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"Zdravljica" – toast to a cosmopolitan nation anthem quality in the Slovenian context

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As with many states, in the case of Slovenia two songs principally contend for the position of national anthem. In this case an apparent ideological gulf masks perhaps a more essential temperamental divide: the bellicose army song versus the happy drinking "all together … " number. Vacillation between "Zdravljica" ("A Toast") and "Naprej zastava slave," ("Forward, Flag of Glory") might be taken as reflecting the ambivalence with regard to potentially hostile others one reads attributed to Jesus Christ in the gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke: *who's not with me is against me/ who's not against me is with me*. The 1989 adoption of "Zdravljica" (lyrics courtesy of Slovenia's national poet France Prešeren) is strongly suggestive of an outward looking state, one hoping for a place in a cosmopolitan Europe. "Naprej zastava slave" has remained the anthem of the Slovenian army and so is far from being discarded for the purpose of asserting Slovenian national aspirations. Perhaps retaining it in this minor role has been necessary because "Zdravljica" is a song which – at least as it is presently sung – de-emphasises national aspiration to a degree unusual for the anthem genre. In a crossroads of Europe dominated historically by the national (or imperial) aspirations of larger and more powerful political entities, "Zdravljica" is a song which tests the limits of what an anthem can be by holding out a hope of rising above the national.

Keywords: Slovenia; Balkans; nationalism; identity; anthem

On 27 September 1989, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (a federal unit of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), passed amendment XII to its Constitution, proclaiming the poem "Zdravljica" (A Toast) by the Slovene poet France Prešeren, the anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. This amendment replaced clause 10 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia of 1974 which asserted that the Republic had an anthem without specifying what that anthem was (Pavlović 1990, 209). The wording of the anthem – the seventh stanza of the poem – was further determined by the law on the anthem passed on 29 March 1990 (Božić 2010).

Historically, two songs have contended for the position of national anthem in the case of Slovenia. An apparent ideological gulf masks perhaps a more essential temperamental divide: the bellicose army song versus the happy drinking "all together … " number. Vacillation between "Zdravljica" ("A Toast") and "Naprej zastava slave" ("Forward, Flag of

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Glory") might be taken as reflecting the ambivalence with regard to potentially hostile others one reads attributed to Jesus Christ in the gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke: *who's not with me is against me/who's not against me is with me*. The 1989 adoption of "Zdravljica" (lyrics courtesy of Slovenia's national poet France Prešeren) is strongly suggestive of an outward looking state, one hoping for a place in a cosmopolitan Europe. In a crossroads of Europe dominated historically by the national (or imperial) aspirations of larger and more powerful political entities, "Zdravljica" is a song which tests the limits of what an anthem can be by holding out a hope of rising above the national. "Naprej zastava slave" is a nationalist song exhorting the young to fight and shed blood for the just cause; it has remained the anthem of the Slovenian army and so is far from being discarded for the purpose of asserting Slovenian national aspirations. In contrast, "Zdravljica" is a song which – at least as it is presently sung – de-emphasises national aspiration to a degree unusual for the anthem genre. In the last few years, its lack of national sentiment and aspiration has come under criticism both from public intellectuals and politicians. As we shall show below, a variety of national/nationalist additions have been suggested to the present lyrics of the anthem while some traditionalists argue for its replacement with the "Naprej zastave slave."

In this paper, we shall explore the historical origins and possible interpretations of and the current debates regarding both "Zdravljica" and "Naprej zastave slave." The complete lyrics of the present Slovenian national anthem are what was the seventh stanza of France Prešerens famous mid-nineteenth century paean to drink. This is a self-congratulatory anthem,[1] although one of a special kind. The seventh stanza celebrates the affection of the singers for other nations – a cosmopolitan feeling of a kind – without naming the singers or even the state/country they come from. In this sense, the unnamed singers are congratulating themselves on sharing cosmopolitan sentiments towards non-singers – potentially everyone else in the world. This sentiment appears to be unique among state or national anthems (although we may argue that this is precisely the intention behind the European Union's (EU) use of Beethoven's "Ode to Joy," in which the ideas of Schiller's absent lyrics must be taken as implied). Prešeren's poem as a whole, as we shall see, has a couple of "fighting" stanzas which are not included into the official anthem verse. In contrast, its predecessor "Forward the Flag of Slava/Glory," as its title already indicates, is a marching or fighting song and so one of the most bellicose of European anthems. It is this shift from a bellicose fighting song to a peace-loving and cosmopolitan anthem that makes the Slovene anthem of particular interest for any inquiry into the dynamics of national anthems and national identity construction.

A new anthem as a prelude to independence

The adoption of "A Toast" as the Slovenia national anthem was, one can argue, a prelude to Slovenia's independence in 1991. But before the song was proclaimed the national anthem, it was popularized as pop song by an alternative rock band *Lačni Franz* (Hungry Franz). Its television and video rendition of the song in 1987 made it into a parody of a national song ("Zdravljica – Lačni Franz in prijatelji" 1987). In 1989 "A Toast" was thus transformed from a rock band parody into a genuine article – a national anthem; the rock band version as an anthem-parody was thus a prelude to its career as Slovenia's national anthem. This, as we shall see, is not the only extraordinary aspect of this anthem.

The amendment XII which introduced the new anthem of Slovenia was one of 60 constitutional amendments that entrenched the supremacy of Slovenia's laws and state organs over the federal laws and federal organs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

(SFRY) and removed the word "Socialist" from the name of the Republic (the SFRY was still "socialist"). The amendments – and the new anthem – thus initiated the process of secession of Slovenia from the SFRY. These constitutional changes were carried out by the League of Communists of Slovenia (the Communist Party of Slovenia) which at the time still had a complete monopoly of power in Slovenia. But in January 1990 that same party left the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at its extraordinary congress in Belgrade and changed its name to the "League of Communists of Slovenia – the Party of Democratic Reform." The party, while still in power in Slovenia, abandoned not only the SFRY but also Marxism and opted for the European Community (EC) as the only future for Slovenia. In spite of the change of name and policies, in April 1990 it lost the first post-1945 multi-party parliamentary elections to the coalition of anti-communist parties called " DEMOS;" its candidate Milan Kučan, however, won the presidency of Slovenia. Under the DEMOS government, on 25 June 1991 Slovenia, in a coordinated action with Croatia, unilaterally declared independence from the SFRY. This was followed by a 10 day war with the Yugoslav People's Army, the federal military forces stationed in Slovenia, which was ended by the intervention of the EC. Following an EC negotiated moratorium, Slovenia reiterated its declaration of independence in October 1991 and applied for recognition by the EC. In January 1992 the EC member states recognized its independence, followed by the USA and others (Pavković 2000).

On 23 December 1991, under its first non-communist government since 1945, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia passed a new constitution which, in its article 6, defined the coat of arms, the flag and proclaimed, once again, "Zdravljica" to be the anthem of Slovenia. The article did not specify which, if any, stanza/s of this long poem were selected for the task of being the anthem. It was a different government that on 22 October 1994 passed the Law on the Coat of Arms, Flag and the Anthem of the Republic of Slovenia; in its article 5 the Law proclaimed the seventh stanza of the "Zdravljica" to be the anthem of the republic with the music score of Stanko Premel (Ministry of Public Administration 2003). As we shall see below, the absence of the stanza specification in the constitution had led to public controversy as to what the anthem actually contained or should contain.

The origins: a drinking song of a romantic poet

France Prešeren is Slovenia's key contribution to Romanticism and to Europe's dawning age of national aspiration; this at a time when his homeland, divided into three different provinces, was part of the Habsburg Empire with its capital in Vienna. Prešeren's place as Slovenia's national poet is undisputed and his statue, at the square named after him, at the center of Ljubljana could easily be argued to be the focal point of Slovenian life and culture.

Prešeren was born on 3 December 1800 in the village of Vrba in the province of Kranjska (Carniola) in a well-to-do family of farmers. This enabled him to go to the Gymnasium in Ljubljana (Laibach) and then to study first philosophy and then law in Vienna where he became acquainted with modern Romantic poetry as well as the West European poetic cannon. Renaissance poetry, in particular that of Petrarch, was a major influence on his work. Upon gaining a doctorate in law in 1828 he returned to Ljubljana. Because of his free-thinking outlook and his free-thinking acquaintances he was not given the license to practice as an independent lawyer-advocate until 1846. In 1833 in an exclusive social club in Ljubljana he met a high society lady for whom he developed a life-long but unrequited love. She was the inspiration for his first masterpiece the

Wreath of Sonnets (Sonetni venec) which she did not like much. This work was closely followed by the *The Sonnets of Misfortune* (Sonetje nesreče) both published in 1834. The two cycles of sonnets as well his epic *Baptism on the Savica* (Krst pri Savici) published in 1835 are now acknowledged to be unsurpassed masterpieces of Slovene poetry. In 1836 he started a stormy *de facto* relationship with a seamstress Ana Jelovšek with whom he then had three children (Paljetak 1982).

Prešeren's composition of the poem "Zdravljica" (A Toast) in 1844 foreshadows the coming elevation of Slovenian pan-Slavic sentiment into a national program. In 1844 such sentiments were anathema to the cultural and political hegemony that the Austrian-based Habsburg dynasty imposed on the many peoples of its empire and which, at the time, was enforced through press censorship. Prešeren agreed to omit the third stanza from the original version of "Zdravljica" to be published in his 1847 collection *Poezije dr. Franceta Prešerna* (The Poems of Dr France Prešeren), thinking in this way to save the rest of the poem. That stanza contains the poem's most strident pan-Slavic sentiment, invoking the deity to break those chains binding Slovenes and inhibiting the freedom of the Slovene people. The Habsburg censor in Vienna then objected to the somewhat milder fourth stanza, suggesting that a more honorable outcome would be obtained if Slav children were able to get along "hand in hand." Believing the poem mutilated with the omission of both stanzas Prešeren went ahead and published his collection *Poezije* without "Zdravljica." Following the revolutions in the Habsburg Empire (and throughout Europe) and the forced resignation of the pillar of the absolutist state, Count Metternich, the poem in its entirety was first published on 26 April 1848 in the newly established newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice (Farmer and craftsmen news)*. But only a few months later a lifetime of drinking would catch up with the poet; in February 1849 he died in Kranj from alcohol-induced liver disease. At the time he was a practicing lawyer-advocate, the profession from which he was excluded until 1846 (Paljetak 1982).

"Zdravljica" is a "budnica," a poem of national awakening. As in the case of its Croatian counterpart, "Horvatska domovina" ("The Croat Homeland)," it aims to awaken the standard national sentiments of its readers or its audience by lifting their self-esteem and instilling a pride in their nation, its history, its members (of both sexes!) and their achievements.

Here is the "Zdravljica" in its present-day literary variant and standard orthography,[2] translated by the authors.

Prijatlji! Odrodile so trte vince nam sladkó, ki nam oživlja žile, srce razjásni in oko, ki utopi vse skrbi, v potrtih prsih up budi!	Friends, again the vines bore well! Let sweet wine liven our veins And clear our hearts and eyes, Drown cares. Let it waken the hopes In sad breasts.
Komú narpred veselo zdravljico, bratje! čmo zapét"! Bog našo nam deželo, Bog živi ves slovenski svet, brate vse, kar nas je sinov sloveče matere!	To whom shall we raise joyfully the first toast? To whom shall we, brothers, sing first? God let our land live! God let the the whole Slovene world live! We are all brothers as we are sons All of a Slav mother.
V sovražnike "z oblakov rodú naj naš"ga treši gróm; prost, ko je bil očakov,	Let lightning out of clouds strike down All our people's foes. Let the home of the Slovenes be as free

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naprej naj bo Slovencov dom; naj zdrobé njih roké si spone, ki jih še težé!	As once it was for our fathers. God break the chains That still them hold fast.
Edinost, sreča, sprava k nam naj nazaj se vrnejo; otrók, kar ima Slava, vsi naj si v róke sežejo, de oblast in z njo čast, ko préd, spet naša boste last!	Let unity, happiness, harmony come back to us. Let all children of Slavdom go hand in hand So that power and with it Honour will be all ours as it was before.
Bog živi vas Slovenke, prelepe, žlahtne rožice; ni take je mladenke, ko naše je krvi dekle; naj sinóv zarod nov iz vas bo strah sovražnikov!	God, let your Slovene girls bloom More beautiful than precious roses. There are no maidens more comely than The girls of our blood. Let the sons you bear be the terror Of our enemies.
Mladenči, zdaj se pije zdravljica vaša, vi naš up; ljubezni domačije noben naj vam ne usmŕti strup; ker zdaj vas kakor nas, jo sŕčno bránit kliče čas!	And young men now, your toast is raised. There isn't a poison to kill Your love of country When the hour strikes, You and all of us so shall Defend the homeland With all our hearts.
Živé naj vsi naródi, *ki hrepené dočakat dan,* *ko, koder sonce hodi,* *prepir iz svéta bo pregnan,* *ko rojak* *prost bo vsak,* *ne vrag, le sosed bo mejak!*	*Long live all folk everywhere who long to see the day* *When wherever sun may roam* *Strife holds none under its sway.* *Then all people* *everywhere* *will be free,* *Not enemies but dear neighbors.*
Nazadnje še, prijatlji, kozarce zase vzdignimo, ki smo zato se zbratli, ker dobro v srcu mislimo; dókaj dni naj živí vsak, kar nas dobrih je ljudi!	At last friends shall we lift a glass Each to toast us now as brothers? Good in our hearts let it long live! Long live who think aright![3]

With or without the accompanying tune, "Zdravljica" is a drinking song, written by a drinker and for the benefit of others who will imbibe. This does not, in any way, impede its potential national awakening role. And it is foremost a poem for heterosexual males who are drinking together (the "brothers" of the third and of the final stanzas, those who collectively admire the comely maidens of the fifth stanza). The poem's sentiments are mixed, mercurial, as those of drinkers and drunks often are. Or, one might say that there is a rambling distractedness, true to genre in these lyrics. To gloss them in their spirit, so to say, the idea is more or less this:

> Let's drink up, forget your cares/don't be sad. Drink to whom? To us of course! We're Slovenes. Let lightning strike anyone who gives us trouble. Let's be free, as our ancestors were. Let's all love each other and live in peace; that way there'll be honor. And our girls

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our matchless! And their sons will be brave! Young men – you'll defend the land! We're all brothers. Let's have a drink!

As is common in the case of anthems, reference to events or situations is suitably vague and open to interpretation. Thus an archetypal *gravitas* is assured. Yet one might well ask when it was the land was free for our fathers. Prešeren's *Baptism on the Savica* (1835) suggests, indirectly, an answer by referring to the mists of the eighth century Slovene past when

Blood flows like a river flows
A Slovene is here killing a Slovene, a brother
How horrible is human blindness?[4]

The narrative of this poem is placed in the aftermath of the battles between Slovene warlords as well as between Slovene warlords and German (Bavarian) invaders around the Castle of Ajdovac in 772 CE (Paljetak 1982, 349). Although these battles and defeats are thought to mark the end of indigenous Slovene religion and the advent of victorious Christianity brought by the German invaders, this poem does not paint the pre-Christian (and pre-eighth century) Slovene past as that of glorious freedom. The quasi-historical setting of the poem provides only a framework for a tragic and very personal story of unconsumed love and self-sacrifice – the central themes of much of Prešeren's lyrics.

And yet the idea in "Zdravljica" of a glorious past of freedom to hark back to conforms closely to the expectations of the anthem genre in general and to the optimistic and/or patriotic phase of the drinker's enthusiasms: both require of time memorialized that it be a past of glory and of freedom absent in the present. National awakening poems – and anthems – are often demands, framed in a poetic language, for a variety of devoutly wished abstractions – freedom, honor, power or glory – from the past the becoming nation seeks to embody. The past thus offers a ready-made and universal backing for those often urgent demands: the singers' ancestors rightfully possessed all or any of those things – in the present poem, they possessed freedom, honor and power – and in virtue of the previous possession, the singers deserve or have a rightful claim to the same.

Considering the poem all in all, compared with canonic anthems of the Western world, one is impressed with the range of tone and mood in "Zdravljica." There are lyrical and bellicose passages, there is admiration of beauty both of the season in the vines and of Slovenian womanhood. There are sad thoughts to put aside, there is the image of enemies vanquished. There is the promise of neighborly fellowship (as modeled by the circumstances in which the song is ideally sung). No matter your mood or politics on the day, there is something for every Slovene in here, but especially for the male of drinking age. At every turn and for every purpose, there is an inducement to drink. Indeed, one is tempted to draw an analogy between the stages of drunkenness and the moods of the nation as portrayed in the song. It should be noted that this observation would be true of these lyrics' reference to any nation in the modern European sense, because with very little substitution of phrases this is a song that could be sung by drinking age males of just about any European country with a few grapes to harvest. Nor would Stanko Premrl's tune be out of place elsewhere. This is of course true of many anthems (lyrics and melodies/arrangements). Witness the pan-European popularity of "God Save the King" and its many variants such as prayer-for-the king anthems in Serbia, Montenegro, and in Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this poem we find no prayer for a monarch or for its monarchical domain; and for a good reason – the Slovenes were, in 1844, under the rule of the Habsburg Emperor (who was also a King of Hungary), subject to Austrian cultural and political hegemony; and some Slovenes were, like the poet himself, excluded for political reasons from the profession for which they were qualified; hence, they felt no urge to pray for "their" monarch or for any other.

Nevertheless, as noted above, like many marching and fighting anthems, "Zdravljica" makes an appropriate call upon the martial valor of its readers or drinkers-in-common: first, in the fifth stanza, the sons whom the blooming and matchless maidens are to bear, are called upon to strike terror in the enemies of Slovenes. And then in the sixth stanza it is explained how or rather when the young ones will have do so – when the hour strikes, they will be called upon to defend their home – their homeland. There is a suggestion of inevitability there: that the homeland will have to be fought for some time in the future. Compared to many fighting anthems – in particular, the Slovene anthem "Forward the Flag of Slava/Glory" which preceded this one and which will be discussed next – this is all very mild: there is no mention of death or blood of one's enemies or of one's martyrs.[5] More importantly, there is no call to hate – instead the dominant sentiment of the sixth stanza is that of joyful hope and trust in the love of the youth for their homeland – the love which will motivate them to defend it. The sentiments of hope and love are those that dominate the whole poem – even the calls for martial valor are enveloped in this warmth of feeling. In this respect the elements of fighting or marching anthems are here rather subdued by the joy and universal affection that this drinking song exudes.

As a drinking song, "Zdravljica" is a rare anthem brimming with the joy of apparently border-less feeling of fellowship. What makes "Zdravljica" decisively different from any other anthem is that the final stanzas essentially contain no national sentiment at all; rather they are transcendent of the national world view. It is of further interest that the most cosmopolitan stanza in the song, the seventh, is the one the Slovenian government, in 1990, chose alone to be the lyrics of the national anthem. One may be tempted along these lines to see the singing of "Zdravljica" as something in the light of a parody of national sentiment. And yet one may be sure both that Prešeren's intention was sincere (sincerely patriotic in its way) and that those who sing the song today do so to sincerely express their devotion to Slovenia as the sovereign state in Europe which it has become.

Every anthem is an address to (or display for) others and at once it is a self-address, an expression of solidarity among those who sing together. In the case of "Zdravljica" the address of the seventh stanza, chosen by the government to constitute the anthem's lyrics, is clearly to the world beyond Slovenia's borders. To those beyond the now national frontier, the friendly invitation is to imbibe; inwardly though one acknowledges that the "we" of the poem, the collective persona self-addressed by those singing, is the male of drinking age and inclination. This is not to say that others might not wish to join in; rather that the act of drinking in convivial celebratory mode suggests in outline an essentially patriarchal rite of self-recognition. So the becoming nation defines itself, perhaps not *as*, but from the point of view *of* those who drink. Its outward address to whomever may listen suggests a friendly overture: *the thing we could do together, friend, is to drink*, rather than perhaps, to fight.

Thus Slovenia's anthem (in its current version) appeals to the universality of sentiments implying the participation of national entities in a cheerful *cosmopolis* – a *glocality* of neighbors and friends. One might well speculate that Slovenia's anthem thus transforms the anthem's usual object of national devotion – the clearly bounded nation state – into a diffuse feeling of universal solidarity with national subjects in general. The synecdoche implied suggests drinkers gathered convivially under vines are the model of good international relations. In this manner, Slovenian nationhood (brotherhood among nations) is implied by a particular proven facility for brotherhood – the capacity to imbibe. Through these rhetorical means one might claim that, in "Zdravljica," the object of Slovenian national devotion is nationhood in general. The objective of the song thus becomes acceptance of Slovenia as brother nation among neighbors.

Drinkers of the world unite – or not?

This drinking context – its call to imbibe together – in view of some traditionally minded Slovenes, makes the whole poem a rather unsuitable source for the Slovene national anthem, a text which notionally might be expected to project more dignity and – perhaps – more bellicosity. Accordingly, these traditionally minded Slovenes prefer its predecessor "Forward the Flag of Slava/Glory" to be discussed below.[6] Others, however, find objectionable not its drinking context or content but the "internationalism" of the seventh stanza. Thus Boris Pahor, a prominent Slovene writer and public intellectual,[7] recently said that "we have an anthem which makes no mention of Slovenes and that is absurd." He also proposed that the new anthem should combine the lines of the second stanza:

> God let our land live!
> God let the whole Slovene world live!
> We are all brothers as we are sons
> All of a Slav mother.

with the seventh stanza (Božić 2010). In this way the anthem would include a mention of the Slovenes as well as the Slovene land. While Boris Pahor's proposal initiated a lively debate among lawyers, literary scholars and journalists, his proposal for the change of text appeared to generate little enthusiasm among his fellow intellectuals. There was more enthusiasm among some politicians, in particular the former prime minister Janez Janša who publicly backed Pahor's proposal (Škrinjar 2012) but failed, when in power, to change the relevant law on anthems. However, during his premiership in 2012, at the official celebrations of the independence day, four stanzas of the anthem were sung instead of only the seventh. The coalition government led by the Positive Slovenia (Pozitivna Slovenija) party, which replaced Janša's government in February 2013 – as well as the current Slovenian president Borut Pahor – are committed to observing the law on the anthem currently in force and thus to the singing of only the seventh stanza (Škrinjar 2013). In spite of this, the debate on the anthem – as well as other state symbols – is, at the time of writing, continuing on the pages of the leading daily *Delo* (Švagelj 2013); it is impossible to say, at this time, whether the debate will eventually end with legislative changes in the text of the anthem.

While demands for a "Slovenization" or "nationalization" of so cosmopolitan an anthem are perhaps only to be expected, one still wonders why these demands for a change of the anthem came two decades after its unanimous acceptance in the national assembly and among the population at large. Why did not the intellectuals and politicians[8] proposing to nationalize the anthem in 2011, propose to nationalize it in the early 1990s when the anthem was first introduced? The whole "nationalization" debate concerning the national insignia and the anthem, it has been suggested, may be a diversionary ploy by politicians aiming to deflect attention from a deteriorating economic and financial situation in Slovenia and their own responsibility for it (Božić 2013; Škrinjar 2012). In the gestation period of the early 1990s, the Slovenian nation faced the paradox that its best chance of coming into being was through coming into Europe and that maneuvre was best made by at least appearing to eschew a normatively nationalist agenda. Saving the nation meant, in that context, foregoing some of the rhetorical paraphernalia of nationhood. In the world of the Global Financial Crisis and beyond, those who govern in the Euro's nether regions save their political bacon by saving what may be salvaged of national pride and self-assertion. Nationalism and "nationalization" of political agenda are old and well-tested political diversionary ploys and the cosmopolitanism of Slovenia's current anthem may, indeed, become yet another of its victims.

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From a pan-Slav fighting song to the anthem of the Armed Forces of Slovenia

"Naprej zastava Slave" ("Forward the Flag of Glory/Slava") is a song which would have, in 1860, overtly suggested the unison of males of drinking age; the song was originally a call to the Slavs – only males of course – to go to battle and to then to let their rifles "speak." Its connection with the male drinking extends even further to the moment of conception: as we shall see, its music score was conceived in one Vienna tavern and then completed in another one. But today, in 2013, it is no longer a song of males for males only – it no longer suggests drinking either but rather only fighting. It is the anthem of the Slovenian Armed Forces (Slovenska vojska) which, like all armies of the member states of NATO, is composed both of male and female soldiers.

The text of the anthem was written by a 25-year-old poet Simon Jenko who studied philosophy, economics and then law in Vienna. In Vienna Simon became a member of the first non-German singing society – the Slovene Singing Society (Slovensko pevsko društvo) – founded in 1859 by his namesake and compatriot Davorin Jenko, a law student with a love for performing music. According to an early source (Pirnat 1915), in early 1860 Simon gave Davorin, who was the choirmaster of the Society, the lyrics of the poem (initially entitled only "Naprej!" (Forward!), hoping Davorin would compose an appropriate score for it. Davorin found no inspiration for the music until on 16 May 1860 when, in the Viennese tavern near the University, he read an article in the principal Viennese daily, *Die Presse,* which called the Slovene language "incomprehensible stuttering" (Bric 2010). This disgusted him so much that the tune of the future anthem started coming to him by itself, and so he went to another tavern in Prater called "Zum Hirschen" and there put the melody and the text on paper (Pirnat 1915).[9] The song became very popular among Slav students in Vienna and at its first public performance by the Slovene Singing Society on 22 October 1860 it was met with rapturous jubilation and acclamation. Thus was born the principal national song of the Slovenes which, while sung on any variety of solemn occasions, received its official status as an anthem only in the anthem of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes established after the defeat and dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. The composite anthem of the Kingdom, contained the stanzas from the Serbian royal anthem "The God of Justice," the Croatian "Our Beautiful Homeland" and the Slovene "Forward the Flag of Glory" and was the state anthem of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia until the overthrow of the monarchy by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1945.

We have no records of the circumstances under which Simon Jenko conceived and wrote the text of the anthem; knowing more of these circumstances would have perhaps explained its blood curdling rhetoric. Simon Jenko wrote many other patriotic and satirical verses – none of which seemed to be so bellicose as these – as well as satirical stories, and died in 1869, aged 34, in Kranj. Like Prešeren before him, in his last years he practiced law in Kranj.

Having passed his law exams in 1861, Davorin chose a career as a choirmaster first in Pančevo a town in Austria-Hungary predominantly populated by Serbs, and then moved to the capital of Serbia where he was, until the his retirement in 1903, the chief conductor and composer at the National Theatre in Belgrade. In Serbia his musical compositions and endeavors were highly valued and he was showered with medals and high honors. It was there that he composed the music for the song "The God of Justice" (Bože pravde) in the musical "Marko's Sabre" (1872) which later became the Serbian royal and state anthem – and the current anthem of the Republic of Serbia.

Davorin Jenko must be rated a highly successful composer in the history of anthem music: in the nineteenth century he composed the music score for two different songs which then became anthems of two different states and which still, in the twenty-first

century, do the same job. When composing the music he could have had no idea of these songs were going to be pressed into the service of anthemhood. He later contributed to the transformation of his original score for the curtain-song of the musical "Marko's Sabre" into the royal Serbian anthem in 1882. But having died in 1914 in Ljubljana (then in the Habsburg Empire), he could not have anticipated that only four years later his "Forward the flag of Slava/Glory" would become part of the anthem of the Kingdom of the South Slavs and then, 80 years later, the anthem of the armed forces of his homeland, the independent state of Slovenia.

"Naprej zastava Slave" is yet another "budnica" – a national awaking song. But in its call to battle and for the spilling of blood, it belongs to the fighting songs; in this respect, it deserves its label "the Slovene Marseillaise." Its marching qualities could not pass unnoticed: its translation in English, published privately in London in 1885, carried the title:

> Naprei Zastava Slavé! [With Slava's Banner, Forwards!] the Slovenian National March, Or Patriotic Chant of the Slovenes, the South-Slavonic People of the Provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and Istria, &c., in the Austrian Empire.[10]

The title of the translation also suggests a particular interpretation of its first line which we shall discuss below.

Naprej zastava Slave,[11]	Forward!, flag of glory (or Slava),
na boj junaška kri	To battle, heroic blood!
za blagor očetnjave	For the benefice of the fatherland
naj puška govori!	Let the rifle speak!
Z orožjem in desnico,	With weapon and right hand
nesimo vragu grom,	Let's bring thunder to the devil
zapisat v kri pravico,	Let's write in blood the justice
ki terja jo naš dom.	Owed to our home.
Naprej zastava Slave,	Forward!, flag of glory (Slava),
na boj junaška kri,	To battle, heroic blood!
za blagor očetnjave	For the benefice of the fatherland
naj puška govori!	Let the rifle speak!
Draga mati je prosila,	My dear mother begged,
roke okol vrata vila,	hands clutched round my neck,
je plakala moja mila,	my dearest one she wept,
tu ostani ljubi moj!	remain here, my beloved!
Zbogom mati, ljuba zdrava,	Farewell mother, hale and loved
mati mi je očetnjava,	the Fatherland is my Mother
ljuba moja čast in slava,	honor and glory are my beloved,
hajdmo, hajdmo, zanjo v boj!	Let's go! Let's go! to battle for her!
Naprej zastava Slave,	Forward!, flag of glory (or of Slava),
na boj junaška kri,	To battle, heroic blood!
za blagor očetnjave	For the benefice of the fatherland
naj puška govori!	Let the rifle speak!
Naprej! Naprej!	Forward! Forward!

The song, without any reference to drinking and toasting, offers a much simpler tale than "Zdravljica." It seems to say

> Let us – we, the heroes – go to battle and there let, for the good of our fatherland, our rifles rattle in their own way. In this way, with blood, we shall achieve justice that is due to our homeland. Our dear mother begged us, the heroes, to stay away but we said to her (and to all of you

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listening): our Fatherland is our mother, honor and glory are what we love. Let us go to battle and get this bloody business done.

There are three interlinked claims made here: that justice for our homeland can be achieved only through blood spilling, that all the objects of affection of the singer-heroes are focused on the fatherland and [its?] honor and glory, and that, therefore, we, the heroes, will achieve justice with our weapons (rifles). These lyrics comprise a set of highly uncompromising and dogmatic statements both from an ethical and from emotional point of view. Yet all three assertions suffer from ambiguities which serve anthem-purposes very well indeed because they make this song re-usable on any occasion that gives specific content or grounds for these claims.

It is unclear what kind of injustice needs to be remedied here at all. Any justice that the singers can think of at the time of singing? This makes the song suitable to confront any grievance that the singers may think of.

Further, if the Slovene "*slave*" in the first line is understood to mean "glory" it is unclear what is the fatherland or homeland that is here spoken of. The only indication of what the fatherland is provided by the story of Davorin Janko's composition of the music. That story makes clear that the fatherland is not Austria or the Habsburg Empire: that this is not a fighting song for the Habsburgs or for Austria. The song is in Slovene – what but who, in 1860, were the Slovenes? The English translation of the title gives us their geographical and ethnic location which, in 1860, would be unknown to an average English-language reader: "the South-Slavonic People of the Provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and Istria, &c in the Austrian Empire."

So why do the Slovene people of these provinces have to remedy the injustice by spilling the blood of their enemies? And who are their enemies?

This last question appears to be the key one, to which even the story of Davorin's composition of the music cannot provide a persuasive answer. Are the enemies those who say that Slovene is "an incomprehensive stuttering?" Are these the German-speaking Austrians? And does their blood have to spilt in order for this – and similar insults – to be remedied or removed?

Perhaps to the Slav student-singers in Vienna raising all these questions would seem superfluous and pointless. "Forward to battle, heroic blood" – the spilling of blood is, here at least, an end in itself. How better could the failure of language (or the possibility of negotiation) be expressed than by the imperative, "Let the rifle speak!" One would be tempted to ask, "why bother singing at all?" but then one realizes that it is only through words (or the tune connoting them) that the injunction can be conveyed. So words foreshadow, perhaps invoke, the failure of words. The urging of violence in the national cause suggests that any argument or any conversation is pointless: *forget argument, let the guns do the talking*. If the enemy is literally demonized ("bring thunder to the devil") then what questions can there be? These lyrics reveal the flip-side of the boosterism seen in so many national anthems. Instead of the self-congratulatory solipsism of the group's self-praise, here we have exoneration of the impulse to violence against enemies who must be stopped before they destroy us: for the sake of justice thunder must be brought to the devil. In either case the logic is, of necessity, tautological.

Beyond pure bellicosity, perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the song is the role of the mother in it, the gendered conviction of the story. In "Zdravljica" women are beautiful objects symbolic of the nation's beauty, they are what is worth (if need be) defending; in "Naprej zastava slave" motherhood is a restraint to just martyrdom and – heart wrenching as is this necessity – the mother must be cast aside in order to get on with the blood spilling

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– *that* is what the nation business is apparently all about. Somehow, paradoxically however, one feels it is all being done for mother.

The anthems of South Eastern Europe abound in images of and references to mothers and motherhood. This rejection of the mother in favor of the fatherland is unusual. Two state anthems of regional significance which *do not* contain any representation of mother or motherhood – the prayer-anthem of Serbia and the marching anthem of post-1945 Yugoslavia, "Hey Slavs." The original text of Mihanović's "Horvatska domovina" (The Croatian Homeland)" and the original text of the Macedonian "Denes nad Makedonija" "(Today over Macedonia)" contain very similar images of mother – as mothers grieving for their lost sons (fighters who lost their lives in the struggle for freedom and rights). In both the Croatian and Macedonian lyrics the grieving mothers are being consoled for their loss, by appeal to the heroism and the just cause for which their sons perished. Interestingly, these references to the grieving mothers – a standard anthemic device – were later removed from the text of the official anthems. In Bosnia and Herzegovina's first anthem "One and Only One" (Jedna si jedina) and in Montenegro's "Hail the Splendid Dawn of May" (O svijetla majska zoro), the homeland of the singers is equated with their mother: this is yet another staple anthemic device. The Serbian "The God of Justice" is the prayer for a king (not a queen) and then for the collective nation and has little if any room for that well-tried maternal task – grieving over the fallen sons, the heroes. And "Hey Slavs" (the anthem of the SFRY) is a call to defend first the language and then the spirit of the *grandfathers* and this leaves no room for mothers. In all this, "Forward the Flag of Glory" stands alone in rejecting the restraints that mothers – and beloved women in general – put on males bent on heroic acts, for the sake of fatherland, honor and glory, all rather masculine values.

Which cause does the song advance? Glory or Slavdom or … .?

Whether the song should be read as the single-minded pursuit of glory through battle depends on how one reads the first line of the song. The first English translators read "slava" in the first line with the capital "S" as a proper name – and so did, perhaps more surprisingly, the learned contributor to the official journal of the Slovenian Armed Forces (Bric 2010). The first publication of the poem in the *Slovenski glasnik* in 1860, had "slave" but then when the poem/song was published the next time in *Pesmarica*, edited by R. Razlog, in 1863, this word was printed as "Slave" (Jenko 1964, 254–256). If you take "Slava" to be a proper name, then it is the proper name of the mother of all Slavs, allegedly a divinity of the pre-Christian Slav religion, one of the divinities with whom the "Parun" of the original of "Hey Slavs" refers. According to this interpretation, the first line should read "Forward the flag of Slava"; and on this interpretation, the first line – and the whole song – should be read as advancing the flag and the cause of *Slavdom,* of all Slavs and not only Slovenes (who are in this poem not named at all).

Although this interpretation of the first line is far from being universally accepted, it would explain why the song had been so popular among other Slav students and intellectuals in Vienna – in particular, Croats, Czechs and Bulgarians (Pirnat 1915). This was a fighting song of justice-seeking Slavs – or at least of some of the unemployed and resentful youthful and Slavic-speaking intelligentsia in Vienna. The justice they were seeking was justice based on the recognition of equality – primarily of their cultural equality – with the Austrian Germans. It was a *cri de coeur* of the marginalized Slav intelligentsia and a "cri" that took a particularly blood-thirsty expression which now we find difficult to understand. All the scholarly as well as media commentators on this song fail to address a rather

obvious if only a hypothetical question: why did these highly educated Slavs in 1860s Vienna cry for blood and battle?

One thing however is certain: unlike "La Marseillaise," "Forward the flag of glory" Slava was not meant as a war song or a song of armed insurrection. There is no evidence – not even a suggestion – that any of the singing Slav students were at the time even dreaming of, let alone planning, an insurrection. And after the revolutions of 1848, the Slav peoples, including the Slovenes, of the Habsburg monarchy never rose in armed insurrection against their Habsburg rulers.

The first time that the song was used in war was during the Nazi occupation of the country (1941–1945). This was a song that the Communist-led Partisan resistance forces sung and broadcast from 1942 onwards to mobilize resistance against the German occupation and their local collaborators in Slovenia. The local collaborators – the Slovene Home Guard (domobranci) – appear to have sung the song as well (Pavlović 1990, 209). In view of the ambiguity of its text and fighting/stirring qualities of its music, this is not surprising at all. Apparently in 1866 even the Prussian orchestras played this melody and in 1876 it was also played at the entry of the Russian troops in the major Bulgarian towns during the Russo-Turkish war (Pavlović 1990, 207).

Following the Communist victory in Yugoslavia in 1945, "Forward the flag of glory" (not of Slava!) became the unofficial anthem of the People's (later Socialist) Republic of Slovenia, a unit in the Communist-ruled federation. While its use was not prescribed by law, it was used at state and celebratory occasions, usually following the equally unofficial state anthem of Yugoslavia, "Hey Slavs" (Pavlović 1990, 209). And as in 1989 the League Communists of Slovenia started the process of separation from the federation and the campaign for its "return" to Europe, the unofficial anthem was replaced by the official one – "Zdravljica" – which in its seventh stanza focuses on affection towards one's neighbors – in Slovenia's case Austrians, Hungarians and Italians as well as Croats. There was no call for blood of any kind and no mention of foes. But the unofficial and bellicose anthem was not, however, totally discarded: already on 2 June 1991 "Forward the flag of glory/Slava" became, as part of the Rules of the Territorial Defense forces of Slovenia, the official anthem of this armed force (originally a second-tier defense force of the federal units of SFRY) which would be soon transformed into the Slovenian Armed Forces (Slovenska vojska): the Slovene recruits and soldiers thus had an anthem to sing when taking the oath of service or, if necessary, in battle.[12]

And the battle, albeit a short one, came soon – on 24 June 1991 – when these Slovene forces blockaded the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army (the federal military) stationed in Slovenia (Janša 1994). There is no record of the song being sung during the sporadic fighting in the next 10 days (in this war the Slovene territorial defense force lost less than 10 of its soldiers). But if it was, this was the last time that the song was sung in battle.

As of 2013, Slovenia, a member of NATO and the EU, is facing no threats and has, strictly speaking, no enemies. What role does such a bellicose anthem have now? An answer to this question is found in the official journal of the Slovenian Armed Forces:

> At this moment the song "Forward the flag of Slava!" possibly appears to many people too belligerent and pan-Slavic but without any doubt with its stirring and patriotic charge it had, during a century and a half, an important mobilizing and national awakening role. It was an obligatory part of the patriotic struggle of the Slovenes to maintain our identity, language and culture through the most difficult ordeals. (Bric 2010, 27)[13]

The anthem may thus appear a worthy and important relic of past struggles while still retaining the potential for "mobilizing and national awakening" in any future struggle that the Slovenes may face.

Two faces of Slovene national identity

Among national anthems, "Zdravljica" is also something of an enigma, as the most cosmopolitan and at once the most libidinous of anthems. First, in this (perhaps the first) postmodern anthem we read a rejection of the project of modernity and concomitantly a rejection of commitment to the notion of nation per se. It is of great interest that the lyrics for an anthem performing such paradoxical functions should date from the golden age of nascent European nationalism. Nationhood within Europe is the convenient means for the Slovenian people to be themselves and enjoy their best prospects as such.

But then this is a song lauding the consumption of a drug as the means of evincing a particular and desirable form of solidarity, that associated with the Slovenian nation-in-prospect. Here we perhaps find yet another rejection of the project of modernity which seeks to find rational grounds for national solidarity. Needless to say the national anthem of Jamaica is not – nor is it likely ever to be – some "easy skankin" number by Bob Marley and the Wailers. Yet Slovenia's anthem is sung to encourage the other nations of Europe to sit and imbibe (at least metaphorically) with the Slovenians. This encouragement, in effect, had a rather pragmatic aim – to suggest that Slovenia, as an independent state, is a convivial and thus a good candidate for joining the European club of nation-states, the EC. The intention, conscious or otherwise, behind installing and retaining "Zdravljica" is one we might describe as pragmatic. The adopting of a drinker's putative anti-anthem as anthem demonstrates a libidinous pragmatism, a stance that one could argue is well suited to the aspirations of Slovenia.

This is of course not to suggest that Prešeren was in any way a pragmatist; certainly he was libidinously adept. In writing "Zdravljica," Prešeren intended to write a drinking song imbued, as it is, with a strong national sentiment. But the poem and its national sentiment have a cosmopolitan quality which we may associate with the European pan-nationalism of 1848; this quality is to become a new kind of national capital to be exploited, in new and unexpected ways, 140 years later. National (and poetic) aspirations of the time aside, there is no reason to suppose that Prešeren believed he was writing a poem that would one day become the national anthem of a sovereign state to be called Slovenia. In this sense, he could not have imagined that in writing his drinking song he was creating a political – and not only a cultural – asset that could be exploited in the process of gaining the independence for the homeland which, at the time of *his* writing, had no set boundaries or even clear aspirations for of self-government.

But from the perspective of the late 1980s it is not difficult to see why "Zdravljica" should have been chosen as the face to show the world just at the moment when the only desirable foreign policy goal of the emerging sovereign state was to join the then EC (now the EU).[14] In fact, there was no more suitable song to suggest or express this desire, either in Slovene literature or in the literature of any other South Slavic peoples.

Given its cosmopolitan and anti-national spirit, one may yet ask whether this song can indeed function as a national anthem, an anthem of and for a nation which needs to set itself apart from its neighboring nations and other more distant friendly nations. Its functioning of the poem-as-anthem, we shall argue below, is assisted by the anthem-like parts of the poem omitted from the song as officially sung (at least at the time of writing). If we consider which of Prešeren's words are in and which words are out of the anthem as officially sung, one will easily see that the more bellicose parts have been omitted. The anthem as presented to the world is, in English, in its official translation, as follows:

God's blessing on all nations,
Who long and work for that bright day,

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When o'er earth's habitations
No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
Who long to see
That all men free,
No more shall foes, but neighbors be.

The fighting words and the words suggesting the exclusive qualities of those singing are not in the official song; they will nevertheless be in the minds of those singing. That is because this poem – at the core of the Prešeren's canon – is one that all Slovenian schoolchildren would have had to commit to memory, during their schooling, at any time since the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia) in 1918. If an anthem simultaneously represents a people-as-nation to itself and to the world at large, then sentiment thus expressed and understood within the family of that nation is likely to differ in some degree from that which the outsider will perceive. In this case we can see that there is a subtext to that manner of representation, one which will operate largely at an unconscious level for the subject-in-unison. In "Zdravljica" the call for sacrifice precedes what is sung as the anthem and all those singing would have this in mind. As we have already noted, the call to arms in the poem (in the italics below) follows the praise of Slovene maidenhood. Here it is again this time in the official government translation:

God, let Slovene girls bloom
More beautiful than precious roses.
There are no maidens more comely.
Sons you bear will be the terror
Of our enemies.

And young men now, your toast is raised.
There isn't a poison to kill
Your love of country
When the hour strikes,
You and all of us so shall
Defend the homeland
With all our hearts.

So, to sing "Zdravljica" is, in some degree, to concur with the ideas expressed in the above parts of the poem omitted from the official anthem. One might also contend that it is to participate in a covert rite of exclusion: *those only listening cannot know the whole of the story of what we are singing*. One might say then that, as a Slovene, singing "Zdravljica" one would feel significantly more proud or defiant in the national cause than one would appear to the average European subject attending to the song. This difference (and distance in understanding) in itself constitutes a kind of pragmatic solidarity. *We know who we are and what that entails but what advantage would there be in telling the whole of that story to the world?* There will be nothing atypical in this gap in understanding between the outside listener and the subject-in-unison to which the Slovenian anthem, seen in context, draws attention.

Why then was it so easy for Slovenes to express a cosmopolitan ethos through their anthem when all around them appeared mired in the need to assert (or re-assert) a narrowly national identity? The answer is in the Slovene consciousness of what lies "all around" Slovenia, particularly in the fact that Slovenia borders more with the rest of Europe (Italy, Austria and Hungary) than it does with the rest of the former Yugoslavia (Croatia). To the Slovenes looking in direction of Europe it was clear that exit to Europe from Yugoslavia

was the pragmatic – and perhaps the only effective – solution to the problems of geopolitical identity and integrity posed by the break-up of Yugoslavia. This observation is not intended to downplay Slovenia's role in bringing that break-up about; but it fits a long established pattern of pragmatism in those political maneuvers which might be deemed Slovene in origin. Should we then regard this Eurocentric pragmatism as a kind of Slovene exceptionalism among the former Yugoslav republics?

In conclusion, we may say that the uniqueness of Prešeren's poem cum song lyric is in encapsulating a Slovenian spirit of pragmatism in the geopolitical sphere. Pragmatically putting behind them the question of identity, in singing Prešeren's toast, Slovenes ironically position their national identity as other-than-national. In what might be thought a quest not to offend, they perhaps give the EU its least problematic (one might also say most politically correct) of anthems, one to which no other nation could possibly object. When one considers how problematic the idea of unisonance has been for Europe or at least the EU[15] one sees Prešeren's toast in the light of a helpful gesture to the EU from the enthusiastic newcomer.

A question as to sincerity arises where pragmatism is established as a motive. Yet it will be unfair to doubt the cosmopolitan (or at least pan-European) credentials of Slovenian national aspiration from 1990 to the present. The more recent demands to "nationalize" the anthem by adding an overt reference to the Slovenes and their land – which we mentioned above – only confirm that in Slovenia the anthem is still perceived as cosmopolitan – perhaps too cosmopolitan or too "internationalist" for some. Having joined the EU in 2004, the pragmatic motives (suggested above) for retaining a cosmopolitan anthem may indeed be behind the nation now doubting the value of the fold into which it struggled so long and hard to be accepted. One might go so far as to say that retaining such an anthem may today be seen as at least a partial denial of the pragmatism which was impetus for installing it in the first place.

The cosmopolitan anthem is not the only anthem in operation in Slovenia: its bellicose predecessor "Naprej zastave slave" has only been demoted to the more restricted and in some ways more appropriate function of the military anthem. Indeed, when comparing "Zdravljica" with "Naprej zastave slave," one cannot imagine two more opposite injunctions than those presented by these two successive anthems of Slovenia. The Slovenian state retains a use for each in much the same manner that the Doric and the Phrygian modes (the warlike and the peaceful), Plato tells us in the *Republic*, ought to be retained by the sensible state which has expelled or otherwise deterred its troublemaker poets (Plato 1952, 76). Just as "Zdravljica" reveals to us the evolving moods of the inebriated so these two songs together reveal the Janus-faced nation, masked for tragedy or comedy, equipped equally for war or for peace. These are the two aspects of the current Slovene national identity captured succinctly but accurately by these two national anthems.

Notes

1. For a discussion of various types of anthems, including the self-congratulatory and fighting ones, see Kelen and Pavković (2010).
2. From http://www.preseren.net/slo/3_poezije/13_zdravljica.asp, accessed August 4, 2010.
3. The following is officially recommended translation of the whole poem by Janko Lavrin found on the website of the Government of Slovenia. It is quite a free translation which seems to add words or phrases not found in the original.

   The vintage, friends, is over,
   And here sweet wine makes, once again,
   Sad eyes and hearts recover,
   Puts fire into every vein.

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Drowns dull care
Everywhere
And summons hope out of despair.

To whom with acclamation
And song shall we our first toast give?
God save our land and nation
And all Slovenes where'er they live,
Who own the same
Blood and name,
And who one glorious Mother claim.

Let thunder out of heaven
Strike down and smite our wanton foe!
Now, as it once had thriven,
May our dear realm in freedom grow.
May fall the last
Chains of the past
Which bind us still and hold us fast!

Let peace, glad conciliation,
Come back to us throughout the land!
Towards their destination
Let Slavs henceforth go hand-in-hand!
Thus again
Will honour reign
To justice pledged in our domain.

To you, our pride past measure,
Our girls! Your beauty, charm and grace!
There surely is no treasure
To equal maidens of such race.
Sons you'll bear,
Who will dare
Defy our foe no matter where.

Our hope now, our to-morrow –
The youths – we toast and toast with joy.
No poisonous blight or sorrow
Your love of homeland shall destroy.
With us indeed
You're called to heed
Its summons in this hour of need.

God's blessing on all nations,
Who long and work for that bright day,
When o'er earth's habitations
No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
Who long to see
That all men free

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No more shall foes, but neighbours be.

At last to our reunion –
To us the toast! Let it resound,
Since in this gay communion
By thoughts of brotherhood we're bound
May joyful cheer
Ne'er disappear
From all good hearts now gathered here.

Translated by Janko Lavrin

At www.vlada.si/en/about_slovenia/political_system/national_insignia/, accessed August 4, 2010.

4. *Krst na Savici*, Uvod. Translation by the authors. http://www.preseren.net/ang/3-1_poezije.asp, accessed July 17, 2013.
5. One of the leading scholars of Prešern, Boris Paternu, sees in "Zdravljica" a "Slovene Marseillaise' partly because of its occasional fighting tone directed against the enemies (Paternu 1977, 244). But in a more recent study another well-known scholar Kos (2007, 129–130) notes that in spite of the fighting tone Zdravljica appears to belong to a quite different kind of poetry from the "Marseillaise."
6. The anonymous author of "Zdravica ali Zdravljica" on the web site of the self-described nationalist and traditionalist association of societies Hervardi (n.d.). The site also reproduces several manuscript versions of "Zdravljica" arguing that the current version does not correspond to the original intentions of its author.
7. Born in 1913 in Trieste in a Slovene family Boris Pahor spent most of his life in the city teaching and writing in Slovene.
8. Janez Janša, who recently supported the changes in the text, was the minister of defense (1990–1994) in the government which passed the Constitution of 1991 and the Law on anthem of 1994. As minister of defense, he was responsible for establishing "Forward the Flag of Slava/Glory" as the anthem of the defense (later armed) forces of Slovenia.
9. This story about the composition of the anthem was possibly related by Davorin Janko himself.
10. The poem was the first literary text translated from Slovenian into English. For the circumstances of the translation, see Doborovoljec (1951).
11. The text and its translation from SPIN (accessed July 21, 2013). No name of the translator is given on the site.
12. The anthemhood of the song was confirmed by the government Decree on the Insignia of the Slovenian Army, article 6, promulgated in 1995 (Bric 2010, 27). See also http://flagspot.net/flags/si%5E.html, accessed July 21, 2013.
13. Translation by the authors.
14. A similar question was facing the president and government of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) upon its establishment in 1949: how to choose an anthem that would present in an acceptable way the new Germany to those outside of Germany? The Nazis used the first stanza of the nineteenth century national song – and later state anthem – *Deutschlandlied* – "Deutschland Über Alles." For that reason the first president of new Germany, Theodor Heuss, was very much against the use of this song. But its first Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer argued that choosing only one – third – stanza which was not used by the Nazis would be acceptable. The third stanza expresses universal as opposed to national values and this, he argued, would make the new Germany acceptable to its new friends and allies:

Unity and justice and freedom
For the German fatherland!
For these let us all strive
Brotherly with heart and hand!
Unity and justice and freedom
Are the pledge of fortune;
Flourish in this fortune's blessing,
Flourish, German fatherland!

Like *Zdravljica*'s seventh, *Deutschlandlied*'s third stanza sings of "brotherhood" – but here this is the brotherhood of Germans, not of all peoples. Although decidedly not cosmopolitan, the third stanza does express the (allegedly) universally desired (and politically correct) values – unity, justice and freedom. Chancellor Adenauer's choice of the third stanza presented the renewed Germany to the international audiences well and, as a traditional national anthem, was widely accepted among the Germans in the West – and later – in East Germany as well (Eyck 1995, 175). In a similar way, the choice of "Zdravljica"'s seventh stanza presented to the other states the new and soon-to-be-independent Slovenia as a friendly, convivial nation.

15. The EU's official anthem, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy," which is based on Friedrich Schiller's lyrics, is played without lyrics. See http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/index_en.htm. For a discussion of the problem of unisonance in the European Union and the "Ode to Joy," see Žižek (2007).

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