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School curriculum as a means of shaping national identity: music education in the Slovak region of Czechoslovakia in the interwar period (1918–1939)

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the Slovak music education curriculum of the ideologically and politically vibrant interwar period of the first Czechoslovak republic (1918–1939). It presents the outcomes of an analysis of primary sources made using grounded theory techniques. The analysis has led to a conceptualisation of the idea of the nation as it was introduced to Slovaks after the rise of the first Czechoslovak republic. The subsequent qualitative survey shows the percentage of the concepts in music education songbooks and textbooks used in Slovakia in the period 1918–1939. The study examines the possibilities of introducing and applying ideological contents into the process of education through school curricula which are not only a source of implicit social ideas, but may also become a platform for the actions of ideology, a means of embedding an ideological doctrine in the opinions and values of the actors in the educational process.

KEYWORDS

Curriculum; ideology; nation; music education; Czechoslovak republic; Slovakia

Introduction

Each human follows a complex of thoughts, which he or she considers a reality. Each human's reality is unique; however, there are certain stereotypes in peoples' thinking, which, in a process of exchanging ideas in social structures, become accepted. The ambition to investigate the models of people thinking in search for objective truth emerged at the dawn of nineteenth century in Destutt de Tracy's *Science des idées* (1800–1815). Ever since then, ideology as a synonym for the concept of a 'science of ideas' has been the subject of countless disputes, mostly due to its negative social and political implications and semantic ambiguity. However, surveys on history of the word and the phenomenon of ideology (Keneddy 1979; Gerring 1997; Knight 2006) enables us to detach historical connotations from the term and to formulate its core definition as a coherent and stable set of ideas, beliefs or values, through which a system – a single individual or a whole society – rationalises itself.

Between music and ideology, there is a significant parallel which, in the context of this paper, emerges as symptomatic. One can believe, from an individualistic perspective, in the

freedom of thought and thus in the ideological independence of one's judgement. Skipping obvious objections, it cannot be denied that music as an art is an expression and a product of individual human creativity. However, in her 2005 thesis on ideology in Croatian music curriculum, Maša Bogojeva-Magzan presents music from Alan Merriam's anthropological perspective as a reflection of a particular cultural context, carrying social and political implications which make it prone to becoming an ideological term (2005, 32). The ways in which music education (deliberately) preserves existing social differences by reproducing old patterns of evaluation, has been explained i.e. in Lucy's Green recognised investigation on ideology in music education (1990, 2003). Citing Kazadi wa Mukuna, Bogojeva-Magzan adds the important fact that songs provide freedom to express ideas that, as a result of the songs' expressive nature, would not be acceptable in a 'normal language situation' (2005, 34).

It is not exclusively the lyrics that allow music to become a means of ideological indoctrination. The psychology of music has shown that music doesn't only appeal to the human intellect, but also to human emotions. Whether trying to get out of bad mood, to raise alertness and energy level, or to reduce nervousness, tension or anxiety, music is used prominently as a method for mood regulation (Huron 2001, 58). The principle, according to Meyer (1961, 258), lies in the unconscious assignment of extra-musical meanings to certain musical organisation on the basis of its cultural standardisation, resulting – directly or by association – in mood changes. Accordingly, if a particular musical organisation effects one's mood correspondingly (depending on the cultural standardisation of musical meanings), it is logical to presume that collective musical activity will result in mood unification and thus in increased understanding and fellowship within a certain social group. This is what David Huron discusses in terms of *social cohesion* and, referring to Freeman's *Societies of Brains*, reveals the physiological reasons for this phenomenon. Huron states that the activities correlating with human and animal bonding are accompanied by the release of the hormone oxytocin. According to Freeman (Huron 2001, 57, 58), alongside situations such as child-birth or sexual orgasm, one of the activities that initiates oxytocin release is listening to music. In the context of the present study, it is important to mention that, in his conclusion, Huron states that the empathy and trust which collective musical activity enhances are accompanied by a unification of common interests and a defence against other human groups (2001, 59). In the context of Huron's investigation into ideology in music education, there are other significant points. One is his observation that there is 'no human culture known in modern times that did not, or does not, engage in recognisably musical activities' (2001, 49). Consequently, if we consider the possibility of music serving as a transgenerational communication channel, fixing and transferring information over long periods of time (Huron 2001, 47), we can conclude that questions about ideology in music education are of obvious importance.

The present study focuses on the Slovak music education curriculum of the first Czechoslovak republic (1918–1939). The content of the next section provides some historical context and outlines the perspectives of research on the interwar Slovak curriculum. Following that a section describes the data base and the research design. The third section focuses on a core category of *nation* and presents the categories of a different understanding of the core concept. Within these subcategories, we identify different levels of 'vehemence' (emphasis) indicated by the concepts in each of the subcategories, and we introduce these levels in the most significant categories in specific Slovak context. In addition, we mention the special category of religious content which permeates all of the components of framework developed.

Historical context

Raised in the spirit of the Wilsonian 'Fourteen Points' idealism at the end of World War I, after the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian dualistic monarchy, and disrupted by the consequences of Hitler's foreign politics in 1939, the Czechoslovak republic (1918–1939) was internationally recognised as the only European country in which a functioning parliamentary democracy persisted until the outbreak of World War II (Zacek 1969, 197; Skalník Leff 1997, 29; Tucker 2000, 91). However, the dynamic changes in the Western world during the first half of the twentieth century, in which the ideological programme of the republic was formed, along with the turbulent internal conditions, still carry certain controversies. In retrospect, the 'first republic' is both criticised and glorified for being centralistic, yet incorporating the ideals of democracy and citizenship, while trying to establish the model of civil nationalism based on the controversial unification of the Czech and Slovak nations.

By the end of World War I, Slovaks were the ethnic group inhabiting the northern part of the multi-ethnic, dualistic Austro-Hungarian Empire. According to Klobucký (2006, 343), the problem concerning the constitution of the Slovak nation at the turn of the twentieth century was, first of all, its marginal status in the stratified structure of the population. The weak national awareness of Slovaks was a result of the centralist policy of Hungary, peaking at the beginning of the twentieth century, directed at suppressing and persecuting any form of national emancipation. The cultural role models for the Slovak middle class were mostly the elite of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – Hungarian upper nobility. This led to the further voluntary Hungarianization of the Slovak population (Klobucký 2006, 341). At the end of the war, a solution was sought to overcome the assimilation of the Slovak nation into Hungary: The situation was to be solved by the union of the Slovaks with the neighbouring Czech nation.

Efforts to deepen Czecho-Slovak solidarity was the project of the Hlasists ideological movement (formed at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries around the newspaper Hlas [Voice]), which closely followed the national and cultural revival of the Slovak, especially rural, nation. The movement was based on the reformist theory of the future first president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, and several of its protagonists later became significant personalities in interwar public life. The Hlasist idea of Czecho-Slovak solidarity was understood as the cultural and economic convergence of the Czech and the Slovak nations (Klobucký 2006, 340).

The few members of the national intelligentsia perceived the birth of Czechoslovakia positively, as a step towards national emancipation. According to the Pittsburgh Agreement of 1918, which was designed to prevent the merger of the Slovak nation with Hungary, the idea of the union of the two nations depended on the federal arrangement of Czechoslovakia (Jašek 2014, 25). However, already in the Declaration of the Slovak Nation (1918), members of Slovak political parties declared that the Slovak nation was a linguistic as well as cultural-historical part of the homogeneous 'Czecho-Slovak nation', and in the Constitution Act No. 121/1920, they committed themselves to strengthening the union of the 'Czechoslovak nation'. The first paragraph of Act No. 122/1920 established the 'Czechoslovak language' as the official language (and one of the main attributes) of the nation, although, in reality, the Czechoslovak language did not exist. In practice, according to the Decree No. 3711, after the exclusive official term 'Czechoslovak language', the authorities, bodies and institutions and central management body of education had to indicate the phrases 'in Slovak wording', 'in

Czech wording', or 'in Slovak' or 'in Czech'. The idea of the Czecho-Slovak union thus extended beyond the political convergence of the nations, and raised a requirement for creating the ethnic myth of it being a shared, unified nation.

The formal unification of the Slovak and the Czech nation was far from universally popular. Although externally the sovereignty of the first Czechoslovak Republic was protected by international peace treaties, internally, and strengthened by the activities post-war Hungarian irredentist, it faced destruction. In the first days after the birth of the republic, direct legal action was taken to calm the situation in the Slovak territory. From a long-term perspective, however, the situation required a more sophisticated strategy which would lead to the participation of all the new state's citizens in building a solid, resistant state. For people inhabiting the region of Slovakia, it meant understanding the change that had occurred at a state level and accepting it as a privilege, and therefore identifying with the 'Czechoslovak' nation and contributing to its stability and development.

The government of Czechoslovakia was aware of the necessity for abrupt socio-political changes and, consequently, extended its agitation to various areas of public life (Benko 2009, 22, 23), including the field of education. Awakening and strengthening national awareness in the minds of the citizens of the first ČSR was to take place under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment (MEaNE). Free public courses in civic education contained specialised explanations of how the state functioned and of its citizens' rights and obligations, with the aim of creating a politically aware citizenship, loyal to the state (Kázmerová 2010). Education at the so-called national schools had to shape the would-be citizens, i.e. the pupils, in a similar way.

Research design and data base

The objective of our investigation was to develop a theoretical explanatory framework for the research problem of the impact of ideology on the content of the music education curriculum. To eliminate the intrusion of interpretational biases, the research was conducted through an analysis of primary sources, following principles of grounded theory qualitative research as interpreted by Corbin and Strauss (2015).

In interwar Czechoslovakia, compulsory education was provided by so-called national (rural) and civil (urban) schools. Teaching *song* (music education) was determined by the contents of the documents of the prescribed curriculum – school curricula for song/music education. Utilisation of the supplementary curriculum in the educational process was subject to approval according to special criteria under the supervision of the MEaNE (Kičková 2015). Schools were informed about the issuance and approval of the documents of the supplementary curriculum in journals published by bodies involved in educational management. According to these, ten new titles of songbooks, textbooks or their series were approved for music education at Slovak national schools between 1918 and 1938:

- three parts songbook *Spevník pre školy slovenské* [Songbook for Slovak Schools] by Sládek (1919a, 1919b, 1919c),
- songbook *Výber slovenských národných piesní pre dvojzpev, mužský a miešaný sbor* [Selection of Slovak National Songs for Two-Part Singing, Male and Mixed Choir] by Gallo (n.d. approved as teaching material in 1920),
- second, revised edition of three parts of the songbook *Naše spievanky* [Our Songs] by Emil Hula for rural, urban, lower high schools and paedagogia (1920–1921),

- textbook *Slovenské kvety* [Slovak Flowers] by Hula (1923a),
- songbook *Dvojhlasné piesne slovenské* [Two-Voices Slovak Songs] by Hanuš Svoboda (1923),
- three booklets of textbooks *Malá škola spevu* [A Little School of Song] by Mikuláš Moyzes for 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class of rural schools (1924),
- 4th edition of songbook *Venček slovenských národných piesní* by Ruppeldt (1927),
- eight booklets of textbooks *Našim deťom* [For Our Children] (1931–1935) with a teacher's book *Hudobná výchova spevom* [Music Education by Song] (1932) by Emil Hula,
- textbook *Učebnica spevu pre-1. Triedu škôl stredných a meštianskych* [Textbook of Songs for Class 1 of Secondary and Urban Schools] by Štika (1933), and
- songbook *Môj spevník. 120 kánonických piesní slovanských* [My Songbook. 120 Canonical Slavic Songs] by Valaštan-Dolinský (1934).

The content of supplementary curricular documents listed above covered 1137 songs which, for the purposes of our analysis, formed the closed basic data corpus and were coded as concept units. Most of them were traditional Slovak folk songs, including children songs, rhymes and games with themes from rural people's lives such as work, nature, seasons of the year and its rituals, traditions. From a didactic point of view, the traditional folk songs were regarded as ideal teaching material for their simplicity, clarity, expression, truthfulness, attractiveness and originality (Hula 1920d, 1923a, 141, 1932, 29). However, even an indifferent look into the content of the data corpus reveals that the music education curriculum acted as a medium for the realisation of the relationship of two phenomena: music education and ideology. Concerning the traditional folk songs, the authors of the interwar textbooks were using their potential for assisting the process of shaping national awareness. In 1920, the year when the first interwar Slovak music textbook was published, Emil Hula, its author and a prolific and influential Czech and Slovak music educator, stated:

We are constructing a new building of the Czechoslovak school. Rural and urban schools are the foundation of all education. Primarily, these have to fulfil their music education tasks better than they used to in the Hungarian schools where song, for easily understandable reasons, was more than just a Cinderella. (Hula 1920d, 9)

In the above citation, the collocation *Hungarian schools* acts as a synecdoche for Hungarian education. According to Klobucký (2006, 399), in the process of national emancipation, traditional songs could play the role of one of the nation's symbols. Prior to 1918, the teaching of them created conflict with official Hungarian education policy, which, according to Article XXVII of the Hungarian Act of 1907 ordered schools 'to instil in the hearts of the children a spirit of adherence to the Hungarian homeland and an awareness of belonging to the Hungarian nation'. After 1918, for these very reasons, the traditional songs of the Slovak people, also called *national songs* at the time, had a privileged place in the contents of Slovak school songbooks and textbooks of music education after 1918. Folk songs were to be one of the means of enlightenment for, 'lighting up the spark [of national awareness] in a massive bonfire' (Moyzes 1919, 3).

The idea of nation as a core category of curriculum analysis

Introduced to the important concept of consciousness-raising in relation to national awareness through music education, during the analysis, we initially focused on content which,

in some way, related to the idea of nation. The content coded under the core category of *Nation* in general was primarily the domain of so-called *patriotic*, or *hymnal songs*. Learning and singing these was directly prescribed by the song curricula in the 1920s. According to the curricula teaching Song was to 'revive patriotic feelings', especially by the singing of 'patriotic songs'. According to our further findings, such content was present in 171 songs, thus covering 15% of the data corpus.

Analysis of the themes in which the concept of nation was introduced, we detected certain categories. The core category of *Nation* consisted of different concepts, which were coded and categorised as concepts of:

- (a) *Nation in general* (4 songs; 0.35%),
- (b) *Slovak nation* (110 songs; 9.7%),
- (c) *Czech nation* (32 songs; 2.8%),
- (d) both *Czech and Slovak nation* in one unit – one song (4 songs; 0.35%),
- (e) *Czechoslovak nation/unity* (2 songs; 0.18%) and
- (f) *pan-Slavic solidarity and fellow nations* (19 songs, 1.7%).

The levels of representation of the idea of nation

In the next research phase, we observed the relationships between the concepts within different categories. During this process, we discovered that the strength of how the ideas of nation in each of the categories were introduced extended to several levels. The lowest level was covered by songs whose lyrics emphasised that the singer belonged to the Czech or Slovak nation, in some cases as a part of Slavic nations. This subcategory of (1) *Affiliation* was covered by 11 songs in the category of concepts of Slovak nation and by 5 songs in the category of concepts of Czech nation. 27 songs in total called attention to positive attributes of the Czech, Slovak and other Slavic lands and the people inhabiting these territories, by which it suggested a stereotyping (2) *Positive auto-image*. In 16 more cases, these attributes were special, exceptional and exclusive (3). In 35 cases, the songs helped to form the (4) *Negative hetero-image* of neighbouring nations, especially of Germans and Hungarians, by presenting the attributes of Czech (6 songs), Slovak (21 songs) or other Slavic (7 songs) nations in superposition to other nations and suggesting *the idea of an external enemy*. The next level of concepts indicated (5) *The need for defence of the country* (46 songs), while the songs on the most extreme level (54 songs) were encouraged their singers to (6) *The battle against the external enemy*. Next sections demonstrate how these levels were represented in the category of concepts of (B) *Slovak nation*.

The affilience to Slovak nation, its positive attributes and the importance of song

In the data corpus, in 11 cases (category B, level 1), the school children were reminded to be aware of being the members of the Slovak nation and, in 23 cases (category B, level 2), positive attributes were repeatedly assigned to the Slovak people and Slovak land, which resulted in the forming of an archetype of a Slovak – clever, brave, proud of his country, and loyal to his nation. Similarly, right from the beginning, folk songs were presented in the newly written Slovak teaching materials for Song as a phenomenon defining the people of the Slovak nation. In the introduction to the first part of his songbook for Slovak schools, *Spevník pre školy slovenské* [Songbook for Slovak Schools], Ferdinand Sládek wrote:

Slovaks are keen on singing. They get up singing, sweeten hard physical work with songs, and go to bed with a song. With songs, they express happiness but also sorrow and laments. ... Everybody likes such songs, everybody loves listening to them, everybody loves singing them. ... Dear Children, Folk songs are your invaluable heritage from your fathers. Sing them keenly and often. (1919a, 3)

Even according to Emil Hula, Slovak folk songs were the national pride of the Slovaks (1920c, 5). He began the introductory section *Prečo je vyučovanie spevu dôležité* [Why Teaching Song is Important] in his methodological supplement *Vyučovanie spevu dľa nových osnôv* [Teaching Song According to the New Curricula] of 1923, by citing a motto by Ján Kadavý entitled 'By Song to the nation's heart', and wrote:

It is important that the whole essence of school singing was, right from the beginning, filled with *national spirit*, so that pupils right from the first days of their education were submerged in their native musical language of beautiful national songs. Educating would-be citizens of the republic means instilling in them, besides other things, a solid and resilient awareness that they are active members of a national musical culture which is rightfully respected even by faraway countries. ... By song, we express our love for our homeland, our happiness as well as our sorrow, we sing the beauties of nature and its magnificence. (1923b, 7–9, *emphasis in original*)

The exceptionality of the Slovak nation and the idea of external enemy

The higher level of shaping Slovak national identity through the Song curriculum presented content emphasising the exceptionality of the Slovak nation with respect to other nations (12 songs in category 2, level 3). Concerning the importance of song, after 1918, teaching materials presented Slovaks as 'the most song-loving' of all nations.

Although every nation has its songs, songs can be heard elsewhere too, nowhere else are there so many of them, and they are not as beautiful as ours. Slovaks talk to the world through song, from generation to generation; their most fervent feelings, their sweetest creations of imagery, their whole mind, are embedded in their songs. All that has had a vivid influence on the spirit, got imprinted in these songs, which are the nation's words. (Hula 1923b, 135)

The lyrics of the songs such as *Ide kuruc* [The Kuruc Goes] illustrate another level of positive stereotype emphasising:

The Kuruc goes along the Danube, its sword sparkles, the German goes silently behind him, only shrugging his shoulders; the Hungarian goes by his side, wiping his moustache, the Slovak goes against him, the Kuruc has to run away. (Hula 1923a, 113)

The author added a note to the song: '... the song *Ide kuruc* [The Kuruc goes] is satirical in character; it highlights the historical courageousness of Slovaks against the cowardliness of Germans and Hungarians ...', from which it was evident that the positive attributes of the Slovak nation were emphasised, not only in comparison with other nations, but also at their expense. These songs (19 songs in category B, level 4) documented the frustrations of generations of Slovaks with the oppression, both national and social, that was inflicted upon them by the German and Hungarian nobilities and the Austro-Hungarian government.

The newly born Czechoslovakia was ethnically diverse. After the declaration of Czechoslovak sovereignty in 1918, the new teaching materials still contained songs such as *Hore Váhom* [Up the Váh] the with the lyrics 'Up the [river] Váh, down the [river] Váh, the rainbow drinks the water, whoever loves a Hungarian, may he be killed by lightning!' In the last verse of the song, the word 'Hungarian' is replaced by the word 'German' (Hula 1920b, 17). According to Zimmer (2013, 416), the feeling of threat to the sovereignty of the Slovak nation lingering on from the previous era of its history was enhanced by post-war tensions

between the patriotic nationalism of the successor states and the irredentist nationalism of the defeated states. Emil Hula presented a view that singing Slovak songs, and not only patriotic ones, would compensate for the negative influence of Hungarianization on Slovak national awareness. In his article on the inadequacy of qualified Slovak teachers (1921, 21) addressed to Czech teachers, he appealed: 'Commence the work immediately, the Hungarian Hydra has to be stopped also in music education, and as soon as possible!' Teaching materials with contents like that helped create an image of the Slovak nation suffering and oppressed by a common external enemy. Numerous examples of songs suggesting the idea of a common external enemy of the Slovak nation are found in songbooks *Výber slovenských národných piesní pre dvojspev, mužský i miešaný sbor* [Selection of Slovak National Songs for Two-Part Singing, Male and Mixed Choir] by Pavol Gallo (n.d., approved as a teaching resource in 1920), and in a songbook, of which the three pre-1918 editions written by Karol Ruppeld had been repeatedly confiscated by Hungarian authorities: *Venček slovenských národných piesní* [Garland of Slovak National Songs]. The *Garland* was republished by his author's son Miloš Ruppeldt and approved as a teaching resource in 1927. The attitude of Slovaks towards Hungarians in this period is illustrated by the song *Lietali havrani* [The Ravens Flew] (Moyzes 1919, 61) as an allegory of Slovak-Hungarian relations, or a song from the school songbook *Slovenské kvety* [Slovak Flowers] (Hula 1923a, 140):

Hey, do you, Hungarians, want our mountains and forests? But will you be able to take away the Slavic lands? The free Slavs had been enslaved for ages, the sturdy Slovaks had been tortured for a thousand years. That is why the loyal Tatrans [inhabitants of the Tatra mountain range] arose to defend their freedom, the Nitrans, Trenčans, Turčans [inhabitants of the Nitra, Trenčín and Turiec region, respectively] arose to eliminate the Hungarians. Hurray! Hail to the race, we have survived ill luck. Hurray! For the liberty of the Slovak nation!

From among the teaching materials of the interwar period meant for teaching Song at Slovak schools, the introductory chapter of František Suchý's *Cvičebnice spevu pre mešt. školy slovenské* [Exercise Book of Song for Slovak Urban Schools] (unapproved by the Ministry of Education, but still published in 1925) contains the most extreme chauvinism provoked by memories of previous national and social oppression; the author states:

For a thousand years, the Hungarians suffocated the spirits of the Slovaks, for a thousand years, they tore from the mouths of the Slovaks their mother tongue, first by force, and when they did not yield, then by promises, money, gifts, and yet still, the fury of the Barbarians was futile; the Slovak tongue lived on even in the worst oppression, and 'will live forever' ... And the Slovak proverb has put it aptly: 'Where there is a Slovak woman, there is song, where there is a Hungarian woman, there is anger, where there is a German woman, there is deceit, where there is a Gypsy woman, there is theft'. ... How much sorrow here over the hard fate of the poor serfs! How much patience and silent bearing of the heavy yoke here! How much cheerful hope here for the ultimate elimination of this inequality between the free lord and the unfree serf! ... The people were well aware that, without their work, even the highest lords would not be able to live on, and that, as the proverb goes, 'the world stands on the poor', because the lords can only spend and not produce, and without that poverty, even the freeholders and the magnates would live in misery. (Suchý 1925, 5–7)

Defending the homeland and the battle against its enemy

In songs such as *Pri trenčianskej bráne* (Hula 1923a, 110), the idea of an external enemy grew into the need to defend the homeland. To make the motif of the defence of the Slovak nation evident, the author of the textbook enhanced it with the note '... They go for battle, to exile the bloodthirsty enemy. They value the prosperity and happiness of the country above all'.

An extreme form of drawing attention to the existence of an external enemy can be seen in songs which called for battle against the enemies of the nation, e.g. in songs like *Tiahnu čierne chmáry* [Black Clouds are Gathering] (Sládek 1919b, 52) with the lyrics 'Take a sword in your hand, a pistol in your belt, jump on your horse, hear, the shooting is already cracking, hack, kill the murderers under our flag. Hurray for liberty!' In the content of approved music textbooks and songbooks, we found 46 songs suggesting the need for the military defence of the nation (level 5), 33 among them mentioning the Slovak nation in particular (category B, level 5). Another 27 songs call for battle against an external enemy (the 6th level as the highest one) – the enemy of Slovak nation is mentioned in 12 cases (level 6, category B). This radical content is present in 60 units: 5.3% of data corpus, and 35% of the content coded under core category concept of *Nation*.

The place of the Slovak nation in the interwar arrangement of Europe and its reflection in the music education curriculum

Three ideological concepts helped create the notion of the place of the Slovak nation in the context of the post-war arrangement of Europe. These were coded under the categories of Czech nation or Czechoslovakism (40 songs in total), pan-Slavic solidarity (16 songs) and fellow nations (3 songs).

The independence of the Czech and the Slovak nation from the other nations and ethnicities of Austria-Hungary took place based on the principle of applying the right to self-determination to those nations which had been part of the defeated European powers in 1918. The recognition of the Czechs and the Slovaks as a unified sovereign nation was the condition for signing the peace agreement between Austria-Hungary and the Allied states fighting on the side of the powers of the victorious Agreement.

In the post-war years of 1920–1921, a security system of post-war contracts was born under French leadership in Europe. This was designed to protect the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from German and Hungarian irredentism. As part of this system, the Little Entente was formed by Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania. The enhancement of the alliance of the Little Entente nations also penetrated the field of education. In 1936, three years after signing the organisational pact of the Little Entente, the MEaNE issued a decree No. 160919-I ordering all classes in urban schools to practice the national anthems of the Little Entente.

Songs presenting the phenomenon of pan-Slavic solidarity with references to the common past of the Slavic nations and the historical determinedness of their independent existence on the European continent formed an inherent part of the supplementary curriculum. On the other hand, the post-war victorious powers, whose alliance was reflected in the supplementary Song curriculum through their national anthems, were the guarantors of the new arrangement of socio-political conditions. The music education curriculum reflected the need to strengthen international relationships in a rather specific manner, by introducing music from the allied powers. Thus, in the Slovak school songbooks of the interwar period, we can find the 'Anthem of the Americans' (Sládek 1919b, 60), 'The English anthem' (Sládek 1919c, 66) and the French Marseillaise (Sládek 1919c, 65) translated into Czech. In the Czech version of the American anthem, the ideological concept of a free country and the reference to previous generations represented a highly topical ideological concept for interwar Czechoslovakia; the Czech lyrics literally translate as 'the land where my father died, the land

which he viewed with pride, where the voice of liberty resounded from everywhere' (Sládek 1919b, 60). However, one might also assume that the listed content was create an awareness in pupils of the circumstances of the birth of Czechoslovakia, and to shape their relationship to the countries whose victory in World War I brought autonomous development to the nations of the defeated Austria-Hungary. References to the nation's liberators helped the actors in the education process come to terms with the notion of a new arrangement of the world and, within this, also with the status of the Slovak nation.

While the American, English and French anthems were rarities in the supplementary curriculum, the frequency of the presence of songs presenting the idea of pan-Slavic solidarity reveals the general affinity of the school songbooks and textbooks authors with the ideas of pan-Slavic solidarity. These are presented not only in the anthems of the states of Slavic nations, e.g. in the Polish, Serbian and Croatian anthems (Sládek 1919c, 75, 82, 83) but also directly in the songs, for example:

All of us are Slavs, there from the snowy Tatras,

Russians, Poles, Ilyrians, Czechs, these are our brethren!

Hey, Kollár, Šafárik and Mladen write this to us,

Hey, Slaviness will not be destroyed by anything in this world! [Ruppeldt 1927, 56]

The idea of pan-Slavic solidarity was also found in hymns which generally referred to the long historical traditions of the Slavic nations in Europe. The content of the first interwar school songbook used at Slovak schools, which is introduced by its author with the words of Ján Kollár as 'the most famous protagonist of Slavic solidarity', also points to the significance of the idea of pan-Slavic solidarity in the process of creating Slovak national awareness (Sládek 1919a, 2). A new, musical dimension was given to the idea of pan-Slavic solidarity discussed in the introduction of the songbook of 1934 by the Slovak composer Ján Valaštan-Dolinský, who compiled it as a selection of 120 songs of Slovak, Moravian, Silesian, Czech, Serb, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Croatian, Slovenian and Bulgarian origin.

The Czecho-Slovak nation: the political perception of the nation in the music education curriculum

The Slovak music education supplementary curriculum presented the Czech nation by including Czech and Moravian folk songs, falcon songs and songs with references to the Hussite religious movement, which, although unfamiliar for Slovak pupils, still played a major role in forging 'Czechoslovak' national identity as a metastory of the Czech nation. The most symptomatic among all of the above-mentioned are two songs from the second and the third part of Emil Hula's songbook 'Naše spievanky' [Our Songs]: the extremely militant *Hymna československých legií* [The Anthem of Czechoslovak Legion] (1920b, 21) and a song *Sokol* [Falcon], which is a metaphoric image of Slovaks joining the Czech liberation in October 1918, stating: 'For better safety, we put our hands in yours for eternity' (1920c, 21).

The proportion of musical materials in the Czech language in the supplementary curriculum of music education was significant as well: it formed almost a third of the contents of the first interwar songbook for Slovak schools, *Spevník pre školy slovenské* [Songbook for Slovak Schools] by Ferdinand Sládek (1919a, 1919b, 1919c). Songs in the Czech language

were also part of other interwar songbooks and textbooks for Slovak schools: in Emil Hula's songbook, *Naše spievanky* [Our Songs] (1920a, 1920b, 1920c), Czech songs represent about 10% of the contents, although his other teaching material for Slovak schools, the textbook *Slovenské kvety* [Slovak Flowers] (1923a), does not contain any songs in Czech, in spite of the author declaring his belief in its introduction that 'There is no other nation in the world which is more song-loving than the Czechoslovak one' (1923a, 113).

Nation and god: the Slovak interwar curriculum of music education and Christian nationalism

Apart from the categorisation of concepts within the core category of *nation*, the idea of God as a super authority that guarantees a nation's sovereignty permeated the whole of the Slovak music curriculum (3.6% of the corpus and 24% of content coded under core category of *nation*). According to the detailed curricula for teaching Song at national schools (Cmíral and Jiránek, 12), in 1917 the aim of singing was, among other things, '... a correct and natural interpretation of folk songs and artificial songs, patriotic songs and religious songs, of permanent value to life'. The first school curricula approved after 1918 continued to provide scope for the practice of religious hymns if all the pupils in a class were of the same denomination. Apart from school curricula, religious hymns and especially hymns connected to Christian festivals, formed a common part of the documents of the supplementary curriculum. However, the religious tradition of the Slavic nations was recast into religious hymns, folk songs and patriotic songs, whose lyrics implied that the favourable condition of the Slovak nation as the fulfilment of God's will:

God, Creator of the worlds! To Thee we bow,

Asking for mercy for your wretched nation.

The world treads on that which is given us by Your generosity:

It denies us our human rights, even the right to life! (Gallo n.d., 3)

Christian traditions of the Slavs were a historical determinant in perceiving God as the highest guarantor of the liberty of the Slavic nations. In certain cases, e.g. in the previously mentioned song *Bože môj, otče môj* [My God, My Father] (Sládek 1919b, 28, 29; Hula 1923a, 193; Ruppeltdt 1927, 63), a reference to God in the lyrics of the song may be considered idiomatic, or it can be perceived as addressing God with an appeal for justice. God was to protect the Slovak nation from the oppression of the external world, from 'heretic scoundrels' (Sládek 1919a, 6) or from 'arch-murderers' (Sládek 1919b, 63).

The connection of religious and national ideas in the Slovak music curriculum can be traced from several aspects. Religion may be perceived as one of the elements which shape national awareness: as part of a nation's tradition. It can play the role of an argument in favour of the right for a given nation's existence (God as the highest authority and determinant of the nation's liberty). Both religious and national awareness contribute to social and cultural interaction and to the organisation of social relationships. Religion need not define the geographical boundaries of a nation, but may shape the content of myths, metaphors and symbols, which are part of the ideological discourse labelled as national awareness. In this case, we can reflect a religious approach to the constitution of a nation. The presence of the ideology of Christian nationalism in Slovak ideological discourse was discussed by

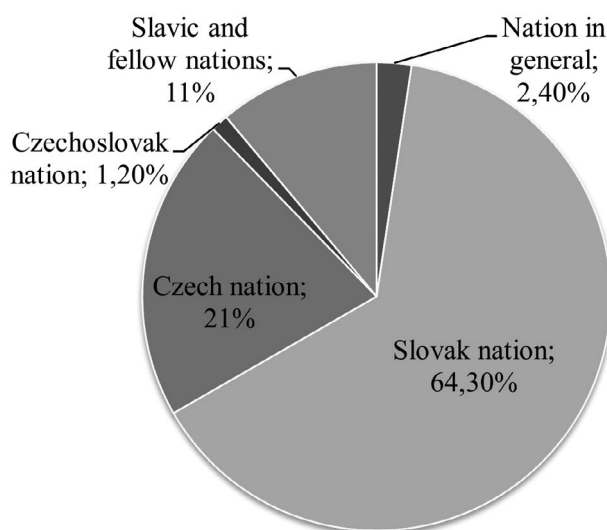


Figure 1. Representation of different categories of concepts in the core category of Nation.

Table 1. Number of songs dealing with the different concepts of Nation in Slovak music curricula (The numbers after '+' indicate the quantity of songs of corresponding category dealing with the concept of God.)

Categories ↓	Levels→						Total
	1 Affiliation	2 Positive auto-image	3 Exceptionality	4 Negative hetero-image	5 External enemy - defense	6 External enemy – offense	
(A) Nation in general	0	2	0	2	0	0	4
(B) Slovak nation	10+1	20+3	12	11+8	25+8	10+2	88+22
(C) Czech nation	5	1	1	5+1	5+7	0+11	17+19
(D) Czecho-Slovak unity	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
(E) Slavic and fellow nations	4	1	3	7	1	3	19
Nation (core category)	19+1	24+3	16	26+9	31+15	14+13	130+41

the Slovak philosopher and ideologist Štefan Polakovič in the 1940s in his assertion that *our [Slovak] social feeling has always been permeated with deep love for our progenitors and true Christian nationalism* (1941, 35).

Conclusion

Incorporating the techniques of the grounded theory into the analysis of curricular documents, focusing on the core category of 'nation', we reached the recognition of five categories of concepts of nation, which differentiated the ways in which the Slovak nation was understood in the interwar period (Figure 1). Firstly, from the internal point of view, Slovaks were introduced to the very idea of *nation* and were confronted with the reality of Slovak ethnicity being transformed into one. Secondly, they were led to understand and embrace its political and economic association with the Czech nation, and, later on, to deal with a new concept

of linguistically and culturally united Czechoslovak nation (which, in reality, led to the republic's centralisation in the face of Slovak oppression). From an international perspective, the task of the first Slovak citizens was to understand the new world order and the place of the 'Czechoslovak nation' within that. The whole dynamic process of awakening intricate and complex national awareness was supported by the traditionally respected religious idea, while every aspect was not only present in the complementary curriculum, but also in the prescribed school curricula of Song (Table 1).

Since all the conclusions are grounded in the data from analysed documents, it is possible to claim that the music education curriculum offers the possibility to embed ideas into the process of education which are not only a source of implicit social ideas, but can also become a platform for the continuous and purposeful actions of an ideology, a means for implementing an ideological doctrine into the hierarchy of opinions and values of the actors in the educational process.

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