. Roaming Heroes and Their Ballads: Brazilian Cordel Narratives in the Context of the Global Broadside Ballad Tradition

Kateřina Březinová

Abstract

Kateřina Březinová deals with the geographically most far afield, yet closely related phenomenon in this study, Brazilian cordel literature. The author explores cordel as a part of a global broadside ballad tradition with roots in the Iberian Peninsula, yet deeply shaped by Brazil's cultural and social conditions. Since the late nineteenth century, cordel spread quickly and widely in space, time, and focus. Březinová demonstrates that cordel's form and narrative were particularly transformed by the multiple processes of migration it experienced in Brazil. Though previously disdained as “unsophisticated” and “low,” cordel literature is now, ironically, cherished as a major part of the nation's cultural patrimony.

Keywords: Cordel, Brazil, internal migration, popular culture, folklore, cultural history

This study deals with the phenomenon of Brazilian cordel literature. While many might perceive cordel today as something entirely unique to Brazilian literary tradition—an ephemeral artefact that has been officially declared a manifestation of the intangible cultural heritage of Brazil—I present it here as part of a global broadside ballad tradition linking together, as if by a cross-Atlantic chain, many “like” printing productions, including the Czech broadside ballads that have been central to this volume. In fact, cordel precursors travelled to Brazil from Europe; specifically, the Brazilian artefact's form and content have been strongly influenced by the ballad

tradition of the Iberian Peninsula. Once cordel crossed the ocean, however, it became deeply transformed by the folklore of Brazil's arid north-east—a region with strong cultural links to West Africa.

Like the broadside ballad transnationally, cordel represents a multimedia print production: it combines a verse text with an eye-catching image, and it used to be performed live, often with musical accompaniment. The combination of different media—visual, textual, and performative—make it a unique hybrid expression, bridging Brazilian folk and popular culture. Its thematic range is also remarkable, though again not much wider than the cornucopia of topics we find embraced by broadside ballads globally. There is one exception in Brazil, however: cordel literature here mixes together historical happenings locally and from afar, as well as those of the distant past and those happening right now. As a result, phantoms and mythological figures from rural Brazilian folk traditions are portrayed in cordel booklets side by side with famous *cangaceiros* (i.e., real-life bandits); events in the next village are narrated alongside those happening as far away as the country's capital or even New York City; and tales from Latin America's revolutionary 1960s are conveyed as equally important (and with equal vehemence) as those of the passionate #MeToo campaign against sexual harassment. In the world of cordel, one might say, history is not linear but circular, or put even more strongly, it is simultaneously past and present, there and here—one moment in time.

My goal in this paper is to explore the character and significance of cordel in Brazil and ultimately more globally—examining cordel's contribution to our full understanding of the international broadside ballad phenomenon. What we find is that, despite all its commonalities with broadside ballads worldwide, the Brazilian cordel remains culturally specific in form, content, and cultural production. First, I will focus on the cordel genre as an idiosyncratic manifestation of the global tradition of broadside ballad. Yes, we can trace cordel's journey to Brazil all the way back to Europe. But most fascinating is that, in the tracking of such lineage, we also discover the genre's "naturalization" as a Brazilian cultural artefact. We shall see that a uniquely Brazilian cordel evolved into a printed form at the end of the nineteenth century in the north-east of the country; but cordel then continued to develop up even to the present day, both materially and thematically. The evolving form and narrative of cordel, I argue, represent the most eloquent manifestations of the deep transformation of Brazilian society in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In following such a transformation, I will dedicate special attention to the phenomenon of migration within this artefact's tradition

in Brazil. As I shall demonstrate, the impact of migratory processes is twofold: it reveals changes both in cordel's geography and in its themes or narratives. This twofold migration of cordel in Brazil is the reason why the genre's popularity extended far beyond the north-east. Following the rural Brazilians' exodus into economically prosperous cities throughout the country, we find that cordel gradually became an urban phenomenon and ultimately gained an audience among intellectuals and an art-loving public in Brazil and beyond.

From Europe to Brazil

We might begin with a basic definition of cordel in terms of the genre's format. Cordel consists of small chapbooks or booklets that include eye-catching illustrated covers, rhyming texts, and, as mentioned above, were often originally sung (though no tune is printed on the title page). As in Czechia, they are made from a single double-sided printed sheet of paper that is subsequently folded, cut, and sewn. To the extent that the final product that constitutes a cordel booklet consists of a gathering of two-sided printed pages, even if those pages are made from a single printed sheet, one might be inclined to dismiss the cordel genre as strictly *not* a broadside (defined as a single-sided) ballad sheet. But to hold steadfastly to that one defining feature is to dismiss the majority of other similarities that link cordel with broadside ballads globally, as discussed in the introduction and in the chapter by Fumerton. Different formats, as Fumerton points out, can serve a shared purpose.

Indeed, like broadside ballads globally, not only are cordel multimedia (art, verse, and originally song), but their making from a single printed sheet allows them to serve one of the higher causes of international broadside ballads: conserving paper so as to keep costs down. Cordel, like other broadside ballads across the globe, can also be bought inexpensively. Furthermore, they were marketed to the masses: in rural areas where the populace gathered, such as at markets or open-air fairs and, in the case of Brazil, also at public bus stations throughout the country. In the interests of catching the eye of potential buyers, they are most frequently displayed to passers-by at improvised stalls, where they are suspended for display on a cord; thus, the most common term for them is *folhetos de cordel* (meaning "booklets on a string")—in short, *cordel*. Brazilians also refer to them by various other terms, including *romanceiro popular nordestino* (north-eastern popular romance), *romance*



Figure 40. Cover of a cordel booklet that comments on international affairs. These small booklets often feature eye-catching illustrated covers, frequently woodcuts. This title comments on an international issue of the day—the war over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) fought between Great Britain and Argentina in 1982. Ferreira da Silva, *Inglaterra e Argentina em Guerra Pelas Malvinas* (n.d.).

(romance), *livros do povo* (people's books), *folhetos de feira* (market flyers), and *foiêtos* (flyers).¹

Brazilian illustrated rhymed booklets of the type pictured above are distant relatives of the poems and minstrel songs of the German *Minnesänger*, and more generally, of the sung and printed broadside ballads of European

1 Ministério da Cultura, "Literatura de Cordel," pp. 39–40.

tradition. Cordel's most direct ancestors, however, immigrated to Brazil from the Iberian Peninsula with its rich orality and ballad tradition. Records show that the genre was known in Spain by its named Brazilian counterpart: as *literatura de cordel* (string literature) in the eighteenth century (the name for the genre used in Brazil up to the present time).² In Portugal, they were also referred to as *folhas volantes* (flyers) or *folhetos de feira* (market flyers), referencing both their brevity but also their mobility and mass-marketing.³

As with the broad-beamed thematic nature of broadside ballads elsewhere, cordel functioned as a cheap source of news, entertainment, and moral counsel, among a variety of other topics. Sometimes—especially in their longer versions—they took on an epic and romantic character, touting subject matter related to medieval heroic tales. Examples include epic stories, or romances, such as the ones entitled “História da donzela Teodora” (“The story of Miss Teodora”), “História do Imperador Carlos Magno e dos Doze Pares de França” (“The story of Emperor Charlemagne and the twelve French noblemen”), or “História da Imperatriz Porcina” (“The story of Empress Porcina”).⁴ These ballads—considered “histories,” as their titles tout—were extremely popular, in every sense, including being widely enjoyed and marketed to the general populace (low, middling, and even high). The connection, if not direct lineage, with folk songs and oral traditions is clearly evident here as elsewhere. In eighteenth-century Spain and Portugal—just as in Britain and France earlier—oral ballads were often printed in cheap booklets and hawked by itinerants on the streets or at printers' stalls.⁵ Educated elites derided these artefacts, considering them mere entertainment for “people from the lower orders and servants.”⁶

In the latter half of the eighteenth century and through the nineteenth century, oral and printed ballads eventually became less important and

2 Santos, *Memória das vozes*, p. 61. There existed, however, a considerable variety of names to refer to this genre, such as *relación*, *aleluyas* (*aucas*), *gozos* (*goigs*), *pliego suelto poético*, *historia*, *coplas*, *décimas*, *trovos*, *seguidillas*, *sainete*, *pasillo*, *sátiras*, *pliegos carnavalescos*, *motes*, *piropos*, *cartas de amor*, *jotas místicas*, *almanagues*, *mojigangas*, *canciones*, *argumentos*, *cuentos*, *jácara* (*xácara*), *estribillo*, *evangelio*, *cartilla*, etc.

3 In Portugal, the term *cordel* is documented in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Ministério da Cultura, “Literatura de Cordel,” p. 41.

4 Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, *Literatura popular*, pp. 124–154.

5 In Spain and Portugal, the distribution of cordel was often entrusted to the blind who were organized in religious brotherhoods. While not forming such formal organizations by any means, even in Britain the marketing of broadside ballads was acceptable for the blind and, for that matter, all disabled people. (From a cynical perspective, we can see such acceptability as the parish's means of supplementing its owed “poor relief” to the needy.)

6 Bélič, *Španělská literatura*, pp. 41–42.

less widespread in the north of Europe, Britain, and the United States. As societies modernized, they began to turn away from the genre. Broadside ballads reflected this decline; they diminished in size and ornamentation. Most importantly, these artefacts entirely lost their printed tune titles. Broadside ballads eventually disappeared from lived, everyday life in the first decades of the twentieth century, except as they were passed down in increasingly fading collective memory.

But oral-turned-printed ballads survived as *cordel*, finding a fertile soil in Brazil's remote and arid north-eastern region known as the *sertão*. Up to today, this poorest part of Brazilian territory is characterized by a large black and mixed-race population, who have and still experience extreme social and economic inequalities. It was the audience of the *sertão* who most enthusiastically embraced *cordel* literature upon its arrival in Brazil.

The Cordel Literature of North-Eastern Brazil

European broadside ballads disembarked in Brazil along with the Portuguese colonizers and settlers. Local storytellers conveyed them further to remote rural settlements and the fables circulated through the north-east in oral form much earlier than the first written records suggest. Printing of books, newspapers, and any other documents was permitted in Brazil only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, 300 years after the land was colonized. Once allowed, printing practice spread from the capital, Rio de Janeiro, to other important, yet still rather isolated population centres throughout Brazil.⁷ Therefore, the first written mention of a *cordel* booklet in Brazil dates only from 1893; it appears in a text by the prolific author-cum-publisher Leandro Gomes de Barros from the state of Paraíba.

Poets and storytellers from Brazil were apparently well aware of the popularity of broadside ballads in Europe.⁸ And while such authors drew inspiration in stories of medieval knights and Iberian romances, they mixed these subjects together with regional legends and stories as well as with the rich African heritage of the Brazilian north-east. Fearless

7 The royal printing monopoly ended in 1808. Prior to that, all books and prints were imported to Brazil with a prior license due to the censorship, which was fully lifted around 1822. Hallewell, *O livro no Brasil*, pp. 154–161.

8 See the comment, “Tinha lugar garantido nas feiras livres da Franca, Na Alemanha também” (“They had a guaranteed place at fairs in France and also in Germany”); Campos, *A história da literatura de cordel*.

bandits Lampião and Silvino, a seven-headed monster, and agricultural rites proper to the *sertão* became as defining for the contents of cordel in Brazil as did the Yoruba water goddess and the protector of slaves, Iemanjá.⁹ The result of this acculturation or “naturalization” of the broadside ballad in the north-east, as we shall see, is a distinctive Brazilian cultural artefact which faithfully mirrored values and the culture of the audiences in their adoptive land.

In some instances, the transfer of the European literary tradition into Brazilian folk writing can be traced in a direct line, such as in the case of the myth about the land of Cockaigne. In this paradise, famously depicted by the Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel (*The Land of Cockaigne* [1567]), everything comes easily and in abundance. Such is also the case in the Brazilian cordel titles that tout a mirror-land of Cockaigne called São Saruê.¹⁰ Another excellent example of the immigration to Brazil of a story previously popular in Europe is the “História da Imperatriz Porcina” (“The story of Empress Porcina”), which we mentioned earlier. This drama about love and suffering of a faithful Hungarian princess pursued by her deceitful brother-in-law was published in book form in Rio de Janeiro once the royal monopoly on printing was lifted. The fable was spread widely by storytellers throughout rural Brazil even earlier than that, however, and since a book was a luxury item in Brazil, the tale of Porcina was published as a cordel booklet in the north-east in the early twentieth century.¹¹ So popular did this story become in Brazil that the folklorist Luís da Câmara Cascudo suggested, “no other motif originating in the Oriental and European literary tradition has resonated with such strength and inspirational power as the story of the Empress Porcina.”¹² An equally strong influence on the development of the cordel genre in the north-east region of Brazil was the West African oral tradition. We find such African tales manifested, among others, in the figure of the tribal storyteller and musician known as the *griot*, akin to the bard figure in the European broadside ballad tradition.¹³ Cordel was

9 Adding to the appeal of rhyme and music was ornamentation; the oldest surviving booklet features a woodcut illustration on the cover—published in 1907—that tells the story of a famous bandit of the north-east named Antonio Silvino (Franklin, *Xilogravura popular*, p. 20).

10 Alves Marques, *Escritos e ditos*, p. 87.

11 Ministério da Cultura, “Literatura de cordel,” pp. 48–49. Francisco das Chagas Batista (1885–1929) based his cordel on an earlier Portuguese version of the Porcina tale composed by the blind poet Baltasar Dias in the mid-sixteenth century. The fable took on a life of its own in Brazil and many local and regional versions of the cordel circulated throughout the north-east.

12 Cascudo, *Cinco livros do povo*, p. 313.

13 Oliver, *The Cambridge History of Africa*, p. 386.



Figure 41. Cover of a cordel booklet showing a “fight” between Severino Pinto and Severino Milanez. Cover designed by José Francisco Borges. Improvised verbal fights between poet-guitar players, also known as *repentistas*, were a common sight on the streets of Brazil. Since the advent of the internet, some of these fights have also been performed online. Milanez da Silva, *Peleja de Severino Pinto con Severino Milanez* (1951).

further transformed by the regional cultures that embraced it: we now encounter the metric schemes, motifs, and traditions of the improvised verbal duel which was known in the folklore of the Brazilian states of Paraíba, Pernambuco, Ceará, and Rio Grande do Norte as the *peleja* (fight). In this verbal, not physical, battle, two poets or singers improvise verses, often to a guitar accompaniment, just as the cover of one of the cordel titles suggests (Figure 41).

Incorporating these multiple sources of inspiration, the Brazilians made the broadside ballad genre their own. In the process, they imbued their cordel verse, images, and song with a distinctive quality, making them “so

rich and varied, and yet so typical of north-eastern Brazil [...] that they transformed their European precursors beyond recognition.”¹⁴

The Heyday

The heyday of Brazilian illustrated cordel spanned from the early 1920s until the 1960s; north-east Brazil was then swarming with printing houses, publishers, and authors. Two important provincial centres and transportation hubs—the cities of Juazeiro do Norte and Caruaru—stood out on the imaginary map of cordel literature. Despite their remote location, these print centres are widely known throughout Brazil as important pilgrimage sites and vibrant centres of popular culture. While Juazeiro is attracting millions of pilgrims venerating the cult of Father Cícero, a religious leader and charismatic champion of the humble Brazilians,¹⁵ Caruaru has become famous for its vibrant *forró* music scene, as well as for its grand dramatizations depicting the Passion of Jesus Christ.

Cordel booklets were primarily on sale at markets or open-air fairs, and also at public bus stations leading to all areas, as mentioned above. From such locations, the storytellers, itinerant vendors, and individual buyers took cordel literature to the rest of the north-east. But dissemination was not the only key to the prominence of cordel booklets. The successful marketing of these cheap multimedia artefacts largely depended on the performative skill of the seller (who is also often the author); if the little booklet story with an eye-catching front page rhythmically recited at markets and other public places could grab the attention of potential readers and viewers, multiple sales might be made. When sold, the stories were often performed (sometimes in song) to the accompaniment of a guitar or a drum. It is estimated that around the mid-twentieth century, cordel reached a massive audience totalling around 30 million people.¹⁶ Dozens of radio stations fed the popular appetite for cordel literature, thus further helping to spread the genre.¹⁷

14 Ivamberto Oliveira cited in Ministério da Cultura, “Literatura de cordel,” p. 23.

15 Roman Catholic priest Cícero Romão Batista (1844–1934), known as Padre Cícero, used his ecclesiastical and political position to protect interests of the poor *sertanejos*. Among others, he defended the messianic community of Caldeirão de Santa Cruz do Deserto, a thriving cooperative made up of landless peasants—a thorn in the sides of the wealthy latifundia landowners of the region.

16 Franklin, *Xilogravura popular*, p. 22.

17 Xavier and Guidorizzi, “The Greatest Poet That God Creole,” p. 25.

In the subsequent decades of the heyday of cordel, and primarily in connection with the exodus of poor north-easterners to Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Brasília, and other cities throughout Brazil, as they searched for work, cordel and its audience expanded as well to the rest of the country. During the second half of the twentieth century, therefore, cordel gradually became an urban phenomenon, a cultural change to which the last part of this paper is dedicated. As will become apparent, the transformations in cordel were reflected in the subject matter of the booklets as well as in their readership. During the 1980s, the sources voice some 3,000 poet-vendors selling their cordel booklets from market to market in the north-east, as well as hundreds of authors who followed their audience to the Brazilian cities.¹⁸ However, the number of published new cordel titles began to decline during the second half of the twentieth century, as did the total number of copies printed. The earlier plethora of prosperous printing houses thriving on cordel shrank to just a handful of remaining small publishers in the north-east and one large publisher in São Paulo.

By the end of the twentieth century, the Brazilian cordel entered a period of stagnation. Only a handful of new titles appeared; most publications were simply re-prints of popular older booklets. Some observers started to consider cordel as a relic from a glorious past.¹⁹ Others launched projects to revitalize the genre in its new urban setting in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The awakening of academic and artistic interest in cordel in Brazil thus comes as no surprise in the last decades. In sum, these inexpensive booklets of rhymed verse, with their eye-catching covers, proper to the commoners of lower strata, have become a keen topic of interest for academics, art curators, and members of the elite public interested in capturing both “the past” and “authentic” Brazilian culture. As a result, cordel booklets can be increasingly found in literary bookshops, university libraries, and first-rate exhibition sites. In the twenty-first century, looking ahead, cordel entered a new phase of existence—one that gathered the official and financial support of state authorities, as the humble cordel ironically became a cherished part of Brazil’s cultural patrimony. In this shift from “low” and improvised to more “high” and established position, cordel booklets at the same time have transitioned into something we might term, paradoxically, “preserved ephemera.”

18 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

19 Curran, “Brazil’s Literatura de Cordel,” p. 1.

Between Folklore and Popular Culture

Based on this mini-history, cordel can be considered a distinctive manifestation of Brazilian popular culture. Aimed at both an urban and rural readership, as we have seen, the ballad booklets are mass-produced and sold at geographical junction points on trading routes or at pilgrimage sites aimed at reaching the widest possible audience. This widespread promotional phenomenon in itself does not differ cordel from, say, Czech broadside ballads. But at the same time, as the genre shared distribution modes with Czech popular artefacts, there is little doubt it incorporated features specifically of Brazilian folk poetry: cordel's rhymed verse and subject matter are firmly rooted in the country's unique popular imagination. The verses, once sung, furthermore, are never representative of one or another social faction; or rather, they are *always* on the side of the poor. In addition—and in this sense cordel shares a general theme of global broadside ballads—good, as seen from the perspective of humble Brazilians, always triumphs over evil, and the greedy inevitably get their just deserts. It was this quality of justice, which he saw as peculiar to “folk poetry,” that caught the attention of Manuel Cavalcanti Proença, one of the first scholars to focus on the genre in the 1960s.²⁰ Until then, as is a common position throughout Europe regarding any genre that was mass-marketed, Brazilian popular culture (with the exception of several pioneering artists, anthropologists, folklorists, and literary figures) had been largely overlooked as a “lower” form of culture lacking sophistication and rooted in poverty and ignorance.

As we trace the genre more deeply, we further find that the very humble world that gave rise to Brazilian cordel poetry is often exemplified in the lives of its authors, whose fates were in many respects similar to those of their audiences. Most cordel artists, poets, performers, illustrators, and sometimes even musicians—often all in one person—came from the underprivileged strata of Brazilian society; they personally embodied the same joys and sufferings of their audiences. In the thriving cordel past, few of these authors received a formal education, let alone artistic or other recognized training. They generally learned the basics of their trade as apprentices in one of the printing houses, and they further mastered their art as hawkers as well as authors, selling booklets from market to market, town to town. This is the very story of one of the most respected cordel authors of the present day: José Francisco Borges, from rural Pernambuco, who was illiterate until the age of twelve. His unique chance of learning

20 Cavalcanti Proença, *Literatura popular*, p. 1.

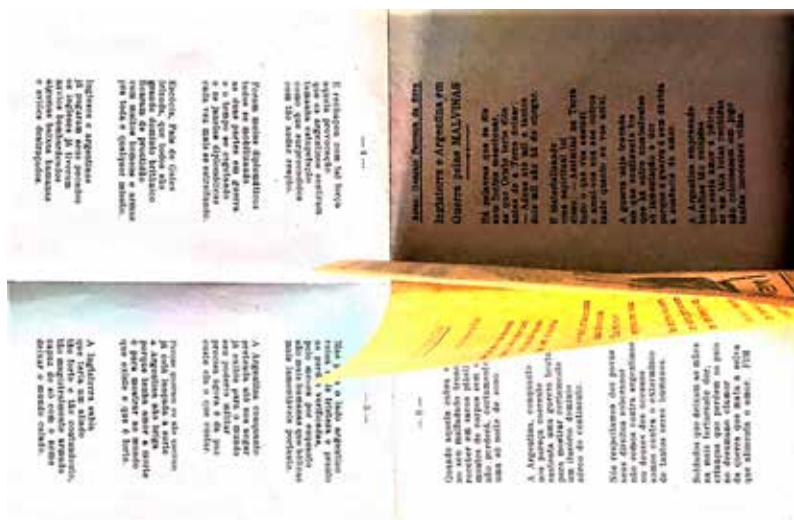


Figure 42. Cover greyed of a cordel booklet depicting England and Argentina in the war over the Falklands. The image shows a booklet which is printed and folded, yet still uncut. It is this cordel format that prevails nowadays in Brazil; a small cordel made of a single small sheet, eight pages of text, plus a front and a back cover (for a total of twelve pages). Ferreira da Silva, *Inglaterra e Argentina em Guerra Pelas Malvinas*.

how to read and write came when his father agreed to send him to school for a period of less than a year; apart from that brief but enlightening interlude, Borges had to work in a rented field alongside the rest of his family.²¹

The techniques, subject matter, and language employed in cordel reflect the interests, tastes, and economic realities of the authors and their audience.²² In like spirit, the booklets produced by cordel creators are printed on inexpensive paper decorated with rudimentary woodcuts. To further keep costs down, the cordel booklets are generally made from a single double-sided printed sheet of paper typically measuring 30 by 20 centimetres. The final product, when folded, cut and roughly sewn together usually consists of eight pages. The pages measure on average just 11 by 16 centimetres (roughly 4" x 6"). In Figure 42, we can see an uncut cordel that would have formed eight pages of the text plus front and back cover.²³

21 Borges, *Memórias e contos de J. Borges*, pp. 46–48. Borges, interview.

22 Until the late twentieth century, the authors of cordel were almost invariably men. One of the notable exceptions is Maria das Neves Batista Pimentel, daughter of the poet and publisher Francisco das Chagas Batista.

23 Ministério da Cultura, "Literatura de cordel," pp. 53–54.



Figure 43. Booklets on display in the Brazilian Academy of Cordel Literature (Academia Brasileira da Literatura de Cordel, ABLC) located in the traditional neighbourhood of Santa Teresa in Rio de Janeiro. ABLC was founded in 1988, and it is home to more than 13,000 cordel titles today. Photo: A. Březina, 2010.

Lengthier booklets known as romances most often tell adventure tales, or love stories. Due to their large number of pages, they were initially produced from a larger sheet of paper in professional print shops, though the many-times folded product would still measure 11 by 16 centimetres, just like the shorter cordel booklets above. Later, however, as production of cordel moved to home printing presses, it became common to produce romances as a gathering of multiple two-sided printed sheets made from the sheet size that was still just 30 by 20 centimetres²⁴; folded and sewn together, they would produce a total of 16 or 32 pages—more chunky, or thick, but still of a relatively pocketable size that fell between that of the Czech quarto and octavo.

Like the broadside ballad globally, furthermore, the cover of the cordel booklet, as we have noted, is typically illustrated. In the first decades of printed booklets in the Brazilian north-east, the cordel booklet was produced by professional print shops, and the most common techniques for producing the images were zincography and copper engraving. From approximately

24 Franklin, *Xilogravura popular*, p. 22; Ferreira da Silva, interview.

the middle of the twentieth century, however, wood carving became the preferred technique to illustrate the chapbooks. Not only was wood carving much cheaper than engravings, but it also reflected the changes in cordel production: booklets had become increasingly self-published or printed by small, family-owned local presses. In this way, the poet who wrote the text was thus also able to carve the woodblock, making the artefact even more personalized. Towards the end of the twentieth century, these woodcuts became popular collector's items in their own right.²⁵

How to Study Cordel Literature?

So far, with regards to its origin, distribution, and consumption, I have presented cordel literature as a hybrid artefact inspired by Brazilian folklore, mass-produced item of popular culture. As I have further noted, the internal migration of the *sertanejos*, as the inhabitants of the arid north-eastern *sertão* are known, to Brazil's more economically prosperous cities during the latter part of the twentieth century resulted in a migration as well of cordel, which had been up to that point unique to north-eastern people and their territory. As such migration spread even further, the once-localized cordel turned into a nationwide phenomenon.

My point is that it was not just that the urban context changed the geographical locales of cordel. The cordel readership underwent even more substantial changes in Brazilian cities. Most of their audience, we find, was no longer illiterate. Nor were they isolated: many consumers now lived among densely crowded populations of many millions. These city inhabitants did not get their news—or at least not their wide-reaching, national, and even international news—from local markets, as they had gathered popular news in rural areas in the previous decades. Rather, they turned to TV screens or social media like Twitter, which were, in a word, ubiquitous. How can we lay the groundwork for studying cordel in such a fluid, shifting, and expansive cultural context?

This question is complicated by the fact that the theoretical underpinnings for studying what used to be thought of as “high” and “low” cultures in Latin America have profoundly transformed over the second half of the twentieth century. Thanks to the new insights from the cultural studies that insisted

25 For the emergence of the dominance of block print, as well as the cordel's illustrations from copper plates, zincography, black-and-white photograph or linocut (depending on the author's possibilities and the fashion of the time), see Franklin, *Xilografura popular*, p. 46.

on the critical importance of race, identity, gender, and religion, cordel and other expressions of what formerly used to be disdained by many as “low” culture have come to constitute an important field for cultural and social analysis. A part of this cultural turn in humanities and social sciences was a seminal book entitled *Culturas híbridas: estrategias como entrar y salir de la modernidad* (Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity) by the anthropologist and philosopher Néstor García Canclini, published in 1989. García Canclini refused to embrace the romantic notion, present in some of the scholarly interest in popular cultures in the earlier years of the twentieth century, that it was a form of spontaneous creativity, reflecting a traditional “folk genius,” which was later marketed as a source of “memories for sale” and artefacts for tourists and collectors to acquire. In his view, popular cultures, on the contrary, are the key to our understanding of postcolonial social systems, their hierarchies, and the mechanisms by which power is reproduced. To García Canclini, the diverse societies of Latin America should not be understood as an idealized aggregate of the heterogeneous ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious characteristics of their inhabitants, but rather as the result of the processes of modernization that had unevenly affected and ultimately fractured cultures and societies in Latin America. He thus sought to comprehend the uneven and dissembling modernization processes of the continent by examining power and hegemony in regions’ multi-ethnic societies. Based on his study, García Canclini concluded that the coexistence of “modernity” (associated with “high,” elite, urban, cosmopolitan culture which is generally white and brings progress) with that which historically tended to be considered by regional elites as its opposite (the traditional, rural, peripheral, “low,” “backward,” and often mixed-race, black or indigenous features of Latin American cultures) represents the greatest source of social conflict in Latin America. Some of these social strains Canclini refers to are well documented in the Brazilian cordel verses.

Another inspiring way to study cordel literature is by following the insights made by Marc Ferro—that is, to view cordel as an alternative historical record, one written not from the perspective of the educated elites (who enjoyed a privileged position as chroniclers of Brazil’s evolution), but rather as history narrated “from below” by the underprivileged sections of society.²⁶ Cordel literature, in this reasoning, voices the perspective of the disadvantaged whose viewpoints have traditionally been neglected in their country’s dominant historical narratives, and oftentimes deemed as unsophisticated, peripheral, and, indeed, irrelevant.

26 Ferro, *Cinema and History*.

Finally, efforts to analyse the communicative role of cordel provide insights into the contextualization of conflicting viewpoints between the educated, economically accommodated, and outward-looking elites of Brazil, generally residing in the south, and the many dwellers of the feudal north-east lacking formal education. By the end of the twentieth century, some researchers, in a variation on arguments about broadside ballads globally, as we have seen in the chapters on Czech ballads by Malura and Poláková, came to describe cordel literature as the newspaper of the poor, capable of “translating” mass-marketed news into the commoners’ poetic language, and in the process, introducing news within a symbolic world that would be familiar to Brazil’s north-eastern inhabitants. Verses, the argument goes, help readers, viewers, and listeners to translate national and international news into their personal circumstances; at the same time, they incorporate the symbolic world and ethics of the Brazilian countryside. The news is thus, in the words of Mark Curran, “recodified for the popular folk consumer.”²⁷

Thanks to such new critical appraisals of cordel literature by those cited above, cordel is no longer disregarded as a product of “low” culture that is lacking real interest. We can analyse the genre today as a poetic chronicle of north-eastern Brazil and its people, whether they live in rural areas or in cities. Brazilian cordel poetry, in sum, represents a valuable historical and cultural resource whose narratives allow for a better insight into how power and privilege played and continue to play out in the multi-ethnic societies of Brazil.

Themes and Narrative

Up until the middle of the twentieth century, as noted above, a substantial proportion of the population of north-eastern Brazil lived in remote rural areas difficult to access. Many cordel texts are thus deeply rooted in agricultural communities and in their rich imaginative world. They tell stories of cattle-farming, religious festivals, and rituals like the *bumba-meu-boi* (hit my ox), natural disasters, crimes of passion, and myths and legends about such monstrous creatures as werewolves and a woman with a donkey’s head.²⁸ Cordel thus functioned as its own kind of local chronicle—one that was a source of news imaginatively conceived both from the community and from its version of the “outside.”

27 Curran, “Brazil’s Literatura de Cordel,” p. 1.

28 “Bumba-meu-boi” is a festival popular throughout the north-east of Brazil. It generally carries strong religious symbolism as well as an important charge of social critique.

But in the second half of the twentieth century, cordel's subject matter evolved to reflect the interests and concerns of its migrant and increasingly more urban audiences, many of whom had left their rural homes to make a living in Brazil's large cities. Such urbanization opened up cordel's subject matter. Its focus expanded considerably, not only to include the contexts and conflicts within city life but the now clear-to-see horizons of national and international topics: the spiral of violence in Rio de Janeiro, corruption scandals of Brazilian politicians, revolutionary events in Latin America, TV entertainment such as the show *Big Brother*, the 2001 terrorist attacks on New York, and more. The range of subject matter addressed by the Brazilian cordel is remarkably wide, indeed. While scholars of thematically wide-ranging broadside ballads from other countries might protest, the anthropologist Raymond Cantel goes so far as to grandly claim that cordel represents "in quantitative terms the most important popular archive in the world."²⁹

As I shall demonstrate in the next and last section of my paper, the impact of these migratory and subject matter expanding processes is twofold: it reveals both changes in cordel's geography and its narratives. These transformations are exemplified, as we shall show below, through a case study of arrival and reception of cordel literature in São Paulo, one of Brazil's and, for that matter, the world's largest cities and industrial centres.

Journeying to and from São Saruê

If we expand upon my brief observations above about the Cockaigne-like imaginations of the paradise-land of São Saruê, we find a long history of outward migration. The devastating droughts that affected, and still affect, the north-east region of Brazil have traditionally forced its inhabitants to migrate in an attempt to escape famine, disease, and the *sertão's* unreliable climate. It is for this reason that I propose we study cordel not only as a reservoir of idiosyncratic cultures of the Brazilian north-east. I argue that it should also be analysed as a chronicle of migrations generally, not simply of people but also of their poetic reflections on the complex identification processes that accompany all north-easterners in their travels to the city and elsewhere.

Already at the very beginning of the twentieth century, many *sertanejos* left their home region to migrate. They first headed for the Amazon region, lured by work opportunities created by rubber tapping in the rain forest. Cordel migrated with them, and—serving a function on such travels,

29 Cantel, cited in Curran, "Brazil's Literatura de Cordel," p. 1.

it seems, of all broadside ballads globally, which typically have roots in country origins—helped the *sertanejos* adjust when they felt homesick.³⁰ Like their readers, some cordel authors and entrepreneurs left the north-east at this time along with other natives and settled in Amazonia.³¹ Indeed, many cordel speak of the keen memories of the homeland the poet—and his audience—left behind. A booklet with an eloquent and moving title *Saudades de meu sertão* (Homesick for my *sertão*) laments that “There is no worse punishment for people from the *sertão*,” according to its author Izaías Gomes de Assis, “than living far from their homeland” (“Pior castigo foi ser um sertanejo e viver distante lá do sertão”).³²

The greatest wave of migrations from the north-east occurred, however, in the second half of the twentieth century, when hundreds of thousands of men and women with their children began to forsake the area. This new wave of emigration was not headed for the remote jungles of the north but for the booming cities of Brazil’s south and coastal regions. People travelled in search of better work and life opportunities; most of them found jobs on construction sites, in newly established factories, or as servants/labourers in wealthier households. The spirit of survival by adapting to a new life in the city, where one is no longer part of a community but alone, resonates strongly in the verses and the cover image of a cordel booklet entitled *O que faz o nordestino em São Paulo* (What a north-easterner does in São Paulo) by poet José Antonio de Barros who came penniless to São Paulo from Pernambuco in the early 1970s:

São Paulo	São Paulo
terra querida	the promised land
Pelo povo nordestino	for north-easterners,
Onde lutam pela vida	where they fight to survive.
Homem, mulher e menino	Men, women, children
Do oficial ao servente	from labourers to servants.
Cada toma seu destino. ³³	Each the architect of their own destiny.

In São Paulo the number of immigrants from the *sertão* grew tenfold between the 1950s and the 1970s alone. Most of these migrants settled in the city’s

30 Alves Santos. “Literatura de cordel e migração nordestina,” p. 77.

31 Among them Francisco Rodrigues Lopes, the founder of the Guajarina publishing house in Belém in 1914. Ministério da Cultura, “Literatura de cordel,” p. 68.

32 Gomes de Assis, *Saudades de meu sertão*, p. 8.

33 Barros, *O que faz o nordestino em São Paulo*.



Figure 44. Cover image of a cordel booklet about the “monster of São Paulo.” Internal migration of the inhabitants of the arid north-east to Brazil’s more prosperous cities during the latter part of the twentieth century resulted in a migration of cordel literature as well. This title comments on the misery, deceit, and anarchy of life in “monstrous” (demon-like) São Paulo. Soares, *O monstro de São Paulo* (1977).

Brás district, which soon became known as an unofficial centre of cordel literature. Storytellers sold their ballad booklets at the public squares such as Praça da República, and cordel verbal duels were so popular that they were even aired on the local radio stations, *Bandeirantes* and *Atual*. Otherwise, however, the situation of the cordel authors was far from accommodating in São Paulo. Whereas in the north-east they would be socially well-regarded and respected, in São Paulo they were typically viewed by the established city residents as mere vagrants and idlers—the fate of broadside ballad sellers, it would appear, globally. In another common city response, their art was derided as an unsophisticated and cheap form of entertainment for the poor.³⁴

34 Alves Santos. “Literatura de cordel e migração nordestina,” p. 84.

The promise of a better life in the imaginary place where “it is not necessary to go shopping, there is no hunger nor disease, people enjoy themselves, lack for nothing and do not need to work”—as the cordel *Viagem a São Saruê* (The journey to São Saruê) by Manoel Camilo dos Santos suggests—evokes the ideal of the mythical land of Cockaigne mentioned earlier, but now envisioned through cynicism.³⁵ In the case of the hard-working immigrants in São Paulo, this poem takes on additional, heavily ironic layers of meaning. Their day-to-day reality was far detached from any such comfort suggested in the cordel booklet. The migrants’ central role in the rise of Brazil’s modern cities and their prosperity can hardly be overestimated; yet, the presence of these mostly black and mixed-race Brazilians was an unwelcome thorn in the side of the urban, “modern” inhabitants, generally white immigrants from Europe (and thus of more “pure” and elite) descent.

Many cordel poems describe the tribulations faced by migrants who arrived at what they thought would be a “promised land,” São Paulo. The pain and frustration of north-easterners found their way into the titles of cordel ballad booklets: examples are *Frustrações de um sertanejo*³⁶ (Frustrations felt by a *sertanejo*) and *Os sofrimentos de um baiano no Estado de São Paulo* (Suffering felt by people from Bahía in São Paulo state).³⁷ Some authors share their hardship with their loved ones back home, citing their own experiences in the city to warn their “brothers” against being “bewitched with illusions” there of a better life. For instance, José Dalvino de Souza laments,

<p>Eu mesmo vim para São Paulo Confiado na ilusão Mas quando eu cheguei aqui Que via situação Resolvi escrever versos E mandar pro meu sertão. Avisar para os meus irmãos Que a vida lá é difícil Pra quem não tem profissão. São Paulo é um precipício O povo parece louco Correndo dentro de um Hospício.</p>	<p>I myself left for São Paulo bewitched with illusions, but when I saw the reality I decided to write verses and send them to my sertão to warn my brothers. To warn my brothers that life is hard there for people without a trade. São Paulo is a precipice crazy people running around as if in a madhouse.³⁸</p>
--	---

35 “Não precisa se comprar, não há fome nem doença, o povo vive a gozar, tem tudo e não falta nada, sem precisar trabalhar” (Santos, *Viagem a São Saruê*).

36 Luiz do Nascimento, *Frustrações de um sertanejo*.

37 Silva, *Os sofrimentos de um baiano no Estado de São Paulo*.

38 Dalvino de Souza, *Ilusões de um nordestino na capital de São Paulo*.

Migrants' feelings of alienation in such an anonymous city full of strangers and unfamiliar customs is one of the main subjects of a cordel booklet entitled *Emigração e consequências* (Emigration and its consequences) by the poet Antônio Gonçalves da Silva (known as Patativa do Assaré), published for the first time in the 1970s. This text, like so many others, bears witness to the multitude of difficulties faced by folk who came from traditional communities in the rural north-east when they had to adapt to life in an industrial megapolis—a life which they often viewed as morally corrupted. Many poets voiced their fears that such moral decay would claim the second generation of their “innocent children” growing up in the city.³⁹ Others observe how the adjustments to urban life transform north-easterners beyond recognition, making them forget their roots and decent behaviour, such as in the booklets *A metamorfose é só em São Paulo*⁴⁰ (Metamorphosis only in São Paulo) and *O monstro de São Paulo* (The monster of São Paulo) (Figure 44).

In Conclusion: New Thinking about the Movement from Periphery to Centre

To open up the process of emigration more widely from rural to urban, we must also broaden our understanding of the impact of such travel on the attractions of cordel literature. As it, along with the natives of the north-eastern *sertão*, took root in Brazil's cities, the traditional readership base of cordel necessarily changed.

Not everyone among the urban population scorned this unique multimedia cultural form as base or “low.” In fact, cordel began to attract a new wave of interest among scholars, folklorists, and urban enthusiasts of folk literature and “naïve” art. Thanks to the pioneering work of researchers such as Manuel Cavalcanti Proença, Luís da Câmara Cascudo, Candace Slater, Marc Curran, and Raymond Cantel, we can see how such artefacts produced by formally untrained authors, which originally targeted their humble “brothers,” have gradually acquired considerable prestige, both at home and abroad. A proof of an early institutional interest in keeping cordel legacy alive is the Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa in Rio de Janeiro. Its archive is home to approximately 10 million cordel titles, which began

39 “Nos centros desconhecidos, depressa ve corrompidos os seus filhos inocenes” (“In unknown cities, the innocent children [of the migration] are rapidly corrupted” (Assaré, *Emigração e consequências*).

40 Barros, *A metamorfose é só em São Paulo*.

to be systematically collected in the 1960s.⁴¹ Conversely, the Centre for Cordel Literature and the Brazilian Academy of Cordel Literature (ABLC)⁴² in Rio de Janeiro are just some examples of initiatives that have sought to cultivate the cordel genre via a “bottom-up” process driven by the authors and fans of cordel literature.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, we find, Brazilian illustrated poetry entered a newly transformed phase of life. It has become valued as an artistic artefact, a collector’s item, as well as a subject for research and scholarship. Official efforts to preserve the cordel genre and its original culture have even led to the introduction of cordel-type prints in schools: they are used now in lessons about not only Brazilian history and literature, but also chemistry and foreign languages. The booklets have once again become a popular voice in a new context with new issues at stake: not only in educating the Brazilian youth but also in raising awareness of public policy and government campaigns, such as aiding the targeting of public health, or providing assistance to farmers in remote parts of Brazil. For instance, José Francisco Borges was commissioned to compose a cordel booklet about a loan programme, *Crédito Fundiário*, supported by the Brazilian federal government in conjunction with the World Bank, to inform sharecroppers about the availability of low-interest credit that would enable them to buy farmland.⁴³ Furthering this about-turn from a negative attitude to the genre especially in urban areas, cordel literature now occupies its own privileged place in the most prestigious artistic and institutional environments, such as the São Paulo International Book Biennial. Indeed, since 2018, cordel ballad booklets have become legally protected as part of Brazil’s cultural heritage. What was once spurned as lowly cheap print has now become invaluable. Such is often the historical fate of ephemera, including the worldwide kin of cordel literature: broadside ballads.

Cordel literature, in sum, should not be seen as inorganic artefacts reflecting a long-lost culture only now savoured and collected by antiquarians and university intellectuals. As part of its defining nature, cordel is (and since its inception, has been) a living reflection of its times. Like all experiential genres, it thus continues to evolve. New cordel titles have emerged and responded intertextually to the surrounding world and the affordances of contemporary communication tools—including the very mass media and social networks of urban life, which originally seemed to overwhelm their

41 Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa.

42 Academia Brasileira da Literatura de Cordel (ABLC). ABLC was founded in 1988.

43 The cordel contains explicit instructions on how to apply for a loan. Borges, *Crédito Fundiário*.

migrating authors and audience. Throughout the twentieth century, cordel ballad booklets have been a provocative reminder to the cosmopolitan elites that Brazil's peripheral regions have possessed their own culture, their own historical memory, and their own rightful place in the nation's identity, even when transplanted and, yes, when transformed to adjust to city life. The latter is especially the case of some contemporary cordel poems, which oftentimes take an ironic, sarcastic aim at key historical events and dominant narratives underlying accepted interpretations of Brazil's history and national identity. The result is a certain form of provocative dialogue between the supposed centre and the periphery.

Thus, on April 1, 2000, a group of poets called A Sociedade dos Cordelistas Mauditos (Society of Cursed Cordelists) launched an "April fool" series of cordel booklets entitled *Agora são outros 500* (And now 500 more) in Juazeiro do Norte—one of the cradles of Brazilian cordel. Published on the occasion of the official commemoration of 500 years since the "discovery" of Brazil by Portuguese sailors, the supposedly "Cursed" cordelists seized upon the calendar day to versify a seriously barbed April fool's joke: they eloquently pointed out the paradoxes inherent in a nationally celebrated cultural encounter wherein the supposedly momentous discovery of a new "paradisiacal" land is re-envisioned as an inglorious occupation leading to violence and colonization.⁴⁴ For these ironically self-"cursed" poets, the cordel genre offered a perfect venue for high-spirited pushback. Itself the fruit of the cultural contact between Brazil and Europe, cordel has flourished in Brazil as the voice of a unique cultural history and people. But like the migratory natives of the inhospitable north-eastern *sertão*, where cordel first took root, the genre has spread widely in space, time, and focus. Reflective of its past but always adapting and growing to its changing present, cordel's verses, illustrations, and songs resist any clear classification. Cordel literature today can nourish both erudite and popular interests because these ballad booklets are, above all, organic, open, and pluralistic.

Works Cited

Primary Sources (Cordel Literature)

- Assaré, Patativa do. *Emigração e consequências*. Juazeiro do Norte: 1977.
 Barros, José Antonio de (Jotabarras). *A metamorfose é só em São Paulo*. N.p.: N.d.

44 Silva, *Literatura de folhetos*, p. 58.

- Barros, José Antonio de (Jotabarras). *O que faz o nordestino em São Paulo*. N.p.: N.d.
- Borges, José Francisco. *Crédito Fundiário*. Bezerros: N.d.
- Campos, Abdias, *A história da literatura de cordel*. Recife: N.d.
- Dalvino De Souza, José, *Ilusões de um nordestino na capital de São Paulo*. N.p.: N.d.
- Ferreira da Silva, Gonçalves. *Inglaterra e Argentina em Guerra Pelas Malvinas*. Guarabira: N.d.
- Gomes de Assis, Izaías. *Saudades de meu sertão*. N.p., 2007.
- Luiz do Nascimento, Raimundo (Raimundo Santa Helena). *Frustrações de um sertanejo*. N.p., n.d.
- Milanez da Silva, Severino. *Peleja de Severino Pinto con Severino Milanez*. N.p., 1951.
- Santos, Manoel Camilo dos. *Viagem a São Saruê*. Campina Grande, 1965.
- Silva, Minelvino Francisco. *Os sofrimentos de um baiano no estado de São Paulo*. N.p., n.d.
- Soares, José. *O monstro de São Paulo*. Recife: 1977.

Secondary Sources

- Alves Marques, Francisco Claudio. *Escritos e ditos: Poéticas e arquétipos da literatura de folhetos—Itália/Brasil*. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2018.
- Alves Santos, Luciany Aparecida. “Literatura de cordel e migração nordestina: tradição e deslocamento.” *Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea* 35 (June 2010), pp. 77–91.
- Bělič, Oldřich. *Španělská literatura*. Praha: Orbis, 1968.
- Borges, José Francisco, *Memórias e contos de J. Borges*. Bezerros: Gráfica Borges, n.d.
- Cascudo, Luís da Câmara. *Cinco livros do povo*. João Pessoa: Editora Universitária / UFPB, 1994 (first published in 1953).
- Cavalcanti Proença, Manuel. *Literatura popular em verso*, Catálogo V, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério de Educação, Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1962.
- Curran, Mark J. “Brazil’s Literatura de Cordel: Poetic Chronicle and Popular History.” *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 15 (1996), pp. 219–229.
- Ferro, Marc. *Cinema and History: Contemporary Approaches to Film and History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988.
- Franklin, Jeová. *Xilogravura popular na literatura de cordel*. Brasília: LGE, 2007. Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa. *Literatura popular em verso: antologia*. Tomo I. 2. Rio de Janeiro: Casa de Rui Barbosa; Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1986.
- García Canclini, Néstor. *Culturas híbridas: estratégias como entrar y salir de la modernidad*. México D.F.: Grijalbo, 1989.
- Hallewell, Laurence. *O livro no Brasil*. São Paulo: EDUSP, 2005.

Muzart-Fonseca dos Santos, Idelete. *Memória das vozes: cantoria, romanceiro & cordel*. Salvador: Secretaria da Cultura e Turismo; Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia, 2006.

Oliver, Roland, ed. *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 3: From c. 1050 to c. 1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Xavier, Arnaldo, and M. Christina Guidorizzi. "The Greatest Poet That God Creole." *Callaloo: African Brazilian Literature* 18, no. 4 (1995), pp. 777–795.

Unpublished Interview

Borges, José Francisco. Interview by Kateřina Březinová, March 2010.

Ferreira da Silva, Gonçalo. Interview by Kateřina Březinová, December 2021.

Websites

Academia Brasileira de Literatura de Cordel. Rio de Janeiro, 2021. <http://www.ablc.com.br/>.

Fundação de Casa Rui Barbosa. "Cordel. Literatura popular em verso." Extensive online catalogue created under the academic supervision of Prof. Ivone da Silva Ramos Maya. Rio de Janeiro, 2021. <http://antigo.casaruibarbosa.gov.br/cordel/>.

Ministério da Cultura, Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, Centro Nacional de Folclore e Cultura Popular. "Literatura de cordel. Dossiê de registro." Brasília, 2018. [http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/ckfinder/arquivos/Dossie_Descritivo\(1\).pdf](http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/ckfinder/arquivos/Dossie_Descritivo(1).pdf).

Silva, Wellington Pedro da. *Literatura de folhetos: uma trajetória enunciativa da sociedade dos cordelistas mauditos*. Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto. Instituto de Ciências Humanas e Sociais, 2013. https://www.repositorio.ufop.br/bitstream/123456789/3487/1/DISSERTA%c3%87%c3%83O_LiteraturaFolhetosTrajet%c3%b3ria.pdf.

About the Author

Kateřina Březinová: Director of the Ibero-American Centre of Metropolitan University in Prague and a research fellow at Complutense University in Madrid: <https://www.mup.cz/en/research/research-centres/ibero-american-centre-iac/our-team/>. Březinová is author of monographs and articles that focus on the non-hegemonic processes of identification, mobilities of people and ideas within the Americas, as well as on the historical narratives of exchange and interconnectedness that the period of the Cold War helped

to create between Latin America and Central Europe. In her most recent monograph entitled *A Different Minority? US Latinos between Kennedy and Trump* (2020), she analyzes the U.S. Latinx community in the nexus of transnational migration and citizenship. katerina.brezinova@mup.cz.

Bibliography

- Alves Marques, Francisco Claudio. *Escritos e ditos: Poéticas e arquétipos da literatura de folhetos—Itália/Brasil*. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2018.
- Alves Santos, Luciany Aparecida. "Literatura de cordel e migração nordestina: tradição e deslocamento." *Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea* 35 (June 2010), pp. 77–91.
- Andrlová-Fidlerová, Alena. "Lidové rukopisné modlitební knihy raného novověku." *Český lid* 100, no. 4 (2013), pp. 385–408.
- Assmann, Aleida, and Jan Assmann. "Kanon und Zensur." In *Kanon und Zensur*, ed. Assmann, Aleida, and Jan Assmann, pp. 7–27. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1987.
- Atkinson, David, and Steve Roud, eds. *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Augustínová, Eva. *Cithara Sanctorum. Bibliografia*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2011.
- Báľent, Boris. *Banskobystrické púťové tlače*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 1947.
- Baranowski, Bohdan. *Požegnanie z diabľem i czarownicą*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1965.
- Bartkowski, Bolesław, ed. *Polskie śpiewy religijne społeczności katolickich. Studia i materiały 1*. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1990.
- Bartmiński, Jerzy. *Polskie kolędy ludowe*. Kraków: Universitas, 2002.
- Bartoš, František. *Lid a národ. Sebrané rozpravy národopisné literárni Františka Bartoše II*, pp. 195–293. Velké Meziříčí: J. F. Šašek, 1885.
- Bartoš, František. "O naší poezii kramářské." In *Lid a národ. Sebrané rozpravy národopisné literárni Františka Bartoše II*, pp. 195–293. Velké Meziříčí: J. F. Šašek, 1885.
- Bartoš, František, and Leoš Janáček, eds. *Národní písně moravské v nově nasbírané*. Praha: Česká akademie císaře Josefa, 1889–1901.
- Bartůšková, Sylva. "Alfred Technik." In *Lexikon české literatury. Osobnosti, díla, instituce, part 4/1*, ed. Vladimír Forst, Jiří Opelík, and Luboš Merhaut, pp. 859–860. Praha: Academia, 2008.
- Bates, Kate. *Crime, Broadsides and Social Change, 1800–1850*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Bečák, Tomáš. *Nápěvy ke katolickému kancionálu*. Vídeň: T. Bečák, 1852.
- Běhalová, Štěpánka. "Náboženský kramářský tisk a jeho receptce." In *K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a církevních knihoven. Čtenář a jeho knihovna*, ed. Jitka Radimská, pp. 547–558. České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2003.

- Běhalová, Štěpánka. "Panna Marie Svatohorská v kramářských tiscích Okresního muzea v Jindřichově Hradci." *Jindřichohradecký vlastivědný sborník* 6, no. 1 (1994), pp. 21–49.
- Běhalová, Štěpánka. *200 let Landfrasovy tiskárny 1797–1997*. Jindřichův Hradec: Okresní muzeum Jindřichův Hradec, 1997.
- Bělič, Oldřich. *Španělská literatura*. Praha: Orbis, 1968.
- Benčíková, Ivona. "Príspevok k štúdiu jarmočných piesní na Slovensku." *Slovenský národopis* 41, no. 1 (1993), pp. 44–54.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Dramatické postupy kramářských písní." In *O barokní kultuře*, ed. Milan Kopecký, pp. 115–132. Brno: UJEP, 1968.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Dramatické prostředky kramářských písní 19. století." In *Otázky divadla a filmu. II*, ed. Artur Závodský, pp. 101–126. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1971.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Kramářská píseň." In *Slovník české hudební kultury*, ed. Jiří Vysloužil and Jiří Fukač, pp. 474–475. Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1997.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Náboženská tematika a světci v kramářských tiscích a písničkách." *Světci v lidové tradici*, ed. Ludmila Tarcalová, pp. 179–186. Uherské Hradiště: Slovácké muzeum, 1998.
- Beneš, Bohuslav, ed. *Poslyšte písničku hezkou... Kramářské písně minulých dob*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1983.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. "Prameny a jejich zpracování v kramářských a lidových písničkách." *Český lid* 44, no. 2 (April 1957), pp. 63–66.
- Beneš, Bohuslav. *Světská kramářská píseň. Příspěvek k poetice pololidové poezie*. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1970.
- Beneš Martin. "Grafémika a česká grafická soustava." In *Studie k moderní mluvnici češtiny 5. K české fonetice a pravopisu*, ed. Oldřich Uličný and Martin Prošek, pp. 122–138. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2013.
- Berger, Tilman. "Religion and Diacritics: The Case of Czech Orthography." In *Orthographies in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Baddeley and Anja Voeste, pp. 255–268. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.
- Bergmann, Rolf, et al. *Die Entwicklung der Großschreibung im Deutschen von 1500 bis 1700*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1998.
- Bergová, D. "Ohlas kramářské písně v obrozenské poezii." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 125–143. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Bezděk, Karel. "Stav a zpracování sbírek kramářských tisků." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 343–246. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Bezděk, Karel, and Eva Ryšavá. "České kramářské písňové tisky, jejich bibliografické zpracování a ukázka bibliografie 19. století." *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, Řada C Literární historie* 28 (1983), p. 185.

- Bogatyrev, Petr. *Souvislosti tvorby. Cesty k struktuře lidové kultury a divadla*. Praha: Odeon, 1971.
- Borges, José Francisco. *Memorias e contos de J. Borges*. Bezerros: Gráfica Borges, n.d.
- Bradáč, Vincenc, ed. *Kancionál čili Kniha duchovních zpěvů pro kostelní i domácí pobožnost I–II*. Praha: Dědictví svatého Jana Nepomuckého, 1863–1864.
- Bránský, Jaroslav. "Strašná hromadná vražda u Křtin." *Nový život Blansko* 24, no. 51–52 (December 21, 1983), p. 6.
- Braudel, Fernand. *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Braungart, Wolfgang, ed. *Bänkelsang. Texte–Bilder–Kommentare*. Stuttgart: Philip Reclam, 1995.
- Brezina, Peter. *350-ročná história kníhtlače v Skalici*. Skalica: Západoslovenské tlačiarne, 2015.
- Bridel, Fridrich. *Básnické dílo*, ed. Milan Kopecký. Praha: Torst, 1994.
- Brown, Mary Ellen. "Child's Ballads and the Broadside Conundrum." In *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with Kris McAbee, pp. 57–74. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Burke, Peter. "Popular Culture between History and Ethnology." *Ethnologia Europaea* 14 (1984), pp. 5–13.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.
- Burzywoda, Urszula, and Jerzy Myszor. "Pieśni pątnicze ze zbioru Jana Kupca," *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 15 (1982), pp. 243–272.
- Bydžovská, Iva. "Digitální knihovna kramářských tisků." In *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska 2011. Sborník z 20. odborné konference, Olomouc, 20.–21. září 2011*, ed. Rostislav Krušínský, pp. 29–38. Olomouc, Brno: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, Sdružení knihoven ČR Brno, 2012.
- Bydžovská, Iva. "Mariánská poutní místa v kramářských tiscích." In *Sdružení knihoven České republiky*, pp. 44–50. Brno: Sdružení knihoven ČR, 2010.
- Byrtusová, Barbora. "Panna Marie Křtinská v kramářských tiscích 17. a 18. století." *Studia Comeniana et historica* 42, no. 87–88 (2012), pp. 95–120.
- Byrtusová, Barbora. "Reflexe kultu Panny Marie hostýnské v kramářských tiscích." *Studia Comeniana et historica* 41, no. 85–86 (2011), pp. 97–117.
- Carnelos, Laura. "Cheap Printing and Street Sellers in Early Modern Italy." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 324–353. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Casas-Delgado, Inmaculada, and Juan Gomis. "Female Transgression and Gallows Literature in the Spanish *literatura de cordel*." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 33–59. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.

- Cascudo, Luís da Câmara. *Cinco livros do povo*. João Pessoa: Editora Universitária / UFPB, 1994 (first published in 1953).
- Cavalcanti Proença, Manuel. *Literatura popular em verso*, Catálogo V, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério de Educação, Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1962.
- Chartier, Roger. *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*. Cambridge–Malden: Polity Press, 2014.
- Chartier, Roger. "The Hanged Woman Miraculously Saved: An Occasionnel." In *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia Cochrane, pp. 59–91. Princeton, NJ: Polity Press, 1989.
- Chartier, Roger. *Lesewelten*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1989.
- Cheesman, Tom. *The Shocking Ballad Picture Show: German Popular Literature and Cultural History*. Providence, RI: Berg, 1994.
- Child, Francis James. *The English and Scottish Ballads*. 8 vols. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., and Cincinnati, OH: Moore, Wiltach, Keys and Co., 1857–1859.
- Claus, Peter, and John Marriott. *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Culler, Jonathan. *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Curran, Mark J. "Brazil's Literatura de Cordel: Poetic Chronicle and Popular History." *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 15 (1996), pp. 219–229.
- Cuřín, František. *Vývoj spisovné češtiny*. Praha: SPN, 1985.
- "Čtyřnásobná vražda u Křtin." *Lidové noviny* 15, no. 314 (November 13, 1907), p. 3.
- Daňhelka, Jiří, Josef Hrabák, Eduard Petrů, Emil Pražák, František Svejkovský, and Antonín Škarka. *Dějiny české literatury 1. Starší česká literatura*. Praha: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1959.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Hřích a strach. Pocit viny na evropském Západě ve 13. až 18. století*. Praha: Volvox Globator, 1998.
- Deutsch, Walter, and Eva Maria Hois, eds. *Das Volkslied in Österreich. Volkspoesie und Volksmusik der in Österreich lebenden Völker herausgegeben vom Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht Wien 1918*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2004.
- Di Nola Alfonso M. *Diabeł. O formach, historii i kolejach losu Szatana, a także o jego powszechnej a złowroziej obecności wśród wszystkich ludów, od czasów starożytnych aż po teraźniejszość*, trans. Ireneusz Kania. Kraków: Universitas, 2004.
- Dibelka, Jaroslav, and Josef Grulich. "Venkovská společnost v poli vnitřních konfliktů." In *Společnost českých zemí v raném novověku. Struktury, identity, konflikty*, ed. Václav Bůžek et al., pp. 558–582. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010.
- Dobrovský, Josef. *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur*. Praha: Jan Bohumír Calve, 1792.

- Droppová, Lubica. "Letákové piesne a ich tematika v európskych kontextoch." In *Slovenská ľudová pieseň—texty a kontexty*, ed. Lubica Droppová, pp. 78–84. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2000.
- Droppová, Lubica, and Eva Krekovičová. *Počujte panny, aj vy mládenci... Letákové piesne zo slovenských tlačiarň*. Bratislava: Eterna Press, 2010.
- Dufka, Jiří. "Zrod venkovské tiskárny. Znojemska dílna v letech 1703–1742." *Knihy a dějiny* 26 (2019), pp. 52–106.
- Dufka, Jiří, and Jana Poláková. "Společenské události a hospodářské změny." In *Do Brna široká cesta: Kramářské písně se světskou tematikou. Katalog kvýstavě*, ed. Hana Glombová, pp. 46–48. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 2020.
- Dunin, Janusz. "Druk i wielkowiejski folklor." *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 15 (1972), pp. 53–66.
- Dunin, Janusz. *Papierowy bandyta. Książka kramarska i brukowa w Polsce*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1974.
- Dunin, Janusz. *Studia o komunikacji społecznej*. Łódź: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Ekonomiczna, 2004.
- Dvořák, Jaromír, and Josef Š. Kvapil, eds. *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Eade, John, and Michael J. Sallnow, eds. *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013.
- Erben, Karel Jaromír. *Nápěvy prostonárodních písní českých*. Praha: Alois Hynek, 1862.
- Erben, Karel Jaromír. *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1937.
- Estreicher, Karol. *Bibliografia polska III*. Kraków: Uniwersytet krakowski, 1876.
- Ewald, Petra. "Konkreta versus Abstrakta. Zur semantischen Subklassifikation deutscher Substantive." *Sprachwissenschaft* 17 (1992), pp. 259–281.
- Ferro, Marc. *Cinema and History: Contemporary Approaches to Film and History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Barokní balady a morytáty." *Česká literatura* 38, no. 4 (1990), pp. 295–305.
- Fiala, Jiří. *České písně ze slezských válek*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001.
- Fiala, Jiří. *Dobové české slovesné reflexe slezských válek*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Dva morytáty o rodinné tragédii v Příboře o Vánocích roku 1844." *Laudatio PhDr. Evě Ryšavé. Příspěvky k životnímu jubileu. Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia Litterarum* 62, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 65–71.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Kramářské písně o neúrodě a hladu." *Český lid* 70, no. 3 (1983), pp. 141–147.
- Fiala, Jiří. *Novina z francouzské krajiny*. Praha: Naše vojsko, 1989.
- Fiala, Jiří. "Sociální motivy v českých pololidových veršovaných skladbách." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1986. Sborník referátů*, ed. Dana Tollinerová and Josef Bartoš, pp. 194–202. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1983.

- Fiala, Jiří, and Marie Sobotková. "Vznik kultu Panny Marie Svatokopecké a jeho reflexe v kramářských písničkách." *Český lid* 86, no. 1 (1999), pp. 60–79.
- Fidlerová, Alena A. "Lidové rukopisné modlitební knihy raného novověku." *Český lid* 100, no. 4 (2013), pp. 385–408.
- Fidlerová, Alena A., "Orthography and Group Identity: A Comparative Approach to Studying Orthographic Systems in Early Modern Czech Printed and Handwritten Texts (ca. 1560–1710)." In *Advancements in Diachronic Spelling Variation: 1500–1700*, ed. Marco Condorelli, pp. 154–175. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Fidlerová, Alena A. "Uplatnění lexikálního principu v užívání velkých písmen v českých tištěných biblích raného novověku." *Historie–Otázky–Problémy* 5 (2013), pp. 159–174.
- Fidlerová, Alena A., Robert Dittman, and Veronika S. Vladimírová. "Užívání velkých písmen v českých tištěných Biblích raného novověku." In *Dějiny českého pravopisu (do r. 1902)*, ed. Michaela Čornejová, Lucie Rychnovská, and Jana Zemanová, pp. 285–308. Brno: Host & Masarykova univerzita, 2010.
- Fiske, John. *Understanding Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Foletti, Ivan, and Sabina Rosenbergová. "Holy site, place of memory or art object?: some considerations on Mont Saint-Michel in the "(très) longue durée" (708(?)-2017)". *Opuscula Historiae Artium* 66, no. 2 (2017), pp. 118–133.
- Fox, Adam. "Jockey and Jenny: English Broadside Ballads and the Invention of Scottishness." In *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016), pp. 201–220.
- Franklin, Alexandra. "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads before 1820." *Bodleian Library Record* 17, no. 5 (2002), pp. 327–352.
- Franklin, Jeová. *Xilografura popular na literatura de cordel*. Brasília: LGE, 2007.
- Frolcová, Věra. "Legenda o putování Panny Marie, zázračném uzdravení dítěte a kajícím kováři v obřadním zpěvu 19.–21. století jako fenomén středoevropského kulturního společenství." *Národopisná revue* 22, no. 3 (September 2012), pp. 163–175.
- Frolcová, Věra. "Rozmluvy Panny Marie v českých legendistických písničkách." In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 189–204. Praha: AV ČR, 2008.
- Fukač, Jiří. "Obecná nota." In *Slovník české hudební kultury*, ed. Jiří Vysloužil and Jiří Fukač, p. 365. Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1997.
- Fumerton, Patricia, ed. *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.
- Fumerton, Patricia. *The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England: Moving Media, Tactical Publics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020.

- Fumerton, Patricia, ed., with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016).
- Fumerton, Patricia, and Anita Guerrini, eds., with the assistance of Kris McAbee. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Fumerton, Patricia, and Megan E. Palmer. “Lasting Impressions of the Common Woodcut.” With, *Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Gaimster, Tara Hamling, and Catherine Richardson, pp. 382–399. Milton Park, Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2017.
- Fumerton, Patricia, Andrew Griffin, and Carl Stahmer, eds. *The Making of a Broadside Ballad*. UCSB: EMC Imprint, February 2016. <http://press.emcimprint.english.ucsb.edu/the-making-of-a-broadside-ballad/index>.
- Fumerton, Patricia, Carl Stahmer, Kris McAbee, and Megan Browne Palmer. “Vexed Impressions: Toward a Digital Archive of Broadside Ballad Illustrations.” In *Digitizing Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Brent Nelson and Melissa Terras, pp. 257–285. Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2012.
- Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa. *Literatura popular em verso: antologia*. Tomo I. 2. Rio de Janeiro: Casa de Rui Barbosa; Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1986.
- García Canclini, Néstor. *Culturas híbridas: estrategias como entrar y salir de la modernidad*. México D.F.: Grijalbo, 1989.
- Gideons International. *Holy Bible: New International Version with Introductory Helps*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2005.
- Graham, William A. *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Grochowski, Piotr. *Dziady. Rzecz o wędrownych żebrakach i ich pieśniach*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2009.
- Grochowski, Piotr. *Jarmark tradycji. Studia i szkice folklorystyczne*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2016.
- Grochowski, Piotr. “Lamenty dziadka z Targówka. Parodie na dziadów i pieśni dziadowskie.” *Literatura Ludowa* 54, no. 4/5 (2010), pp. 3–13.
- Grochowski, Piotr. “Nastroje społeczno-religijne pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w świetle pieśni nowiniarskich.” *Napis* 12 (2006), pp. 21–33.
- Grochowski, Piotr. “Polskie druki Bänkelsang.” *Literatura Ludowa* 49, no. 4–5 (2005), pp. 57–66.
- Grochowski, Piotr. “Polskie pieśni pielgrzymkowe i kalwaryjskie.” *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 55 (2016), pp. 23–45.
- Grochowski, Piotr. “Staropolskie pieśni nowiniarskie.” *Pamiętnik Literacki* 99, no. 3 (2008), pp. 105–123.

- Grochowski, Piotr. *Straszna zbrodnia rodzonej matki: Polskie pieśni nowiniarskie na przełomie XIX i XX w.* Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2010.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1962.
- Hallewell, Laurence. *O livro no Brasil*. São Paulo: EDUSP, 2005.
- Hanzelková, Marie. "Obraceni' poutních kramářských písní. Panna Marie Vranovská." *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 66, no. 3–4 (2021), pp. 101–110.
- Harms, Wolfgang, and Michael Schilling. *Das illustrierte Flugblatt der frühen Neuzeit. Traditionen, Wirkungen, Kontexte*. Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2008.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. "Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého." In *Československá vlastivěda, řada II. Spisovný jazyk český a slovenský*. Praha: Sfinx, Bohumil Janda, 1936.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. *Vývoj českého spisovného jazyka*. Praha: SPN, 1980.
- Heidegger, Martin. "Bauen, Wohnen, Denken II." In *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, pp. 32–33. Neske: Pfullingen, 1967.
- Hernas, Czesław. "Z epiki dziadowskiej." *Pamiętnik Literacki* 49, no. 4 (1958), pp. 475–494.
- Hilský, Martin. *Shakespearova Anglie. Portrét doby*. Praha: Academia, 2020.
- Hlavačka, Milan. "Místa paměti." In *Základní problémy studia moderních a soudobých dějin*, ed. Jana Čechurová et al., pp. 602–609. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny & Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta, 2014.
- Hołda, Renata. "Druki religijne z oficyny wydawniczej Nowackich w Mikołowie." In *Tematyka religijna Górnośląskich druków ulotnych i okolicznościowych XIX i XX wieku: studia i materiały*, ed. Jerzy Myszor, pp. 77–108. Katowice: Fundacja Centrum Badań nad Historią Kościoła im. ks. Wincentego Myszora, 2018.
- Hołda, Renata. "Druki religijne z oficyny wydawniczej Teofila Nowackiego w Piekarach Śląskich." *Literatura Ludowa* 57, no. 6 (2013), pp. 15–33.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Jednolisty–Kramářské tisky–Knížky lidového čtení. Výběrová bibliografie*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2007.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků brněnského pracoviště Etnologického ústavu AV ČR*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2021.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků, II. Biblická a křesťanská ikonografie*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2012.
- Holubová, Markéta. *Katalog kramářských tisků, III. Německé kramářské tisky, jednolisty a kupyty*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Mariazell v tištěných médiích 18. a 19. století." *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 63, no. 3–4 (2018), pp. 196–206.

- Holubová, Markéta. "Obraz ženy v kramářské produkci." *Národopisný věstník* 24, no. 66 (2007), pp. 32–38.
- Holubová, Markéta. "Odras kultu Panny Marie Svatohorské v kramářské produkci." In *Salve Regina. Mariánské úcta ve středních Čechách*, ed. Markéta Holubová and Marcela Suchomelová, pp. 59–79. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2014.
- Holubová, Markéta, et al. *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Holý, Dušan. "Etnomuzikologie (hudební folkloristika)." In *Hudební věda III. Disciplíny hudební vědy*, 2, ed. Vladimír Lébl and Ivan Poledňák, pp. 778–822. Praha: SPN, 1988.
- Holý, Dušan. "Na okraj etnografické hranice na Moravě." *Národopisný věstník československý* 2 (1967), pp. 21–42.
- Holzappel, Otto. *Lexikon folkloristischer Begriffe und Theorien (Volksliedforschung)*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Horák, František, Bedřiška Wižďálková, and Emma Urbánková. *Pravidla jmenné katalogizace starých tisků, prvotisků a rukopisů*. Praha: SPN, 1971.
- Horáková [Hashemi], Michaela. "Intertextualita v barokní homiletice." In *Literatura v literatuře. Sborník referátů z literárněvědné konference 37. Bezručovy Opavy (13.–14. 9. 1994)*, pp. 25–29. Praha–Opava: Ústav pro českou literaturu–Slezská univerzita, 1995.
- Hostinský, Otakar. *Česká světská píseň lidová*. Praha: V. Šimáček, 1906.
- Hostinský, Otakar. *36 nápěvů světských písní českého lidu z XVI. století*. Praha: F Šimáček, 1892.
- Hrabák, Josef. *Dějiny české literatury I. Starší česká literatura*. Praha: ČSAV, 1959.
- Hrabalová Olga. *Průvodce písňovými rukopisnými sbírkami Ústavu pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV, pracoviště v Brně. I: Soupis písňových rukopisných sbírek. II: Slovník sběratelů lidových písní*. Brno: Krajské kulturní středisko v Brně, 1983.
- Hrzalová, Hana. "Kramářská píseň v letech 1848–1849." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 149–150. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Hubková, Jana. *Fridrich Falcký v zrcadle letákové publicistiky. Letáky jako pramen k vývoji a vnímání české otázky v letech 1619–1632*. Praha: FF UK, 2010.
- Hubková, Jana. "K podobám a rolím letákové publicistiky 16. a 17. století věnované problematice vztahů mezi Turky a křesťany." *Historie–Otázky–Problémy* 6, no. 2 (2014), pp. 197–210.
- Iggers, Georg G. *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005.
- Ivánek, Jakub. "The Cult of Saints in Pilgrim Songs in Moravia and Austrian Silesia from the Seventeenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century." In *Patron Saints*

- and *Saintly Patronage in Early Modern Central Europe*, ed. Marie Škarpová, pp. 253–272. Praha: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2019.
- Ivánek, Jakub. “Kramářský tisk jako publikační forma ambiciózní náboženské písně.” *Bohemica litteraria* 14, no. 2 (2011), pp. 3–22.
- Ivánek, Jakub. *Písně o svatých v české barokní literatuře*. PhD diss., Ostravská universita, 2011.
- Ivánek, Jakub. “Poznámky k vymezení pojmu kramářská píseň (s ohledem na tisky náboženské povahy).” *Listy filologické* 140, no. 1–2 (2017), pp. 201–230.
- Ivánek, Jakub, and Jan Malura, eds. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písně na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Ivánek, Jakub, and Monika Szturcová. “Propagace poutních míst na Moravě kramářskou písní v první polovině 19. století.” *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 63, no. 3–4 (2018), pp. 188–195.
- Ivánek, Jakub, Jan Malura, and Monika Szturcová. “Kramářské písně o Panně Marii Čenstochovské.” In *Śladami Polaków na czeskim/austriackim Śląsku—Stopami Polaków v českém/rakouském Slezsku*, ed. Krzysztof Czajkowski and Aleš Zářícký, pp. 79–92. Częstochowa: Fundacja Silva Rerum Polonarum, 2016.
- Ivánek, Jakub, Jan Malura, Jaromír Olšovský, Marie Schenková, and Monika Szturcová. “Pod ochranu tvou se utíkáme. Kult Panny Marie Čenstochovské v českém Slezsku na Moravě / Pod twoją obronę uciekamy się. Kult Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej na Śląsku czeskim i na Morawach.” Unpublished manuscript, May 26, 2020, typescript.
- Jelínková, Andrea. “Erstlich gedruckt zu Prag—k přetiskování bohemikálních zpravodajských tisků 16. a začátku 17. století.” In *Jakž lidé hodnověrní zprávu činí. Formy písemné komunikace v raném novověku*, ed. Marta Hradilová and Marie Tošnerová, pp. 169–189. Praha: Masarykův ústav & Archiv AV ČR, 2018.
- Jelínková, Andrea. “Žánry a témata v produkci českých tiskáren 16. století. Nové možnosti zkoumání.” *Knihy a dějiny* 25, no. 1–2 (2018), pp. 23–46.
- Jungmann, Josef. *Historie literatury české*. Praha: České museum, 1849.
- “K čtyřnásobné vraždě u Křtin.” *Nové Illustrované Listy* 14, no. 28 (July 13, 1907), p. 465.
- Kafka, Luboš. *Dárek z poutí. Poutní a pouťové umění*. Praha: Lika Klub, 2009.
- Kalinová, Alena. “Kult P. Marie Vranovské v lidovém umění.” *Folia ethnographica* 29, *Scientiae sociales LXXX* (1995): pp. 3–17.
- Kalista, Zdeněk. *Česká barokní pouť: k religiozitě českého lidu v době barokní*. Žďár nad Sázavou: Cisterciána Sarensis, 2001.
- Kamarýt, Josef Vlastimil. *Komu pěji*, ed. Milan Kopecký. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1983.
- Karbusický Vladimír. “Kramářská píseň jako pramen pololidových písní.” In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písní*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 287–293. Praha: SPN, 1963.

- Kaufmann, Thomas. "Konfessionalisierung." In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, Band 6. Darmstadt 2007, columns 1053–1070.
- Kittler, Friedrich. "Unpublished Preface to Discourse Networks," trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young. *Grey Room* 63 (2016), pp. 91–107.
- Klacek, Michal. "Sbírka kramářských písní v Knihovně Národního muzea." *Muzeum: Muzejní a vlastivědná práce* 49 (2011), pp. 29–40.
- Kleňha, Jiří. *Harfenictví v Čechách. Historie vandrovních muzikantů z Nechanic*. Praha: Granit, 1998.
- Klimeková, Agáta, Janka Ondroušková, Eva Augustínová, and Miroslava Domová. *Bibliografia jarmočných a púťových tlačí 18. a 19. storočia z územia Slovenska*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1996.
- Klobčar, Marija. "The Cultural Importance of Broadside Songs in Slovenia." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 308–323. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Kneidl, Pravoslav. *Česká lidová grafika v ilustracích novin, letáků a písniček*. Praha: Odeon, 1983.
- Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století. Díl II. Tisky z let 1501–1800. Část VI, Písmo P–Píseň číslo 6.688–12.820*, ed. František Horák. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1956.
- Kolár, Jaroslav. "K periodizaci vývoje české kramářské písně a k ideovému profilu jejího staršího období." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 97–101. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Kolár, Jaroslav. "Novina v české literatuře 16. století." In *Sondy. Marginálie k historickému myšlení o české literatuře*, ed. Jitka Uhdeová, pp. 59–68. Brno: Atlantis, 2007.
- Kolberg, Oskar. *Dziela wszystkie, tom 6. Krakowskie II*. Wrocław–Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1963.
- Kolek, Antonín. *Radostná cesta k Staré Matce Boží Žarošské: Starodávná baroková pout'*. Brno: Občanská tiskárna, 1942.
- Konrád, Karel. *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského od XV. věku do zrušení literátských bratrstev*. Praha: Cyrillo-Methodějská knihtiskárna, 1893.
- Kopalová, Ludmila, and Markéta Holubová. *Katalog kramářských tisků*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2008.
- Korec, František, ed. *Poutní kniha*. Brno: Dědictví sv. Cyrila a Metoděje, 1893.
- Kosek, Pavel, et al. *Do Brna široká cesta. Kramářské písně se světskou tematikou. Katalog k výstavě*, ed. Hana Glombová. Brno: MZM, 2020.
- Kosek, Pavel. "Bratrský pravopis." In *Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, ed. Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, and Jana Pleskalová, pp. 183–187. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

- Kosek, Pavel. "Kancionál Jesličky jako jazykovědný pramen." In *Fridrich Bridelius. Jesličky. Staré nové písničky*, ed. Pavel Kosek, Tomáš Slavický, and Marie Škarpová, pp. 228–258. Brno: Host, 2014.
- Kotula, Franciszek. "Polityczne pieśni odpustowe z Galicji." Part 1, *Literatura Ludowa* 17, no. 4–5 (1973), pp. 28–43; part 2, *Literatura Ludowa* 18, no. 1 (1974), pp. 32–43; part 3, *Literatura Ludowa* 18, no. 2 (1974), pp. 36–45.
- Kotula, Franciszek. "Ryciny odpustowych pieśni." *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* 29, no. 4 (1975), pp. 237–250.
- Kouba, Jan. "Lidová duchovní píseň." In *Lidová kultura: Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska II*, ed. Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek, p. 481. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007.
- Kouba, Jan. *Slovník staročeských hymnografií (13.–18. století)*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2017.
- Koupil, Ondřej. *Grammatykáři. Gramatografická a kulturní reflexe češtiny 1533–1672*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015.
- Koupil, Ondřej. "Veslavinská čeština a veslavinská doba." *Česká literatura* 66, no. 2 (2018), pp. 263–280.
- Kowalski, Piotr. "Ballada dziadowska." In *Słownik literatury popularnej*, ed. Tadeusz Żabski, pp. 22–24. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006.
- Kozieł, Edward. *Wspomnienia wędrownego kramarza*, ed. Antoni Olcha. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1975.
- Krejčí, Karel. "Píseň pražské ulice, její vztah k písni kramářské a k literatuře." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 59–76. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Krekovičová, Eva. "Barokový obraz Smrti—nevesty vo folklóre alebo putovanie jednej jarmočnej balady." *Národopisné informácie* XXV, no. 1 (1993), pp. 20–30.
- Krolmus, Václav. *Staročeské pověsti, zpěvy, hry, obyčeje, slavnosti a nápěvy s ohledem na bájesloví československé, I–III*. Praha: Karel Vetterl, 1845–1851.
- Krtilová, Kateřina, and Kateřina Svatoňová. "Východiska a aktuální pozice německé filozofie a teorie médií." In *Medienwissenschaft: východiska a aktuální pozice německé filozofie a teorie médií*, ed. Kateřina Krtilová and Kateřina Svatoňová, pp. 7–21. Praha: Academia, 2016.
- Kučerová, Judita. *Sběratel lidových písní Martin Zeman z Velké nad Veličkou (1854–1919)*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2011.
- Kutnar, František. "Kramářská píseň jako historický pramen." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 77–86. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Kyas, Vladimír. *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1997.

- Lamprecht, Arnost, Dušan Šlosar, and Jaroslav Bauer. *Historická mluvnice češtiny*. Praha: SPN, 1986.
- Liba, Peter. *Kontexty populárnej literatúry*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1981.
- Lotman, Juri M. *Culture and Explosion*, trans. Wilma Clark. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009.
- Louthan, Howard. *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Łuczowski, Jan. "Opoczyński grajek odpustowy." *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 26 (1984), pp. 97–114.
- Ludvíková, Miroslava. "Pauláni na Vranově." In *Poutní místo Vranov: sborník*, ed. Miroslava Ludvíková, pp. 58–64. Brno: BOLIT-B Press, [1997].
- Ługowska, Jolanta. "Obrazy diabła w różnych gatunkach opowieści ludowych." In *Diabeł w literaturze polskie*, ed. Tadeusz Błażejowski, pp. 5–16. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1998.
- Lýsek, František. *Písňe z Lašska*, ed. Marta Toncrová. Brno: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2004.
- Malura, Jan, ed. *Žánrové aspekty starší literatury*. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity v Ostravě, 2010.
- Malura, Jan, and Jakub Ivánek, eds. *Horo krásná, spanilá! Poutní písňe na Moravě (1600–1850)*. Brno: Host, 2019.
- Malura, Jan, and Marta Vaculínová. "Oslava Matyáše Habsburského v bohemikální literatuře pozdního humanismu." *Česká literatura* 67, no. 6 (2019), pp. 792–826.
- Malura, Jan, Pavel Kosek, and Michael Pospíšil, eds. *Jan Josef Božan: Slaviček rájský*. Brno & Ostrava: Host & Ostravská univerzita, 1999.
- Malý, František. *Salve Regina. Poutnický kancionál pro poutě a laické pobožnosti*. Brno: Salve Regina, 2015.
- Markl, Jaroslav. *Nejstarší sbírky českých lidových písní*. Praha: Supraphon, 1987.
- Marsh, Christopher. *Music and Society in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Marsh, Christopher. "A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England." In *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016), pp. 245–262.
- McIlvenna, Una. *Singing the News: Execution Ballads in Europe 1500–1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.
- McIlvenna, Una, Siv Brandtzaeg, and Juan Gomis. "Singing the News of Punishment: The Execution Ballad in Europe, 1550–1900." *Quaerendo* 51, no. 1/2, EDPOP special issue (2021), pp. 123–159.
- Mętrak Maciej. "Językowy i kulturowy obraz Żyda w czeskich drukach kramarskich." *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 51 (2017), pp. 89–109.

- Mihola, Jiří. "K problematice barokní poutní tradice a jejímu místu v působení mendikantského řádu (na příkladě řádu paulánů)." *Sborník prací pedagogické fakulty MU v Brně, řada společenských věd č. 23*, (2009), pp. 49–61.
- Michalec Anna and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska Stanisława. *Jak chtop u diabla pieniądze pożyczął. Polska demonologia ludowa w przekazach ustnych*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2019.
- Michálková, Věra. "K jazyku kramářských písní." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 209–226. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Michl, Josef Václav Justin. *Ouplný literární létopis*. Praha: J. V. J. Michl, 1839.
- Mikos, Éva, and Rumen István Csörsz. "Cheap Print in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Hungary." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 274–306. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Miller, Jaroslav. *Falcký mýtus. Fridrich V. a obraz české války v raně Stuartovské Anglii*. Praha: Argo, 2004.
- Mišianik, Ján. *Bibliografia slovenského písomníctva do konca 19 storočia: Doplnky k Riznerovej bibliografii*. Bratislava: SAVU, 1946.
- Mitkowska, Anna. *Polskie kalwarie*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2003.
- Mocná, Dagmar. "Kramářská píseň." In *Encyklopedie literárních žánrů*, ed. Dagmar Mocná and Josef Peterka, pp. 325–331. Praha–Litomyšl: Paseka, 2004.
- Monestier, Martin. *Suicides histoire, techniques et bizarreries de la mort volontaire des origines à nos jours*. Paris: Cherche Midi Ed., 1995.
- Mukařovský, Jan. *Estetická funkce, norma a hodnota jako sociální akty*. Praha: Fr. Borový, 1936.
- Mukařovský, Jan. *Studie z estetiky*. Praha: Odeon, 1966.
- Munzar, Jan, Stanislav Ondráček, and Lubor Kysučan. "Povodně v českých zemích v 16.–18. století ve světle starých tisků." *Knihy a dějiny* 22, no. 1–2 (2015), pp. 23–39.
- Muzart-Fonseca dos Santos, Idelete. *Memória das vozes: cantoria, romanceiro & cordel*. Salvador: Secretaria da Cultura e Turismo; Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia, 2006.
- Navrátilová, Alexandra. *Namlouvání, láska a svatba v české lidové kultuře*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2012.
- Nebeker, Eric. "Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies, and the Lyric in Print." *ELH* 76, no. 4 (2009), pp. 989–1013.
- Nebeker, Eric. "Textual Publics and Broadside Ballads." *SEL: Studies in English Literature* 51, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1–19.
- Nehlsen, Eberhard, "Liedpublizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges." In *1648: Krieg und Frieden in Europa, vol. 2: Kunst und Kultur*, ed. Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling, pp. 431–437. Münster: Bruckmann, 1998.

- Nehlsen, Eberhard. *Zürcher Liedflugschriften. Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, ed. Christian Scheidegger. Baden-Baden: Koerner, 2021.
- Neunzig, Hans Adolf. *Das illustrierte Moritaten-Lesebuch*. München: Deutsche Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1979.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7–24.
- Novotný, Miloslav, ed. *Písničky jarmareční, většinou výpravné a vesměs starodávné*. Praha: Ema Jánská, 1930.
- Novotný, Miloslav, ed. *Špalíček písniček jarmarečních*. Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1940.
- Nyrkowski, Stanisław (ed.). *Karnawat dziadowski. Pieśni wędrownych śpiewaków (XIX-XX w.)*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1973 (2nd ed. 1977).
- Nývtová, Martina. "Psaní velkých písmen v samostatně vydaných českých Nových zákonech 15. a 16. století." *Naše řeč* 99, no. 4 (2016), pp. 189–206.
- Oliver, Roland, ed. *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 3: From c. 1050 to c. 1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London–New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Optát, Beneš, Petr Gzell, and Philomathes. *Gramatika česká*, ed. Ondřej Koupil. Praha: Akropolis, 2019.
- Otruba, Mojmir. *Znaky a hodnoty*. Praha: Český spisovatel, 1994.
- Palas, Karel. *K problematice krajové pololidové literatury 18. století*. Praha: SPN, 1964.
- Palas, Karel. "Pololidové básnictví barokní a kancionálová píseň." In *O barokní kultuře*, ed. Milan Kopecký, pp. 75–86. Brno: UJEP, 1968.
- Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews. 11 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Percy, Thomas. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. 3 vols. London, 1765.
- Petrtyl, Josef. "O výrobních otázkách špalíčkových tisků." *Československá ethnografie* 4, no. 3 (1956), pp. 252–266.
- Petrů, Eduard. "Kramářské písně jako knihovnický problém." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 347–355. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Pettitt, Thomas. "Journalism vs. Tradition in the English Ballads of the Murdered Sweetheart." In *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with the assistance of Kris McAbee, pp. 75–89. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Petzoldt, Leander. *Bänkelsang. Vom historischen Bänkelsang zum literarischen Chanson*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974.

- Pindur, David. "Poutní kostel od první světové války do současnosti." In *Prašivá*, ed. Jan Al Saheb, pp. 35–39. Těšín: Muzeum Těšínska, 2011.
- Plch, Josef. "O bestiální loupežné vraždě u Křtin ještě jednou aneb Na silnici ho Křtin v lesi só róbíři skuvaní (2. díl)." *Blanenský deník* 2, no. 178 (August 2, 2007), p. 7.
- Pohanka, Jaroslav. "Historické kořeny české kramářské písně." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 89–96. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Polák, Vladimír. *Byli Vajckorni vinni?* Blansko: Muzeum Blansko a Týden u nás, 1999.
- Polák, Vladimír. "Soudní dohra čtyřnásobné vraždy u Křtin." *Přísně tajně! literatura faktu* 4 (2002), pp. 15–19.
- Poláková, Jana. "Jak v Hrabovanech otec zamordoval svoju manželku a 3 dítky." In *Do Brna široká cesta: Kramářské písně se světskou tematikou. Katalog k výstavě*, ed. Hana Glombová, p. 86. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 2020.
- Polakovič, Daniel. "Vypočujte si pesničku peknú ... Staršia jidiš poézia v Prahe v 17.–18. storočí a jej predstavitelia." In *Pocta profesoru Jaroslavu Oliveriovi* (Acta Universitatis Carolinae–Philosophica et Historica, 2001, no. 2), ed. Pavel Čech, pp. 119–129. Praha: Karolinum, 2003.
- Polišenský, Josef, and Eduard Petrů, eds. *Historie o válce české 1618–1620. Výbor historického spisování Ondřeje z Habernfeldu a Pavla Skály ze Zhoře*. Praha: SNKLU, 1964.
- Porák, Jaroslav. *Humanistická čeština. Hláskosloví a pravopis*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1983.
- Potůček, Juraj. *Súpis slovenských nenotovaných spevníkov a príbuzných tlačí (1585–1965)*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1967.
- Pražák, Emil. "O mravně výchovné próze Šimona Lomnického." In *Příspěvky k dějinám starší české literatury*, pp. 203–213. Praha: ČSAV, 1958.
- Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger, Frank J. Warnke, and O. B. Hardison Jr. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Prokeš, Jaroslav. *Úřední antisemitismus a pražské ghetto v době pobělohorské*. Praha: N.p., 1929.
- Pry, Paul. "Enthusiasts Interviewed. No. XVII—'Pann Antonin Dvorak,'" *Sunday Times* (London) 3, no. 239 (10 May 10, 1885), p. 6.
- Rataj, Tomáš. "Turecká hrozba a raně novověké zpravodajství v předbělohorských Čechách." In *Národnostní skupiny, menšiny a cizinci ve městech Praha—město zpráva a zpravodajství*, ed. Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka, and Jiří Pešek, pp. 233–261. Praha: Scriptorium, 2001.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. *Druki wadowickie XIX i pierwszej połowy XX wieku: Źródło do dziejów drukarstwa galicyjskiego*. Wadowice: Wadowickie Centrum Kultury im. Marcina Wadowity, 2007.

- Ratajczak, Tomasz. *Książki religijne i quasi-religijne z wadowickich oficyn drukarskich (1825–1940)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. "Obraz męki Chrystusa w XIX-wiecznych ulotnych drukach jarmarczno-odpustowych." *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 95 (2011), pp. 305–315.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. "Od Biblii do poezji kramarskiej. O biblijnym motywie ucieczki Świętej Rodziny do Egiptu w polskich pieśniach jarmarczno-odpustowych." *Literatura Ludowa* 55, no. 3 (2011), pp. 3–10.
- Ratajczak, Tomasz. "Pieśni religijne w galicyjskim obiegu jarmarczno-odpustowym (XIX–XX w.)." In *Kraków–Lwów: Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki*, ed. Halina Kosętko, pp. 518–528. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2006.
- Riedel, Karl Veit. *Der Bänkelsang. Wesen und Funktion einer Volkstümlichen Kunst*. Hamburg: Hävernich & Freudenthal, 1963.
- Röhrich, Lutz. "Čert v pohádce a pověsti." *Český lid* 53, no. 1 (1966), pp. 18–23.
- Rollins, Hyder E. "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad." *PMLA* 34, no. 2 (1919), pp. 258–339. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/457063>.
- Rospoche, Massimo, Jeroen Salman, and Hannu Salmi, eds. *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450–1900)*. München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019.
- Roud, Steve, and Atkinson, David. "Introduction." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 1–6. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Royt, Jan. "Proč stojí poutní místa tam, kde stojí?" In *O posvátnu. Sborník české křesťanské akademie*, pp. 109–113. Praha: Česká křesťanská akademie, 1993.
- Rudovský, Martin. "Příležitostné písně Šimona Lomnického z Budče." *Hudební věda* 46, no. 4 (2009), pp. 355–374.
- Ruščin, Peter. "Nábožné katolícké pesničky Jura Hollého—prvý notovaný kancionál slovenských katolíkov po Cantus Catholici." *Musicologica Slovaca* 5, no. 2, pp. 255–310.
- Ruščin, Peter. "Vplyv českých kancionálov v slovenských katolíckých rukopisných prameňoch z rokov 1657–1809." In *Duchovná pieseň medzi písomnou a ústnou tradíciou: Súvislosti hymnologických prameňov z územia Slovenska*, ed. Peter Ruščin, Eva Veselovská, and Zlatica Kendrová, pp. 189–320. Bratislava: Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2019.
- Ruščin, Peter. "Vydania katolíckeho spevníka Velká fíjalka libeznej vůně." In *19. storočie v zrkadle písomných prameňov: z dejín knižnej a duchovnej kultúry Slovenska*, ed. M. Domenová. Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica Prešov, 2016.
- Ryšavá, Eva. "Pivo a pijáci v českých kramářských písních." In *Hospody a pivo v české společnosti*, ed. Vladimír Novotný, pp. 19–27. Praha: Academia, 1997.

- Ryšavá, Eva, ed. *Vzpomínky pražského písničkáře*. By František Hais. Praha: Odeon, 1985.
- Salman, Jeroen. "Devotional and Demonic Narratives in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Dutch Penny Prints." In *Cheap Print and the People: European Perspectives on Popular Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud, pp. 121–138. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019.
- Sehnal, Jiří. "Die Entwicklungstendenzen und Stilschichten im tschechischen barocken Kirchenlied." In *Musica antiqua 3*, ed. Zofia Lissa, pp. 126–160, Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska, 1972.
- Sehnal, Jiří. "Nápěvy světských písní kramářských v 17. a 18. století." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 275–286. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Schanze, Frieder. "Gestalt und Geschichte früher deutscher Lied-Einblattdrucke nebst einem Verzeichnis der Blätter mit Noten." In *Niveau, Nische, Nimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, ed. Birgit Lodes, pp. 369–410. Tutzing: Hollitzer Verlag, Schneider, 2010.
- Scheybal, Josef V. "Autoři, zpěváci a kolportéři kramářských písní." *Zpravodaj koordinované sítě vědeckých informací pro etnografii a folkloristiku. Příloha 3* (1978), pp. 53–63.
- Scheybal, Josef V. "K formátu a výzdobě kramářských písňových tisků." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 331–333. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Scheybal, Josef V. *Senzace pěti století v kramářské písni: příspěvek k dějinám lidového zpravodajského zpěvu*. Hradec Králové: Kruh, 1990.
- Schilling, Michael. "Das Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit als Paradigma einer historischen Intermedialitätsforschung." In *Die Intermedialität des Flugblatts in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Alfred Messerli and Michael Schilling, pp. 25–45. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2015.
- Schmidt, Leopold. "Niederösterreichische Flugblattlieder." *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 6 (1938), pp. 104–163.
- Schmidt, Leopold. *Volkslied und Volkslied. Proben und Probleme*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1970.
- Schwitalla, Johannes. *Flugschrift*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999.
- Skořepová, Markéta. *Kramářské písně z Pelhřimovska*. Pelhřimov: Muzeum Vysočiny Pelhřimov, 2019.
- Skořepová, Markéta. *Kramářské písně ze sbírky Muzea Vysočiny Pelhřimov*. Pelhřimov: Muzeum Vysočiny, 2016.
- Skořepová, Markéta. "Ochránkyně sirotků a vdov. Ovdovění a osiření v českých kramářských písních 18. a 19. století." *Historie—Otázky—Problémy* 9, no. 1 (2017), pp. 175–184.

- Sládek, Miloš. *Vítr jest život člověka*. Most: H&H, 2000.
- Slavický, Tomáš. "Kramářský tisk jako hymnografický pramen—několik poznámek k repertoáru mariánských poutních písní 19. století." In *Obrazy ženy v kramářské produkci*, ed. Markéta Holubová, pp. 169–188. Praha: AV ČR, 2008.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek, eds. *České písně kramářské*. Praha: Svoboda, 1949.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. "Jak katalogizovat kramářské písně." *Slavanská knihověda* V (1938), pp. 138–143.
- Smetana, Robert, and Bedřich Václavek. *České písně kramářské*. Praha: Svoboda, 1949.
- Smetana, Robert. "K problematice jevu české písně kramářské." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 13–58. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Smith, Bruce R. *Phenomenal Shakespeare*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Smith, Bruce R. "Putting the 'Ball' Back in Ballads." In *Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, with the assistance of Megan E. Palmer. Special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016), pp. 323–339.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. "Lieder der böhmischen Exulanten und katholische hymnographische Medien des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts." Unpublished manuscript, March 10, 2020, typescript.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. "Mariánská topologie a Ornythologie." *Česká literatura. Časopis pro literární vědu* 66, no. 3 (2018), pp. 335–358.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. *Pavel Raška: Kancionál založený ke cti a chvále Pánu Bohu všemohoucímu*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna, 2017.
- Smyčková, Kateřina. *Růže chuti přerozkosné. Antologie moravských rukopisných kancionálů 17. a 18. století*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2015.
- Sokolski, Jacek. "Dziadowska pieśń o Sądzie Ostatecznym z wieku siedemnastego." *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Prace Literackie* 34 (1995), pp. 5–10.
- Solaříková, Ivana. "Vrazi čekali na oběti v obilí." *Mladá fronta Dnes: Brno a jižní Morava* 18, no. 155 (July 4, 2007), p. B4.
- Srb, Vladimír. *1000 let obyvatelstva českých zemí*. Praha: Karolinum, 2004.
- Stejskalová, Eva. *Novinové zpravodajství a noviny v Čechách od 17. století do roku 1740*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015.
- Stich, Alexandr. "Magnet a pelikán—dva exkluzivní barokní motivy." In *Česká literatura doby baroka. Sborník příspěvků k české literatuře 17. a 18. století*, ed. Zuzana Pokorná, pp. 89–116. Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 1994.
- Storchová, Lucie. *Řád přírody, řád společnosti. Adaptace melanchthonismu v českých zemích v polovině 16. století*. Dolní Břežany: Scriptorium, 2021.
- Strašilová, Iva. "Kramářské písně v Knihovně Národního muzea. Cíle a prostředky zpracování." In *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy*

- a Slezska 2006. *Sborník z 15. odborné konference, Olomouc, 22.–23. listopadu 2006*, ed. Rostislav Krušínský, pp. 191–199. Olomouc–Brno: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci & Sdružení knihoven ČR Brno, 2006.
- “Strašlivá loupežná vražda,” *Brněnské noviny* 11, no. 152 (July 6, 1907), p. 3.
- “Strašlivá loupežná vražda.” *Moravské noviny: Příloha Brněnských novin* 28, no. 152 (July 6, 1907), p. 3.
- Stýskal, Jiří. “Kramářské písně a novější česká literatura.” In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátu a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písni*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 155–163. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Suppan, Wolfgang. “Hymnologie und Volksliedforschung.” In *Handbuch des Volksliedes. Band II. Historisches und systematisches—interethnische Beziehungen—Musikethnologie*, ed. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Lutz Röhrich, and Wolfgang Suppan, pp. 517–525. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975.
- Sušil, František. *Moravské národní písně*. Praha: Argo–Mladá fronta, 1998.
- Szturcová, Monika. “Česko-polské písňové vztahy na příkladu vydavatelské strategie Orlovy tiskárny.” *Historica: Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy* 8, no. 1 (2017), pp. 44–55.
- Szturcová, Monika. “Kult poutních míst slezsko-polského pohraničí v Českých kramářských písních 18. a 19. století.” *Historie–Otázky–Problémy* 9, no. 1 (2017), pp. 167–174.
- Szturcová, Monika. “Polské kramářské tisky z těšínské Procházkovy tiskárny.” Unpublished manuscript, May 26, 2020, typescript.
- Šimeček, Zdeněk, and Jiří Trávníček. *Knihy kupovati... dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích*. Praha: Academia, 2014.
- Šimeček, Zdeněk. *Počátky novinového zpravodajství. Do devadesátých let 18. století*. Brno: Maticе moravská, 2011.
- Šimečková, Marta. *Hláskosloví v češtině 16.–18. století*. PhD diss., Masaryk University, 2016.
- Škarka, Antonín. “Ze zápasů nekatolického tisku a protireformaci.” *Český časopis historický* 42, no. 2, 3–4 (1936), pp. 286–322, 484–520.
- Škarpová, Marie. “Co víme a nevíme o recepci Michnovy písně Nebeští kavalérové.” *SPFFBU* 57 (2007), pp. 77–90.
- Škarpová, Marie. *Mezi Čechy, k pobožnému zpívání náchylnými”. Šteyerův kancionál český, kanonizace hymnografické paměti a utváření katolické identity*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta UK, 2015.
- Šlosar, Dušan, Radoslav Večerka, Petr Malčík, and Jan Dvořák. *Spisovný jazyk v dějinách české společnosti*, 3rd ed. Brno: Host, 2009.
- Technik, Alfred. *Mlýn na ponorné řece*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1956.
- Thořová, Věra. “Kramářská píseň jako inspirační zdroj české písně lidové.” *Český lid* 97, no. 1 (March 2010), pp. 51–74.

- Thořová, Věra, Lydia Petráňová, Alexandra Navrátilová, and Zdeněk Uherek. *Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky 1905–2005*, ed. Lubomír Tyllner and Marcela Suchomelová. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2005.
- Tichá, Zdeňka. "K dějinám kramářské písně v 18. století." *Česká literatura* 1, no. 3 (1953), pp. 137–145.
- Tichá, Zdeňka. "Příspěvek k poznání příležitostné tvorby 17. století." *Časopis Matice moravské* 77, no. 1–2 (1958), pp. 140–158.
- Traxler, Jiří. "Kramářská píseň." In *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska II*, ed. Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek, pp. 427–430. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007.
- Trojan, Jan. *Moravská lidová píseň: melodika, harmonika: o harmonické struktuře lidové písně jako rezultátu melodické složky*. Praha: Supraphon, 1980.
- Turner, Edith, and Victor Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Tyllner, Lubomír, Jiří Traxler, and Věra Thořová. *Průvodce po pramenech lidových písní, hudby a tanců v Čechách*. Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd ČR, 2015.
- Tyllner, Lubomír, and Zdeněk Vejvoda. *Česká lidová píseň. Historie, analýza, typologie*. Praha: Bärenreiter, 2019.
- Uglow, Jenny. *Nature's Engraver: A Life of Thomas Bewick*. London: Faber & Faber, 2006.
- Uhlíř, Dušan. *Brněnský pítař*. Brno: Rovnost, 1992.
- Urbancová, Hana. "Letákové tlače jako pramen mariánských legend." *Musicologica Slovaca* 27, no. 1 (2010), pp. 122–145.
- Václavěk, Bedřich, and Robert Smetana. *České světské písně zlidovělé. Část 1. Písně epické. Sv. 1, Slovesný, hudební a obrazový materiál písní*. Praha: ČSAV, 1955.
- Václavková, Jaroslava, ed. *Písně roku 1848*. Praha: Svoboda, 1948.
- Van Dülmen, Richard. *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zweiter Band, Dorf und Stadt 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. München: C.H. Beck, 1999.
- Van Dülmen, Richard. *Kultura a každodennost 16.–18. století*. Vol. 1. Praha: Argo, 1999.
- Vaněk, Miroslav, and Pavel Mücke. *Třetí strana trojúhelníka: Orální historie a její vývoj*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v. v. i. a Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2011.
- Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition: A Study of Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Vašica, Josef. *České literární baroko*. Brno: Atlantis, 1995.
- Vašica, Josef. "Několik poznámek k baroknímu písemnictví." *Řád. Revue pro kulturu a život* V, no. 5 (1939), pp. 281–289.
- Vetterl, Karel. *Guberniální sbírka písní a instrumentální hudby z Moravy a Slezska z roku 1819*, ed. Olga Hrabalová. Strážnice: Ústav lidové kultury, 1994.
- Vetterl, Karel. "K historii hanáckého tance Cófavá." *Český lid* 46, no. 6 (November 1959), pp. 277–286.

- Vetterl, Karel, and Olga Hrabalová, eds. *Guberniální sbírka písní a instrumentální hudby z Moravy a Slezska z roku 1819*. Strážnice: Ústav lidové kultury, 1994.
- Vintr, Josef. "Jazyk české barokní bible Svatováclavské." *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1992), pp. 197–212.
- Vobr, Jaroslav. *Jihlavské tisky českých kramářských písní*. Master's thesis, Charles University 1970.
- Vobr, Jaroslav. *Soupis knížek lidového čtení z fondů Universitní knihovny v Brně*. Brno: Universitní knihovna, 1973.
- Vochala, Joža. "Sociální problematika špalíčkové literatury na Těšínsku." In *Václavkova Olomouc 1961. Sborník referátů a diskusních příspěvků o kramářské písní*, ed. Jaromír Dvořák and Josef Š. Kvapil, pp. 195–201. Praha: SPN, 1963.
- Voit, Petr. "Kronika o mladém vejvodovi od Šimona Lomnického z Budče (cesta od středověké legendy o zázracích k novodobé knížce lidového čtení, jarmareční písní a pohádce)." *Listy filologické* 111 (1988), pp. 110–119.
- Voit, Petr. *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí II*. Prague: Academia, 2017.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy*. Praha: Libri, 2006.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*. Praha: Libri, 2006.
- Voit, Petr. *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knihtisk a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století, 2nd ed.* Prague: Libri–Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, 2008.
- Volf, Josef. "Konfiskace písně o robotě a Písně nové o zlých ženách r. 1789." *Český lid* 22 (1913), pp. 65–68.
- Volf, Josef. "Z dějin osvicenecké censury." *Časopis Národního musea* 98 (1924), pp. 221–232.
- Vondrák, Václav. *Vývoj současného spisovného českého jazyka*. Brno: Filosofická fakulta, 1926.
- Vykypělová, Taťána. "K distribuci koncovek instrumentálu plurálu typu hromovýmá skutky ve střední češtině." In *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik 7*, ed. Markus Bayer, Michael Betsch, and Joanna Błaszczak, pp. 220–225. München: Otto Sagner, 2004.
- Vykypělová, Taťána. *Wege zum Neutschechischen. Studien zur Geschichte der tschechischen Schriftsprache*. Hamburg: Kovač, 2013.
- Vytlačilová, Veronika. "Proměny písně o sv. Vojtěchovi z hlediska pravopisného." *Naše řeč* 102, no. 5 (2019), pp. 295–305.
- Waliński, Michał. "Pieśń jarmarczna? Nowiniarska? Ballada? Czy—pieśń dziadowska? Prolegomena do badań pieśni dziadowskiej." In *Wszystek krąg ziemski. Antropologia, historia, literatura*, ed. Piotr Kowalski, pp. 164–194. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998.

- Wasylewski, Stanisław. "Niespodzianka na odpuscie." *Kurier Poznański* 25, no. 410 (1930), p. 8.
- Watt, Tess. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Weingart, Miloš. *Vývoj českého jazyka*. Praha: J. R. Vilímek, 1918.
- Weinlich, Antonín. *Mariánské poutní místo Vranov*. Brno: Benediktinská tiskárna, 1892.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Wieczorkiewicz, Bronisław. *Warszawskie ballady podwórzowe*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971.
- Wiltenburg, Joy. "Ballads and the Emotional Life of Crime." In *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with the assistance of Kris McAbee, pp. 173–186. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Windakiewiczowa, Helena. "Katalog pieśni polsko-morawskich." *Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne. Dział etnograficzny X* (1908), pp. 3–43.
- Winkelbauer, Thomas. *Städtefreiheit und Fürstenmacht, Vol. 2: Österreichische Geschichte, 1522–1699*. Wien: Ueberreuter, 2003.
- Wittke, Václav. *Matka Boží Montserratská a její pocta v Čechách*. Praha: Kníž. arcib. knihtiskárna, 1882.
- Wögerbauer, Michael, and Petr Píša. "Das Königreich Böhmen (1750–1848)." In *Die literarische Zensur in Österreich von 1751 bis 1848*, ed. Norbert Bachleitner, pp. 193–215. Wien: Böhlau, 2017.
- Xavier, Arnaldo, and M. Christina Guidorizzi. "The Greatest Poet That God Creole." *Callaloo: African Brazilian Literature* 18, no. 4 (1995), pp. 777–795.
- Zawadzki, Konrad. *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia*, 3 vols. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977–1990.
- Zawadzki, Konrad. *Początki prasy polskiej. Gazety ulotne i seryjne XVI–XVIII wieku*. Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2002.
- Zíbrt, Čeněk. *Jak se kdy v Čechách tancovalo*. Praha: F. Šimáček, 1895.
- Zíbrt, Čeněk. "Ondráš a Juráš." *Český lid* 32 (1932), pp. 18–22.
- Zvonař, Josef Leopold. "Slovo o českých národních písních," *Dalibor* 3, no. 25 (1860), p. 199.

Index

- Academia Brasileira da Literatura de Cordel
(ABLC) 42
- acquisitions 49, 132, 137–39
- alcoholism 164, 204
- Alves Marques, Francisco Claudio 447
- Alves Santos, Luciany Aparecida 458, 459
- animals / animal motifs 97, 165, 222, 225
- antiqua 141
- Argentina 444, 452
- Artichoke Lady 393
- Assaré do, Patativa 461
- assemblages of broadside ballads 138
- Atkinson, David 36, 60, 89
- Austria 40, 44, 80, 84, 105, 133, 178, 182, 273,
274, 277, 297, 405, 432
Austria-Hungary 405
- Badecki, Karol 407
- ballad singer 40, 222, 226
- banner 81, 179, 225, 226
- Banská Bystrica 308–09, 320, 323
- Banská Štiavnica 308, 312, 315
- Baroque 83, 109, 121, 123, 124, 125, 177, 184, 185,
188, 192, 208, 214, 227, 228, 282, 293, 322, 323,
340, 405, 407
- Baroque period / Baroque era 24, 77, 93, 108, 109,
110, 178, 179, 281, 295, 310, 320, 334–43, 346, 348
- Barros de, José Antonio (Jotabarras) 446, 458
- Bartoš, František 88, 117–118, 293, 294
- Báthory, Sigismund 99
- battles 107, 417, 448
battle of Mohács 22, 102
battle of White Mountain 76, 77, 105, 108,
334
battle of Vienna 121, 418
battle of Austerlitz 121
- Bělič, Oldřich 445
- Beneš, Bohuslav 24, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 47, 83,
84, 117, 123–24, 214, 239, 241, 261, 292, 335, 337
- Bänkelsang 33, 60, 80–81, 225, 261, 414
- Bible 69, 225, 266, 338, 349, 365
Czech 365
Kralice 339–41
Melantrich 339–41
Severýn 339–40
St. Wenceslas 339–42
translations 338–42, 344
- Biblioteka Jasnohorska (Częstochowa) 429
- Biblioteka Narodowa (Warszawa) 429
- Biblioteka Opolska (Opole) 429
- Biblioteka Śląska (Katowice) 429
- Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
(Kraków) 429
- Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego
(Warszawa) 429
- birth 202, 208
monstrous birth 96
terrible miraculous birth 96
- black letter 52, 354, 363, 387, 396, 397; *see also*
Old English 52, 354, 387, 397
- Blahoslav, Jan 339, 340, 341, 342
- Bohemia 24, 60, 93, 96, 106, 108, 118, 119, 133,
134, 135, 137, 160, 178, 182, 190, 192, 259, 267,
273, 311, 323, 354
- Bohemian Crown Lands 24, 43, 45, 60–63,
80, 81, 90, 93, 95, 96, 98, 102, 103, 110, 133, 176,
190, 192, 260, 266, 274, 294, 296
- Bohemian Lands 94, 95, 96, 103, 106, 109; *see*
Czech Lands
- Bohemian Reformation 47, 290
- book history 49, 407, 408
- booklets 15, 16, 23, 26, 34, 89, 95, 398, 442–54,
458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463
- border (decor) 35, 70
- border (limit) 21, 45, 53, 70, 81, 99, 216, 234,
260, 313, 403, 404, 406, 423, 427, 437
border region 428, 432, 433, 437
bordering on eastern Moravia 317
borders of Russia, Prussia and Austria 405
borders of Silesia 427
borders with Poland and Slovakia 423
Czech-Hungarian border 81
Czech-Polish border 428, 432, 433, 437
eastern borders of the Bohemian Crown
Lands 81
Saxon border 216
- Borges, José Francisco 448, 451, 452, 462, 463
- Bratislava 307, 312, 313
- Braungart, Wolfgang 414
- Brazil 22, 53, 385, 441–463
northeastern 461
- Britain 116, 206, 241, 271, 444–46
- Brno 133–37, 160, 161, 176, 177, 180, 190, 233,
236, 244, 259, 291, 337, 354, 358, 367, 369,
426, 429
- broadside ballads 21–53
broadside ballad gatherings 15, 25, 30, 31,
48, 60–62, 67–69, 71–73, 124, 134–49,
214, 289, 290, 295, 297, 299, 336–38, 354,
360, 361, 369, 427
Czech broadside ballads heyday 218
dissemination / distribution 22, 26, 30, 37,
38, 39, 46, 47, 50, 51, 70–72, 77, 86–88, 99,
102, 139, 177, 234, 235, 237, 259, 261, 263,
272, 276, 282, 289, 296, 299, 306, 307,
308, 310, 353, 354, 361–63, 371, 381, 383,
386, 414, 419, 428, 449
English broadside ballads heyday 379–397
German 179
narrative 87, 117, 118, 184

- pilgrimage 22, 50, 56, 84, 120, 126, 176, 179, 181, 183, 184, 187–92, 274, 277, 281, 298, 323, 415
- Polish 44, 45, 52, 53, 403–20, 423–37
- religious 42, 44, 45, 51, 61, 62, 69, 88, 118, 120–22, 124, 126, 127, 159, 170, 214, 257, 275, 277, 295, 296, 299, 305, 306, 308, 309, 311, 324, 325, 337, 340, 344, 347, 349, 408, 410, 414, 416, 419, 425
- secular 39, 40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 52, 60, 61, 71, 76, 83, 94, 108, 109, 116, 117, 119, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 159, 186, 239, 273, 280, 282, 337, 340, 341, 343, 344, 347, 348, 349, 410, 415, 417, 418, 420
- Slovak 306, 307, 309, 311, 316, 317, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325
- Brown, Mary Ellen 383
- Bruegel, Pieter 447
- Burke, Peter 80, 82–90, 116, 213
- Calvary 416, 425, 430–36
- Campos, Abdias 447
- Canclini, García 455
- Carnelos, Laura 110
- Cascudo, Luís da Câmara 447, 448, 461
- case (grammatical category) 343
- cataloguing 49, 120, 124, 134, 136, 139–41, 145, 149
- Cavalcanti Proença, Manuel 451, 452, 461
- Cecilian reform 277, 279
- celfotrs (Zellvater) 177
- ensorship 43, 48, 61, 83, 107, 136, 146, 158, 182, 235, 257–60, 424, 446
- chapbooks 28, 36–38, 43, 50, 67, 78, 80, 86, 89, 90, 99, 109, 122, 126, 133, 135–140, 176–80, 186, 218, 233, 238, 244–45, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263–67, 289, 320, 403, 405, 409, 410, 413, 423–28, 431–35, 443, 454
- Czech chapbooks 37, 120, 131, 255, 319
- English chapbooks 36
- Chartier, Roger 59, 66, 207
- cheap print 24, 25, 37, 90, 97, 382, 383, 404, 410, 414, 462
- Child, James Francis 46, 87, 382
- children 165, 182, 192, 199, 200, 201, 204–209, 211, 216, 217, 219, 240, 246, 346, 357, 417, 430, 458, 461, 462
- Chrudim 139, 179, 429, 436
- church singing 274, 277, 316, 319, 321
- Cieszyn 403, 424, 426, 428, 429, 435, 436; *see* Těšín, Teschen
- classes 35, 36, 43, 52, 82, 109, 110, 191, 222, 389
- lower 35, 48, 78, 83, 158, 310
- middle 90
- upper 82, 85
- coffee 202, 205, 347
- collective singing 273, 274
- collector 49, 86, 87, 117, 119, 122, 132–35, 137–39, 146, 148, 180, 236, 241, 242, 278, 289, 307, 381, 431, 454, 455, 462
- commoners 24, 25, 46, 162, 450, 456
- communist regime 44, 178, 199, 421
- conjugation 343
- contrafactum 87, 280, 281, 395
- contraposition 280
- cordel 53, 385, 441–463
- Counter-Reformation 82, 213, 214
- couplets 43, 104, 106
- crimes 49, 125, 157–172,
- Culler, Jonathan 161–63
- cult 178, 206, 207, 305, 320, 324, 325, 449
- Curran, Mark J. 450, 456, 457, 461
- customers 63, 69, 70, 71–73, 424, 427
- Czech Lands 16, 22–24, 30, 75, 204, 238, 274, 379, 380, 388, 391, 397, 404, 414; *see* Bohemian Lands
- Czech National Revival 43
- Czech Republic 21, 25, 93, 127, 132, 133, 135, 140, 144, 145, 149, 160, 208, 246, 292, 298, 307, 403, 423, 433
- Czechia 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 44, 45, 46, 178, 307, 311, 319, 349, 391, 443
- Częstochowa 273, 404, 412, 413, 425, 429, 430, 434, 435, 436
- Dačický, Jiří Jakubův 102, 103
- Dalvino De Souza, José 460
- dance 88, 133, 198, 222, 226, 227, 279, 299, 385, 386, 387, 393
- dance tune 295, 296, 297, 386
- declension 343, 344
- adjectival 344, 345
- nominal 343
- décor 35
- decorations 35, 388
- demon 50, 208, 214–228, 459; *see* devil
- depalatalization 360
- devil 50, 98, 186, 213–228; *see* demon
- diphthong 339–41, 360
- diphthongizations 335, 339, 340, 360
- digraphs 357, 360–62, 364, 370
- disasters 42, 43, 47, 97, 101, 103, 104, 108, 108, 158
- Dobrovský, Josef 115, 135
- double-sided printed sheets 26, 28, 30, 32, 397, 410, 443, 452
- double-sided printings 23
- Droppová, Lubica 81, 180, 241, 298, 307
- dual 343–344
- Dufka, Jiří 15, 48, 49, 69, 235
- Dumin, Janusz 419
- Dvořák, Jaromír 47, 122
- dziady 81, 158, 406, 409, 411–14
- EBBA (English Broadside Ballads Archive) 28, 144, 379, 380, 382, 383, 385, 387, 389, 390, 393, 395, 396
- England 22, 23, 27, 28, 36, 38, 47, 52, 71, 103, 106, 238, 262, 296, 320, 328, 380, 381, 387, 391, 392, 396, 397

- Enlightenment 78, 83, 276
 Ethnographic Museum in Rzeszów 409
 Eucharist 170, 171, 210, 211, 320
 executions 43, 99, 158, 165, 167, 168, 169, 205,
 247, 386, 394
 exemplum 50, 82, 98, 159, 160, 171

 factories 166
 fairs 27, 37, 38, 61, 81, 86, 177, 192, 263, 266, 274,
 289, 307, 308, 331, 386, 404, 405, 411, 419, 443,
 446, 449
 Falkland 444, 452
 family 17, 30, 70, 158, 164, 165, 166, 170, 189, 199,
 204, 207, 211, 216, 234, 236, 237, 244, 274, 306,
 308, 325, 398, 416, 417, 424, 426, 452, 454
 family members 164, 166
 Faustus 219, 426
 Ferreira da Silva, Gonçalo 444, 452, 453
 Ferro, Marc 455
 festivity 99, 105, 106
 Fiala, Jiří 47, 122, 125, 127
 Fiske, John 85
 folhetos de cordel 443
 Flugblatt 95, 97, 99, 289
 Flugblattlieder 33, 80, 81
 Flugschriftlieder 80
 flyer 444, 445
 foiêtos 444
 folhetos de feira 444, 445
 Fraktur 141, 363, 364, 370
 Franciscan Order 313
 Franklin, Alexandra 394
 Frederick of the Palatinate (Falcký, Frid-
 rich) 99, 106
 Frýdek-Místek 425, 427, 429
 Fumerton, Patricia 22, 24, 26, 29, 52, 144, 261,
 262, 334, 388, 391, 394
 Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa 445, 461, 462

 Gahan, Bill 384
 García Canclini, Néstor 455
 gender 50, 198, 205, 207, 211, 389, 419, 455
 gender (*grammatical*) 343, 345, 346
 gentleman 222, 223, 386
 Germans 24, 93, 178, 190, 191
 Germany 22, 23, 33, 44, 80, 93, 178, 186, 365, 446
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang 219, 228
 Gomes de Assis, Izaias 458
 Grochowski, Piotr 52, 191, 235, 405, 409, 414
 Guidorizzi, M. Christina 449

 Habermas, Jürgen 109
 Habsburg Monarchy 43, 83, 109, 125, 134, 178,
 190, 273
 Hais, František 38, 209
 Halleswell, Laurence 446
 Haná 185, 190, 296
 Hashemi Soleiman pour, Michaela 48, 49
 hell 98, 103, 211, 214, 215, 216, 217, 223, 226, 227

 Hernas, Czesław 409
 Holubová, Markéta 39, 44, 50, 117, 119, 125,
 133, 134, 135, 136, 176, 183, 198, 199, 200, 202,
 204–09
 Holy Family 416
 Holy Roman Empire 62, 96, 99
 holy pictures 15, 77, 411, 415
 Holda, Renata 408
 Hradec Králové 337
 Hubková, Jana 23, 47, 95, 99, 100, 106, 108
 Humanism 82, 94, 98, 339
 Humanist Era 105, 342
 Late Humanism / Late Humanist Era 98,
 101, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109
 Hungary 42, 81, 101, 102, 109, 178, 274, 309, 312,
 313, 317; *see* Austria-Hungary
 Huntington Library 386, 387
 Hus, Jan 47
 Hussitism 47
 Hussite Era 47
 hymns 28, 44, 64, 75, 106, 177, 215, 257, 275,
 276, 277, 279, 305, 306, 309, 310, 312, 316, 318,
 319, 320, 322, 324, 325, 431
 hymnals 16, 64, 75, 76, 77, 82, 89, 109, 305; *see*
 hymn books
 Slovak manuscript 306, 309, 312, 313, 316,
 319–25
 Slovak printed 310, 311, 312, 319
 hymn books 16, 31, 36, 51, 60, 62, 63, 65,
 66–69, 125, 126, 176, 177, 258, 259, 263, 266,
 271, 273, 275–82, 287, 289, 290, 294, 295, 299,
 305, 309–25, 340, 346, 349, 425; *see* hymnals
 Andrej Ozym hymn book / Kancionál
 Andreja Ozyma 315
 Anton Dulay's hymn book (Kancionál
 Antona Dulaya) 313
 Anton Fobb hymn book 315
 Beckov Slovak manuscript hymn book /
 Beckovský slovenský kancionál 313
 Božan Jan Josef hymn book (*Slaviček*
 rájský) 259, 276, 280, 281, 294, 295, 313,
 322, 323, 324
 Cantus Catholici 310, 313
 Český dekaord 63
 Fijalka líbeznej vůně 316
 Jan Josef Pomykal hymn book 294
 Ján Potocký hymn book (Kancionál Jána
 Potockého) 315, 323, 324
 Jozef Tomalák hymn book (Kancionál
 Jozefa Tomaláka) 314, 320
 Juraj Hollý hymn book (*Nábožné katolícké*
 pesničky) 318, 324
 Laudate Dominum 315
 Pisně historické (Historical songs, 1595) by
 Šimon Lomnický of Budeč 62, 63
 Rajec hymn book (Rajecký kan-
 cionál) 294, 295, 312, 323
 Štejer hymn book (*Kancionál český*) 327
 Velká fijalka 316, 323

- hymn leaders 257, 277, 279, 431; *see celfotrs*
hymnography 51, 306, 325
 Czech 309
 Slovak 51, 306, 325
- Iberian Peninsula 442, 445
- illustrations 16, 24, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39,
52, 63, 69, 70, 80, 85, 94, 95, 101, 102, 109, 119,
143, 181, 203, 207, 218, 225, 261, 380, 384, 387,
388, 391, 392, 393, 394, 410, 414, 447, 454, 463
- immigrants 385, 458, 460
- inhabitants 190, 242, 312, 410, 454–57, 459,
460
 city inhabitants 454
 inhabitants of Banská Štiavnica 312
 inhabitants of the arid northeastern
 sertão 461
 inhabitants of villages 410
- Institute of Ethnology Czech Academy of
Science / Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i /
EÚ AV ČR, v. v. i 132, 133, 134, 142, 143, 144,
160, 179, 288, 291
- instrumental 343, 344
- intermediality 26, 299
- Islas / Ilhas Malvinas 444, 452
- itinerants 27, 38, 46, 61, 81, 280, 291, 404, 405,
406, 408, 411, 413, 445, 449
- Ivánek, Jakub 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 47, 48, 59,
76, 79, 80, 83, 88, 89, 105, 117, 118, 125, 126,
176, 179, 183, 185, 238, 255, 260, 261, 262, 263,
265, 274, 276, 282, 290, 297, 310, 415, 429
- jealousy 198, 205, 206, 417
- Jesus Christ 44, 224, 259, 320, 425, 427, 449
- Jews 24, 93, 166, 208, 222, 224, 244, 424, 430
- John Paul II (Pope) 44, 409, 417
- Jonson, Ben 386, 387
- Judgement Day 44, 409, 417
- Jungmann, Josef 115, 116, 119, 121
- Kalista, Zdeněk 176, 177, 188
- Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 404, 412, 425, 427,
428
- Kittler, Friedrich 256, 265, 266
- klocek 415
- Kolár, Jaroslav 96, 98, 101, 117, 159, 160, 171, 172
- Konáč, Mikuláš z Hodiškova 102
- Konrád, Karel 294, 295, 299
- Kopalová, Ludmila 133, 134, 135, 199, 200, 202,
204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 292
- Kotula, Franciszek 409
- Koubka, Jan 63, 77, 276, 290, 295
- Kozielec, Edward 413
- Křemešník 281
- Křtiny 177, 182, 236, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243,
281, 320, 430, 434, 435, 436
- Krekovičová, Eva 81, 180, 241, 291, 293, 298,
307
- Kupiec, Jan 431, 432
- Kutná Hora 103, 337
- Kvapil, Jan 24, 47
- Lachia (Lašsko) 296
- lament 44, 84, 106, 165, 203, 204, 320, 323, 387,
389, 394, 409, 416, 458, 460
- Land of Cockaigne 447, 460
- Lazarus 206, 416
- leaflet 16, 23, 24, 43, 47, 48, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82,
83, 84, 85, 90, 94–109, 276, 307, 407
 news leaflet 24, 43, 47, 48, 80, 82, 90, 94–98,
100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 407
- legend 126, 178, 185, 219, 291, 297, 320, 409, 416,
426, 446, 456
 foundation legend 177, 183, 184, 186
- Levoča 308, 309, 316, 317
- lexical root 340, 342
- Library of the Czech National Museum
(Knihovna Národního muzea, KNM) 179
- Liechtensteins 189, 191
 Maximilian of Liechtenstein 177, 186
- ligatures 361, 362, 364
- literacy 23, 38, 39, 66, 78, 81, 85, 86, 87, 90, 262,
264, 265, 266, 274, 410
- Litomyšl 66, 67, 99, 135, 180, 294, 308, 337, 354,
358, 367, 368, 371, 429, 434, 435, 436
- liturgical singing 275, 277
- livros do povo (people's books) 444, 447
- Lobkowicz Library (Lobkowiczská kni-
hovna) 96, 98
- Lomnický z Budče, Šimon 38, 62–67, 76, 103–109
- Lotman, Yuri 256, 262, 264, 265
- love 71, 117, 123, 158, 188, 198, 199, 200, 203, 204,
206, 215, 260, 274, 282, 337, 347, 389, 417, 419,
429, 430, 431, 436, 447, 453
- lover 182, 199, 200, 206, 282, 417, 430, 431
- Łuczowski, Jan 413
- Ługowska, Jolanta 213, 218, 219, 221
- Luiz do Nascimento, Raimundo (Raimundo
Santa Helena) 460
- Lutherans 62, 175, 177, 191, 192, 276, 309, 314,
321, 322, 425, 426, 427
- Lýsek, František 291, 296
- Madonna 71
 Madonna of Częstochowa 429, 430
 Madonna of Frýdek 186
 Madonna of Mariazell 182
 Madonna of Vranov 178, 181, 186, 188, 190
- Majland (Milan) 217, 220, 223, 229
- majuscules 354–57, 361, 364–71
- Malura, Jan 44, 48, 80, 83, 88, 89, 106, 126, 176,
179, 183, 185, 262, 263, 265, 274, 276, 282, 290,
297, 429, 456
- Malý, František 278, 280, 281, 297
- MARC 140, 141, 145, 149
- Mariazell 44, 179, 180, 182, 183, 273, 281, 283,
297, 432, 434, 435, 436
- Marxism 408

- Mary 17, 44, 142, 167, 171, 177, 178–80, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 220, 259, 280, 281, 283, 290, 293–98, 320, 323, 337, 369, 415, 416, 423, 427, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 436
 Mary of Vranov 179, 183, 186
 materiality 48, 59, 147, 149, 256, 265, 410
 McIlvenna, Una 13, 158, 394
 melismatic singing 292
 metamorphosis 461
 micro-world 166
 Michálková, Věra 335
 Middle Ages 46, 48, 90, 175, 180, 206
 migration 53, 161, 280, 310, 442, 443, 454, 457, 458, 459, 461, 466
 Minims 178, 189, 192
 miracle 41, 42, 43, 47, 123
 modality 293
 modern Czech 338, 355, 365, 371
 money 39, 70, 169, 204, 205, 210, 216, 217, 220, 237, 245, 412, 415
 monophthongization 360
 monster 96, 219, 221, 360, 388, 389, 447, 459, 461
 morality 82, 162, 168, 418
 Moravia 24, 60, 93, 97, 121, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 178, 182, 186, 190, 222, 226, 262, 273, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 308, 311, 313, 320, 323, 354, 429, 431, 432
 south Moravia 84, 121, 176, 177
 east Moravia 282, 299, 317, 360
 north Moravia 360
 Moravian Library (Moravská zemská knihovna, MZK) 29, 44, 70, 136, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 160, 179
 Moravian Museum (Moravské zemské muzeum, MZM) 137, 160
 motherhood 207
 Mukařovský, Jan 122, 123, 124
 murders 50, 161, 163–66, 184, 204, 205, 209, 211, 233, 236–47, 417, 420
 murder ballad (morytát) 41, 49, 125, 127, 158, 160, 162–70, 99, 204
 musical notation 36, 48, 52, 63, 65, 94, 238, 273, 279, 287, 306, 309, 313–18, 395, 397
 musical style 291, 310
 Napoleon 121
 Nebeker, Eric 389
 Nigrin, Jiří (Černý) 96, 97
 Nora, Pierre 187, 247
 Novotný, Miloslav 84, 99, 120, 121, 124
 Nyrkowski, Stanisław 408, 411, 413
 Olomouc 66, 84, 97, 122, 135, 308, 337, 354, 358, 366, 367, 369, 429, 434–36
 Ong, Walter J. 257, 258, 260, 262
 Optát z Telče, Beneš 339, 340, 341, 355, 356
 orality 35, 36, 51, 234, 236, 257–63, 265, 272, 274, 289, 445
 Orel, František/ Orzeł, Franciszek 403, 425, 426, 427, 433
 organ 261, 273, 279
 ornaments 34, 52, 60, 65, 70, 388, 392, 397
 orphans 170, 190, 200, 208, 209, 246
 orthography 52, 63, 68, 69, 141, 353–57, 360, 363, 365, 370
 Brethren orthography 355
 printers orthography 355, 362
 Ostrava 125, 179, 429
 Ostrov 236, 240, 242, 245
 Ottoman Empire 99, 107
 painter 217, 220, 223, 447
 Palma Močidlanský, Sixt 105, 107
 Palmer, Megan E. 394
 paper 16, 23, 31, 34, 43, 52, 59, 60, 76, 81, 94, 101, 139, 146, 147, 149, 218, 384, 391, 392, 394, 397, 404, 412, 427, 443, 452, 453
 paper's format 59
 paraphrase 169, 272, 278, 281, 282
 parents 103, 198, 199, 200, 227, 246, 278, 387, 417
 peleja 448
 Pepys, Samuel 381, 387, 389, 391, 393, 394, 396, 397, 398
 performance:40, 81, 84, 133, 134, 247, 279, 289, 290, 293, 299, 412, 414
 peritexts 65, 69
 perpetrators 162, 163, 165, 167, 168, 170, 186, 199, 237, 240, 244
 Petřtyl, Josef 15, 28, 398
 phonological changes 335–39
 pictures 35, 81, 84, 182, 198, 209, 387, 414
 devotional pictures for swallowing 218
 holy pictures 77, 411, 415
 narrative 35
 píseň jarmočná 406
 píseň letáková 81, 307
 píseň púťová 307
 pieśń brukowa 406, 408
 pieśń jarmarczna 405, 409
 pieśń kramarska 405, 407
 pieśń podwórkowa 406, 408
 pieśń uliczna 406
 pilgrims 16, 45, 53, 119, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182, 184, 187–92, 275, 291, 296, 404, 415, 425, 428, 430, 431, 432, 437, 449
 pilgrimage 16, 34, 38, 39, 44, 46, 61, 78, 88, 89, 176, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 263, 266, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281, 289, 293, 294, 295, 296, 299, 311, 312, 325, 404, 415, 420, 431
 pilgrimage site 16, 27, 37, 45, 50, 51, 53, 78, 79, 118, 119, 139, 175–80, 183–89, 192, 208,

- 236, 243, 262, 263, 273, 281, 308, 309, 319,
320, 323, 404, 411, 415, 425, 427, 428, 429,
430, 431, 432, 435, 436, 437, 449, 454, 471
pilgrimage song 16, 37, 50, 51, 87, 88, 176,
177, 179, 183, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 259,
263, 275, 277, 278, 282, 283, 290, 291, 296,
297, 298, 300, 307, 320, 409, 416, 425, 427,
428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 437
plague 102, 178, 182, 385
Poláček, Jan 291
Poland 22, 52, 81, 93, 133, 273, 298, 403, 404,
405, 407, 410, 413, 414, 416, 419, 420, 423, 424,
425, 426, 427, 437
Lesser Poland 425, 426, 427
Popiełuszko, Jerzy 420
popular culture 27, 35, 43, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85,
86, 87, 89, 116, 213, 383, 442, 449, 451, 454,
455
popular literature 97, 157, 158, 176, 192, 235,
247, 411
Porák, Jaroslav 339, 340, 342, 354, 356, 360
Považie 317
Prague 38, 60, 63, 72, 84, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99,
102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 118, 132, 133, 134,
135, 136, 137, 145, 186, 200, 208, 209
prayers 28, 37, 41, 77, 89, 99, 135, 136, 137, 167,
169, 170, 177, 179, 183, 186, 217, 220, 221, 259,
260, 414, 415, 416, 418, 425
prayer books 67, 89, 266, 309, 411, 425, 427,
467
pregnancy 176
pre-White Mountain era 77, 83, 85
printers 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34, 35,
37, 38, 39, 40, 48, 52, 53, 60, 61, 63, 67, 69, 70,
71, 72, 73, 78, 89, 96, 97, 102, 103, 106, 138, 139,
141, 145, 147, 180, 218, 256, 278, 307, 308, 309,
316, 317, 318, 335, 336, 355, 356, 360, 361, 362,
363, 364, 367, 370, 386, 387, 388, 390, 391,
392, 393, 403, 404, 411, 416, 418, 445
printing houses 15, 24, 51, 60, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69,
70, 72, 73, 77, 101, 138, 160, 161, 263, 305, 306,
307, 308, 309, 317, 320, 322, 325, 354, 361, 410,
411, 419, 424, 427, 428, 432, 433, 434, 435,
436, 437, 449, 450, 451
printing blocks 66, 69, 70, 71, 144
printing sheets 23, 33
Prochaska, Karol / Procházka, Karel 403, 424,
425, 426, 427, 433
professions 118, 158, 191, 412
promoting 50, 176
propaganda 82, 83, 84, 99, 107, 235, 418
Protestants 105
prosthesis 341, 342
Prussia 93, 125, 405
Přerov 214
publishers 4, 23, 25, 35, 40, 53, 63, 67, 72, 89,
138, 141, 180, 235, 256, 257, 259, 275, 290, 386,
388, 390, 391, 392, 403, 404, 409, 410, 411, 412,
416, 418, 419, 428, 437, 446, 449, 450, 452
publishing companies 410, 419
punctuation 354, 364, 368
punishment 49, 50, 97, 101, 157, 158, 160,
161–65, 168, 169, 170, 171, 208, 213, 216, 220,
225, 226, 227, 228
divine punishment
quarto 15, 23, 60, 62, 94, 95, 96, 102, 103, 105,
106, 410, 453
Ratajczak, Tomasz 408, 409
recipients 40, 50, 85, 160, 161, 162, 163, 169, 170,
171, 209, 258, 411, 414, 415, 418
Reiche, Herman 414
Renaissance 80
revolutions 83, 84, 442, 457
French Revolution 61
“Glorious Revolution”: 394
Revolutions of 1848: 75, 84
Velvet Revolution 44
rhyme 38, 124, 336, 343, 345, 346, 384, 385,
391, 447
rhythm 279, 282, 291, 292, 293, 297, 299, 386
Rio de Janeiro 447, 450, 453, 457, 461, 462
rituals 99, 106, 179, 191, 199, 202, 220, 228, 279,
289, 416, 431, 456,
robbers 165
robbery 164, 245
Rollins, Hyder E. 391, 392
Roman letters 357
romance 43, 411, 444, 445, 446, 453
romanceiro popular nordestino 443
rose 281, 296, 297, 368, 381, 394, 434, 435
Roud, Steve 36, 60, 89, 96,
Roudnice 96
rural areas 78, 80, 85, 296, 312, 317, 443, 454,
456,
Russia 405
sad story 412
Santos dos, Idelete Muzart-Fonseca 445
Santos dos, Manoel Camilo 460
São Paulo 450, 457–462
São Sarué 447, 457, 460
Sardinia 223
Satan 215, 217, 219, 228; *see* devil
Saxony 93
Sedláčanský, Daniel 96,
Sehnal, Jiří 271, 276, 282, 292, 295, 310
sellers 15, 25, 27, 28, 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 89, 102,
138, 145, 214, 274, 307, 318, 391, 398, 412–414,
449, 459
semi-folk literature 86, 119, 123–125, 437
sertão 385, 446, 447, 454, 457, 458, 460, 461,
463
sertanejos 449, 450, 457, 458
sextodecimo 15, 16, 22, 25, 30, 31–33, 34,
59–62, 65–69, 76–79, 94, 101–103, 108, 109,
141, 307, 391, 398, 404, 410

- Scheybal, Josef V. 33, 38, 39, 46, 47, 61, 70, 124, 160, 235
 Schumann (Šuman), Jan 96
 Schwabacher 22, 141, 363, 370
 sheet 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 47, 52, 53, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 73, 76, 94, 101, 102, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 181, 214, 272, 276, 288, 307, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 387, 388, 390, 391, 392, 394, 396, 397, 398, 404, 411, 415, 443, 452, 453
 double sided printing sheet 26–28, 32, 307, 391, 397, 398, 410, 443, 452
 printed sheet 16, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 61, 76, 102, 141, 379, 397, 410, 443, 452, 453
 printing sheet 23, 33
 Silesia 24, 44, 93, 125, 133, 134, 136, 137, 274, 290, 291, 293, 295–297, 299, 423–429, 431–433, 437
 Silva, Minelvino Francisco 460
 singers 39–41, 46, 61, 81, 218, 222, 226, 241, 257, 277–280, 291, 406, 408, 411, 412, 413, 419, 430, 448
 singing practices 314
 Skalica 81, 306–309, 313, 320, 324, 434
 Sládek, Miloš 126
 Slavický, Tomáš 51, 126, 176, 274, 289, 296, 299, 300
 Slovak language 51, 81, 305, 306, 311, 317–319, 321, 325
 Slovakia 22, 81, 294, 295, 298, 307–309, 311–314, 316, 317, 319, 320, 322–325, 423, 429
 Smetana, Robert 47, 80, 82, 86, 87, 120–122, 140, 160, 234, 241, 289
 Smith, Bruce R. 380, 381, 385, 398
 Soares, José 459
 Sobieski, Jan II Kingwa 418
 Sokolski, Jacek 409
 songs 59–73, 75, 76, 77, 80, 81–89, 94, 99–109, 271–83, 287–300
 about saints 62, 82, 118, 126, 320, 411, 425, 427
 folk song 26, 35, 44, 49, 75, 84, 86–90, 116, 117, 119, 120, 133, 134, 140, 148, 241, 278, 283, 287, 291–293, 295, 324, 325, 407, 420, 426, 431, 445
 news song 40, 100, 107, 124, 138, 183, 186, 219, 275, 405, 406, 409
 religious 16, 36, 40, 44, 51, 62, 63, 76, 77, 88, 89, 102, 109, 118, 121, 123, 125, 138, 257, 263, 264, 273, 275, 276, 279, 287, 289, 290, 295–297, 299, 305, 306, 309–314, 317–320, 321, 415, 426, 427, 429, 431, 433
 secular 15, 16, 71, 138, 159, 275, 278, 282, 292, 295, 337, 425, 429
 song culture 48, 75, 86, 89, 90, 116, 289, 295, 300, 310
 Lenten song 320, 323, 325
 soul 209–211, 216, 219, 228, 282, 417
 spinsters 201
 spoken language 335, 336, 340, 343, 345–349, 356, 360, 389
 St. Adalbert (Czech) 319
 St. Anne 320, 324, 435
 St. Anthony of Padua 281, 297, 298
 St. Barbara 64, 66, 67, 215, 347,
 St. Catherine 281, 313,
 St. Francis 320
 St. John of Nepomuk 17, 88, 208, 277, 283, 290, 305, 320, 324
 St. Mary Magdalene 281, 320, 322, 387, 393
 St. Wenceslas 339, 340–342
 standard language 135, 355
 standard form of the Slovak language 311, 317, 318
 strata 90, 158, 265, 266
 agricultural 84, 456
 less privileged 178, 296
 less educated 161, 236, 296
 social 158
 unprivileged 192
 suffixes 339, 340, 342–344, 346, 347, 414, 417, 418, 447, 451, 460
 suicides 199, 200, 417
 Sušil, František 87, 88, 272, 283, 292, 293, 294, 297
 Svatá Hora 142, 184, 208, 281
 Svatojánský kancionál 277
 syllabic singing 292
 Swedes 178, 191, 192
 Szturcová, Monika 45, 52, 82, 83, 180, 404
 Šimeček, Zdeněk 107, 259, 261, 263, 266
 Šimečková, Marta 336, 339–342
 Škarka, Antonín 107
 Škarničl family 306, 313, 308, 309, 318, 325
 Škarpová, Marie 13, 125, 276, 310, 322
 špalíčky (blocks) 16, 17, 22, 25, 28–30, 34, 37, 62, 67, 78, 90, 135–139, 145–149, 176, 214, 260, 398, 415
 Táborský, Jan z Ahornperka 102
 terrible story 71, 216, 222–223, 225,
 Teschen 424; *see* Těšín, Cieszyn
 Těšín 180, 274, 423, 424–427, 429, 433, 434–437; *see* Cieszyn, Teschen
 Tichá, Zdeňka 105, 225
 title pages 35, 60, 65–67, 69–73, 95, 96–99, 102, 103, 108, 126, 134, 141, 143, 144, 240, 258, 260, 265, 298, 307, 312, 313, 315, 387, 394, 443
 topoi 158, 168, 169, 170, 262
 transgressives 343, 346, 347
 Trávníček, František 259, 261, 263, 266
 tune imprint 17, 23, 36, 48, 63, 65, 69, 71, 72, 76, 85, 94, 121, 124, 133, 149, 180, 271, 272, 275, 280, 282, 284, 290, 292, 294, 366
 Turks 47, 98, 99–101, 107, 121, 178, 191, 192, 418,
 United States 116, 140, 143, 317, 446
 Unity of the Brethren 276, 339, 355, 362

- Unity of the Luleč Brethren 276
 Utraquist (Church) 103, 276, 362; *see*
 Hussitism
 Václavek, Bedřich 50, 80, 86, 87, 120–122, 124,
 140, 160, 241, 289,
 Václavkova Olomouc 122
 Vajckorns 236, 237, 239, 242, 244–247
 Valda, Burian 96
 Van Dülmen, Richard 168, 208
 Vašica, Josef 121, 122, 215
 Veleslavin's language 335
 Vetterl, Karel 86, 88, 135, 143, 296, 297
 victims 165, 166, 170, 207, 209, 211, 221, 224,
 236, 237, 239, 240, 244–46, 417
 villages 7, 85, 86, 177, 227, 236, 240, 242–244,
 283, 314, 315, 320, 383, 388, 410, 411, 419, 442
 Vindiš 216, 223, 225
 Virgin Mary 44, 171, 206, 207, 208, 211, 220,
 259, 283, 290, 293–97, 320, 337, 415, 416, 425,
 427, 430, 432
 Virgin Mary of Boleslav 281
 Virgin Mary of Calvary 430, 432, 434
 Virgin Mary of Frýdek 186, 281, 297, 298
 Virgin Mary of Karlov 186
 Virgin Mary of Křtiny 182, 281, 320
 Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora 142, 281
 Virgin Mary of Tuřany 281
 Virgin Mary of Vranov 175, 177, 179, 183, 186;
 see Mary of Vranov, Madonna of Vranov
 Virgin Mary of Žarošice 262, 294, 495
 Vobr, Jaroslav 69, 137, 138
 Voit, Petr 24, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 47, 95,
 126, 158, 362–364
 Volkslied in Österreich 133, 137, 143
 vowel raising 335, 342
 Vrádište 313
 Vranov 50, 175–192, 281
 Waliński, Michał 409
 Wasylewski, Stanisław 412, 413
 war 21, 23, 43, 47, 77, 99, 101, 107, 108, 158, 182,
 246, 417, 418, 419
 Cold War 465
 English civil war 383, 384
 First World War (Great War) 134, 418, 419,
 424, 427
 Napoleonic wars 121
 Silesian wars 125
 Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) 23, 47, 63,
 77, 107, 178, 185
 Turkish war 98, 101, 107, 121
 war over the Falkland Islands 444,
 World War I 418
 World War II 44, 179, 419
 Watt, Tessa 382, 386
 Wawrzkievicz, Natalia and Piotr 405, 407
 Weingart, Miloš 334
 widows 60, 190, 200, 201, 207–209, 389, 390
 Wieczorkiewicz, Bronisław 419
 Wittke, Václav 118, 119, 199, 201, 216, 217
 wives 105, 106, 164, 178, 200, 202–205, 206,
 208, 216, 220, 236, 242, 244, 382, 389, 417
 women 39, 50, 71, 96, 141, 167, 170, 171, 176, 186,
 197, 198, 200, 202–211, 216, 226, 246, 297, 344,
 382, 412, 418, 434, 435, 456, 458,
 noblewomen 104
 woodcuts 34, 35, 43, 52, 66, 69–73, 94, 95, 97,
 102, 103, 120, 143, 144, 181, 182, 203, 218, 307,
 379, 387, 391, 392–394, 397, 410, 444, 447,
 452, 454,
 workers 84, 386, 410
 Wycliffe, John 47
 Xavier, Arnaldo 449
 Zawadzki, Konrad 407
 Zíbrt, Čeněk 84, 118, 283
 Zittau 216
 Zvonař, Josef Leopold 282, 283
 Žarošice 262, 294, 432, 435

Czech Broadside Ballads as Text, Art, Song in Popular Culture, c.1600–1900 makes a major contribution to the burgeoning field of broadside ballad study by investigating the hitherto unexplored treasure trove of over 100,000 Central/Eastern European broadside ballads of the Czech Republic, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Viewing Czech broadside ballads from an interdisciplinary perspective, we see them as unique and regional cultural phenomena: from their production and collecting processes to their musicology, linguistics, preservation, and more. At the same time, as contributors note, when viewed within a larger perspective—extending one’s gaze to take in ballad production in bordering lands (esp. Poland, and Slovakia) and as far northwest as Britain to as far southwest as Brazil—we discover an international phenomenon at work. Czech printed ballads, we see, participated in a thriving popular culture of broadside ballads that spoke through text, art, and song to varied interests of the masses, especially the poor, worldwide.

Patricia Fumerton is Distinguished Professor of English at the University of California, Santa Barbara, California, and Director of the English Broadside Ballad Archive. She has edited nine collections of essays, and authored three monographs.

Pavel Kosek is Full Professor of Czech Language at the Department of Czech Language, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic. He has co-edited four critical editions, three collections of essays, and authored two books.

Marie Hanzelková is Assistant Professor at the Department of Czech Literature, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech. She has published several articles about Czech hymn-books from the sixteenth century and about Czech broadside ballads.

AUP.nl

