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Bohemica litteraria. 2023, vol. 26, iss. 1, pp. 47-66

ISSN 1213-2144 (print); ISSN 2336-4394 (online)

Stable URL (DOI): <https://doi.org/10.5817/BL2023-1-4>

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/digilib.78426>

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Access Date: 17. 02. 2024

Version: 20230719

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Unauthorised Printing Is Forbidden

A Contribution on the Authorship of Texts Appearing in 19th-century Pilgrimage Chapbooks Dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora

Markéta Holubová

ABSTRACT

Within the wide range of printed books focusing on religious themes, an important role was played by pilgrimage chapbooks. Their primary task was to increase the prestige and popularity of pilgrimage sites and strengthen the promotion of pilgrimage cults among believers. Pilgrimage chapbooks, as a period medium, played an important role, since they mainly addressed the lower strata of the population. In the presented study we will try to analyse the results of research concerning questions of motivation and the social origin of their creators, and the way in which texts of pilgrimage chapbooks were created in the 19th century. Our attention will therefore be focused on issues that have so far stood outside the professional interest of experts. The basis of this analysis are the pilgrimage chapbooks dedicated to Panna Marie Svatohorská, i.e. the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora (in English: “Holy Mountain”), one of the most revered pilgrimage cults in the Czech lands.

This paper was created with the institutional support RV0: 68378076, The Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnology.

KEYWORDS

Pilgrimage broadside ballads; pilgrimage chapbooks; pilgrimage sites; Virgin Mary; Svatá Hora; Příbram; 19th-century authors.

CZECH ABSTRACT

Patisk spisovatele se zapovídá. Příspěvek k autorství textů poutních kramářských tisků 19. století věnovaných Panně Marii Svatohorské

V široké škále tištěné knižní produkce s náboženskou tematikou zaujímaly významnou roli poutní tisky, jejichž hlavním posláním bylo zvýšení prestiže a slávy poutních míst a posílení propagace poutních kultů mezi věřícími. Specifickou úlohu sehrávaly poutní kramářské tisky, které jako dobové medium oslovovaly především nižší vrstvy obyvatelstva. V předložené studii se pokusíme analyzovat výsledky výzkumu týkajícího se otázky motivace, sociálního původu tvůrců a způsobu tvorby textů poutních kramářských tisků v 19. století, tedy zaměřeného na problematiku, která stála dosud mimo odborný zájem. Základem rozboru se staly poutní kramářské tisky, které se věnovaly Panně Marii Svatohorské, jednomu z nejuctívanějších poutních kultů v českých zemích.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

Poutní kramářské písně; poutní kramářské tisky; poutní místa; Panna Marie; Svatá Hora; Příbram; autoři 19. století.

Introduction

Within the wide range of printed books with religious themes, a specific role was played by pilgrimage prints, which were primarily intended to increase the prestige and fame of pilgrimage sites and to strengthen the promotion of pilgrimage cults among believers. In addition to a religious order's guidebooks, pilgrimage books, compendiums, and Marian atlases – geographical-hagiographic overviews of venerated Marian depictions, authors also presented separate treatises on the history of the respective pilgrimage site, which in large part consisted of texts devoted to the miraculous cases of answered prayers. A specific role was played by pilgrimage chapbooks, which as a contemporary medium appealed mainly to the lower classes. The popularity of these prints was closely related to the fact that, whereas miraculous statuettes, paintings and other church decorations had until then influenced believers mainly by their appearance, and could exert such effects only *in situ*, pilgrimage chapbooks were able to mediate (in the much welcome form of pictorial, textual and – in their essence – musical pieces) legends, miracles or religious symbols, and would

bring them literally into the believers' households. In other words, the pilgrim would have a certain form of evidence of God's existence right beside them.

As a rule, a pilgrimage chapbook was a small multi-page print, published mostly in octavo, in a twelve- and sixteen-inch format (exceptionally a thirty-two-inch one), which contained a lyrical or epic text with religious themes, in poetry or prose. Economics were the driving force in the creation of pilgrimage chapbooks: most important were the profits earned by the author, printer (who would primarily use economical printing methods) and seller (whose livelihood depended on the number of prints sold) (BĚHALOVÁ 2021: 82).

Pilgrimage chapbooks were distributed during pilgrimages and at local fairs, where they were sold in shops, at market stalls, or hawked in the streets, courtyards, or around villages (SCHEYBAL 1990: 19–30). Sometimes people first heard the text from the mouth of the leader of the pilgrimage procession or the market vendor, who would also sell it to those gathered. Believers then took the purchased print home, where they stored it separately but together with other chapbooks. Sometimes they would put it into prayer books, glue it to the lids of chests or on the inside of cabinet doors, or sometimes they created so-called "blocks" from the individual prints – home-sewn books to which other newly acquired prints were attached (HOLUBOVÁ 2021: 28). These self-made convolutes served the faithful as hymnbooks, books which they then read or recited from.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, pilgrimage chapbooks were usually the publishing undertaking of a printing house, which most frequently would be the one who financed the creation of these texts; the printing house would also look after distribution and sales. However, in the 19th century, a different economic environment emerged in this sector, in which printers managed to significantly increase the number of orders compared to their own publishing activities. For example, in the case of pilgrimage chapbooks made by a Jindřichův Hradec printing house in the 19th century, a publisher's name was given in fifty percent of their output (BĚHALOVÁ 2021: 91). It is also evident that, at that time, the number of prints where the name of the person responsible for the text had been recorded also increased, often with a precise determination of such person's share in the authorship of the text. The author of a chapbook or its editor was sometimes identical with that of the publisher and printer, sometimes with the seller–interpreter, depending on the publishing company (HOLUBOVÁ 2022a: 469–476; HOLUBOVÁ 2021: 34–45; SCHEYBAL 1990: 31–41; VOCHALA 1964: 3–19; SCHEYBAL, Snr 1955: 72–96).

In the presented paper, we will try to analyse the results of research concerning pilgrimage chapbooks in the 19th century – the question of motivation, the social origin of the creators, and the way the texts were created. Our attention will therefore be focused on issues that have so far stood outside the professional interest of experts. The basis of this analysis comes from pilgrimage chapbooks dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora,¹ one of the most revered pilgrimage cults in the Czech lands.²

Authors and creators

After the year 1800, chapbook production dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora (in Czech also *Svatohorská*) began to include prints that had the author's data on the title page or at the end of the print, or at least recorded the author's initials.³ Generally speaking, the authors of the Svatá Hora broadside chapbooks were recruited from the ranks of Marian admirers, who published their chapbooks purely out of personal impulses. Statements about their motivation can be recorded either in the title of the press (e.g. where one zealous Virgin Mary devotee described his personal aim as being to increase the honour and praise of the Virgin Mary), or at the end of the text, after the last stanza, as an afterword in the form of a short rhyme, e.g. “Tvůj ctitel věrný tu píseň složil, by tej Matičce chválu rozmnožil.” (“Your faithful admirer composed the song, wishing to increase the praise of the Holy Mother”). It is also necessary to take into account the fact that each composition, even in the case of prints containing folk songs and folk religious texts, had at least its recorder or arranger. A typical example would be that of Jan Josef Rudl (1792–1864) (CHY-BA: 1966–1980: 107), a Prague copperplate engraver, publisher, and printer of

- 1) Between 2018 and 2022, collections of broadside chapbooks were catalogued in heritage institutions (in particular, museums and scientific libraries) in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and with an overlap into Slovakia. A total of 1,000 broadside chapbooks were discovered in which the designation of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora appeared on the front page; at the same time, they had different incipits or woodcuts.
- 2) Svatá Hora near Příbram is one of the most important pilgrimage sites in the Czech Republic, also acclaimed abroad, where the pious have been flocking since the Baroque era down, almost, to the present. A “Miraculous Statuette” is venerated and promoted here, the origin of which dates back to the reign of Charles IV (14th century). Its alleged creator is considered to be the first Archbishop of Prague, Arnošt of Pardubice. After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773, the site was temporarily administered by secular priests until 1861, when Svatá Hora passed into the administration of the Redemptorists.
- 3) In the case of Svatá Hora chapbooks, we have documented six author's ciphers (or cipher-texts), three of which we have managed to identify.

sheet music and copperplate engravings, who published in Prague in 1844 with the Jewish printer Moshe Yisrael Landau (1788–1852) (KUDEĚLA 1990: 407–436) a chapbook under the title “Maria Matka Boží svatohorská [...]” (“Mary Mother of God of Svatá Hora [...]).

Specifically, we have recorded 20 authors, including one woman. These authors mainly composed song lyrics, but they also wrote prayers. Although we do not have much detailed information about most of them, small fragments are presented to us by the chapbooks themselves in the form of the author’s name, indicated on the title page or at the end of the print, together with a site name – most often the author’s place of origin – and the author’s profession (HOLUBOVÁ 2021: 38), for example: “Bernard Jansa, singer from the village of Čermná (near the town of Lanškroun)”; “Václav Veselý from the village of Nová Ves in the Dobříš district”; “Vít David from the village of Fričany”; “Fr[antišek]. Hron of Wo-n”; or “Václav J. Krejza, writer of religious songs, according to reliable reports” (in other chapbooks he is mentioned as a Czech singer or a “limb” of the brotherhood. They most frequently referred to themselves as composers, writers or publishers,⁴ and they tried to protect the copyright to their texts by adding the formula: “Unauthorised printing of the compositor/writer is forbidden”.

The authors of the texts dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora came from various social groups; among the first were representatives of the clergy. This finding is certainly not surprising, since the clergy represented a community whose involvement in pastoral activities derived from their own mission. Some found inspiration directly at Svatá Hora near Příbram as celebrants, preachers, and members of Marian brotherhoods, others accompanied believers to this place of pilgrimage (SCHMIDT 1938: 108).

The authorisation/approval of broadside prints by the clergy was expressed by the insertion of a cipher consisting of the initial letters of the author’s name (e.g. “issued by the clergyman V.L.”), or, alternatively, by a general reference to the place of their activity and function performed (e.g. “a priest in the village of Slivice”). In the year 1800, an author’s name appeared for the first time directly

4) In 19th-century chapbook production, we can distinguish two types of publishers. The first involved a publisher investing (whether as a natural person or legal entity) their own financial resources in the production and distribution of books and associated goods (for profit and often also for education purposes) whilst, however, bearing the risk of possible loss. The second concerned publishing as an independent profession allowing for self-employment: instead of royalties, writers received an agreed number of copies which they further distributed themselves, thus relieving printers, publishers, and booksellers of a part of their obligations. The latter alternative, i.e. when the publisher-writer-compiler was the same person, was characterised on chapbooks with the designation “a self-published print”.

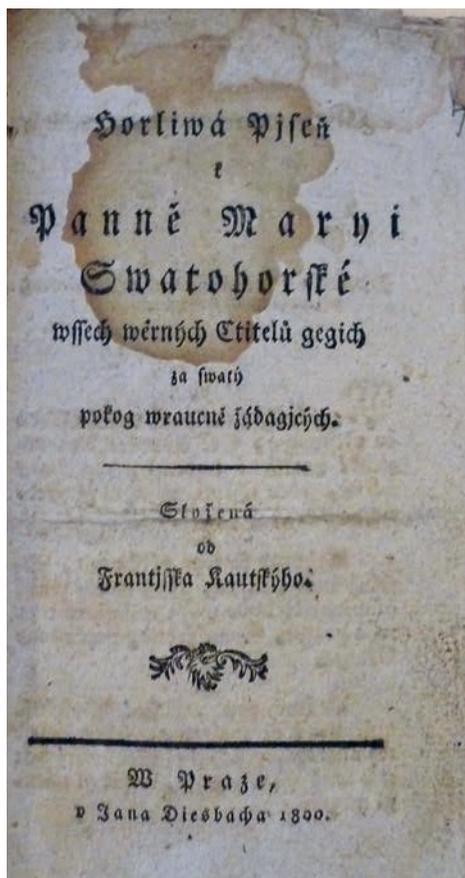


Figure 1. The first introduction of the author on the title page of a broadside ballads dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora (Holy Mountain). Private collection.

on the front page of a chapbook, and the author was a priest.⁵ He was František Koutský-Serafinský (1769–1835),⁶ a Catholic priest originally from the village of Dašice who became famous as a preacher, author of printed sermons and hymns, and who at the end of his life (between 1824 and 1835) lived in the village of Hostivař (nowadays a district of Prague). His close relationship to the Marian pilgrimage site was also confirmed by an entry in the book at Svatá Hora used for recording external celebrants, according to which he celebrated a Holy Mass at Svatá Hora on June 8, 1834.⁷

5) Kautský, František. *Horlivá píseň k Panně Marii Svatohorské* [...], 1800, private collection.

6) AUT NL CR. [Accessed December 15, 2022]. https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000017852&local_base=AUT.

7) NA Praha, fond Řád redemptoristů, Svatá Hora, sign. H 7, *Kniha pro zápisy cizích celebrantů, 1776–1835*, inv. č. 53: Anno 1834: 8 Junii Franciscus Kautsky, curatus Hostivocensis.

The theme of pilgrimages, the legendary *topoi* of the Madonna Svatohorská (the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora), and the veneration of the Miraculous Statuette by believers was reflected in three broadside ballads⁸ by Antonín Tichovský (1819–1882),⁹ a priest and native of the village of Kobylisy (today a district of Prague), which were distributed during the second half of the 19th century in several Prague shops and publishing houses. We have only been able to learn marginal details about the author himself (HONEJSEK 1895: 57). He was ordained a priest on August 2, 1846. Initially a chaplain in the village of Bohnice (nowadays a Prague district), from 1851 he was a chaplain in the Týn Church in the Old Town, and in 1871 he became a clergyman in the village of Libeň (today another district of Prague). He spent the last years of his life as a priest near Prague, in the village of Kojetice, where he died after a short illness on January 16, 1882. As in the case of the priest František Koutský-Serafinský, between 1848–1877 we find him as a regular celebrant of masses at Svatá Hora church.¹⁰

One of the authors from among the clergy also represented a religious order, namely the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star. He was Jan Pelikán, about whom, however, apart from the records in the book of external mass celebrants at Svatá Hora between 1836–1850,¹¹ we have no further information. According to these records, however, in the years 1836–1842 he worked as a curator and administrator in Klučnice, a village located in the south-eastern part of the Příbram district, and in the following eight years he carried out similar activities in the village of Borotice, less than 10 km from the town of Dobříš. In 1840, he published under the title “Uctění Panny Marie Svatohorské” (“Honouring the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora”) a broadside ballad to strengthen the friendly bonds of pilgrims travelling to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora.

František Budislav Veverka (1793–1830) came from the ranks of the civil service (KUSÁKOVÁ 2008: 1322–1323). Already during his studies in Prague, he was in contact with local patriots, contributed to Czech magazines, and devoted himself to music and amateur acting in the Estates Theatre. After completing his studies, he worked as a junior official at Prague City Hall. He wrote poems,

8) Tichovský, Antonín. *Chvalozpěv k svatohorské Rodičce Boží*, 1857, KNM KP H 77/1; *Píseň poutnická k svatohorskému obrazu Rodičky Boží Marie Panny*, 1863, KNM KP Hlava 411; *Poutnická píseň ke cti Panny Marie Svatohorské*, 1867, KNM KP Hlava 484.

9) AUT NL CR, [online], [Accessed November 15, 2022]. https://aleph.nkp.cz/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000038344&local_base=AUT.

10) NA Praha, fond Redemptoristé, Svatá Hora, sign. H 7/2, *Kniha pro zápisy cizích celebrantů, 1835–1909*, inv. č. 54: Anno 1848–1877 (without folio numbering).

11) NA Praha, fond Redemptoristé, Svatá Hora, sign. H 7/2, *Kniha pro zápisy cizích celebrantů, 1835–1909*, inv. č. 54: Anno: 1836–1850 (without folio numbering) Joannes Pelikán, Ord. Crucigerorum cum Rubea Stella Presbyter.



Figure 2. The method of stating the authorship in broadside ballads. Private collection.

pieces of prose, religious literature, and theatrical translations from German. He was one of the first national revival novelists who enriched literary Czech with the phraseology of everyday speech. Perhaps this is why he is so highly rated among the authors of broadside ballads. His composition referencing Svatá Hora was a “Chvalozpěv k uctění [...] mariánského obrazu Panny Marie Svatohorské [...]” (“Hymn in Honour [...] to the Marian image of the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora [...]”), which he published on the occasion of the proclamation of the Jubilee Summer (1825). In the hymn he describes a pilgrimage from Prague to Svatá Hora, emphasising a station on the pilgrimage route associated with a particular pilgrimage ritual – the so-called “bow”.

Among the authors of the Svatá Hora chapbooks we can also find a performing artist (theatre). Under the cipher “J. St.” is concealed a certain Josef Jirí Stankovský (1844–1879), who came from the wealthy family of an estate ad-

administrator (LANTOVÁ: 334–337). He spent his youth in the village of Čelákovice, where his father bought a farm. He graduated from a grammar school in Prague, but his subsequent law studies were gradually abandoned in favour of writing and the theatre. He was also bound to the theatre through his marriage to the daughter of Pavel Švanda of Semčice (1825–1891), a theatre director in Prague, Pilsen, and Brno. Stankovský's plays were performed from the 1860s in established theatres, although his attempt to manage a theatre of his own ended after two years in 1875 with bankruptcy and subsequent serious illness. He spent the last few years of his life in Prague and earned his living exclusively by writing short stories and novels. He published them in magazines and popular printed series focused on ethnographic writing. This work probably also led him to compose lyrics for broadside songs. Examination of the *Svatá Hora* broadside chapbooks has revealed the existence of one of his pilgrimage songs, "Píseň k Panně Marii Svatohorské" ("Songs to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora"), in which he describes in detail the expressions of respect shown by believers to the Miraculous Statuette.

The development of printed production in the 19th century, together with improving education and a decline in illiteracy, brought about an unexpected development in chapbook production, which was also assisted by shopkeepers or wandering songwriters from the poorest social backgrounds. The number of these "people's" poets and reporters reached into the hundreds, if not thousands (SCHEYBAL, Snr 1955: 72), and thus this faction belonged to one of the most numerous groups of authors of chapbooks. Travelling the country selling chapbooks and broadside ballads along pilgrimage routes, at fairs, and in the countryside in general, was a means of keeping one's head above water, and often the only way many retired soldiers (often war invalids), soldiers' widows, or people rendered homeless for various reasons could earn a living.

A specific group of songwriters were pilgrim procession leaders, the "model" or lead singers of the procession, popularly referred to as "elder brothers" or *celfotři* (from the German *Zellen Vaters*). These were persons on whose shoulders rested the preparation, organisation, and course of the pilgrimage (HOLUBOVÁ 2015: 78). They covered the financial expenses associated with the journey (e.g. accommodation, meals, musicians, offertories) and they ensured order in the procession and adherence to the day's schedule and regime. The leader was even responsible for making sure that pilgrims' injuries were treated along the way. The function of a pilgrim leader was prestigious, often inherited through generations in one family, and could only be performed by men. Not until the

beginning of the 20th century do we also find women in the role, who as daughters followed in the footsteps and bore the legacy of their fathers, women such as Marta Vrbová from Zákřany u Rosic (HOLUBOVÁ 2022a: 472).

The singing of songs and recitation of prayers at the head of processions, however, remained the procession leader's most prestigious task. Since these leaders tended to be accomplished singers, it was also up to them to select and compile the repertoire of songs sung during the pilgrimage. They often participated in the publication of pilgrimage broadside ballads as authors, or at least in the capacity of editors. We are also informed about their song work by the chapbooks themselves. For example, on the front page of a pilgrimage book about the Madonna of Mariazell, one can read the following text: "Upon the request of Maria-Zellen pilgrims, renewed by the leader of Czech processions and devotions, Vojtěch Konrád, who also arranged for the printing hereof [...]" (HOLUBOVÁ 2018: 197).

There were also leaders of pilgrimages who kept and passed on records of the melodies of pilgrimage songs in sheet music; they published or wrote pilgrimage books. One was Antonín Mička (1809–1892) from Brno (MIČKA 1868), another was František Karel Pik, a teacher and pilgrimage leader from the village of Pertoltice near Kutná Hora (DUFKA 2022: 92–93). The youngest manuscript of a pilgrimage book recorded so far dates to 1944 and was created by Leo Doubravský, Dačice's "elder brother" (DOUBRAVSKÝ 1944). We also know the diary of the pilgrimage leader Šebestián Kubínek (1799–1882), a native of the village of Blažejov (JANČÍK 1941), or the biography written by the pilgrimage leader František Hais (1818–1899) (RYŠAVÁ 1985).

Among the most important leading singers of the pilgrimage processions travelling to Svatá Hora was the Prague organ grinder and songwriter František Hais (RYŠAVÁ 1993: 23–25; PAŘÍZKOVÁ 2014: 285–298). His fame was certainly due to the memoirs written by him, which were also published in print (RYŠAVÁ 1985). Hais' life story followed the same course of many other nameless songwriters, as illness and the poor financial situation of his family drove him to door-to-door song-selling and accompanying pilgrims to places of pilgrimage. After the 1850s, this activity became Hais' main occupation. His efforts to obtain official permission to play the barrel organ and sell broadside ballads were unsuccessful, and he was often charged and penalised by the police. In the 1870s, František Hais' song-writing activities began to decline, forcing him to apply for a municipal job and become a Prague streetsweeper. In 1888, he was admitted to the municipal poorhouse at St. Bartholomew's, where he

spent the last years of his life and wrote his memoirs. He was buried in 1899 at the Olšany cemetery, Prague. The number of Hais' compositions is estimated at four hundred (RYŠAVÁ 1993: 24). Many of the commissioned broadside ballads were also published anonymously or under someone else's name. A number of texts in alternative versions were repeatedly published by different printers.

So far we have found ten pilgrimage chapbooks that František Hais dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora, six of which were broadside ballads¹² and four prayers.¹³ He not only composed texts, but also adopted or adapted folk songs and poetry to create pilgrimage broadside ballads, and he provided individual compositions with melodies from popular spiritual or folk songs. These pilgrimage broadside ballads covered various aspects of the pilgrimage to Svatá Hora near Příbram. The ballads were sung at the beginning of, as well as during the pilgrimage at the individual stations – most often at the so-called “bowing”, and also upon arrival at the Marian pilgrimage site,¹⁴ as well as when delivering the farewell and departing the complex. The publication of Hais' compositions was provided by the Landfras printing house in Jindřichův Hradec; Eugen Peterson, a businessman of the town of Příbram, was designated as the publisher.

The celebration of the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the coronation of the Miraculous Statuette, which was taking place at Svatá Hora for the first time under the administration of the Redemptorists,¹⁵ became the inspiration for a broadside composition entitled “Nová píseň k Panně Marii Svato-Horské, k jubilejní slavnosti 1882 přiměřená” (“A New Song to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora, appropriate to the jubilee celebration of 1882”). It was composed by Antonín Mička (in ČERNUŠÁK – ŠTĚDROŇ – NOVÁČEK 1965: 89), a native of the village of Dolní Bobrová, who spent most of his life in Brno. A carpenter by trade (IBID.), he also composed songs and was for many years the “elder brother” for pilgrims at St. Tomas' Church in Brno (KOLEK 1942: 266). For the needs of Mariazell pilgrims he compiled a pilgrimage book called *Appendix to the*

12) Hais, František. *Píseň loučící od Panny Marie na svaté Hoře*, 1858, KNM KP Hlava 415; *Nábožná píseň ku příchodu na svatou Horu*, [...], 1858, MJH K 4382; *Chvalozpěv mariánský o krásné zahradě na příbramské Hoře*, 1858, MJH K 4381; *Píseň na radostný máj. Touha poutnická po kvítku mariánském na hoře svaté kvetoucí*, [1850–1899], KNM KP J 135/1; *Horlivá píseň k Panně Marii*, [...] rezidence svatohorský, 1859, MJH K 3160; *Píseň ke cti nejblahoslavenější Rodičky Boží Svatohorské* [...], 1859, MJH K 4343.

13) Hais, František. *Žalostné loučení před obrazem Panny Marie Svatohorské*, 1858, MJH K 6004; *Přivítání před obrazem Rodičky Boží Svatohorské*, 1858, KNM L.A. 1936/186; *Bolestné loučení s Pannou Marií Svato-Horskou*, [1850–1899], MJH K 4357; *Nábožná modlitba k obrazu blahoslavené Rodičky Boží Svatohorské*, [1850–1899], MJH K 4372.

14) Hais was particularly interested in pilgrimages that took place in May. In the 19th century, the month of May was consecrated to the Virgin Mary, and so-called “May devotions” were also held at this time; see ADAM 1998: 212.

15) For more details about the origin of the coronation ceremony of the Miraculous Statuette, see ROYT 1990: 132–150; for more details on celebrations of the coronation in the 19th century, see HOLAS 1929: 659–663.

Zellen Journey, which was first published in 1868 in Brno. In a number of broadside chapbooks, in addition to compositions with secular themes, he focused on topics including the Virgin Mary and Marian pilgrimage sites such as Svatá Hora near Příbram, Mariazell, and Filipov. He was also interested in Christological topics connected with Easter. Antonín Mička figured in chapbooks not only as writer, but also as publisher, and his broadside work was published in several printing houses, in particular by Josefa Bergerová in the town of Litomyšl, and later on by Vladimír Augusta in Brno or Antonín Halouska in Olomouc.

The creators of broadside ballads handled the text rather freely, treating it in a variety of different ways. It was common practice for songwriters to take lyrics from each other and adapt them to their own needs. Despite all reservations of rights, and the prohibitions on making printed copies and counterfeiting, those texts that received most acclaim were published by printers without giving information about the original author (SCHEYBAL, Snr 1955: 74). Naturally, the greatest number of compositions comprised reprints from older broadside production. One text would be routinely published by several publishers in different parts of the country.

This kind of practice was displayed by authors Václav Veselý, František Huněk, Jan Hošek and Václav J[osef] Krejza in their work dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora. This fact is confirmed directly on the title pages of broadside ballads, where it is inscribed: “Restated and reprinted” or “Rewritten and republished”. We have no further information about most of these authors. An exception is Václav J. Krejza, about whom more detailed biographical data has been preserved in the birth, marriage, and death registers. He was born on August 18, 1802, in the village of Dědibaby (formerly Jedibaby) near Mělník, in house No. 50 as the son of a cottager.¹⁶ On November 22, 1825, in the same village he married a widow Kateřina Anna Richtrová, five years his senior,¹⁷ with whom he established his own family. He died in Dědibaby as a widower on May 2, 1881.¹⁸ It can be assumed that the inspiration for Krejza’s broadside work was not only his infatuation with Svatá Hora as a place of pilgrimage, but that such feelings were given fuller rein by his membership in the Bratrstvo Nejsvětějšího Srdce blahoslavené Panny Marie (Brotherhood of the Sacred Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary),¹⁹ which was founded at Svatá Hora in 1861 (HOLAS 1929: 730). Vá-

16) SOA Praha, fond Římskokatolická církev, kniha Hostín č. 3, Matrika narozených 1784–1842, p. 21.

17) SOA Praha, fond Římskokatolická církev, kniha Hostín č. 3, Matrika oddaných 1784–1842, p. 6.

18) SOA Praha, fond Římskokatolická církev, kniha Hostín č. 3, Matrika zemřelých 1841–1934, f. 125r.

19) Krejza, Václav. *Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii Svatohorské, [...]*, 1857, MZK VK-0000.185,5; *Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii Svato-Horské*, 1859, MZK VK-0000.293,2.

clav J. Krejza joined the Brotherhood together with his wife and son on May 1, 1863, which was also confirmed by the registration records in the local Brethren Book.²⁰ A year later he dedicates a broadside song to the same organisation, “Nábožná píseň ku poctě [...] Bratrstva neposkvrněného srdce Marie Panny na Svaté Hoře” (“A Hymn in Honour [...] of the Brotherhood of the Immaculate Heart of Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora”), which he signs in the following manner: “From/By Václav Krejza, a limb of the same brotherhood”.

As mentioned above, there was also a woman among the creators of the Svatá Hora chapbooks. Women writers engaged in literary production were still quite rare in the Pre-March Period (1830–1848), with their number increasing only during the 1840s (KUSÁKOVÁ 2009: 55). Broadside ballads written by women or published at their own expense were distributed only from the second half of the 19th century. These prints were predominantly compilations of broadside ballads that were sung to a well-known melody. Our author is Rozálie Vondráčková, from the village of Osík in Eastern Bohemia, who during the second half of the 19th century arranged to publish a broadside composition with the help of two Litomyšl printers – Josefa Bergerová and Vladimír Augusta – under the title “Nábožná píseň k Panně Marii Svatohorské” (“A Religious Song to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora”). Her autobiographical details might help clarify the source of motivation or impulse for the creation of broadside ballads by female authors.

Clues for this creative urge can potentially be found in the birth, marriage, and death registers,²¹ which reveal the tragic story of a village family. Rozálie Vondráčková, née Zachařová, was born on July 26, 1824, in Osík near Litomyšl in the family of a cottager. At the age of 24 she married František Vondráček, a farmer from the same village, with whom she had four children. Her first daughter Anna (b. December 24, 1848) was illegitimate, and died of dropsy shortly after reaching the age of six on February 3, 1855. The other two daughters Rozálie (b. April 25, 1851) and Magdalena (b. May 22, 1855) lived to adulthood. On the other hand, the only son, Francis, who was born on May 29, 1853,

20) NA Praha, fond Redemptoristé, Svatá Hora, sign. H 26, Kniha bratrstva Nejsvětějšího Srdce blahoslavené Panny Marie, 1861–1865 (unfoliated): Entry No. 16196: 1 May 1863 Josef Krejza of Jedibaby; Record No. 16197: 1 May 1863 Anna Krejza of Jedibaby; Record No. 16199: 1 May 1863 Václav Krejza of Jedibaby.

21) SOA Zámrsk, Farní úřad římskokatolické církve Litomyšl, územní rozsah Osík, Matrika narozených 1820–1836, inv. č. 5306 (sign. 1313), kniha 4541; SOA Zámrsk, Farní úřad římskokatolické církve Litomyšl, územní rozsah Osík, Matrika narozených 1837–1890, inv. č. 5313 (sign. 5441); SOA Zámrsk, Farní úřad římskokatolické církve Litomyšl, územní rozsah Osík, Matrika oddaných 1842–1864, inv. č. 5329 (sign. 1322); SOA Zámrsk, Farní úřad římskokatolické církve Litomyšl, územní rozsah Osík, Matrika zemřelých 1828–1863, inv. č. 5344 (sign. 1330), kniha 4579.



Figure 3. A woman as an author of a broadside ballads. Private collection.

died on July 21, 1854. According to the death register, it was probably a case of accidental drowning. Three years later, Rozálie Vondráčková suffered another life-changing disaster, burying her husband on November 19, 1857, when he was only 32 years old.

We can hypothesise that initiating the publication of a broadside ballad with a Marian theme represented a specific form of supplication (HOLUBOVÁ 2014: 68; IBID. 2022b: 88–89), by which the widow Rozálie asked Our Lady of Svatá Hora to protect her family and help her in a difficult situation.

As to the remaining eight composers of Svatá Hora compositions, we could not find any further information about them.

Conclusion

After the year 1800, in the chapbooks dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora we see prints that provide information about authors on the title page, or at the end of the print; such information is provided at least in the form of the author's initials (ciphers). Specifically, 20 authors have been identified, including one woman. These authors mainly composed broadside ballads, but they also created prayers.

The author of the chapbook, or its editor, was sometimes identical with the publisher and printer, sometimes with the seller-interpreter, depending on the publishing company. Authors most frequently referred to themselves as composers, writers, or publishers. The authors of texts dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Svatá Hora came from several social groups, first and foremost among which we find representatives of the clergy. The name of a priest as author appeared on the title page of a Svatá Hora chapbook for the first time in 1800. Among the authors of the Svatá Hora chapbooks, we can also find a performing artist (theatre) and civil servant. Songwriters represent the biggest group of broadside printers, among whom a specific sub-group consisted of pilgrim leaders.

The creators of broadside ballads handled the text rather freely, treating it in a variety of different ways. It was common practice for songwriters to take lyrics from each other and adapt them to their needs. Despite all reservations of rights, and the prohibitions on making printed copies and counterfeiting, those texts that received most acclaim were published by printers without giving information about the original author. Naturally, the greatest number of compositions comprised reprints from older broadside production. One song was routinely published by several publishers in different parts of the country.

Thematically, the authors dealt with the history and legends of the pilgrimage site, the veneration of the Miraculous Statuette, the celebration of important church festivities (coronation anniversary, the "merciful summer"), and other aspects of the pilgrimage. Some authors found inspiration directly at Svatá Hora as celebrants of masses, or as members of the local Marian brotherhood. In rare cases, the publication of a broadside ballad with a prayer was also a supplication, a specific kind of *votum*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AUT NL CR – Databáze národních autorit Národní knihovny České republiky (Database of National Authorities of the National Library of the Czech Republic)

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

MJH – Muzeum Jindřichohradecka (Jindřichův Hradec Museum), Jindřichův Hradec

MZK – Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)

NA – Národní archiv (National Archives), Praha

SOA – Státní oblastní archiv (State Regional Archives), Praha, Zámorsk

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