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One Czech Poem and its Translated Version in a Popular Latvian Patriotic Song: The Emergence of the Musical Composition and the History of its Reception

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Abstract

One of the best-known poems in the time of the first Latvian national movement (the 1850s–1880s) was an adapted translation of the one sonnet by Czech national poetry classic František Ladislav Čelakovský's (1799–1852), from the collection *Růže stolistá* (*The hundred-petalled rose*, 1840). Latvian writer Juris Alunāns (1832–1864) had been translated (paraphrased) Čelakovský's sonnet in 1860. At the end of the 19th century, Latvian composer Andrejs Jurjāns (1856–1922) included Alunāns' translated text (the three strophes) in the choral song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* (*Not by lazing around and rotting*). Later, in the 1920s and 30s, the tradition of adding a fourth strophe (with a poetic toast to Latvia by poet Auseklis /1850–1879/) to the composition arose in society during the practice of singing the Jurjāns choral song. The study reveals the cultural and historical contexts of the emergence of the famed Latvian patriotic song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* (in the final version with four strophes) and the history of its reception up to the 21st century in different periods of Latvia's past.

Key words

František Ladislav Čelakovský, Juris Alunāns, Andrejs Jurjāns, Auseklis, *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*, cultural and historical contexts, history of reception

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A fascinating and still little-studied topic in the history of the peoples and countries of central and northeastern Europe involves the origins and various aspects of the reception of patriotic songs.¹ Still today, one of the best-known Latvian patriotic songs is the *a cappella* choral song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* (*Not by lazing around and rotting*) composed by **Andrejs Jurjāns** (also *Jurjānu Andrejs*, 1856–1922) at the end of the 19th century. The text of the first three strophes (verses) of this song consists of a free translation (also as a paraphrase) into Latvian by **Juris Alunāns** (1832–1864), a writer and one of the most prominent figures of the first Latvian national movement (the 1850s–1880s),² of sonnet no. 92 from the *Růže stolistá* (*The hundred-petalled rose*, 1840) collection of poems by the famous Czech poet **František Ladislav Čelakovský** (1799–1852).³ This translation of Čelakovský's poem was first published as an epigraph in the introduction to the first part of the three-volume publication of Alunāns' popular educational writings in Latvian titled *Sēta, daba un pasaule* (*The yard, nature and the world*), in 1860.⁴ However, Čelakovský was not cited in this publication as the source for the translated poem.⁵ In general, up until the 1990s, in Latvia there was little regular reference to the relationship between the text of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* and sonnet no. 92 in Čelakovský's collection.

The aim of this study is to clarify and contextually analyse the circumstances of the origin of the Latvian patriotic song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* and the history of its reception in Latvia from the end of the 19th century to the early 21st century. Therefore, based on a survey and comparative analysis of the primary (archives, press publications) and secondary sources (literature), this paper addresses the following issues:

- A comparison of Čelakovský's original poem and its translation (paraphrasing) into Latvian, and the use of the translated text in a Jurjāns' patriotic choral song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*.
- The reception of Jurjāns' song in Latvia before the First World War and during the 20th century interwar period (1918–1940), also analysing the addition of the verse by the Latvian poet **Auseklis** in this song over time,

1 Until now, research has more often focused on a significant period in a nation's political history. See PAY-ERHIN, Marek. Singing Out of Pain: Protest Songs and Social Mobilization. *The Polish Review*, 2012, vol. 57, no. 1, p. 5–31; VAN DER HAVEN, Cornelis. Singing the Nation: Imagined Collectivity and the Poetics of Identification in Dutch Political Songs (1780–1800). *The Modern Language Review*, 2016, vol. 111, no. 3, pp. 754–774. However, this article analyses the reception of one patriotic song over a century and a half in different periods.

2 ZELČE, Vita. The New Latvians. In *Latvia and Latvians*, Vol. 2. Jānis Stradiņš (chair of editorial board), Riga: Latvian Academy of Sciences, 2018, pp. 361–367.

3 ČELAKOVSKÝ, František Ladislav. *Růže stolistá* [online]. 2018, 102 <https://search.mlp.cz/cz/titul/ruze-stolista/4446467/#/getPodobneTituly=deskriptory-eq:177240871-amp:key-eq:4446467> [cit. 2024-15-07].

4 ALUNĀNS, Juris (ed.) *Sēta, daba un pasaule*. Vol. 1. Tērbata: 1860, p. 3.

5 A detailed analysis of the cultural and historical contexts of the creation of Čelakovský's sonnet and its translated version by Alunāns during the period of the first Latvian national movement is possible to read in the following sources: ŠTOLL, Pavel. *Lotyšská kultura a Jednota bratrská. České kontexty lotyšských kulturních tradic v 17.–20. století*. 1. Ed. Praha: Karolinum, 2013, p. 76–94; ŠTOLLS, Pāvils. *Latviešu kultūra un brāļu draudze. Latviešu kultūras tradīciju čehu konteksti XVII–XX gadsimtā*. Riga: u. c., 2016, pp. 62–82.

- The reception of the song in Latvia during the Second World War and during the Soviet occupation from 1944 to the mid-1980s (including in Latvian refugee/exile communities abroad).
- The reception of the song in Latvia during the socio-political processes of the restoration of the country's independence in the second half of the 1980s and from the 1990s to the present day.

The translation of František Ladislav Čelakovský's poem into Latvian and its use in a choral song by Andrejs Jurjāns

Today, thanks to Czech literary scholar Pavel Štoll's monograph, a wide audience of readers can acquaint themselves with the Latvian translation of Čelakovský's poem (in 1929 translated by Czech linguist Josef Zubatý /1855–1931/) and the Czech translation of Alunāns' text (translated by Štoll).⁶ This paper, for its part, offers a comparison of the poetic texts in the following two language pairs to a wider international readership.

The first pair consists of Čelakovský's poem in Czech and its translation into English, based on Zubatý's literal translation of the text into Latvian:

<p>Ne horoucnost povalečná zjedná duchu potravu: práce tichá a společná získá vlasti oslavu.</p> <p>Jedno-li by zrnko zdravé každý v půdu položil, brzo by, můj Krasoslave! dvůr se pustý ostožil.</p> <p>Kdo však marnou chloubou práší, koše plev na trh vynáší, vítr času odvěje jej i jeho naděje</p>	<p>Not feigned hope Will create food for the spirit, Quiet and shared/joint work Will bring glory to the homeland.</p> <p>If each person would sow in the ground One whole grain, Soon then, my Krasoslav! The empty farmyard would be rich with grain.</p> <p>But he who froths/fills the air with unnecessary arrogance, And brings to market a basketful of chaff, The winds of time will blow away Him and his hopes.</p>
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Alunāns' freely adapted (paraphrased) Latvian version of Čelakovský's poem, translated into English, is as follows:

6 ŠTOLL 2013, pp. 80–81; ŠTOLLS 2016, pp. 68–69.

<p>Nevis slinkojot un pūstot, Tautu labā godā ceļ. Nē, pie prāta gaismas kļūstot, Tauta zied un tauta zeļ!</p> <p>Ja ikviens tik zemē sētu Vienu graudu veselu, Kas tad izskaitīt gan spētu Zelta kviešu krājumu.</p> <p>Bet, kas lielidamies pārdot Ved uz tirgu pelavas, Tas, kā pelus vējam ārdot, Zūd no ļaužu piemiņas.</p>	<p>Not by lazing around and rotting, Nation is lifted up to honour. No, only by becoming light of mind, The nation blossoms and flourishes!</p> <p>If each person would sow in the ground One whole grain, Who would be then able to count All the stores of golden wheat!</p> <p>But he, who sells boasting, Brings chaff to market, That, scattered like grain by the wind, Fades from the people's memory.</p>
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Alunāns' translated poetry text (three verses) into the *a cappella* choral song first time was composed by Kārlis Baumanis (also *Baumaņu Kārlis*, 1835–1905) in 1877.⁷ Baumanis was a pedagogue, musician, self-taught composer, and a well-known writer and publicist in Latvian society in the second half of the 19th century, the author of the national anthem of Latvia.⁸ However, Baumanis' choral song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* did not gain any attention. That was published for the first time only in 2020.⁹ Nowadays, this composition has mainly the meaning of historical fact.

In turn, chronologically a little later after Baumanis, Andrejs Jurjāns, the first ethnic Latvian composer with a conservatoire education,¹⁰ created a choral song, which praises honest work as one of the foundations of a nation's prosperity. In checking various sources, one finds an announcement in the August 1899 issue of the *Baltijas Vēstnesis* Latvian newspaper published in Riga advertising a concert organised by the Riga Latvian Society, the programme of which included Jurjāns' song for choir *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*.¹¹ So, Jurjāns had composed this song at the end of the 19th century.¹²

7 Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka. Reto grāmatu un rokrakstu lasītava. RX68,1,4, Baumaņu Kārlis, Krogzemju Mikus, *Dzeesmu Vītols*. Pirmā burtnīca. Manuskripts.

8 ČUNKA, Judīte. The story of the Latvian anthem, pt. 1&2 [online]. 2020. <https://eng.lsm.lv/article/culture/history/the-story-of-the-latvian-anthem-pt-1.a362554/> [cit. 2024-15-07].

9 BAUMAŅU Kārlis – KROGZEMJU Mikus. *Dziesmu vītols*. Sastādītājs Jānis Ērenštreits. Rīga: Musica Baltica, 2020, pp. 26–27.

10 DOMBROVSKA, Mārīte. *Andrejs Jurjāns*. Latvian Music Information Centre [online]. <https://www.lmic.lv/en/composers/andrejs-jurjans-305#work> [cit. 2024-15-07].

11 *Baltijas Vēstnesis*, no. 186, 21. 08. 1899.

12 This fact clarifies the information previously published in the literature that the song was composed in the first decade of the 20th century. – See: BĒRZKALNS, Valentīns. *Latviešu dziesmu svētku vēsture 1864–1940*. New York: Grāmatu Draugs, 1965, p. 242; ŠTOLL 2013, p. 79; ŠTOLLS 2016, p. 67.

Soprano Alto

1. Ne - vis slin - ko - jot un pūs - tot tau - tu la - bā go - dā cel.
 2. Ja ik - viens tik ze - mē sē - tu vie - nu grau - du ve - se - lu,
 3. Bet, kas lie - lī - da - mies pār - dot ved uz tir - gu pe - la - vas,
 4. Aug - sim lie - li, aug - sim stip - ri, bū - sim svei - ki, ve - se - li!

Tenor Bass

mf

5

S. A.

Nē, pie prā - ta gais - mas klūs - tot, tau - ta zied un tau - ta zel,
 kas gan iz - skai - tīt tad spē - tu zel - ta kvie - šu krā - ju - mu,
 tas kā pe - lus, vē - jam ār - dot, zūd no ļau - žu pie - mi - ņas,
 Uz - dzie - dā - sim, uz - dzie - dā - sim aug - stu lai - mi Lat - vi - jai,

T. B.

9

S. A.

f

tau - ta zied un tau - ta zel.
 zel - ta kvie - šu krā - ju - mu.
 zūd no ļau - žu pie - mi - ņas.
 aug - stu lai - mi Lat - vi - jai!

T. B.

Fig. 1 The sheet music of the choral song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* by Andrejs Jurjāns.
 Source: *Dziesmas jauktajiem koriem. X Latvijas skolu Jaunatnes dziesmu un deju svētki.*

Rīga: Valsts jaunatnes iniciatīvu centrs, 2008, p. 4.

Moreover, it must be noted right away that in the visible score are four strophes, not three. The version of the song with four strophes was finally formed in the second half of the 20th century, and in such a way, it is known in Latvia at the beginning of the 21st century. The author of the text of the fourth strophe is Latvian poet Auseklis. How one of Auseklis's poems became part of the composition of the patriotic song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* will be characterised in the following chapters.

In turn, the fact that Jurjāns' choral song (originally as a three strophe composition¹³) had gained popularity in Latvian society even before the First World War is confirmed by the press. For example, Latvian newspapers reported that it had become a tradition in various commercial societies to sing the song at the end of the official part (speeches)

13 *Dziesmu krājums jauktiem koriem. V burtnīca. Jurjānu Andreja redakcija. Rīga: RLB Mūzikas komisija, 1901; Nevis slinkojot un pūstot. Jurjānu Andrejs. Rīgas Latviešu dziedāšanas biedrības koris P. Josuuss kga. vadībā (1908). Zonophone Record, Mx/Ctr no. X-64759.*

of meetings.¹⁴ Interestingly, already during the First World War, articles published in the press emphasised the patriotic meaning of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*, which indicated that this song was one of the best known in Latvian society in the early 20th century at various events that involved communal singing.¹⁵ However, no reference was made to Čelakovský's text in the first publications of Jurjāns' song, and thus the origin of its text in Czech poetry remained unknown to the Latvian public in the 20th century. Jurjāns himself was often cited as the author of the text; less often, Alunāns was cited as the author.

Jurjāns' song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* was also included in the programme of the massed (joint) choir concert at the 5th Nationwide Latvian Song Celebration in Riga in 1910.¹⁶ An interesting assessment of the song can be read in the review written by Latvian composer and critic Emīls Dārziņš (1875–1910):

*"[...] the strong musical impression is done somewhat of a disservice by Juris Alunāns' text. There is undeniably something smug, arrogant and also prosaic about this text that does not fully fit with the more refined psychology of the modern-day person who thinks and feels intellectually."*¹⁷

However, "the smugness, arrogance and prosaic nature" of the lyrics to *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* that Dārziņš criticised, as well as the strength of the music itself, proved to be a musical-poetic message that was able to address and mobilise Latvian society throughout the 20th century and through various periods of the Latvian state.

The reception of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* during Latvia's first period of independence (1918–1940)

After the proclamation of the Republic of Latvia on 18 November 1918 and the military defence of the new state's independence against various powers, several patriotic songs known to the public were discussed by the new government as suitable for the status of the national anthem. Among these was Andrejs Jurjāns' *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*.¹⁸ The song did not acquire the anthem status but remained popular in society.

14 Leepa. Iz beedribu dzīves. *Zemkopis*, no. 42, 21. 10. 1909; Iz beedribu dzīves. *Zemkopis*, no. 1, 06. 01. 1913; Dažādas ziņas. *Zemkopis*, no. 39, 25. 09. 1913; Svešīneeks. Iz beedribu dzīves. *Zemkopis*, no. 21, 21. 05. 1914.

15 Kara dzeesmas. *Dzimtenes Vēstnesis*, no. 256, 06. 11. 1914.

16 BĒRZKALNS 1965, p. 228. – The 1st Nationwide Latvian Song Celebration in Riga occurred in 1873. The 5th Nationwide Latvian Song Celebration occurred in 1910 in Riga, and the massed (joint) choir consisted of 2,300 singers. By 2023, twenty-seven Nationwide Song and seventeen Dance Celebrations (from 1948) had occurred in Latvia. In the 21st century, the average number of Nationwide Song Celebration massed (joint) choir singers has been 15,000. – MUKTUPĀVELS, Valdis. Vispārējie latviešu dziesmu un deju svētki. *Nacionālā Enciklopēdija*. 28. 02. 2025. [cit. 2025-9-04]. <https://enciklopedija.lv/skirklis/10526-Vispārējie-latviešu-dziesmu-un-deju-svētki>

17 DĀRZIŅŠ, Emīls. V. Vispārējie Latviešu dziesmu svētki Rīgā 18., 19., 20. un 21. jūnijā. *Latvija*, 22. 06. 1910.

18 JAUNSLAVIETE, Baiba. Latvijas valsts himna. *Nacionālā Enciklopēdija*. 11. 10. 2024. [cit. 2025-9-04]. <https://enciklopedija.lv/skirklis/8948-Latvijas-valsts-himna>

For example, the digital database of press publications created by the National Library of Latvia contains 1092 publications – news, reports, and articles in the press in Riga and other Latvian cities and towns – that provide information about the regular singing of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* at various festive events during the period 1918–1940. According to this information, a stable tradition had developed in Latvia at that time of singing the song in schools (for example, at graduations and other ceremonial events), at parades and official events of the army and paramilitary structures, and at events held by various public organisations, especially associations of farmers and other agricultural producers. The singing of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* at the conclusion of the official parts of various ceremonial events had also become an informally established tradition at public administration institutions. The tradition of using the first line of a song's lyrics (*Not by lazing around and rotting*) as a saying in various contexts also became established in society – as a metaphor in both serious (patriotic) and humorous and satirical texts.¹⁹

The song's importance in the public's perception has been described in the press using the phrases “*patriotic song*”, a “*song of work*” and an “*anthem to work*”. Between 1926 and 1938, the song was included in the programme of the Nationwide Latvian Song Celebrations only once (at the Sixth Celebration in 1926).²⁰ From the Seventh Celebration (1931) onwards up to the Ninth Celebration (1938), the singing of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* took place after the official part of the concert, when the choirs had not yet left the stage and continued to celebrate together in an informal atmosphere.²¹

Although the connection between the text of the popular “*anthem to work*” and Czech poetry was revealed in the late 1920s, this information in fact resonated only in narrow circles of literary and cultural specialists. This is confirmed by the fact that it is rare to find publications in the Latvian press from this period that explicitly state this connection.²²

It should be noted that during the interwar period of the 20th century, the press published information that when singing Jurjāns' patriotic song, an informal tradition had developed among the society to add a fourth strophe to the composition with the text of **Auseklis** (real name *Miķelis Krogzemis*, also *Krogzemju Mikus*, 1850–1879), a well-known Latvian poet during the first Latvian national movement.²³ It is Auseklis's poetic toast to Latvia with the following original text:²⁴

19 See bibliography for more: *Latvian National Digital Library. Periodicals*, <https://periodika.lv/>.

20 BĒRZKALNS 1965, p. 308.; GRAUZDIŅA, Ilma - GRĀVĪTIS, Oļģerts. *Dziesmu svētki Latvijā. Norise, skaitļi, fakti*. Rīga: Latvijas enciklopēdija, 1990, p. 49.

21 ERSS, A. Par VII. dziesmusvētkiem Rīgā 20., 21., 22. jūnijā. *Jūrnīks*, no. 7, 01. 07. 1931; OZOLS, J. Pirmo dziesmusvētku 60 gadu atcere. *Valdības Vēstnesis*, no. 135, 20.6.1933.

22 See GOBA, Alfrēds. *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot izcelšanās. Ilustrēts Žurnāls*, no. 6. 01.06.1928.; UNAMS, Žanis. Jura Alunāna Kopoti raksti I–III. *Izglītības Ministrijas Mēnešraksts*, no. 4, 01.4.1933, p. 350; FRANCIS, A. Pie aizmirsto grāmatu galda. *Juris Alunāns. Rīts*, no. 112, 16. 12. 1934; ANDRUPS, Jānis. *Juris Alunāns – latviskās dzejas tēvs. Sējējs*, no. 5, 01. 05. 1939.

23 GOBA, 01.06.1928.

24 KAŽOKS, Dāvis. *Ausekļa raksti*. 1. daļa *Dzejoļi*. Rīga: J. E. C. Kapteiņa ģenerālkomisija, 1888, p. 125.

Augsim lieli, augsim lieli, Būsim sveiki, veseli. Uzdzerami, uzdziedami, Augstu laimi Latvijai	Let us grow great, let us grow great, Let us be sound and healthy. Let us toast, let us strike up a song, Fortune and prosperity to Latvia
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From the press publications, it can be understood that this poetic toast by Auseklis was popular in society and was sung both as the last strophe to Jurjāns' patriotic song, as well as separately with other, nowadays unidentifiable music.²⁵ Moreover, in parallel, both at the Nationwide Latvian Song Celebrations and, for example, on phonograph records, Jurjāns' composition with three strophes continued to be heard (Čelakovský'/Alunāns' text).²⁶ These facts also confirm that the opinion expressed in the literature so far that Auseklis added his verse to Jurjāns' translation of Čelakovský's poetry in the second half of the 19th century²⁷ has not been accurate. The informal introduction of Auseklis' text into Jurjāns' patriotic choral song in Latvia occurred much later, in the interwar period of the 20th century.

The song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* during the Second World War and the second Soviet occupation (1944–1991)

The press coverage of Jurjāns' song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* decreased significantly after 17 June 1940, when the first year of the Soviet occupation of Latvia began (which lasted until the country's occupation by German forces at the end of June 1941). This was because the active political censorship initiated by the Soviet occupation authorities also included a list of popular songs that were banned from publication as sheet music and recordings and also banned on the radio. Among these songs banned by the Soviet occupying forces was *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*.²⁸ Although no justification for this decision can be found in archival documents, the ban can be understood in the context of the cultural policy of the occupying power, which was characterised by a desire to reduce values that symbolised feelings of patriotism towards Latvia as an independent state and replace them with imports, such as political and lyrical mass songs from the Soviet Union.

Between late June 1941 and the autumn of 1944, Latvia was occupied by Germany and its Nazi totalitarian regime. One trend of the policy pursued by the regime was to allow the society of the occupied country to return, in a limited and strictly controlled way, to the values and symbols that had emerged before the first year of the Soviet occu-

25 GOBA, 01.06.1928; TOMIŅŠ, J. Divas dziesmu dienas vasaras svētkos. *Jēkabpils Vēstnesis*, no. 21. 21.05.1931.

26 *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*. Ādolfs Kaktiņš. *His Masters Voice*, Mx/Ctr no. 30–1082; *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*. Mariss Vētra ar lielu pūtēju orķestri. *Bellaccord Electro*, Mx/Ctr no. M 3746.

27 ŠTOLL 2013, p. 79; ŠTOLLS 2016, p. 67.

28 KLOTIŅŠ, Arnolds. *Mūzika okupācijā. Latvijas mūzikas dzīve un jaunrade 1940–1945*. Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Literatūras, Folkloras un Mākslas Institūts, 2011, p. 56.

pation.²⁹ In the context of this trend, for example, in the press of Riga and other Latvian cities and towns one finds published information (141 instances) about the revival and continuation of the tradition of singing *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* at public events organised by various institutions, such as schools and especially farmers' organisations.³⁰

When Soviet occupying forces and the totalitarian regime of the USSR returned to Latvia in the autumn of 1944, near the end of the Second World War, return of the cultural policy aimed at diminishing the public memory of the traditions and symbols of Latvia as an independent state and replacing them with new "Soviet traditions".³¹

Slight changes in the occupation regime's attitude towards the national culture and its traditions were during the *Khrushchev thaw* in the late 50s and early 60s.³² In the atmosphere of *thaw*, the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* and its lyrics began to be more widely revisited in several national and regional press publications in 1956 and 1957. The centenary of the birth of the composer Andrejs Jurjāns was officially celebrated then, and the mention of the patriotic song and the Czech origin of its lyrics in several publications gives the impression of a certain relaxation of political censorship.³³

In turn, from the end of the thaw up until the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, intensified the official policy of the Soviet empire on internationalisation and Russification.³⁴ From the second half of the 1960s to the first half of the 1980s, the patriotic song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* was very little mentioned in the Latvian press. Typically, the mention of the song in the press during this period was also used to try to discredit the song's symbolic meaning and its connection to the independent ("bourgeois") state of Latvia that existed between the two world wars.³⁵ However, certain analytical, poetic or academic articles in the press in occupied Latvia from the 1960s to the 80s included informative reminders both of Alunāns' translation of Čelakovský's sonnet and the historical significance of Jurjāns' song in the occupied state's cultural memory.³⁶

It should also be added that more than 200,000 Latvians had fled from Latvia during World War II. At first, almost all the refugees ended up in Germany, from where they

29 FELDMANIS, Inesis. Latvia During the Second World War (1939–1945). In *Latvia and Latvians*, Vol. 2. Jānis Stradiņš (chair of editorial board), Rīga: Latvian Academy of Sciences, 2018, pp. 512–557.

30 See bibliography for more: *Latvian National Digital Library. Periodicals*, <https://periodika.lv/>.

31 BLEIERE, Daina. The Sovietisation of Latvia in the Context of the Baltic States. In *Latvia and Latvians*, Vol. 2. Jānis Stradiņš (chair of editorial board), Rīga: Latvian Academy of Sciences, 2018, p. 619–625.

32 BLEIERE 2018, pp. 625–627.

33 See VĪTOLIŅŠ, Jēkabs. Latviešu klasiskās mūzikas pamatlicējs. *Literatūra un Māksla*, no. 40, 29. 09. 1956; DOVGJALO, Georgs. Jurjānu Andreja atcerei. *Ciņa*, 232, 02. 10. 1956; ROZNIĒKS, J. Čehi un latvieši – seni draugi. *Padomju Jaunatne*, no. 5, 08. 01. 1957.

34 BLEIERE 2018, pp. 596–598, 627–629.

35 See JANSONS, F. Kontrasti, pārdomas. *Liesma* (Valmiera), no. 159, 31. 12. 1963; LEDIŅŠ, A. Vismainīgākā karte. *Ciņa*, no. 73, 29. 03. 1966; EZERS, A. Kad "pārdomātā mērķtiecība" kļūst bumerangs. *Dzimtenes Balss*, no. 41, 01. 10. 1966; SAVISKO, Mihails. Ēna uz pagātņi. *Māksla*, no. 1, 01. 01. 1973.

36 See VĪTOLIŅŠ, Jēkabs. Dziesmu svētku simtgadei. Latviešu kordziesmas rītausmā. *Literatūra un Māksla*, no. 8, 19. 02. 1972; ANCĪTIS, Valdemārs. Dzejnieks dzīvo joprojām. *Karogs*, no. 12, 01. 12. 1978, p. 163; ZANDERS, Ojārs. "Ja ikviens tik zemē sētu...". *Zvaigzne*, no. 9, 01. 05. 1982; LABRENCE, L. Jura Alunāna atcerei. *Rīgas Balss*, no. 132, 09. 06. 1982.

later emigrated to other countries around the world (Europe, North America, South America, Australia), where they gradually established Latvian refugee/exile communities. The largest communities of these emigrants and their descendants formed in the United Kingdom, (West) Germany, Sweden, the United States, Canada and Australia. Some Latvians living in exile wished to actively preserve their national traditions and cultural values.³⁷

The digital periodical repository of the National Library of Latvia contains 456 instances from various Latvian publications published in the exile communities that mention the singing of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* in the period from May 1945 to 1985.³⁸ As before the Second World War and the Soviet occupation, the song was actively sung by members of the exile communities at cultural events, concerts and meetings of various organisations. However, in the Latvian exile press and other publications, only in a few cases was Čelakovský's poem mentioned in connection with the song's lyrics. This was another reason why the origin of the song's lyrics was little known to the public both in Latvia and in the Latvian exile communities until the end of the 20th century.

It should also be noted here that in the Latvian exile community of the 20th century, the tradition of making Auseklis's poetic toast the fourth strophe of Jurjāns choral song became established. For example, the European Latvian Youth Association (*Eiropas Latviešu Jaunatnes Apvienība*), founded in 1954, decided to make Jurjāns's patriotic song the organisation's anthem, including it also Auseklis's verse. However, some words were changed in the first and third lines of Auseklis text:³⁹

Augsim lieli, augsim stipri , Būsim sveiki, veseli. Uzdiedāsim, uzdiedāsim Augstu laimi Latvijai	Let us grow great, let us grow strong , Let us be sound and healthy. Let us strike up a song, let us strike up a song, Fortune and prosperity to Latvia
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With these changes, the fourth strophe of the Jurjāns song became widely known in Latvia later, starting in the late 1980s.

The song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* in Latvia during the political process of the ending of the Soviet occupation and after the restoration of independence

The modern view in Latvia and the Baltics of the historical time of change in the second half of the 1980s – the achievement of freedom from the totalitarian Soviet occupation and the renewal of state independence – is, overall, primarily related to the most signifi-

37 BEĶERE, Kristīne. Latvians Around the World, 1945–1991. In *Latvia and Latvians*, Vol. 2. Jānis Stradiņš (chair of editorial board), Riga: Latvian Academy of Sciences, 2018, p. 756–762.

38 See bibliography for more: *Latvian National Digital Library. Periodicals*, <https://periodika.lv/>.

39 Lasītāju vēstules. *ELJAS Informācija*, no. 83. 01.07.1977.

cant political events that took place during that era. That reflects a gradual achievement, in 1991, of the goal to be free of the occupation (when the three Baltic States gained their de facto independence).⁴⁰ In Latvian historiography, this period is called the Third Awakening (Trešā Atmoda),⁴¹ also “singing revolution”.⁴²

The political process of restoring democracy and independence in Latvia particularly intensified in 1988–1991. The grandiose national manifestations with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people also characterized the listed historical events.⁴³ In these big political actions (meetings), thousands of participants sang popular patriotic songs from different state periods.⁴⁴ Some 230 published news items in several press publications for these four years allow us to conclude that both political actions (in the people’s big meetings) of the Popular Front of Latvia⁴⁵ and other political movements, as well as other gatherings of people throughout Latvia and events of various other organisations, including schools, were singing popular patriotic songs from the past and present time. Among them, *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* was one of the most popular Latvian patriotic songs at that time. Similarly, using the first line of the song’s lyrics (*Not by lazing around and rotting*) in various meanings and contexts was also revived in Latvian society.⁴⁶

The song’s boom in popularity is confirmed by the fact that *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* was one of the songs sung at the huge political rallies organised by the Popular Front of Latvia. For example, on 23 August 1988, approximately 40,000 people gathered at the Freedom Monument in Riga for a rally (unsanctioned by the occupation authorities) to condemn the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact (it allowed the USSR to occupy the Baltic States in 1940), and the event began with the singing of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*.⁴⁷ On 7 October 1988, the day before the founding congress of the Popular Front of Latvia, about 200,000 people gathered at the Mežaparks stage on the outskirts of Riga for a political demonstration, and “[...] the demonstration opened with ‘*Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*’”.⁴⁸

40 DREIFELDS, Juris. *Latvia in Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; BLŪZMA, Valdis. The Period of the Awakening and Non-violent Resistance (1986–4 May 1990). In *Regaining Independence: Non-violent Resistance in Latvia, 1945–1991*. Ed. Tālav Jundzis. Riga: Latvian Academy of Sciences, 2008, pp. 231–236.

41 That is a symbolic reference to the First Awakening, the name given to the first national movement in Latvia from the 1850s to the 1880s, when the territory of modern Latvia was still a part of the Czarist Russian Empire, as well as to the Second Awakening during First World War, resulted in the founding of the Republic of Latvia in 1918. – See: STRADIŅŠ, Jānis. *Trešā Atmoda*, Riga: Zinātne, 1992, pp. 7–8.

42 BRÜGGEMANN, Karsten. One Day We Will Win Anyway. In *The “Singing Revolution” in the Soviet Baltic Republics*, in: *The Revolutions of 1989*, Mueller Wolfgang, Gehler Michael, Suppan Arnold (eds.), Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015, pp. 221–246.

43 KUDIŅŠ, Jānis. The Rock Opera *Lāčplēsis* (Bearslayer, 1988): Symbolic Meaning in the Historical Change Process and the Cultural Memory of Latvia. *Lietuvos Muzikologija / Lithuanian Musicology*, 2020, no. 21, pp. 103–106.

44 ŠMIDCHENS, Guntis. *The Power of Song: Nonviolent National Culture in the Baltic Singing Revolution*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013.

45 In Latvian – *Latvijas Tautas Fronte*. It was the largest opposition political organization in Latvia, which promoted and led the process of democratization and restoration of national independence in 1988–1991.

46 See bibliography for more: *Latvian National Digital Library. Periodicals*, <https://periodika.lv/>.

47 Simti tūkstoši demonstrē milicija noskatās. *Austrālijas Latvietis*, no. 1944, 09. 09. 1988.

48 Kn. O. Tautas frontes rīcības komitejas preses konference. *Laiks*, no. 83, 15. 10. 1988.

On 18 November 1988, several hundred thousand people gathered on the banks of the Daugava River in Riga, and one of the main speeches ended with the singing of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*.⁴⁹

The largest political demonstration in Riga in terms of the number of participants took place on 18 November 1989. According to various sources, between 350,000 and 600,000 people took part, and *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* was among the patriotic and popular songs sung.⁵⁰ By 18 November 1990, however, the atmosphere had changed when several hundred thousand Latvian people sang *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*,⁵¹ because on 4 May 1990, a majority in the Latvian parliament (then still called the Supreme Council) made up of members of the Popular Front and other pro-independence organisations had adopted a declaration on the restoration of the country's independence.

Interestingly, in the above-mentioned corpus of press publications of 1988–1991, the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* was also described as a “patriotic song”, a “national anthem”, an “anthem to work” and sometimes as an “old song”. On the whole, *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* stood out among the patriotic songs for the special designations given to it, and it thus acquired a unique status. The song's great popularity is also confirmed by the fact that, for example, at the 6th Latvian School Youth Song and Dance Celebration in Riga in the summer of 1989, the song was sung in the massed choir concert, and, as one newspaper reported: “What was impressive was that the last song of the closing concert, ‘*Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*’, had not yet been announced, but all of the many thousands of listeners were already on their feet.”⁵²

It should be noted that a recording of this concert has survived,⁵³ as well as information in the press⁵⁴ indicates that during this time, the tradition and perception of Jurjāns' patriotic song with four strophes (three Čelakovský's/Alunāns's strophes and Auseklis's verse as the fourth strophe with minor word changes that were made in the second half of the 20th century in Latvian exile community) spread in Latvia. However, as in previous periods, during the years of the Third Awakening, there were rare examples in the Latvian press and other sources linking the Jurjāns song's lyrics to the Czech poet Čelakovský and the Latvian poets Alunāns and Auseklis.

The significant fact is also that in 1988, representatives of the Popular Front of Latvia and the Latvian Academy of Sciences compiled letters from the population that proposed abandoning the official symbols of the Soviet occupation period, including the national anthem. These letters also included proposals that *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* should be proclaimed the anthem of the restored Republic of Latvia.⁵⁵ Press publications

49 B. A. Mums ir tauta griba. *Dzimtenes Balss*, no. 48, 01. 12. 1988.

50 M. J. Dziesmas milzu LTF demonstrācijā Rīgā. *Brīvā Latvija*, no. 11, 20. 03. 1989.

51 600.000. Milzu demonstrācija Rīgā prasa... *Austrālijas Latvietis*, no. 2006, 15. 12. 1989.

52 BERTHOLDE, B. Tuvi tautai, tuvi bērniem. *Stars* (Madona), no. 82, 08. 07. 1989.

53 *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*. Latvijas Skolu jaunatnes VI dziesmu svētku koncerts. 02. 07. 1989. *DIVA*. [cit. 2025-14-04]. <http://www.diva.lv/audio/latvijas-skolu-jaunatnes-vi-dziesmu-svetku-koncerts-1989-g/nevis-slinkojot-un-pustot-ar-pieteikumu-sakuma-un-aplausiem>

54 Mans viedoklis. *Darba Karogs* (Valka), no. 146. 10. 12. 1988.

55 STRADIŅŠ, Jānis. Tautas simbolikas lietā. *Padomju Jaunatne*, no. 195, 13. 10. 1988.

also contain evidence of such a proposal in 1989.⁵⁶ However, on 15 February 1990, the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR decided to declare *Dievs, svētī Latviju* (*God Bless Latvia*) by Kārlis Baumanis the national anthem,⁵⁷ and it was reaffirmed as the national anthem of the country after the effective restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia in 1991.

Since the 1990s, it has been difficult to gather sources of information about the reception of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*. Unlike for previous periods, the amount of information produced by modern-day print media over the past thirty years has not yet been compiled in a digital database. However, various internet searches have revealed that the public singing of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* has continued in Latvia.

In the 20th Nationwide Latvian Song and 10th Dance Celebration in 1990, this patriotic song was included in the massed (joint) choir concert programme.⁵⁸ After that, *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* is periodically included in the Latvian School Youth Song Celebration massed (joint) choir concert programme⁵⁹ or sometimes sung during the night-of-farewell informal event after the regular Nationwide Latvian Song Celebration⁶⁰ closing concert.⁶¹

In turn, the recognition of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* in 21st-century Latvian society and its appearance at various events and situations is confirmed by the following random sample of facts. For example, the song was sung at one of the polling stations in Ērgļi during the Latvian Parliament extraordinary elections in 2011⁶² and in a video greeting from the employees of the state enterprise *Latvijas valsts meži* (Latvia's State Forests) on the national holiday in 2013.⁶³ In 2020, the Latvian National Armed Forces Brass Band performed the song's instrumental arrangement at an open-air show by the Freedom Monument.⁶⁴ In 2024, in Riga, the song was included in the programme of the 1991 Baricades (for the defence of national independence) commemoration.⁶⁵

56 Latvijas Valsts mākslas akadēmijas 1. kursa studentu domas. *Padomju Jaunatne*, no. 23, 02.02.1989.

57 JAUNSLAVIETE, 11. 10. 2024.

58 GRAUZDIŅA – GRĀVĪTIS 1990, p. 167.

59 *Dziesmas jauktajiem koriem. X Latvijas skolu Jaunatnes dziesmu un deju svētki*. Rīga: Valsts jaunatnes iniciatīvu centrs, 2008, p. 4.

60 Since the 1990s, the Nationwide Latvian Song and Dance Celebration has been held once every five years.

61 BIRKMANIS, Gunārs. Latvijā dzied un dejo. *Latvija Amerikā*, no. 28, 17. 07. 1993; PĒTERSONE, Hedviga. Atkal Latvijā – atkal Dziesmu svētkos. *Latvija Amerikā*, no. 30, 31. 07. 1993; *Sadziedāšanās nakts grāmata. XXVI Vispārējie latviešu dziesmu un XVI deju svētki*. Rīga: Musica Baltica, 2018, p. 11.

62 Ērgļos nobalso koris tautastērpos un iecirknī nodzied *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*. 17. 09. 2011. <https://nra.lv/latvija/politika/55938-erglos-nobalso-koris-tautasterpos-un-iecirkni-nodzied-nevis-slinkojot-un-pustot.htm> [cit. 2024-15-07].

63 Sveicam Latviju dzimšanas dienā! 18. 11. 1913. <https://www.lvm.lv/jaunumi/arhivs/2013/2114-sveicam-latviju-dzimsanas-diena> [cit. 2024-15-07].

64 Bruņoto spēku orķestri zibakcijā pie Brīvības pieminekļa godina Latvijas Neatkarības kara simtgades noslēgumu. 11. 08. 2020. <https://lvportals.lv/dienaskartiba/318816-brunoto-speku-orkestri-zibakcija-pie-brivibas-pieminekla-godina-latvijas-neatkaribas-kara-simtgades-noslegumu-2020> [cit. 2024-15-07].

65 Barikādēm 33 – “Dziesmotā revolūcija” koru un tautas sadziedāšanās programmas. 20. 01. 2024. <https://barikades.lv/barikadem-33-dziesmota-revolucija-koru-un-tautas-sadziedasanas-programmas/> [cit. 2024-15-07].

Interestingly, singers of popular music have also sometimes turned their attention to *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*. For example, the well-known soloist (singer) Ainars Mielavs and his group *Pārcēlāji* closed their 2015 Christmas concert in Riga with an arrangement of the song.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, another version of the song (for voice and guitar) was performed by Latvian bard (songwriter and singer) Mikus Frišvalds at the opening of the annual Riga Music and Arts Festival *Bildes* in 2017. In Frišvalds' performance, the first three strophes of the song (the words of Čelakovský's/Alunāns') are sung as a hushed prayer (in *mezzo-piano* dynamics), while the last strophe (the text of Auseklis) – as a sudden mobilising address (in *forte* dynamics).⁶⁷

On the whole, in the most recent period of Latvian history (from the 1990s onwards), in cases of the singing practices of *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* in society, and, in the mentions of these instances in the media, more often are a precise reference to Čelakovský's and Auseklis's poems in the song's text.⁶⁸ This information can also be found in the popular reference literature.⁶⁹ Similarly, Jurjāns' *a cappella* song for choir with a text by Čelakovský/Alunāns/Auseklis is included in the curriculum for the teaching of Latvian history, literature and music in primary education⁷⁰ and the professional music education system in Latvia.⁷¹ Thus, the origin of this patriotic song text and music is preserved in the cultural memory of society.

Conclusions

The study of the well-known Latvian patriotic song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*, which has been sung for more than a century, sheds light on several issues.

The song's lyrics reveal several interactions between Czech and Latvian cultural processes in the 19th century, a time in the history of both nations when national movements and modern civil society were emerging. It was important for both nations to search for, formulate and disseminate ideas symbolising moral and ethical values in literature and the arts. František Ladislav Čelakovský's last collection of poetry, *Růže stolistá* (*The hundred-petalled rose*), inspired Czechs in the 19th century in their search for a national cultural identity. Thanks to the networking and activities of various persons (agents), the ideas

66 ŽILDE, Jānis. *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot: Mielavs un pārcēlāji koncertā*. TVNET, 29. 12. 2015. <https://sejas.tvnet.lv/5110275/nevis-slinkojot-un-pustot-mielavs-un-parcelaji-koncerta> [cit. 2024-15-07].

67 Mikus Frišfelds, *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* (BILDES 2017). YouTube, 02. 01. 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gi7FWJVv2yk> [cit. 2025-14-04].

68 However, the public notifications of this song regularly still forget to mention Auseklis as the author of the fourth strophe lyrics.

69 BĒRZIŅA, Ineta – SKRĪVELE, Kristīne. *Mana Latvija: himna, karogs, ģerbonis, svētku dienas un vēl...* Rīga: Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, p. 7.

70 Mūzika. *Skola 2030*. Uzdevumi. 9. Jurjānu A. dziesmas *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* teksta izpratne. <https://www.uzdevumi.lv/p/muzika-skola2030/7-klase/teksta-nozime-muzikas-satura-atklasmc-79200/re-458f775e-e1ad-4e3c-bdfa-0015e694445c> [cit. 2024-15-07].

71 TORGĀNS, Jānis. *Latviešu mūzikas virsotnes*. Palīglīdzeklis mūzikas vidusskolām latviešu mūzikas literatūras kursā. Rīga: Zinātne, 2010, p. 35.

of the Czech national movement also spread to Latvia, and, in the process, sonnet no. 92 from Čelakovský's collection came to the attention of Juris Alunāns, a first-generation leader of the Latvian national movement. This led to his free translation, or paraphrasing into Latvian, of Čelakovský's poem, which became a popular text in Latvian society in the second half of the 19th century. The text's longevity in Latvian cultural history and collective memory has been ensured by a *cappella* choral song composed by Andrejs Jurjāns at the end of the 19th century.

Later, in the 1920s and 30s, a tradition developed in Latvian society to supplement Jurjāns' song with a poetic toast to Latvia by the Latvian poet Auseklis. The composition of the patriotic song with four strophes (texts by Čelakovský/Alunāns and Auseklis) completely formed in the public perception in the second half of the 20th century, initially in the Latvian exile community, and after that, during the Third Awakening processes in Latvia in the late 1980s and early 90s.

Jurjāns' choral song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* became popular in Latvian society in the early 20th century, before the First World War. Later, this song was twice a contender for the status of national anthem of the Republic of Latvia, first shortly after the establishment of the Latvian state in 1918, and then again when the independence of the Republic of Latvia was restored following the Soviet occupation of 1944–1990/1991.

In the second half of the 1980s, when Latvia was undergoing the political process of democratisation and restoration of independence, *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* became one of the most popular songs at large political manifestations and various political and cultural events. Since the country regained its independence, the song has continued to be recognised and sung in Latvia up to the present day. Moreover, the first line of a song's lyrics (Not by lazing around and rotting) has become a widely used saying and metaphor in Latvia.

The study reveals that, since the early 20th century, the origin of the first three strophes (verses) of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* in a classic Czech poem has not been widely known by the Latvian public. One of the reasons for this is the fact that Alunāns did not cite Čelakovský's sonnet as the original text for his translation. Inaccurate public dissemination of the authorship of the Jurjāns song's text was characteristic throughout the 20th century. Only since the 1990s, when the origin of the song's lyrics has been explained both in reference literature and the education system, has Čelakovský's as well as Auseklis's lyrics presence in this song, which is so significant in Latvian cultural history, become better known.

Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory can be used to describe the rooting of this song in the common (collective) memory of Latvian society. According to Assmann's concept, the following are the signs/stages of cultivating an important value for society:

1. "*The concretion of identity.*" That is the formation of identity or the belonging of some significant cultural fact to society or a group in society, which then gains a notable self-unity or sense of uniqueness.
2. "*Capacity to reconstruct.*" The reconstruction potential exists as texts, images, behavioural requirements accumulated in archives and as a current topicality, which is assigned meaning.
3. "*Formation.*" A structuring expressed in realised significance and knowledge in active

communication and crystallisation, expanding these meanings and knowledge in society.

4. “*Organisation*.” Is expressed in the distributed meaning and knowledge in institutional support and its specialisation in the facilitation of this work.
5. “*Obligations*.” In the actualised cultural memory of certain significant facts, the nature of the included knowledge is expressed both in educational and normative (the confirmation of a certain behavioural requirement) functions.
6. “*Reflexivity*.” Cultural memory is reflective or reflexive in three ways: interpreting a collective behaviour with the help of texts, rituals, and other activities; it can gain inspiration on its own; it reflects a specific society’s or societal group’s formed opinion of itself.⁷²

Summarising the facts and data describing the reception of the song in various periods of the Latvian state, it can be concluded that, from the 1920s until the end of the 1980s, the stages of “*concretion of identity*”, “*capacity to reconstruct*” and “*formation*” were observed in the reception in Latvian society of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot*, both openly (in public) and in secret (during the Soviet occupation). After the restoration of Latvia’s independence, that is, beginning in the late 1980s, the song’s continued relevance was probably much more likely sustained by activities characteristic of the “*organisation*”, “*obligations*” and “*reflexivity*” stages. In line with these activities, the poetic message of Čelakovský’s/Alunāns’s and Auseklis’s texts has been preserved in Jurjāns’s choral composition. This may potentially stimulate new research on the poetic texts of Čelakovský/Alunāns and Auseklis, their meaning and various issues of reception in the study of Latvian as well as Czech literature, music and cultural history.

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Latvian National Digital Library. Periodicals available from <https://periodika.lv/>.

1092 mentions of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* from 1918 to 1940 in such Latvian newspapers and magazines (chronologically):

Latvju Mūzika; *Zemkopis*; *Ritums*; *Latvju Grāmata*; *Mūsu Nākotne*; *Jaunatnes Dzīve Skolā un Sētā*; *Ugunsdzēsējs*; *Izglītības Ministrijas Mēnešraksts*; *Policijas Vēstnesis*; *Jaunatnes Vadonis*; *Mūzikas Nedēļa*; *Latvijas Tīrītājs*; *Latvijas Jaunatne*; *Pret Sauli*; *Students*; *Latvijas Ērgļi*; *Jēkabpils Vēstnesis*; *Daugavas Vēstnesis*; *Latvijas Kareivis*; *Latvijas Lauksaimnieks*; *Domas*; *Jaunā Balss*; *Aizsargs*; *Valsts Darbinieku Balss*; *Mednieks un Makšķernieks*; *Mērniecības un Kultūrtehnikas Vēstnesis*; *Mūzika*; *Daugavas Vārds*;

72 ASSMANN, Jan, Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique*, no. 65, Durham: Duke University Press, 1995, p. 129–132.

Jaunā Zeme; Iekšlietu Ministrijas Vēstnesis; Ilustrēts Žurnāls; Ārpusskolas Izglītība; Audzinātājs; Latvijas Dzelzceļnieku Vēstnesis; Ugunskurs; Latvijas Bīskopis; Pirmdienas Rīts; Latvijas Drogists; Jūrmala; Daugava; Burtnieks; Latgales Ziņas; Jaunais Smiltēnes Vēstnesis; Madonas Vēstnesis; Nākotnes Spēks; Mans Žurnāls; Madonas Ziņas; Gulbenes Vēstnesis; Zemnīka Ziņas; Universitāte; Meža Dzīve; Artilērijas Apskats; Filma un Skatuve; Pašvaldības Balss; Latvijas Lopkopis un Pienasaimnieks; Strautiņš; Kooperatīvā Apdrošināšana; Pašvaldības Darbinieks; Dobeles Balss; Jūrnīks; Svāri; Īstā Dzīve; Zeltene; Mazpulks; Dzelzceļnieks; Kopdarbība; Ķemeru Ziņas; Pasta-Telegrāfa Dzīve; Jaunais Ceļš; Valdības Vēstnesis; Jaunais Cīrulītis; Vēstnesis; Jaunā Raža; Saule; Dzimtene un Pasaule; Rīts; Skolu Dzīve; Kooperatīvais Kredits; Zemgales Balss; Mūsu Īpašums; Sporta Pasaule; Kurzemes Vārds; Cēsu Vēstis; Ventas Balss; Pašvaldības Darbs; Tēvijas Sargs; Saldus Avīze; Latviešu Literāriskās un Labdarības Biedrības Mēnešraksts Bellarmīno; Jaunākās Ziņas; Bauskas Vēstnesis; Gulbenes Ziņas; Malienas Ziņas; Spārnotā Latvija; Daba un Zinātne; Atpūta; Smiltēnes Ziņas; Sējējs; Talsu Vārds; Mana Sēta.

141 mentions of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* from 1941 to 1944 in such Latvian newspapers and magazines (chronologically):

Bauskas Vēstnesis; Tālavietis; Cēsu Vēstis; Malienas Ziņas; Latvju Mēnešraksts; Tukuma Ziņas; Tēvija; Kurzemes Vārds; Daugavas Vēstnesis; Rēzeknes Ziņas; Jēkabpils Vēstnesis; Smiltēnietis; Izglītības Mēnešraksts; Talsu Vārds; Ventas Balss; Latvju Jaunatnes Organizācijas Vadītājs; Daugavas Vanagi; Latvju Jaunatne; Nākotne; Laikmets; Latvju Ziņas.

456 mentions of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* from 1945 to 1985 in such Latvian exile newspapers and magazines in Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, the United States, Canada and Australia (chronologically):

Latvju Ziņas; Upsalas Raksti; Vēstis; Fišbahas latviešu laikraksts; Liesma: "Ausmas" nometnes skauti un gaidas; Virsburgas Latviešu Vēstis; Latviešu Vēstnesis; Jaunās Ziņas; Mūsu Pagasts; Latvija; Tēvzeme; Nākotnes Ceļš; Latvju Vārds; Lāpa; Ceļš; Latvju Vārds; Londonas Avīze; Montreālas Latviešu Biedrības Ziņotājs; Laiks; Latvija Amerikā; Raksti; Austrālijas Latvietis; Laikmets; Trimdas Skola; Trimdas Skola; Meža Vēstis; Universitāte; Latviešu Ārstu un Zobārstu Apvienība; Tilts; Tehnikas Apskats; ELJA Informācija; Akadēmiskā Dzīve; Treji Vārti; ALA Žurnāls; Brīvība; Labietis; Čikāgas Ziņas; Toronto Latviešu Biedrības Informācijas Izdevums; LARA'S Lapa; Pēdējais Laiks.

The 230 mentions of the song *Nevis slinkojot un pūstot* from 1988 to 1991 in such Latvian newspapers and magazines (chronologically):

Literatūra un Māksla; Oktobra Karogs (Alūksne); Padomju Jaunatne; Liesma (Valmiera); Padomju Druva (Cēsis); Vaduguns (Balvi); Komunisma Rīts (Tukums); Padomju Zeme (Saldus); Komunisti (Liepāja); Skolotāju Avīze; Padomju Ceļš (Ogre); Komunārs (Dobele); Progress (Limbaži); Dzirkstele (Gulbene); Cīņa; Dzimtenes Balss; Darba Balss (Rīgas rajons); Jūrmala; Pionieris; Komunisma Uzvara (Aizkraukle); Darba Uzvara (Jelgava); Padomju Venta (Ventspils); Padomju Karogs (Talsi); Ļeņina Karogs (Priekule); Darba Karogs (Valka); Padomju Daugava (Jēkabpils); Par Komunisma Uzvaru (Ludza); Sports; Zvaigzne; Karogs; Padomju Dzimtene (Kuldīga); Stars (Madona); Jelgavas Ziņotājs; Komunisma Ausma (Krāslava); Ļeņina Ceļš (Liepājas rajons); Rīgas Balss; Kopsoli; Jelgavnieks; Latvijas Jaunatne; Neatkarīgā Cīņa; Diena; Atmoda.

Sheet music

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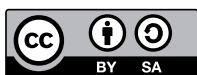
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