UNITED IN DIVERSITY:
ANTHEMS AND FLAGS
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Foreword by António Vitorino
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FOREWORD
by António Vitorino

In my capacity both as a minister in my own country’s government and as a European commissioner, I have found myself speaking on numerous occasions in places decked with the flags of Portugal and of the European Union (EU), or after listening to “A Portuguesa” or the “Ode to Joy”.

Naturally I am familiar with the story of my own country’s flag, which was adopted by the Republic in 1911 and which is noteworthy, in particular, for its escutcheon containing five shields echoing at once both Christian and royal references. And I have certainly lost count of the number of times I have sung the anthem written by my fellow countryman Henrique Lopes de Medonça and set to music by Alfredo Keil, although I realise he may not be as famous as Ludwig van Beethoven!

I must confess, however, that, like most Europeans, I am infinitely less familiar with the story and meaning of the flags and anthems of the EU’s other member states. Thus it was with immense joy that I read this study produced under the guiding hand of Pierre-Robert Cloet, because it enabled me not only to fill many of the gaps in my knowledge but also to gain a deeper understanding of the history that has forged the individual character of so many countries “united in their diversity”.

Notre Europe - Institut Jacques Delors is perhaps the institute best placed to publish such a study inasmuch as it perfectly illustrates the concept of a “European federation of nation states” promoted by our founder president. The construction of Europe has laid the groundwork for lasting reconciliation among the countries in the EU, to the point where the fiercest showdowns between them these days are of the sporting variety! The Union makes sense in a globalising world, yet in its partners’ and competitors view “Europe” is growing old and shrinking. The answer is not to build a new nation or superstate but
to forge greater unity among countries and peoples while continuing to respect their unique characteristics and features.

I was particularly struck by the symbolic tension that was sparked by the work done by the “Convention on the Future of Europe”, in which Michel Barnier and I represented the European Commission. Not only was the attempt to give the EU a “Constitution”, with implicit reference to the United States of America, eventually thwarted, but the Treaty of Lisbon even had to forgo referring to the European flag and anthem as symbols indicating membership of the EU in order to ensure its unanimous ratification by all member states. These signs of symbolic reticence are, I feel, all the more regrettable in that, in my view, it is perfectly possible to feel more than one sense of belonging, on different levels. I myself, for instance, am perfectly comfortable feeling “Lisboeta”, Portuguese, European and even a “citizen of the world”. While I consider it an illusion to call for the demise of national sentiment, I think it is not only possible but actually desirable to feel an attachment both to one’s country and to the EU.

A feeling of belonging is something you build, it is a result result of imaginary interpretation and needs to be rooted first and foremost in a political project, but it can also be usefully rooted in such tools as flags and national anthems. In the EU’s case it is not simply a matter of getting the peoples of Europe to feel greater attachment to the star-spangled flag or to the “Ode to Joy”. It is also necessary to help them learn more about the flags towards which their “European compatriots” turn and the anthems they entone on ceremonial occasions, at European sporting events or during the Olympic Games.

Bearing all of this in mind, this study has the merit of homing in on the nitty-gritty, of getting straight to the heart of the matter, condensing in a few lines the reasons why certain colours, words and tunes make our neighbours’ hearts beat that little bit faster. It is particularly useful, and even unique, in that it does not make do with simply introducing the EU countries’ symbols in alphabetical order, it also illustrates the historical context that led to the development and adoption of the flags and anthems, grouping them together in like categories. So for instance, as you leaf through the pages you can discover those anthems that “pay tribute to the monarchy and the homeland or to the people, that extol the beauty of the landscape, that adopt a martial tone or that appeal for harmony, freedom and justice”. You can then go on to decipher the flags on
the basis of their primary source of inspiration, for instance "regions, provinces or intra-national entities, national symbols, the colours of the monarchy (or) of sources shared by a number of different countries”.

I am especially pleased that Notre Europe – Institut Jacques Delors publishes this study at a time when the EU is criss-crossed with social and political tension of unprecedented magnitude and based frequently on caricature and stereotype, and shortly before all of us go to the polls to elect our European parliamentarians in May 2014. I warmly recommend this unique and valuable study to all those Europeans who are eager to find out more about the neighbours with whom, together, they form this equally unique and precious Union.

António Vitorino
President of Notre Europe – Institut Jacques Delors
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The idea behind this piece of work is to highlight the meanings and context underlying the appearance of the main symbols attached to each EU member country, that are the national anthem and the flag, by also associating the portrayal of this union. What is expressed through these emblems varies from one country to another. To help the reader find points in common, we have avoided simple alphabetic order. Instead, we have used typology keys which seemed to us more relevant.

Regarding the national anthems, we have decided upon a presentation based on musical patterns and the major themes reflected through each one. These reveal the content of the texts, the harmonies or general historic contexts: they pay tribute to a monarchy or a homeland and a people, evoke the beauty of the country, display a battle-like tone or call for peace, freedom and justice. The flags will be classified according to the themes that influenced their creation. We will group the banners according to the main source of inspiration: regions, provinces or intra-national entities; national symbolism; colours of the monarchy; sources common to several countries such as the Dannebrog banner, the Slavic colours, the French Revolution. The informed reader will understand that a same flag or anthem could have been classified in two or more categories!

The sources that have allowed us to present these national emblems to you are numerous, various, often redundant and sometimes contradictory. We have consulted the official websites of the various countries, and other websites dealing with this theme. Several specific works deserve special attention and interested readers can consult them for their pleasure and benefit. We also indicate several useful historical works to understand the historic contexts that influenced the choice of nations, their people and their leaders. Through this journey in time and space we also hope to highlight what are the most precious elements within the European Union: a common and shared history.
Lastly, we have decided to give short presentations, of consistent size, when possible, from one country to another. There is much more to tell. The spirit of our approach is mainly that of showing when and how men and people **claimed ownership of these symbols**: symbols of nations, symbols shared by all the countries of the EU. The European flag and the national flags fly side by side on public buildings. These shared emblems are **ours**.
The European Union today is made up of 28 countries. Other States express their desire to join this group, while direct neighbours are establishing privileged cooperative relations with the member countries. And yet, many Europeans feel more rooted in their own national or even regional territories, than in this great community. Everyone, in every country, feels strong emotion on hearing the national anthem and on seeing the national flag.

Living together in a vast territory is not just about circulating with ease for some and having a common currency for others. It is also and above all about knowing each other better in order to appreciate each other more and exchange views and ideas. Since the Middle Ages, collections of images have been shared at European level. The common collective imagination is marked by student and teacher exchanges, by the elite travelling to Italy to rub shoulders with humanism, a taste for the sciences and artistic creation. The Europeans are thus heirs of the history of nation-states, but above all of a collective set of knowledge, representations and shared values. It is this collective imagination that serves as a model for society based on the diversity of cultures, while at the same time rediscovering shared hopes through national symbols.

There are endless ways of becoming familiar with each other. One of these, i.e. understanding the origins and meanings borne by the main national symbols and emblems, constitutes a way of touching on what our neighbours feel when they hear the notes and words of their national anthem, when they see their national flag hoisted and blowing in the wind.

Recognising the flags of our neighbours, identifying their national anthem from the very first notes and words. Understanding in what historic context these emblems were created, how and why they were chosen to represent the nation. Trying to grasp the meaning that touches our neighbours so as to be
able to position ourselves at the heart of what it is that makes the Italian, Latvian or Irish people what they are. Making visible past histories that intertwine, the various influences that forged shared references between EU countries. Making the values we share more discernible. Such are the ambitions of this study.
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### Flags Classified by Date of Creation

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The songs and melodies that today make up the national anthems of the EU countries are the result of a secular line of thought: from their emergence, to real appropriation by the people, to finally becoming officially adopted by the nation-States. All throughout these years, these anthems, which have been listened to and sung, have resounded in the minds of people and therefore strengthened the feeling of belonging to a national entity.

The contexts underlying the appearance of the texts of the national anthems allow us to understand the similarities, cultural proximity and values shared by countries. The reference to nature, which is personified in the anthems of the Nordic countries, is just one example. In the same way, we can grasp the monarchical context of countries such as the United Kingdom, or that of Sweden and Denmark which both have two official anthems. The war-like anthems of Poland, France, Romania and Portugal glorify defence of the homeland. Conversely, in certain countries, the melody has been claimed by the people, either through consultation based on musical competitions as in Austria and Hungary, or through the famous singing festivals of the Baltic countries. The Slovenian and Maltese anthems make a clear reference to peace.

The national anthem permeates the collective imagination, drawing on shared passions. It has become assimilated with legends and offers a response to the obligation of memory, to aspirations, to suffering. This sanctified collective ritual often provokes noisy enthusiasm (sporting events) or total silence steeped in the emotion borne by the melody (the jubilee of the Queen of the United Kingdom, enthronement of the King of Belgium).

Underlying each monograph you can find the author of the song, then the composer of the melody, if they are known, and the proven dates of composition and adoption. The number of couplets sung officially differs according to national customs and may vary over time. That is how, through the choice of
the verses sung, the German anthem, initially oriented towards national unity, has become an ode to liberty, justice and agreement for the past half century. The complete versions can be found on the official websites of the countries mentioned hereafter. Some of them are multilingual, showing the different groups of the population, as in Belgium or Luxembourg. Only the Spanish and European anthems are not sung.

Whether these melodies come from popular or symphonic sources, they arouse a feeling of pride and remain etched in the collective memory especially when a military orchestration strikes up added fervour. Music is a universal art that is conveyed to the very depths of mankind.

Hearing the national anthem of a country is somewhat like hearing its history: listening to its people, their hopes, their ideals and their revolts. It is by understanding how these songs were created that we can see the collective imagination of the peoples of Europe take shape.
1. The Anthem of the European Union

• The Fourth Movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony (*Ode to Joy*)
• Composed by Ludwig van Beethoven
• Created in 1824 and adopted in 1972

“The Ode to Joy” is the last movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. When it was written in Berlin in 1824, the critics were particularly harsh. It is the composer’s only symphony requiring human voices. The lyrics were taken from a poem written by Friedrich von Schiller in 1785, entitled “Ode to Joy”. Schiller’s poem embodies the ideal of brotherhood which the author felt towards mankind and which was shared by Beethoven. The poem had a major effect on Beethoven when he was still only twenty-two years old and he soon began to dream of composing a suitable melody for the text, although he was only to succeed in achieving that dream in the twilight years of his life.

The idea of a European anthem began to take shape in 1949. Several draft anthems were submitted including the “Ode to Joy”, which was proposed for the first time in 1955. The Assembly of the Council of Europe designated the “Fourth Movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony” as the European anthem in 1972, although it rejected Schiller’s lyrics. It was decided during a European Commission round table in 1972 that Schiller’s poem was “not specifically European in nature”, so the European anthem is not actually a sung anthem. The official instrumental version was entrusted to celebrated orchestra conductor Herbert von Karajan.

In 1985 the member countries’ heads of state adopted the symphony, without words, as the official anthem, leaving it to the universal language of music to conjure up the ideals of freedom, peace and solidarity in which Europe believes.

The anthem does not symbolise the European Union (EU) alone but Europe in the broadest sense of the term. Thus it is not intended to replace the European Union member states’ individual national anthems but to celebrate the values that those member states share.
2. Tribute to Monarchy

2.1. Danish National Anthems

1. *Kong Kristian stod ved højen mast* (King Christian stood by the lofty mast)
   - Written by Johannes Ewald
   - Composed by Johan Ernst Hartmann
   - Composed and adopted in 1780

2. *Der er et yndigt land* (There is a lovely land)
   - Written by Adam Oehlenschläger
   - Composed by Hans Ernst Krøyer
   - Composed in 1835 and adopted in 1844

Denmark has two officially recognised national anthems. The first royal one, *Kong Kristian* – King Christian – used during commemorations of the Royal family or for military occasions, and the second civil national anthem entitled “There is a lovely land”.

The ‘royal anthem’, written in 1779 by Johannes Ewald, Danish poet and playwright, is the oldest European national anthem in terms of official adoption. Initially, the text appeared in 1780 in the historic operetta by Ewald: “The Fishermen” (*Fiskerne*). It pays tribute to King Christian IV (1577-1648), to the navy and to the war heroes of the 17th and 18th centuries. Danish involvement in the Thirty Years War lasted from 1625 to 1629. Despite an alliance with Sweden in 1928, the latter declared war on Denmark in 1643. The first stanza of the anthem recalls the victory of the hero King Christian IV on Sweden in 1644, turning Denmark into a world power. It started trading relations with Iceland, Greenland and the Indies and built monuments and castles throughout the country. This heritage bears witness even today to the power of Denmark.

The original air of the ‘royal anthem’ dates back to the 17th century. Its composer is unsure but the melody is generally attributed to Johan Ernst Hartmann. The final version as well as all the variations for piano were recomposed by Friedrich Kuhlau in 1817 (opus 16). He integrated it into the overture to “The
Elf Hill” (Elverhøi), a play composed for a royal marriage in the Danish Court in 1828.

The second anthem “There is a lovely land”, was written by the head of Danish romanticism Oehlenschläger, in 1819. Norway became separated from Denmark in 1814, following the Treaty of Kiel, whereas these two countries had been united since 1380 under the Danish crown and farming crises were worsening the situation in the country. In the 1840s, in parallel to the unification process underway in Italy and Germany, the Scandinavian political movement was developing in Denmark and in Sweden. Associated with Hans Ernst Krøyer’s melody, the song became popular as was considered to be national anthem in 1844 during a gathering of some 12,000 students. At the place of this meeting, on a hill facing the sea, a granite column was erected in 1863, commemorating the deaths of Danish fighters and displaying the podium and the five trees symbolising the union of the Nordic countries: beech (Denmark), birch (Sweden), fir (Norway), juniper (Finland) and rowan (Iceland). Everything bears witness to Denmark’s attachment to this meeting place.

Scandinavian cooperation progressed and from 1875, Denmark, Sweden and Norway were united in monetary union, which lasted until 1914.

Proximity to nature, a major feature in Scandinavian culture and underscored in the anthem “There is a lovely country”, pays tribute to the beauty of the landscapes and the country. The anthem was a strong symbol of Danish resistance against the German occupier. Today, this anthem is used during national and international sporting events.
Kong Christian stod ved højen mast

King Christian stood by the lofty mast.

In mist and smoke;
His sword was hammering so fast
Through Gothic helm and brain it passed.
Then sank each hostile hulk and mast,
In mist and smoke.
“Fly!” shouted they, “fly, he who can!”
Who braves of Denmark’s Christian,
Who braves of Denmark’s Christian,
In battle?

Der er et yndigt land

There is a lovely land

That proudly spreads her beeches
Beside the Baltic strand (bis).
A land that curves in hill and dale,
That men have named Old Denmark
And this is Freya’s hall (bis).
2.2. The Dutch National Anthem

- *Het Wilhelmus/Wilhelmus van Nassouwe* (William of Nassau)
- Written by Philippe de Marnix and composed by Adriaan Valerius
- Composed c. 1574 and adopted in 1932

The Dutch national anthem pays tribute to William of Orange (William of Nassau, Prince of Orange), who lived from 1533 to 1584. Of German descent through the Ottonian branch of the House of Nassau, William received the Principality of Orange by inheritance from his cousin René de Chalon in 1544. Close to the court of Emperor Charles V in Brussels, William of Orange-Nassau was the man who masterminded the uprisings in the Northern Netherlands with an army of peasants known as the “gueux”. He took part in the struggle against Philip II of Spain, a staunch Catholic and the son of Charles V who, on abdicating, had left him half of his empire. The text of the anthem singing the praises of the German suzerain was mentioned for the first time in 1572 and recited in public during the Eighty Years War, an era characterised by the Dutch peoples’ struggle that was to result in recognition of the United Provinces’ independence. These provinces, with additional lands to the southeast, were to become the country of Holland as we know it today. Inspired by popular melodies, Adriaan Valéry, a poet and composer, set to music one of the texts taken from the “Chansons des Gueux” imbued with Calvinist morality and patriotism.

Some people associate the melody with a Catholic hymn entitled “O la folle entreprise”, celebrating victory over the Huguenots following the siege of Chartres in 1588 after Henry III of France had chosen to seek refuge in that city. Die-hard supporters of the Huguenots, the Reiters led by Calvinist Prince Jean-Casimir rode from central France to join the Protestant troops of the Prince of Orange in Germany, who were fighting for their independence against Philip II of Spain’s Catholic armies at the time. On that occasion the song was revived as a symbol of the people of the north who had had their fill of excessive taxation, of the persecution of Protestantism and of Philip II’s centralising ambitions.

Mozart heard the song *Het Wilhelmus* at the age of nine, in 1765, and used it as a theme in his Twenty-fifth Symphony. But when the Dutch monarchy was
established in 1815, the song was rejected as a national anthem because it embodied Calvinist sentiment and was considered to be partisan in its explicit support for the House of Orange. A competition was run and another anthem, felt to be more neutral, was chosen and adopted in 1815. Wien Neerlands Bloed ("Those of Dutch Blood"), written by Hendrik Tollens, was adapted to a melody composed by Johann Wilhelm Wilms, but it never received official endorsement.

Het Wilhelmus, whose popularity never waned, was thus officially adopted as the national anthem of Holland in 1932. The first couplet is usually the only part of the anthem sung, but on certain festive occasions the sixth couplet is also sung at the end.

### Wilhelmus van Nassouwe

- ***Wilhelmus van Nassouwe ben ik,***
- *van Duitsen bloed,*
- *den vaderland getrouwe*
- *blijf ik tot in den dood.***
- ***Een Prinse van Oranje***
- *ben ik, vrij onverveerd,*
- *den Koning van Hispanje*
- *heb ik altijd geëerdt.*

### William of Nassau

- ***William of Nassau***
- *am I, of German blood.*
- *Loyal to the fatherland*
- *I will remain until I die.*
- ***A prince of Orange***
- *am I, free and fearless.*
- ***The king of Spain***
- *I have always honoured.*
2.3. Swedish National Anthems

1. *Kungssången* (The King’s Song)
   • written by C.W.A. Strandberg and composed by Otto Lindblad
   • Composed in 1844 and adopted in 1893

2. *Sång till Norden* (Song for the North)
   • Written by Richard Dybeck and composed by Edxin Kallstenius
   • Composed in 1844 and adopted in 1922

Sweden, like Denmark and Norway, has two official national anthems, one a national anthem proper and the other a royal anthem. The latter, written for the investiture of King Oscar I in 1844, is Sweden’s main anthem and it pays tribute to the king of Sweden, the symbol of the nation. The melody, while not especially typical of Nordic music, is a rousing march that is both catchy and easy to sing, yet its popularity has waned down the years. Today it is still sung in the royal family’s presence or at official state events such as, for instance, the opening of parliament. Only the first and fifth verses are sung, while the first is entoned only in the king’s presence. Sweden formerly used other royal anthems such as *Bever Gud vår kung*, written by Abraham Niclas Edelcrantz and sung to the tune of the British national anthem, or *Gustafs skål*, written by Carl Mickael Bellman during the reign of Swedish King Gustav III (1771-1792).

The anthem entitled *Du gamla, Du fria* or *Sång till Norden* was written by Richard Dybeck and sung for the first time in 1844, the same year as the royal anthem. Based on a popular Nordic melody which is also well-known in Finland and northern Germany, this song made its first appearance in a book of popular songs in 1845 and was rapidly adopted by the people both in schools and in their homes. During the 1850s the pan-Scandinavian movement, whose aim was to promote the unification of the Nordic countries, was going from strength to strength, and indeed the anthem’s familiar name, “Song for the North”, reflects a pan-Nordic rather than a specifically Swedish vision. The lyrics reaffirm at once both the store set by freedom (*fria* = free) and the desire to highlight a shared Scandinavian culture, referring as it does to numerous specifically Nordic details such as the mountains, the sky, the green fields, silence and so on.
**Kungssånge**

Ur svenska hjärtans djup en gång 
en samfälld och en enkel sång, 
*Som går till kungen fram!*

Var honom trofast och hans ätt,  
gör kronan på hans hjässa lätt,  
och all din tro till honom sätt,  
du folk av frejdad stam!

---

**The King’s Song (Royal Anthem)**

Once from the depths of Swedish hearts,  
a joint and a simple song,  
which reaches forth to the King!  
Be faithful to Him and his House,  
make the Crown light upon his Head,  
and all your faith in Him invest,  
you, people of high renown!

---

**Sang till Norden**

Du gamla, du fria, du fjällhöga Nord,  
du tysta, du glädjerika sköna!  
Jag hälsar dig, vänaste land uppar jord,  
din sol, din himmel, dina ängder gröna (bis)  
Du tronar på minnen från fornstora dar,  
då ärat Ditt namn flög över jorden.  
Jag vet att Du är och Du blir vad Du var,  
Ja, jag vill leva jag vill dö i Norden.

---

**Song for the North**

Thou ancient, thou free, thou mountainous North  
Thou quiet, thou joyful and fair!  
I greet thee, most beautiful land upon earth,  
Thy sun, Thy sky, Thy meadows green (rpt).  
Thou art enthroned upon memories of great olden days,  
When honored thy name flew across the earth,  
I know that thou art and wilt remain what thou wast,  
Yes, I want to live I want to die in the North.
2.4. The British National Anthem

- *God Save the Queen*
- Written by “anonymous”, composed by Henry Carey
- Composed in 1743

This anthem today underscores the strength of the bonds between the people of the United Kingdom and the British royal family, one of the oldest surviving monarchies in the world. Elisabeth II’s long reign, celebrated in her Diamond Jubilee in 2012, has been marked by the dissemination through the worldwide media of the famous anthem *God Save the Queen*, the first couplet of which is always sung at formal gatherings. There have been numerous versions of this anthem, from the biblically inspired motet “God Save the King” to such celebrated interpretations as the controversial punk group “The Sex Pistols’” version of it in 1977.

Two origins are often quoted for this royal anthem, though both of them on equally tenuous authority. The “French version” attributes the lyrics to the Marquise de Créquy, a French literary scholar who is said to have wished to give thanks for the survival of King Louis XIV of France after a particularly painful operation. The motet, set to music by Jean-Baptiste Lully who was the king’s composer at the time, enjoyed growing success in France. After Georg Friedrich Händel, the Hanoverian dynasty’s cantor, visited Versailles, he is said to have had Henry Carey translate the text, and to have then orchestrated the whole and submitted it to his mentor, King George II of England. The “English version”, on the other hand, attributes the composition to a 17th-century tune taken from a keyboard piece for harpsichord by John Bull and subsequently adapted by Henry Purcell, who was the organist in the royal abbey of Westminster at the time.

The first recorded use of the anthem dates back to 1746, when it was sung to celebrate George II’s victory over the Jacobite insurgents at the Battle of Culloden, the battle that put paid once and for all to Stuart hopes of restoring their lineage to the thrones of Scotland and England. The United Kingdom has no official national anthem, but the victorious Hanoverians in 1746 were to turn this song into one of the factors imparting legitimacy to their claim to the crown, and it has been adopted by every government since.
It became a “national” anthem in the 19th century, although it has never been officially endorsed, and the tradition of singing only the first couplet dates back to that time. Expressing the loyalty of all of the sovereign’s subjects in the Commonwealth, it has been a source of inspiration for numerous national anthems around the world, including those of Liechtenstein and Switzerland, and it is still the royal anthem of Canada, New Zealand and Australia today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>God Save the Queen</th>
<th>God Save the Queen</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God save our gracious Queen,</td>
<td>God save our gracious Queen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long live our noble Queen,</td>
<td>Long live our noble Queen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God save the Queen!</td>
<td>God save the Queen!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send her victorious,</td>
<td>Send her victorious,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy and glorious,</td>
<td>Happy and glorious,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long to reign over us,</td>
<td>Long to reign over us,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God save the Queen!</td>
<td>God save the Queen!</td>
</tr>
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3. Tribute to homeland and the people

3.1. The Belgian National Anthem

- De Brabançonne/Die Brabançon/Li Braibaçone/La Brabançonne (The Brabantian)
- Written by Jenneval
- Composed by François Van Campenhout
- Composed in 1830 and adopted in 1921

Belgium is less than 200 years old and a place where Walloons, Flemish and German-speakers rub shoulders. It is through the linguistic diversity and the strong link with the city of Brussels, both strong symbols of the federal parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy, that the notion of Belgian identity established in 1830 becomes apparent. The Chant de la Bruxelloise, the Belgian national anthem, called La Brabançonne. This title was given in memory of the former province of Brabant, situated around Brussels.

In 1815, the fall of Napoleon I redefined the contours of Europe, during the Congress of Vienna. Belgium was assigned a Dutch Protestant monarch, William I of Orange. Through his authoritarianism, his meddling in religious affairs and his will to impose his language, he aroused the recriminations of the Catholic bourgeoisie, those of free thinkers and the working classes.

In 1830, at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, the federal building so dear to Belgians, the performance of the central scene of La Muette de Portici, an opera by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber glorifying the revolt of the people of Naples against Spanish domination, provoked the spectators who brought their own revolt onto the street. The final air of Amour sacré de la patrie (sacred love for the homeland) drove a yelling crowd onto the streets of Brussels. Further to the anger of the revolters, booing inequalities and taxes, the buildings connected to the House of Orange were ransacked.
La Brabançonne, written by an actor from Lyon, Hippolyte-Louis-Alexandre Dechez, nicknamed Jenneval, and set to music by an inhabitant of Brussels, François Van Campenhout, was sung in French on the Belgian barricades. It was in keeping with the revolutionary rationale that was spreading throughout early 19th-century Europe. The first version, which was strongly pro-Orangist, was quickly modified by the author after the intervention of the Dutch armed forces who were forced to retreat from the Belgian militia and the Volunteer Movement which had gathered the masses from all over the country. The second version openly criticised the armed intervention of the King of the Batavians; the third version of the anthem unequivocally glorified “the holy flag set in Brussels at the foot of the archangel”. The provisional government declared Belgian independence on 4 October 1830. Then, appointed by the National Congress, King Leopold of Saxe-Coburg became the first king of the Belgians on 21 July, a date that became the national holiday.

This version against the Orangists was once again modified, and in 1921 it was officially centred around the fourth and less dissident verse, written by Charles Rogier. The frequently modified score was adopted by official decree in 1873 using the version written by Constantin Bender, in charge of the grenadiers’ music. This fourth verse was sung for the inauguration of the monument to La Brabançonne, at Belgium’s centenary celebrations in Brussels. Nowadays, it is played during international ceremonies or for the victory of Belgian athletes. On 21 July 2013, Philippe, the new Belgian King gave the speech for his investiture to the throne in the three national languages. Orchestrations of La Brabançonne and the European anthem will be played during various official ceremonies in the future.
De Brabançonne
O dierbaar België, o heilig land der vaard’ren,  
Onze ziel en ons hart zijn U gewijd,  
Aanvaard ons kracht en het bloed van ons aad’ren,  
Wees ons doel in arbeid en in strijd,  
Bloei, o land, in eendracht niet te breken,  
Wees immer u zelf, en ongeknecht,  
Het woord getrouw dat g’ onbevreesd moogt spreken.  
Voor Vorst, voor Vrijheid en voor Recht,  
Voor Vorst, voor Vrijheid en voor Recht, (Bis)

Die Brabançonne
O liebes Land, o Belgiens Erde,  
Dir unser Herz, Dir unsere Hand,  
Dir unser Blut, dem Heimatherde,  
Wir schwören’s Dir, o Vaterland!  
So blühe froh in voller Schöne,  
Zu der die Freiheit Dich erzog,  
Und fortan singen Deine Söhne;  
Gesetz und König und die Freiheit hoch!  
Und fortan singen Deine Söhne;  
Gesetz und König und die Freiheit hoch!  
Gesetz und König und die Freiheit hoch! (bis)

La Brabançonne
Ô Belgique ! Ô Mère chérie !  
À toi nos cœurs, à toi nos bras  
À toi notre sang, ô Patrie  
Nous le jurons, tous, tu vivras  
Tu vivras, toujours grande et belle  
Et ton invincible unité  
Aura pour devise immortelle  
Le Roi, la Loi, la Liberté  
Aura pour devise immortelle  
Le Roi, la Loi, la Liberté  
Le Roi, la Loi, la Liberté (Bis)

The Brabantian
O Belgium, O mother dear  
To you we stretch our hearts and arms,  
With blood to spill for you, O motherland!  
We all swear it, you shall live!  
You shall live, so great and beautiful,  
And your invincible unity  
Shall have for immortal motto  
The King, Law, and Liberty!  
Shall have for immortal motto  
The King, Law, and Liberty!  
The King, Law, and Liberty!
3.2. The Hungarian National Anthem

- *Himnusz* (Anthem)
- Written by Ferenc Kölcsey
- Composed by Ferenc Erkel
- Composed in 1823 and adopted in 1903

While only the first stanza is usually played and sung, the entire poem from which the Hungarian anthem originates endeavours to recall the history of the people. Parading before us we can visualise Arpad, the 9th-century head of the Magyar tribes originating from the Ural mountains, the king and national hero Mathias Corvin and the Turkish and Mongol invaders. In 1686, the Catholic forces united in the Holy League hunted the Ottomans and conquered Buda, and then the entire Hungarian territory. The Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 nevertheless firmly anchored Hungary in the Hapsburg Empire, to whom it would remain bound until 1918.

The anthem belongs to the romantic movement and reveals hallmarks of nobility and religiousness, which are underscored by the melancholic music accompanying the text.

The lyrics, written by the poet and politician Ferenc Kölcsey, became so popular that a contest was organised in 1844 to set it to music. The winner, Ferenc Erkel, was a great name in Hungarian music, a major figure of Romanticism involved in the struggle against privileges and for freedom of the serfs. He was linked to what became the Franz Liszt Academy of Music.

Filled with nostalgia and reminders of the glorious or painful past, the Hungarian anthem fully expresses the need for calm and serenity after a turbulent history filled with successive rulers. In this it fully reflects the desire for peace by all Europeans, after the chaos of the 20th century.

Despite several attempts, the national anthem, although temporarily replaced by the *Kaiserlied* of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was never modified, even during the Communist period. Because of his fame, the well-known composer Zoltan Kodaly could refuse to compose a new anthem in 1948, arguing that there was no need to replace the *Himnusz*. 
Himnusz

Isten, áld meg a magyart
Jó kedvvel, bőséggel,
Nyújts feléje védő kart,
Ha küzd ellenséggel;
Balsors akit régen tép,
Hozz reá vig esztendőt,
Megbünhödte már e nép
A múltat sjövendőt.

Anthem

O Lord, bless the nation of Hungary,
With Your grace and bounty,
Extend over it Your guarding arm
During strife with its enemies
Long torn by ill fate
Bring upon it a time of relief
This nation has suffered for all sins
Of the past and of the future!

3.3. The Italian National Anthem

• *Il canto degli Italiani (Fratelli d’Italia) (The Song of the Italians)*
• Written by Goffredo Mameli
• Composed by Michele Novarro
• Composed in 1847 and adopted in 1946

The Song of the Italians is associated with the troubled era of the *Risorgimento* which began with the first uprisings in 1820, when such figures as Giuseppe Mazzini, Camillo Cavour and Giuseppe Garibaldi (whose fighting ranks Goffredo Mameli was to join) set out from Victor Emmanuel II’s kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia to pursue a struggle that was eventually to lead to the unity of the Italian peninsula. Italy at the time consisted of seven states, but only two of them were not subject to foreign rule.

Mameli imbues this song, with which the soldiers fighting for unity found it easy to identify, with all the passion and spontaneity of a young twenty-year-old combatant. The lyrics, penned in Genoa in 1847, are filled with historical references from all ages exalting the spirit of unity, and are directed in particular against the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Taking the place of the *Marcia Reale*, the anthem of the (erstwhile) reigning House of Savoy, the song was adopted as the country’s national anthem in 1946 to mark the birth of the Italian Republic. The choice was not officially endorsed
by parliament, however, until 2005, in the wake of a heated debate between the two ends of the political spectrum over the aggressiveness implicit in several of the couplets.

This anthem, however, has never caused the Italian people to forget their attachment to the work of composer Giuseppe Verdi, the letters of whose surname can be taken as an acronym for Vittorio Emanuele Re d’Italia. This symbolic association, in addition to the texts of Verdi’s operas, makes it easy to understand the Italian people’s love of such arias as the Slaves’ Chorus Va pensiero in the opera Nabucco, or of such lesser-known operas as I Lombardi, La Battaglia di Legnano and Attila. In the latter opera the Roman general Ezio tells Attila: “You may have the entire universe as long as Italy remains to me!” Rousing stuff, almost tailor-made to stir the crowds, whether opera-lovers or otherwise, in those rebellious times.

Mazzini naturally wanted to involve Verdi in the creation of the Song of the Italians. And the composer himself wrote an “anthem of the nations” for the International Exhibition in London in 1862, combining passages from God Save the Queen, the Marseillaise and Fratelli d’Italia, thus de facto presenting Italy as a valuable member of the community of respectable nations. But the fact remains that it was penned by a young, committed and convinced patriot, and that despite occasionally being eclipsed or called into question, it is embraced by today’s Italians as much as it was by their rebellious forebears a century and a half ago.
UNITED IN DIVERSITY: ANTHEMS AND FLAGS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

3.4. The Latvian National Anthem

- *Dievs, svētī Latviju* (God Bless Latvia)
- Written and composed by Kārlis Baumanis
- Composed in 1873 and adopted in 1920, then in 1990

This tranquil melody was first heard at the National Song Festival in Riga in 1873. It was also the first time the country’s name appeared in a popular Latvian song, but the Russians had the word *Latviju*, seen as a gesture of defiance against the czarist regime, replaced by a reference to the Baltic. The czarists pursued an intense policy of “Russification” for the whole of the century.

The song, written and composed by a school teacher and member of the “Young Latvians” government, reveals the importance of song as an authentic vessel for the people’s identity. Popular songs, or *dainas*, at the time generally told...
simple stories of daily life after a hard day’s work, although they sometimes referred also to mythology and local custom. They became the object of systematic research and publication during the 19th century.

Kārlis Baumanis’ work is different from numerous other national anthems in that it makes no mention of war or of national liberation struggles, affording priority rather to flower-bedecked youngsters singing and dancing for joy.

Later on, song festivals were kept up and encouraged under the communist regime because, in its eyes, they were a way of showcasing the people’s joie de vivre. From 1973 on, the crowds gradually plucked up the courage to sing songs that were not on the official programme, reviving in 1988 the song that was to become their official national anthem two years later.

An antidote to the presence of powerful occupying forces until that moment, the song festival tradition was maintained thereafter, albeit in a strongly modernised form, to attract the younger generations by supplementing traditional themes with far more modern kinds of music. Unesco has added the celebration of Baltic song and dance for all three Baltic countries – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – to its intangible cultural heritage list.

**Dievs, svēti Latviju**

Dievs, svēti Latviju,  
Mūs’ dārgo tēviju,  
Svēti jel Latviju,  
Ak, svēti jel to!  
Kur latvju meitas zied,  
Kur latvju dēli dzied,  
Laid mums tur laimē diet,  
Mūs’ Latviju!

**God Bless Latvia**

God bless Latvia,  
Our beloved fatherland.  
Bless Latvia,  
Oh bless it, we beseech thee!  
Where Latvian daughters bloom,  
Where Latvian sons sing,  
Let us dance happily there,  
In our Latvia!
3.5. The Lithuanian National Anthem

- "Tautiška giesmė" (National Song)
- Written and composed by Vincas Kudirka
- Composed in 1898 and adopted in 1992

A doctor, writer and polemicist, Vincas Kudirca was one of the leaders of the Lithuanian national reawakening. His numerous articles, in particular in the clandestine newspaper La Cloche, called on his compatriots to resist “Russification” and to avoid yielding to the temptation to simply go into exile. He wrote the words and music for this song in 1898, although it was only played in public for the first time in 1905.

1905 marked the start of an uprising against Russian authority in the Balkan countries. People in Lithuania demonstrated in favour of independence and of official recognition for their spoken language. Literature, numerous initiatives designed to promote the use of the Lithuanian language in public and frequent clandestine publications often from Prussia, which was only too happy to goad its Russian rival, played a crucial role. Despite eventually resulting in the czar taking the situation in hand again, these events served to trigger an emancipation movement calling for the right to teach the Lithuanian language, the right to associate freely, freedom of the press, and to a lesser degree, also freedom of worship.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, established in the 13th century, was for a long time one of the leading powers in Europe, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea by the time it merged with Poland through the marriage of its Grand Duke Jagiello. It then entered its neighbours’ orbit, and when Poland was dismantled, Lithuania fell to the Soviet empire in 1940. The country has experienced independence only temporarily, from 1920 to 1940 and then again in 1990.

The anthem of the independent Republic between the wars was banned and repressed during the Soviet occupation, and it returned to favour only under glasnost in 1988. Its peaceful lyrics dwell on virtue, truth and prosperity, highlighting the role of literature and language in the European peoples’ emancipation process in the 19th century.
3.6. The Luxembourger National Anthem

- Ons Heemecht – Unser Heimatland – Our Homeland
- Written by Michel Lentz and composed by J. A. Zinnen
- Composed in 1864 and adopted in 1993

After years of fighting, King William I of the Netherlands recognised the independence of Belgium and of Luxembourg, which had backed the Belgian Revolution of 1830. The Conference of London in 1839 separated the Belgians from the Luxembourgers along a linguistic line enshrined in the Treaty of Maastricht. With their backs to the wall, the Luxembourgers proceeded to rapidly build themselves a new state. Ever since its constitutional separation from the Netherlands in 1848, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has been a nation state whose legitimisation has taken on concrete form thanks both to national symbols and through coexistence. The official languages, which are
Lëtzebuergesche, French and German, define multilingualism as a political act linked to a strong national sentiment.

The Luxembourger national anthem, *Ons Heemecht*, “Our Homeland”, should thus be seen in the context of the European nations’ desire for independence in the face of hegemonic imperial powers. Originally inspired by a rather good-humoured operetta, this song is a call for peace. It was sung for the first time by four chorus singers during a fanfare concert conducted by Jean-Antoine Zinnen in the main square of Éttelbrück on 5 June 1864. To mark the occasion, Zinnen had set to music a text written by Luxembourger writer Michel Lentz in 1859. The song was an instant success. In addition to the melody inspired by the final part of Mozart’s *Ave Verum*, the words encouraged the people’s unity and cohesion against the yoke of foreign domination. Placing itself under God’s protection, the people express the wish to prosper in peace on the banks of the Alzette, the Sauer and the Moselle.

Sung on national day, the date of which varies according to the birthday of the reigning member of the ducal family, the official national anthem comprising the first and last stanzas constitutes the national emblem endorsed by the Constitution in 1993.
Ons Heemacht

Wou d’Uelzecht
durch d’Wisen zéit,
Duerch d’Felsen
d’Sauer brécht.
Wou d’Rief laanscht
d’Musel dofteg bléit,
Den Himmel Wäin ons
mécht.
Dat as onst Land, fir
dat mir géif,
Heinidden alles won.
Ons Heemechtsland,
dat mir sou déif
An onsen Hierzer
dron.
O Du do uewen, deem
déng Hand
Durch d’Welt
d’Natioune leet.
Behitt Du
d’Lëtzebuerger Land
Vru friemem Joch a
Leed!
Du hues ons all als
Kanner schon
de fräie Geescht jo
gin.
Looss viru blénken
d’Fräiheottssoon
dëi mir sou laang
gesin.

Unser Heimatland

Wo die Alzette durch
die Wiesen zieht,
Durch die Felsen die
Sauer bricht,
Die Rebe längs der
Mosel blüht,
Der Himmel Wein
verspricht:
Dort ist das Land, für
dessen Ehr
Kein Opfer uns zu
schwer,
Die Heimat, die als
teures Gut
In unseren Herzen
ruht.
O Du dort droben,
dessen Hand
Den Völkern gibt
Geleit,
Behüt das
Luxemburger Land
Vor fremdem Joch, vor
Leid!
Als Kind empfingen wir
von Dir
Den freiheitlichen Sinn,
Die Freiheitssonne,
unsre Zier,
Laß leuchten fernerhin!

Our Homeland

Where the Alzette slowly
flows,
the Sauer plays wild
pranks,
Where fragrant vineyards
amply grow on the
Moselle’s banks;
There lies the land for
which we would dare
everything down here,
Our own, our native land
which ranks deeply in our
hearts.
Our own, our native land
which ranks deeply in our
hearts.
O Thou above whose
powerful hand makes
States or lays them low,
Protect this
Luxembourger land from
foreign yoke and woe.
Your spirit of liberty
bestow on us now as of
yore.
Let Freedom’s sun in
glory glow for now and
evermore.
Let Freedom’s sun in
glory glow for now and
evermore.
3.7. The Slovakian National Anthem

- *Nad Tatrou sa blýska* - (Lightning Over the Tatras)
- Written by Janko Matuška – Folk tune
- Composed in 1844 and adopted in 1993

The Slovakian national anthem comprises the two first verses of the song *Nad Tatrou sa blýska*, written by a poet named Janko Matuška in 1844. The verses became famous during the uprising of 1848 against the Hungarians, but they did not make their official appearance until 1851. The author was a pupil of Ludovít Štúr, a famous sponsor of the Slovakian literary and political movement in the early 19th century and well-known for his codification of the Slovak language. He spread the concept of nationhood, taking his inspiration from the work of German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder who based his vision of the nation on shared soil and a shared language.

The poem maps out Slovakia’s geographical boundaries by evoking the nature and beauty of the Slovakian mountains, the Tatras chain, to symbolise the country as a whole. It also has a combative, warlike character appropriate to the Slovakian mood and a tragic tension between doubt and hope that is amplified by the stormy landscape. At the time the poem was originally composed, the term *Slovensko* had a dual meaning, shifting between the land and the people.

These two verses were to be supplemented by the second part of the Czechoslovak anthem in 1918. The defeat of the Austro-Hungarian armies having led to the breakup of the empire, the new Republic was proclaimed on 28 October 1918, while the borders of Slovakia were officially established for the very first time by the Treaty of Trianon signed in 1920. They are based on ethnic, economic and strategic rather than historical criteria. Ruthenia was later to be assigned to Ukraine.

When the Republic split in 1993, the Slovaks took back their part of the shared anthem and declared it their own national anthem that same year.
**Nad Tatrou sa blýska**

*Nad Tatrou sa blýska, hromy dívo bijú zastavme ich bratia, ved sa oni stratia, Slováci ožíjú.*

*To Slovensko naše posiaď tvrdoh spalo, ale blesky hromu vzbudzujú ho k tomu, aby sa prebralo*

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**Lightning Over the Tatras**

*There is lightning over the Tatras, thunders loudly sound. Let us stop them, brothers, After all they will disappear, The Slovaks will revive.*

*That Slovakia of ours had been sleeping till now. But the thunder’s lightnings Are rousing the land, To awaken it.*
4. Praise to the beauty of the country

4.1. The Austrian National Anthem

- *Land der Berge, Land am Strome* (Land of Mountains, Land by the Stream)
- Written by Paula von Preradovic
- Composed by Johann B. Holzer/W.A. Mozart
- Created and adopted in 1947

From 1797 to 1918, and for a shorter period from 1929, the melody of the imperial anthem remained the same: *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* (God save the Emperor Franz); it was composed at Joseph Haydn’s initiative. This famous Austrian classical composer evoked the desire to compose the equivalent to “God Save the Queen” to strengthen patriotism, while the Hapsburgs were facing the turmoil of the French Revolution. The Governor of Vienna commissioned the poet Lorenz Haschka with the task of writing the words, and in 1797, the entire piece of work was offered to Emperor Franz II. The words were changed upon the arrival of each new Emperor. Other anthems were used between 1918 and 1945, and Haydn’s melody is today the air of the German national anthem.

The current Austrian national anthem *Land der Berge, Land am Strome* was adopted in 1947 after a call for participation. In this way, the postwar government wanted to express a new beginning. The Council of Ministers decided that the choice of the melody should be in relation with an existing air, the *Freimaurerkantate* (the Freemasons’ cantata), composed by Mozart as was supposed in 1947. That same year, the government of the Federal State of Austria called on poets and writers to compose a eulogy that paid tribute to both the Federal State and to its people. Among the 1,800 proposals submitted, the writer Paula von Preradovic won the 10,000 Schilling award with her text *Land der Berge, Land am Strome*. In March 1947, this “people’s anthem” was heard for the first time on radio.

Since the 1960s, the origin of the *Freimaurerkantate* melody has been called into question. According to experts, the Austrian anthem presents structural
similarities with Johann Holzer’s work, particularly with the song *Im Namen der Armen* (in the name of the poor). In fact, Holzer and Mozart were both members of a Masonic Lodge and kept company together. Because of this, Holzer has often been mentioned as the co-composer of the melody, or even as its main composer.

Today, the Austrian national anthem is officially one of the symbols of State, such as the flag or the Federal coat of arms. As such, it is protected by the penal code. Ongoing debates since mid-2005 have led to a change in the anthem’s text. The first verse, which initially mentioned “the great sons” of Austria, was adapted in January 2012 to now refer to the “daughters and sons of Austria”.

**Land der Berge,**
**Land am Strome**

*Land der Berge, Land am Strome,*
*Land der Äcker, Land der Dome,*
*Land der Hämmer, zukunftsreich!*
*Heimat großer Töchter und Söhne,*
*Volk, begnadet für das Schöne,*
*Vielgerühmtes Österreich.*

**Pays des montagnes,**
**pays sur le fleuve**

*Pays des montagnes, pays sur le fleuve,*
*Pays des champs, pays des cathédrales,*
*Pays des marteaux, à l’avenir brillant,*
*La patrie de fils et filles tu es,*
*Peuple béni pour la beauté,*
*Très glorieuse Autriche,*
*Très glorieuse Autriche.*
4.2. The Bulgarian National Anthem

• *Mila Rodino* (Dear Motherland)
• Written by Ivan Vazov
• Composed by Tsvetan Radoslavov
• Created in 1885 and adopted in 1964

While the date of adoption of the Bulgarian national anthem dates back to 1964 and was modified in 1990, its creation dates as far back as 1885, during the period of war with its Serbian neighbour. The latter reacted against the attempt to unify both parts of Bulgaria arising from the Treaty of Berlin. Both unification and independence were only validated in 1908 by the powers interested in the geopolitics of the Balkans. On this date, the Third Bulgarian Kingdom was established and survived until 1946. Before World War I the terrible Balkan Wars ensued for two years plunging the region into bloodshed, with disastrous consequences for Bulgaria.

It is therefore easy to understand that the verse integrates all the regions that make up the Bulgarian entity such as we know it today: the plains of the Danube and the Thrace but also the Balkan and Pirin mountains. However, this last area in the south-west would only temporarily be part of Bulgaria at the end of the Balkan Wars, whereas the country lost land to the north.

The lyrical phrasing praises the place, the people and the motherland. Bulgaria is described in it as idyllic and emphatically recalls the fate of the soldiers who died to defend this motherland. Radoslavov’s inspiration comes from the poet Ivan Vazov, a great name in Bulgarian literature, who never ceased to exalt the country and its people. Between 1964 and 1990, the anthem included a reference to the bonds that tied the Bulgarians and the Russians.
Dear Motherland

Proud Balkan Mountain,
Next to it the Danube sparkles in blue,
The sun shines over Thrace
And blazes over Pirin.

Dear Motherland,
You are heaven on earth,
Your beauty, your loveliness,
Ah, they are boundless.

Countless fighters died
For our beloved nation,
Mother, give us manly strength
To continue in their path!

4.3. The Croatian National Anthem

- *Ljepa naša domovino* (Our beautiful homeland)
- Written by Antun Mihanović
- Composed by Josip Runjanin
- Created in 1835 - Unofficial anthem since 1891,
- officially adopted in 1972 and in 1990

The Croatian national anthem is *Ljepa naša domovino* (Our beautiful homeland). It is composed of the first two and last two verses of the 14-stanza poem *Horvatska domovina* (Croatian homeland). It was published for the first time in 1835 and its author was the Croatian poet Antun Mihanović (1796-1861). Josip Runjanin (1821-1878) set it to music in 1848 and this song, which quickly became popular from 1864 onwards, became known under the name *Ljepa naša domovina*. It was sung as unofficial Croatian national anthem for the first time in 1891. The text, with a pacific tone, expresses the idyllic aspects of the homeland, and evokes the love borne towards it, its symbolic places, the beauty of its landscapes and refers to its glorious past.
During World War II, it was both the Croatian anthem of the collaborationist Ustashi regime and that of Tito’s Croatian partisans. The highest levels of Croatian Resistance granted it actual status of national anthem when the first session of the State Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH), on 13 and 14 June 1943 in Plitvice, ended with the solemn interpretation of this anthem. However, it was not officially recognised as national anthem until 29 February 1972, on the occasion of the amendment of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Through the Constitution of 22 December 1990, this song became the official national anthem of independent Croatia. At the same time, the text written by the poet Antun Mihanović was slightly modified in order to mention the deep blue, symbolising the Adriatic Sea, which was absent from the original version.

After the Napoleonic period, which saw the Croatian territories south of the Sava become part of the Illyrian Provinces (Hrške pokrojine, 1809-1813), Croatia once again became an integral part of the Hapsburg Empire. However, following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, Dalmatia and Istria remained under Austrian administration, whereas the continental part, encompassing Slavonia, remained under Hungarian influence. Thus, in the second third of the 19th century (1830-1874) a romantic movement of national awakening developed (Hrvatski narodni preporod) aimed at the reunification of all Croatian lands and part of a general movement of national awakening by all European nations in the early 19th century. In parallel, (1830-1843) the Illyrian movement (Ilirizam) developed, which sought the cultural and political unity of the Southern Slavic peoples, whose population settlement area coincided more or less with the territory of the former Roman Province of Illyria. In the second part of the 19th century, the Croatian bishop Josip J. Strossmayer, leader of the People’s Party and deputy in the Croatian Parliament (Sabor), advocated for the political integration of the Southern Slavs of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, an idea that would be the origin of the term “Yugoslav”. At the same time, Ante Starčević, head of the Party of Rights and nicknamed “Father of the Homeland” was the most ardent partisan of the reunification of Croatian lands and of national independence from Austria and Hungary.

The Croatian Parliament (Hrvatski sabor), resulting from the first free multiparty elections of April-May 1990 adopted a new Constitution in December of
the same year. Croatia, like Slovenia, proclaimed its independence on 25 June 1991. Following bloody armed conflict during which Croatia had to defend its independence, the international community recognised it as Sovereign State on 15 January 1992. Croatia entered the European Union on 1 July 2013.

**Ljepa naša domovino**

Ljepa naša Domovino,  
Oj jojnačka zemlja mila,  
Stare slave djedovino,  
Da bi vazda sretna bila!  
Mila, kano si nam slavna,  
Mila si nam ti jedina,  
Mila kuda si nam ravna,  
Mila kuda si planina!  
Teci Savo, Dravo teci,  
Nit ti, Dunav, silu gabi!  
Sinje more, svijetu reci,  
Da svoj narod Hrvat ljubi!  
Dok mu njive sunce grije,  
Dok mu hrašće bura vije,  
Dok mu mrtve grobak krije,  
Dok mu živo srce bije.

**Our Beautiful Homeland**

Our beautiful homeland,  
Oh so fearless and gracious,  
Our fathers’ ancient glory,  
May you be blessed forever.  
Dear, you are our only glory,  
Dear, you are our only one,  
Dear, we love your plains,  
Dear, we love your mountains.  
Sava, Drava, keep on flowing,  
Danube, do not lose your vigour,  
Deep blue sea, tell the world,  
That a Croat loves his homeland.  
Whilst his fields are kissed by sunshine,  
Whilst his oaks are whipped by wild winds,  
Whilst his dear ones go to heaven,  
Whilst his live heart beats.
4.4. The Estonian National Anthem

- *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* (My native land, my joy and delight)
- Written by Johann Voldemar Jannsen
- Composed by Friedrich Pacius
- Composed in 1869 and adopted in 1920, then in 1990

This song has a specific cosmopolitanism: on music composed by Friedrich Pacius, a German living in Helsinki, the melody is also that of the Finnish national anthem. Granted, the lyrics distinguish the anthems of these two countries, separated by the Baltic Sea and its Gulf of Finland but bestowed with strong historical ties. In addition to the common Finno-Ugric origins, both countries have undergone the same influences of Danish, German and especially Swedish and Russian domination. They are tied by strong tropism, despite rivalry between their two capital cities, Helsinki and Tallinn, which face each other across the sea.

The poet Johann Jannsen was leader of a choral society which organised the first nationwide Song Festival in Tartu in 1869. This type of choral festival was extremely developed in the Baltic countries, where the people share a passion for group singing. Under the impetus of Jakob Hurt, collector of elements of Estonian folklore, the Tallinn Festival of 1896 gathered almost one fifth of the total population. This love for singing and the national language was reflected more recently during the mass rally of 1988 when they sang forbidden nationalist anthems against the Soviet presence in their country. This period naturally became known as the ‘singing revolution’.

During the Soviet era, this anthem had been banned. But radio access to the same melody coming from Finland allowed the Estonians to preserve this anthem, which had remained in people’s minds. The replacement of this song with another more typically Estonian one has not yet happened.
4.5. The Finnish National Anthem

- *Maamme* (Our Land)
- Written by Johan Ludvig Runeberg
- Composed by Friedrich Pacius
- Created in 1846 and adopted in 1917

The text of the anthem was written by the Finnish poet Runeberg in Swedish in 1846, as at that time Finnish was only authorised for religious and economic works. Between 1239 and 1809, Finland was closely linked to the Kingdom of Sweden, which played a dominant role so much so that Swedish was the official language.
Vårt land, later called Maamme in Finnish, is the opening poem of a collection of stories by Runeberg entitled “The Tales of Ensign Stål”. In these, the author tells of the misery and courage of the Finnish soldiers mobilised in the army of the Kingdom of Sweden during the war against the Russian Empire, which ended in defeat for Sweden. Nature and landscapes are the setting for Runeberg’s tales. After the turbulent period of history that had an impact on Finland, the reference to nature became a central point of Finnish identity in the making. Some theories suggest that Runeberg’s text is modelled on the Hungarian national anthem. This is possible, as the Hungarian anthem was published in a Helsinki newspaper, shortly before Runeberg wrote the Finnish anthem.

Many of Runeberg’s poems were taken up by Finnish patriotic and nationalistic movements. Vårt land was sung for the first time in 1848 by a group of students to the air of Friedrich Pacius, conductor and composer of German origin who spent most of his life in Finland. But it was only some 20 years later, once the song had become established as national, that Julius Krohn developed an adaptation of the anthem in the Finnish language, which was henceforth called Maamme.

In 1917, with the end of Russian domination (1809 to 1917), the song became the country’s national anthem. However, the traditional use of the song since the mid-19th century, made it the Finnish anthem without its ever becoming official. Today, the first and last verses of the anthem are usually sung. From time to time, there is debate on replacing the anthem with the song Finlandia by Jean Sibelius. The symphonic poem of this composer, himself extremely attached to the Finnish identity, is the unofficial Finnish anthem of sorts, or at least the Finnish people have a deep attachment to it.
**Maamme**

Oi maamme, Suomi, synnyinmaa!
Soi, sana kultainen!
Ei laaksoa, ei kukkulaa,
ei vettä rantaa rakkaampaa
kuin kotimaa tä’ä pohjoinen.
Maa kallis isien.
...
Sun kukoistukses’ kuorestaan,
kerrankin puhkeaa.
Viel’ lempemme saa nousemaan,
sun toivos’, riemus’ loistossaan.
Ja kerran laulus’, synnyinmaa,
korkeimman kaiun saa.

**Our Land**

Our land, Finland, land of our birth,
Sound loud, O name of worth!
No mount that meets the heaven’s band,
No hidden vale, no wave-washed strand
Is loved, as is our native North,
Our own forefathers’ earth.
...
Your blossom, in the bud laid low,
Yet ripened shall upspring.
See! From our love once more shall grow
Your light, your joy, your hope, your glow
And clearer yet one day shall ring
The song our land shall sing.

4.6. The Czech National Anthem

- *Kde domov můj?* (Where Is My Homeland?)
- Written by Josef Kajetán Tyl
- Composed by Frantisek Jan Škroup
- Composed in 1834 and adopted in 1918, then in 1993

Although the Czech language existed as long ago as the 14th century, its development proper owes a huge debt to John Amos Comenius, a Moravian philosopher charged with educating the young Protestants, including girls, in the religious community founded around the figure of Jan Hus. Both Hus and Comenius were staunchly in favour of education for boys and girls. Prague was a culturally lively capital in the 18th century, as we can see from the reception that it afforded to Mozart’s operas. In the following century, Johann Gottfried von Herder’s ideas regarding the development of national identities found favour with the intellectuals struggling against “Germanisation.”
In 1834, Josef Kajetán Tyl and František Ján Skroup became fully-fledged educators, using popular theatre to foster patriotism. Their play entitled Fidlovacka (The Shoemakers' Festival) was hugely popular and one of its pieces, Kde domov můj?, became the national song. With its melancholy sobriety and picturesque imagery, it embodies the character of a nation. It was immediately taken up by the people and became so popular with them that its author resisted all attempts to replace it.

The composer Bedrich Smetana refused to make any further changes. Widely known and appreciated for his celebrated music in “The Bartered Bride” and for his symphonic poem entitled “Vltava” (or “The Moldau”), it is three of this celebrated musician’s operas that illustrate the history of the Czech lands: “Dalibor” evokes the cause of the people against royal authority; “The Brandenburgers in Bohemia” evokes the poverty that took hold of Bohemia when it was enslaved, pillaged and “protected” by the Margrave of Brandenburg’s troops; and “Libuše” tells of a princess who, when seeking a husband, allowed her white horse to make the choice for her, and he led her to the farmer Fremysi (whose dynasty proudly included “Good King” Wenceslaus).

The legend of Libuše is mentioned as early as the 12th century by the chronicler Cosmas, who tells the story of a Slav chieftain named Cech, Libuše’s supposed ancestor, settling his people in Bohemia well before the Germanic tribes!

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### Where Is My Homeland?

Where is my home, where is my home?  
Water roars across the meadows, Pinewoods rustle among crags, 
Bloom of spring shines in the orchard, Paradise on earth it is to see,  
And this is that beautiful land,  

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### Kde domov můj?

Kde domov můj?  
Voda hučí po lučinách,  
Bory šumí po skalinách,  
V sadě skví se jara květ,  
Zemský ráj to na pohled!  
A to je ta krásná země,  
Země česká domov můj,  
Země česká domov můj!
5. Martial Anthem

5.1. The French National Anthem

- *La Marseillaise* (The Song of Marseille)
- Written and composed by Rouget de Lisle
- Composed in 1792 and adopted in 1879

Created and sung for the first time in Strasbourg in 1792, called “War Song for the Army of the Rhine” by its composer Rouget de Lisle, it was rechristened “The Song of the People from Marseille” by the Parisians who were enthusiastic about the chorus of volunteers from the South as they sang on their way through the capital, before joining the armies and thus answering the call of the National Assembly.

In July 1792, the country was suffering the strains of the Revolution. France declared war on the Prussian and Austrian forces who were endeavouring to re-establish the sovereignty of the King of France. While these allies were threatening the territory of France, the President of the Assembly, Pierre Vergniaud, eloquently stood his ground against the King and declared that the “homeland was in danger”. This declaration caused to a mass movement of volunteers, from all regions of France, led to removal of the King in August and the Battle of Valmy in September, a decisive battle that would stop the advance of the enemy. In just a few months, the fate of France was decided, as was that of its future national anthem.

Both the French people and soldiers took ownership of this song, which had mobilised troops to defend the homeland. This song was called into question in 1804, but was nevertheless sung during all the revolts and revolutions in France. It only became national anthem in 1879, when the Republic fell definitively into the hands of Republicans.

Its success it not limited to the boundaries of France, however. The reason for this is probably because this song does not characterise the country concerned, or name the enemy or tyrant. In certain contexts the air takes on the role of
a universal hymn to freedom that was taken up by opponents to the Chinese regime in Tiananmen Square, or the sailors in the battleship Potemkin, or during the welcoming of Lenin in St. Petersburg when he returned from his exile in Switzerland... It is also frequently sung, often adapted to the local language, by those fighting for freedom, independence or public revolt. This song, which became the national anthem of France expresses its revolutionary character even more so beyond French borders.

And yet, this song which is characterised by its harsh and often criticised lyrics, has been the subject of numerous attempts to modify it. Granted, the ideological charge remains strongly linked to the context of its creation (the “homeland in danger”), to which is added the idea of a France settled in the heritage of its revolution and the figurehead of freedom. As a national symbol endowed with secular and integrative power, a 2005 law makes it compulsory for primary school children to learn the national anthem at school.


**La Marseillaise**

Allons enfants de la Patrie,  
Le jour de gloire est arrivé !  
Contre nous de la tyrannie,  
L’étendard sanglant est levé, (bis)  
Entendez-vous dans les campagnes  
Mugir ces féroces soldats ?  
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras  
Égorger vos fils, vos compagnes !  
Aux armes, citoyens,  
Formez vos bataillons,  
Marchons, marchons !  
Qu’un sang impur  
Abreuve nos sillons !

**The Song of Marseille**

Arise, children of the fatherland,  
The day of glory has arrived!  
Against us tyranny  
Rises its bloody banner (x2)  
Do you hear, in the countryside  
The roar of those ferocious soldiers?  
They are coming right into your arms  
To cut the throats of your sons and women.  
To arms, citizens  
Form your battalions,  
Let’s march, let’s march  
Let impure blood  
Water our furrows!
5.2. The Irish National Anthem

- *Amhrán na bhFiann* – A Soldier’s Song
- Written by Peadar Kearney and composed by Patrick Heeney
- Composed in 1907 and adopted in 1926

From the Iberian Peninsula to the cold Scandinavian coastline, several peoples have come to settle on this “green land” over the past 9,000 years. For many centuries, religion, politics and deeply interwoven ethnic origins have determined the often bloody fate of the island’s history. Gaelic, one of the two official languages, along with English, has been influenced over the centuries by the French, Normans, Flemish, Scandinavians and the Vikings. These origins can be seen in the surnames of the island. Protestants, British, Ulstermen, Irish and Catholics: they all determined the events of the troubled history of Ireland.

The 19th century was marked by the Great Famine of 1845, which led to mass immigration to the United States and was followed by bloody fighting between the various communities.

In 1867, the nationalists of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) also known as Fenians, were condemned to death by the Manchester court. Timothy D. Sullivan then wrote “God Save Ireland”, a nationalist song that was sung until 1916 as a tribute to them. Six counties in the north-east of the island, became Northern Ireland and in 1921, decided to remain part of the United Kingdom. Eire (Southern Ireland), was declared an independent republic in 1916, occupying the larger part of the island with its 26 counties. It was after effectively leaving the United Kingdom in 1922, that the Irish anthem was officially adopted by the Republic of Ireland. It had been composed some 16 years earlier by a Republican activist, Peadar Kearney, whose songs were very popular among supporters of the Irish Volunteers, and the future IRA. The piece was set to music by his friend Patrick Heeney. A symbol of Gaelic culture, the Irish national anthem is traditionally played on the national holiday of Saint Patrick’s Day and during local meetings, as a mark of fiercely protected independence. Unrest due to the memory of the British royal anthem seems to be fading. However, during international rugby matches the team of the Irish Rugby Football Union, uniting players from Eire and Northern Ireland, does not sing the national anthem but rather a patriotic song that is common to “both” Irelands, composed by Phil Coulter in 1995 and entitled “Ireland’s Call”.


United in Diversity: Anthems and Flags of the European Union

Amhrán na bhFiann
Sinne Fianna Fáil
A tá fé gheall ag Éirinn,
Buion dár slua
Thar toinn do ránig chugainn,
Fé mhóid bheith saor.
Sean tür ár síneár feasta
Ní fhaigfar féin tiorán ná féin tráil
Anocht a théam sa bhearna bhaoil,
Le gean ar Ghaeil chun bás nó saoril
Le guna screach fé lámhach na bpiléar
Seo libh canúdáth Amhrán na bhFiann.

A Soldier’s Song
Soldiers are we
Whose lives are pledged to Ireland,
Some have come
from a land beyond the wave,
Sworn to be free,
no more our ancient sireland,
Shall shelter the despot or the slave.
Tonight we man the “bearnas baol”
In Erin’s cause, come woe or weal.
’Mid cannon’s roar and rifle’s peal
We’ll chant a soldier’s song.

5.3. The Polish National Anthem

• Mazurek Dąbrowskiego (Dąbrowski’s Mazurka)
• Written by Joseph Wybicki and composed by Michel-Cléophas Oginski
• Created in 1797 and adopted in 1927

The Polish Legion led by officer Dąbrowski was comprised of Polish troops serving in the French army during the revolutionary and imperial wars to fight alongside the French against their common enemies. The unit included some of the erstwhile legionaries who fomented the Polish insurrection against the Russian invader in 1794 under the command of the heroic patriot Tadeusz Kościuszko. After the third partition of Poland in 1795, this foreign military unit hoped to find a way, through its support for the fighting in Italy, of reconquering its own country with Napoleon’s assistance. Joseph Wybicki, who drafted this Polish song, gave voice right from the very first verse ("Poland has not yet perished") to his compatriots’ expectations and to their will to rebuild a nation that had been carved up by its powerful Prussian, Austrian and Russian neighbours. The melody is a dance, or mazurka, inspired by a folk tune attributed to Prince Oginski, who played a major role in the exploits of Dąbrowski’s armies.
The text provides a detailed account of the promise to return from Italy to Poland and its rivers, thus highlighting the Polish people’s rejection of any fatalist sense of inevitability, and underscoring the permanence of a nation which continued to possess the political conditions for its existence despite the many attacks and mutilations that it had suffered.

This march was an inspiration for numerous movements, particularly of the pan-Slavic kind, in the course of the 19th century. The words or the music were at least partly appropriated by the Hungarians, the Croats, the Serbs, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Ukrainians and even the Italians. For these people it would seem that the anthem is better suited to their national claims than the French national anthem, which is sometimes considered to be excessively aggressive.

The march was adopted as the national song in 1831 and recognised as the official anthem of the Republic of Poland in 1927. No alternative anthem has ever replaced this march, not even under communism.

**Mazurek Dabrowskiego**

*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła,*  
*Kiedy my żyjemy.*  
*Co nam obca przemoc wzięła,*  
*Szabłą odbierzemy.*

**Refrain:**  
*Marsz, marsz, Dąbrowski,*  
*Z ziemi włoskiej do Polski:*  
*Za twoim przewodem,*  
*Złączym się z narodem.*

*Przejdziem Wisłę, przejdziem Wartę,*  
*Będziem Polakami.*  
*Dał nam przykład Bonaparte,*  
*Jak zwyciężyć mamy.*

---

**Dąbrowski’s Mazurka**

*Poland has not yet perished,*  
*So long as we still live.*  
*What the alien force has taken from us,*  
*We shall retrieve with a sabre.*

**Refrain:**  
*March, march, Dąbrowski,*  
*From the Italian land to Poland.*  
*Under your command*  
*We shall rejoin the nation.*

*We’ll cross the Vistula and the Warta,*  
*We shall be Polish.*  
*Bonaparte has given us the example*  
*Of how we should prevail*
5.4. The Portuguese National Anthem

- A Portuguesa (The Portuguese)
- Written by Henrique Lopes de Medonça and composed by Alfredo Keil
- Created in 1890 and adopted in 1911

The Kingdom of Portugal forged an alliance with the English in 1396 to promote military and economic cooperation, signing a treaty that is still in force today. The alliance came into its own when it proved to be of use in hounding out the Spanish in 1640 and the French in 1808, as well as during the two World Wars in the 20th century.

Yet the Republican transition was to take place in a specifically anti-British vein. England put the Portuguese royal house in a tight spot by opposing its territorial aims in Africa, which were supposed to make up for its loss of Brasil. This led in 1891 to civil unrest, which was directed both against the royalty and against the country’s powerful traditional ally. The Republicans gained the upper hand, and in 1911 the Constitution established the national anthem and the national flag.

Sung during the attempted revolution in January 1891, the march written by Henrique Lopes de Medonça and set to music by Alfredo Keil urges the seafaring people to wake up and rebel. The British ultimatum against Portugal’s aspirations was a bitter pill to swallow and it was seen as a humiliation. A
sentiment of injustice and a desire for freedom shine through both the lyrics and the melody. A Portuguesa, with its vibrant, enthusiastic and impassioned tone and words, was taken up by the Republican rebels on 31 January 1911.

Several different versions of the anthem, both in terms of its musical arrangement and of the rhythm adopted, coexist in Portugal, but the new Constitution of 1976 spawned by the “Carnation Revolution” and the toppling of the dictator Salazar in 1974, established the definitive version still in use today.

A Portuguesa

Heroes of the sea, noble people,
Brave and immortal nation,
Raise once again today;
The splendor of Portugal!
Among the haze of memory,
Oh Fatherland, one feels the voice
Of your distinguished forefathers,
That shall lead you to victory!
To arms, to arms!
Over land, over sea,
To arms, to arms!
For the Fatherland, fight!
Against the cannons, march on, march on!

The Romanian National Anthem

5.5. The Romanian National Anthem

- Desteaptă-te, române! (Awake, Romanian!)
- Written by Andrei Mureșanu
- Composed by Anton Pann
- Composed in 1848 and adopted in 1990
The Romanian national anthem echoes the revolutions of 1848 which rocked a large number of European countries. At that time Transylvania was a part of the Habsburg possessions, while the two principalities of Moldavia and Valachia were under the joint overlordship of Russia and Turkey. A deeply-felt desire arose to unite and to free the three regions, Mureșanu’s lyrics reflecting the need to remind the Romanian people that they shared a common history. They refer to the names of the great men who were the Romanian people’s “forebears”: Trajan, Michael the Brave, Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus.

After numerous attempts to extend the Roman Empire north of the Danube to the region inhabited by the Geto-Dacians, Trajan conquered Dacia and had his glorious conquest carved on a column erected in the heart of his forum in Rome. We are also told of a legendary idyll between Trajan and the shepherdess Dakia, the embodiment of Dacia. The Daco-Roman population has been living in the region without interruption since then.

During his reign in Moldavia from 1457 to 1504, Stephen the Great personified bravery itself in his struggle against the Hungarians and the Poles, but above all against the Ottomans. In fact his bravery was even to earn him the nickname “athlete of Christ”, which was conferred on him by the pope. He was also a cousin of Valachian Prince Vlad Tepes, who inspired the character of Dracula.

Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary from 1458, was one of the leading players in the struggle against the Ottomans. He succeeded in gathering all of the regions that make up modern Romania under his wing.

And above all, Michael the Brave, at the head of a military coalition with his neighbours against the Ottoman Empire, managed to unite the three Romanian provinces under his command in 1599. That union, despite being only fleeting, still holds pride of place in the Romanian people’s national sentiment today.

A priority in the mid-19th century, the reference to the Cross and the Christian army was a way of reaffirming the struggle against the Turkish Empire, the primary obstacle standing in the way of the Romanian people’s freedom.
This song has rung out during every single popular uprising thanks to its call to patriotism and freedom. It was sung by the protesting crowds during the revolution in 1989 and it was only natural that it should become the country’s national anthem in 1990.

**Deșteaptă-te, române!**

"Deșteaptă-te, române, din somnul cel de moarte,
În care te-adânciră barbarii de tirani!
Acum ori niciodată croieste-ți altă soartă,
La care să se-nchine și cruzii tăi dushmani!

Acum ori niciodată să dăm dovezi în lume
Că-n astfel mână mai curge un sânge de roman,
Și că-n a noastre piepturi păstrăm cu fală-un nume
Triumfător în lupte, un nume de Traian!

Priviți, mărețe umbre, Mihai, Ștefan, Corvin,
Româna națiune, ai voștri strănepoți,
Cu brutele armate, cu focul vostru-n vine,
"Viață-n libertate oră moarte!" strigă toți.

Prestiți, cu crucea-n frunte câci oastea e creștină,
Deviză libertate și scopul ei preașfânt,
Murim mai bine-n luptă, cu glorie deplină,
Decât să fim sclavi iarăși în vechial nostr’ pământ!

**Awake, Romanian!**

"Romanian, awaken your Spirit from the sleep of Death
Impressed upon you by Tyrannies of barbarians;
Now or never, fashion a new Fate,
Stronger than your foes!

Now or never, our legacy prove to all,
That through our veins still flows the Blood of Ancient Rome
That in our chests we proudly hail a Name,
Triumphant in battle, the Name of Trajan!

Gaze mightily, glorious shadows,
Michael, Stephen, Corvinus
The Romanian nation, your descendants,
With weapons in their hands, with your Fire burning
"Life in Liberty or Death!", all cry together.

Priests, with the Cross before you, as the army is Christian,
The motto is Liberty and its goal eternal
Better dead in battle, in full glory
Than be enslaved again in our ancestral homeland!
6. Calls for Harmony, freedom and justice

6.1. The German National Anthem

- *Lied der Deutschen/Deutschlandlied* (Song of the Germans/of Germany)
- Written by August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben
- Composed by Joseph Haydn
- Composed in 1841 and adopted in 1991

In 1841, at a time when the German Confederation was composed of 39 independent States, August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, a German writer who set hundreds of popular songs and children's songs to music, wrote the “Song of the Germans” on Helgoland island. He associated it with the melody of Haydn’s *Kaiserlied* of 1797 and in it he expressed the political will dear to him and to other intellectuals of his time, that of a united and free Germany.

Thirty years later, in 1871, the German Empire was founded under Bismarck and the “Song of the Germans” was officially represented for the first time in 1890, before becoming the national anthem of the Weimar Republic in 1922.

The first verse *Deutschland über alles*, which in the mid-19th century formulated a simple wish for unity, was the only verse sung under the National Socialist dictatorship between 1933 and 1945, where it took on a nuance of domination. As a consequence, it was banished after World War II.

In postwar Germany, the Allied Powers initially banned any use of the anthem, and the German political leaders did not agree on its future. In 1950, the attempt to create a new anthem failed. After several years of exchange between Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and President Theodor Heuss, Germany’s entry in the 1952 Olympic Games led to an agreement, that of using just the third verse of the “Song of the Germans”.

This third verse was originally associated with the right for human and civil rights, especially during the years of the “Springtime of the Peoples” before the German Revolution of 1848. It formulates three main pillars that should be
the basis for the happiness of the people: unity, justice and freedom (*Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit*).

After reunification of the GDR and the FRG, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Richard von Weizsäcker stated in their declaration in 1991, that this third verse “expressed solidly the values to which we feel committed as Germans, as Europeans and as members of the Community of peoples”. Thus, the third verse of Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s song was declared national anthem of the Federal Republic of Germany.

### Lied der Deutschen/Deutschlandlied

*Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit für das Deutsche Vaterland!*
*Danach laßt uns alle streben, brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!*
*Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit sind des Glückes Unterpfand: blühe im Glanze dieses Glückes, blühe, deutsches Vaterland!* (bis)

### Song of the Germans/of Germany

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

### 6.2. The Cypriot National Anthem

- Ύμνος εἰς τὴν Ελευθερίαν (Hymn to Liberty)
- Written by Dionysios Solomos
- Composed by Nikolaos Mantzaros
- Created in 1823 – Adopted in 1966

By virtue of its insular and strategic position in the Mediterranean maritime area, the island of Cyprus has been highly coveted and has thus been under the influence and domination of various powers throughout its history. After a brilliant civilisation founded in 2500 B.C., then the cities founded by the Greeks, followed the Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines, before the era of
Christian crusades brought Richard the Lionheart there in the late 12th century. The latter left the territory to Guy de Lusignan, a Frenchman originally from the Poitou region, whose family would govern the island for three centuries. When this dynasty died out, the island went to the Venetians before the Turks affirmed their supremacy there between the 14th to the 19th centuries.

The Ottomans entrusted its administration to the British, who only took full and entire possession of the island after World War I.

It was during the Ottoman period that Dionysios Solomos wrote a poem in verse in 1823, translated into French with the title of Dithyrambe sur la Liberté (dithyramb to freedom). It was progressively set to music by his friend Nikolaos Mantzaros, and the version presented publicly in 1844 corresponded to the current one.

After independence of the entire island in 1960, debate on the choice of national symbols floundered and it was only in November 1966 that the Greek Cypriot community unilaterally decided the Greek anthem Ύμνος εις την Ελευθερίαν would become that of the island. After division between the communities in 1974, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognised by Ankara alone, chose the Turkish anthem İstiklal Marşı as national anthem.

Among other elements, the UN proposal known as the Annan Plan proposed a common anthem in 2004, but this entire plan was rejected by referendum.

**Hymn to Liberty**

I shall always recognise you
By the dreadful sword you hold
as the Earth with searching vision
You survey with spirit bold.
From the Greeks of old whose dying
Brought to life and spirit free,
Now with ancient valour rising,
Let us hail you, oh Liberty! (× 3)
6.3. The Greek National Anthem

- Ύμνος εἰς τὴν Ἐλευθερίαν (Hymn to Liberty)
- Written by Dionysios Solomos and composed by Nikolaos Mantzaros
- Created in 1823 and adopted in 1865

With some 158 stanzas and 576 verses, the “Hymn to Liberty” by Dionysios Solomos is the longest anthem in the world. It was written in 1823 and then later associated with the composition by Nikolaos Mantzaros. Only the first four stanzas were decreed as national anthem in 1865, several years after the death of Solomos.

The poem is full of images and metaphors, such as “the Spanish lion”, “the British leopard” or even the “Italian eagle”. It recalls a multitude of historic events, and not necessarily in chronological order. As a witness of a eventful historic times, Solomos, in his poem, calls into question the acts of the powerful, who were above all interested in preserving their privileges. In this way, the anthem reflects the events of the Greek Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire.

Born on the Ionian island of Zakynthos, which was then under British control, Solomos’ native language was modern Greek, as opposed the ancient Greek spoken by the government, religious ministers and all the administrative nobility. The poet considered the popular language (demotika) as representative of the nation and wrote his poems in this form. His work was not limited to the “Hymn to Liberty”. He also established the “Heptanesian School” where he imposed modern Greek to all of Greece, despite much resistance, thus contributing to national unity.

The almost musical verses of this poem are enhanced by Mantzaros’s melody. This composer, who was a great admirer of Solomos’ work, met the poet in 1827, when he was settling in Corfu, the Ionian town that had become the refuge of Greek intellectuals. Many of his European counterparts also admired his poetry. Goethe, Manzoni and even Victor Hugo praised the rhythmic and harmonic qualities of this “Hymn to Liberty”. Mantzaros, who had been taught at the Conservatory of Naples, remained attached to the Italian musical style and composed the melody in 1844. He composed six versions of it, before the third one, with a lively, light military rhythm was chosen as the official version.
Used for the first time in 1845 during social meetings in Athens, this song thus became patriotic. George I liked the melody and declared it national anthem of Greece in 1864. An 1865 decree made it official.

Since 1966, this anthem is also sung by the Greek population of the Republic of Cyprus. Nowadays, it is not only used on festive Greek occasions, but it is also used during the closing ceremony of the Olympic Games, thus paying tribute to Ancient Greece, the birthplace of the Games.

### Ύμνος εἰς τὴν Ελευθερίαν

| Σε γνωρίζω από την κόψη,   | I shall always recognise you |
| Του σπαθιού την τρομερή,   | By the dreadful sword you hold |
| Σε γνωρίζω από την ύψη,     | as the Earth with searching vision |
| Που με βία μετράει τη γη.   | You survey with spirit bold. |
| Απ’ τα κόκαλα βγαλμένη,    | From the Greeks of old whose dying |
| των Ελλήνων τα ιερά,        | Brought to life and spirit free, |
| Και σαν πρώτα ανθρεπμένη,  | Now with ancient valour rising, |
| Χαίρε, ω χαίρε Ελευθερία.  | Let us hail you, oh Liberty! (×3) |

### Hymn to Liberty

I shall always recognise you
By the dreadful sword you hold
as the Earth with searching vision
You survey with spirit bold.

From the Greeks of old whose dying
Brought to life and spirit free,
Now with ancient valour rising,
Let us hail you, oh Liberty! (×3)

### 6.4. The Maltese National Anthem

- *L-Innu Malti* (The Maltese Anthem)
- Written by Dum Karm Psaila and composed by Robert Samut
- Composed in 1922 and adopted in 1964

Set in the heart of the Mediterranean, the Maltese archipelago comprising the four islands of Malta, Gozo, Comino and Filfola is a multilingual country. While Italian can still be heard on street corners, its two official languages today are English and Maltese. The origin of the Maltese language goes back to Ifriqiyan Arabic, which was then spoken in the Roman province of Africa and which has been contaminated over the centuries by the superimposition of Sicilian and Italian. The oldest trace of this traditionally spoken language, transcribed
through Italian literature, is to be found in a 15th-century poem. The island became a British possession in 1800, after the departure of Napoleon's troops, and then His Britannic Majesty's personal property in 1814. National identity began to take shape and by 1880 the National Party was coming out in defence of the Italian language. The language question, combined with difficulties in obtaining supplies and with growing nationalism, led to uprisings in the early 20th century caused by the British policy of seeking to eradicate the Italian language through the teaching of English. But London's recognition of a new Maltese Constitution in 1921 and the simultaneous creation of an alphabet, a grammar and an accepted spelling system were to permit the officialisation of the country's mother tongue and the destitution of Italian in 1934.

It was in this context that Dr. A. V. Laferla, the archipelago's director of education, turned in 1922 to Dun Karm Psaila to write the lyrics for a song built around a composition with an English musical tone by Dr. Robert Samut, a teacher and military musician. Actively working to achieve recognition of the new written mother tongue in 1912, Dun Karm composed his poetry in Maltese. Thus he conceived a sung prayer dedicated to the nation, underscoring a deep attachment to the land as a protective mother, of whose adornments the people could be proud. This strengthened the island's political unity, firmlying it up around a deep sense of Catholicism.

*L-Innu Malti* was played for the first time at the Manoel Theatre in Valletta on 3 February 1923. Recognised as the national song in 1941, it became the official Maltese national anthem in 1945 and could be sung at the same time as *God Save the King*, the anthem of the British occupying power. It was instituted at the British governor's expense during a football match in which Malta was playing Yugoslavia on 25 March 1945. After playing the official Yugoslav and British national anthems, the whole stadium began to sing *L-Innu Malti*, forcing the British governor, much against his will, to remain standing in its honour. The anthem was to be institutionalised on 21 September 1964, Malta's official independence day and national feast day. Today the anthem is sung only in Maltese, although an English version was still being sung well into the 1970s.
**L-Innu Malti**

Lil din l-Art helwa, l-Omm li tatna isimha,
Mares Mulej, kif dejjem Int harist;
Flakar li ilha bl-ohla dawl libbist.
Aghti kbir Alla, id-deh’n lil min jahkimha;
Rodd il-hnienas sis-sid, sahha ‘l-haddiem;
Seddaq il-ghaqda fil-Maltin u s-sliem.

**The Maltese Anthem**

Guard her, O Lord, as ever Thou hast guarded!
This Motherland so dear whose name we bear!
Keep her in mind, whom Thou hast made so fair!
May he who rules, for wisdom be regarded!
In master mercy, strength in man increase!
Confirm us all, in unity and peace!

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**6.5. The Slovenian National Anthem**

- Zdravljica (A Toast)
- Written by France Prešeren
- Composed by Stanko Premrl
- Composed in 1844 and adopted in 1989

Poet France Prešeren is Slovenian history’s most charismatic figure. His statue dominates the heart of the capital Ljubljana and his name and image are to be found in every town and village and on the country’s coinage, revealing both his popularity and his influence in the country.

The first known work in the Slovenian language dates back to the 10th century, although it began to develop in full only in 1550 when Primož Trubar translated and published the biblical New Testament in the spoken language of his people, in accordance with the precepts of his mentor Martin Luther. In the mid-19th century Slovenia, which was still under Habsburg domination at the time, a majority of the country’s elite, feeling politically attracted to pan-Slavism, preferred to speak in foreign languages. So Prešeren catalysed the flowering of the Slovenian language, which was just emerging from the fields and forests, and opened up new horizons for it. The language found in him its Alexander Pushkin, its Heinrich Heine, and acquired a hitherto unknown nobility.
Thus it was only natural that a part of his political work should be adopted to compose the national anthem. “A Toast” was composed in 1844 and published in 1848 after the demise of the absolutism established by the Austrian chancellor. Set to music in 1905, it was unanimously adopted as the national anthem in 1989.

This lyrical poem speaks to the heart, embodying the people’s aspiration to both national and individual freedom, or rather freedoms: that of every citizen, and that of all of the peoples in the world, in the hope that those freedoms will lead to universal harmony and concord. The last verse also denotes the country’s attachment to the spirit of peace among neighbours that was so dear to Europe’s founding fathers.

It is worth noting that, just like Prešeren, so Slovenia’s other foremost national figures are not monarchs, leaders or heroes of memorable battles but tend, far more, to come from the literary world. It is true that this country, which has been independent since 1991, has for centuries known only foreign overlordship or domination, or alliance with its other Slav neighbours.

Zdravljica

Živé naj vsi narodi,
ki hrepeně dočakat’ dan,
da, koder sone hodi,
prepir iz sveta bo pregnan,
da rojak
prost bo vsak,
ne vrag, le sosed bo mejak!

A toast

God’s blessing on all nations,
Who long for that bright day,
When o’er earth’s habitation
No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
Who long to see
That all man free
No more shall foes, but neighbours be!
The symbolic nature of flags, which is strong and inseparable from the countries whose history is often unknown to us, can provide us with indications and clues about the foundations of our nations and the similarities between the EU countries. We have chosen a typological classification which reveals inspiration that is intra-national (colours of regions, provinces, etc.) national, or common to several nations, such as those finding their colours in the Slavic frame of reference.

The origins of the standards that are today the emblems of our countries, are sometimes points of debate as their first appearance in some cases dates back to several centuries before our time. For example, the Dannebrog, the flag of Denmark, is mentioned for the first time in texts dating back to the 14th century, whereas the legend tells of its creation at the beginning of the previous century. The first date proposed to readers hereinafter indicates the period during which the most complete form of the banner appeared; it is followed by the date on which it was the most recently formalised. For the most part, these flags correspond to what Anne-Marie Thiesse called the “passing from the Europe of Princes to the Europe of Nations”, which led to a radical change in systems of collective representation.

Numerous are the flags that bear witness to the spread of ideas and the penetration of intellectual or social movements throughout Europe over the centuries. This is the case of the flags of Italy, Belgium and Hungary, all inspired by the French Revolution. Multiple influences, be they intra- or extra-national, have endured throughout the centuries, then amalgamating into the flags of today. The Hungarian emblem, whose colours recall the historic moments of this nation, draws its inspiration from the tricolour layout of the French flag.

Over time, several flags have evolved, disappeared or reappeared. Some were adopted only very recently, such as that of Romania, created in 1867, but only
made official in 1994. Or the Dutch flag, in which the orange colour is replaced by red, when used at sea, in order to make it more visible.

Curiously, through the study of these 28 European flags, it is possible to find symbolic links between supposedly distant countries: the colours of the German and Estonian flags are those of student groups; the colours of Austria and Latvia tell the story of fabric drenched in the blood of a military leader; the Czech and Lithuanian flags were created by an official commission, whereas that of Cyprus stands out as being the only flag in the whole world, along with that of Kosovo, that portrays the country’s outline.

From an anecdotal viewpoint, the reader understands why certain national sport shirts take up the dominant colour of a country such as the Irish green, the French blue, while the Dutch orange perpetuates the colours of the House of Orange, and the Italian blue evokes the colours of the former reigning Savoy dynasty.
1. The Flag of the European Union

- Created in 1955
- and adopted in 1985

The flag of the European Union (EU) consists of a blue background spangled with twelve golden stars set in a circle. This arrangement symbolises the unity, solidarity and harmony that exists among the peoples of Europe. The number of stars does not reflect the number of member states, it is the circle itself which symbolises unity. Indeed, the number twelve is a symbol of perfection and plenitude in many cultures.

The flag was initially used to represent the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, a body tasked with watching over human rights and with promoting European culture. In the early ‘fifties, the Council suggested displaying fifteen stars to reflect the number of members in the Council of Europe at the time. The Sarre region being one of the members but not an independent state, it proved impossible to achieve unanimity over that figure. After a series of debates, however, a decision was reached to adopt a symbolic number of stars, and that number has never changed since.

The emblem of the Council of Europe came into force in 1955 in compliance with a decree approved by its principal forum, the ministerial conference (comprising the member states’ foreign affairs ministers and representatives). At the same time, the conference urged the other European institutions to adopt it in their turn in order to avoid appearing to call into question the complementarity, solidarity and sentiment of unity in democratic Europe by displaying different emblems.

The European Parliament was to become the second European institution to use the symbol, in 1983, and in the same year it adopted a resolution urging that the flag created by the Council of Europe in 1955 become the official
Community flag. It also stressed the need, in June 1984, to promote Europe’s identity and image both with its own citizens and throughout the world.

In 1985 the European Council, the body comprising the EU’s heads of state and government members charged with deliberating the European Union’s overall policy guidelines and priorities, decided to adopt the blue flag with twelve stars as the official symbol of the European Union (or of the “European Community” as it was known at the time). The flag was raised for the first time outside the buildings of the European Commission on 29 May 1986, to the accompaniment of the European anthem which had been decreed the previous year.

The use of the European flag has become far more widespread since then. Today it is flown by the European Union’s member states alongside their own national flags both on public buildings and at official ceremonies and events.
2. Flags Inspired by the nation’s regions

2.1. The Cypriot Flag

- Created and adopted in 1960

The Cypriot flag stands out as being the only one in the whole world, along with that of Kosovo, that represents the country’s outline. This appears in a golden colour, symbolising the wealth of the island’s subsoil, where copper has been extracted since the 3000 a.C. In Latin, the word cyprium can be translated by “metal of Cyprus” or “bronze of Cyprus”, another name for copper, which is the origin of the name of the island in English.

When the Cypriots put an end to British presence on the island, at the time of the declaration of independence of the entire island in 1960, the flag was created and adopted after long negotiations between the British, Turks, Greeks and Monseigneur Makarios, Orthodox Archbishop of Nicosia, who had become the president of the new Republic. The white background and the olive branch under the map of Cyprus bear witness to the search for peace and serenity that prevailed at the time.

The flag is the result of a competition launched in 1960. The specifications provided for the avoidance both the colours blue or red, and the symbols of the cross or crescent that would excessively mark one or other of the communities. A neutral stance would lead to the choice of a consensual emblem expressing peace.

Reality would however quickly tarnish all hopes. Independence was just a temporary compromise between the communities. Tensions rose with the Greek Regime of the Colonels, who brought Makarios down in 1974. Troops from Ankara invaded Northern Cyprus and the Turkish islanders proclaimed an Autonomous Republic there. The island was divided in two. Despite UN and
EU attempts, the status quo remains. The accession of Cyprus to the EU, which began in 1990, was meant to concern the entire island. Since 2004, only the southern part is concerned by this accession, the northern part depending on resolution of the crisis between Cyprus and Turkey. One week before entry into the EU on 1 May 2004, the Greek Cypriots had rejected the UN unification plan proposed by Kofi Annan (Annan Plan). During discussions of this plan, a proposed flag had been mentioned for a future unified island. It had the blue and red colours, associated with a band of copper-coloured yellow, contrary to the choice made in 1960.

### 2.2. The Croatian Flag

* Created and adopted in 1990

The current flag of the Republic of Croatia was adopted on 21 December 1990, at the same time as the adoption of the new Croatian Constitution. Article 11 of the Constitution provides that the tricolour flag consists of the traditional Croatian colours of red, white and blue, placed horizontally, with the red and white checked coat of arms.

This tricolour unifies the flags of the country’s former kingdoms: red and white flag of the Kingdom of Croatia, blue and white flag of the Kingdom of Slavonia, and white and yellow flag of the Kingdom of Dalmatia. During the national renewal movement of 1848, the red-white-blue tricolour, then official, symbolised the independence and unity of the country. From 1868 to 1918, it was the official flag of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, with the unique difference being that it was decorated in the centre by a coat of arms made up of the crests of the three kingdoms and topped with Saint Etienne’s crown.

The historical Croatian coat of arms, checked with gules and argent (red and white), appeared for the first time on the stamp affixed to the act relating to the election of Ferdinand I of Hapsburg as king of Croatia, by the Croatian Diet (Sabor) meeting in Cetin in 1527. Subsequently, it featured in the form of a red
and white checked pattern in the Hapsburg crests, recalling the fact that the Kingdom of Croatia was then part of the Austrian Empire.

But, even though the number of red and white squares and the order of the colours varied over the centuries, from the 19th-century the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Croatia only appeared in its 5 x 5 size. Its appearance was codified by the Sabor in 1883. Later, as an emblem of the Banovina of Croatia (1939-1941), established within the Yugoslav monarchy, the coat of arms (red squares in the corners or cantons) was integrated into the Croatian tricolour. Then, between 1941 and 1945, the collaborationist Ustashi regime took up this same flag by adding its own emblem and reversing the order of the colours (white cantons). From 1945 onwards, once again the Croatian coat of arms (red cantons again) was integrated into the crests of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, member of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was then surrounded by a crown of ears of wheat and topped with a red star. When the new constitution was being drafted in 1990, it was naturally taken up again, but somewhat rid of these elements that are typical of Communist iconography, while at the same time conserving the sequence of red and white squares (red cantons). The crest was thus integrated into the national flag, instead of the red star.

Since then, the crest has been topped with a ‘crown’ consisting of five shields representing the historical Croatian provinces, with from left to right: the morning star and the crescent of Former Croatia (Illyria), the red and white bands of the former Dubrovnik Republic, the three crowned leopard heads of Dalmatia, the goat of Istria and the marten and the six-pointed star of Slavonia.

In addition, the national coat of arms is regularly used alone, as a national crest, especially on the headed paper of administrative and official documents.

The red and white checked motif is a particularly recognizable sign. Each one of us may have become familiar with this emblem which appears in particular on the sports jerseys of Croatian athletes. Since 1 July 2013, it has been flying with its 27 counterparts before the building of the European Parliament as well as at the Council of the European Union.
2.3. The Spanish Flag

Both through the choice of colours and that of the crest, the flag bears witness to the territorial construction of the Spanish Kingdom as we know it today. The regions of Castilla and Leon were the first to unite during the period of the Reconquista, launched in the 13th century. The Muslim forces were driven back and only managed to retain their influence around the city of Grenada, last foothold of the Moor Empire until 1492. Monarchical marriages would then intertwine the destinies of the Castilla y Leon region with that of Aragon. Charles V was born of the established dynasty, and through the marriage game he would later benefit from Habsburg and Burgundian territories, making him the most powerful European Emperor although this was short lived. He added the South-Pyrenean part of Navarra to the hands of Castilla. After his abdication, his son Philip II recovered the Spanish lands, the possessions of Southern Italy and the Netherlands.

The four previously mentioned regions would make up the main elements of the current flag. The red and yellow colours were initially those of Castilla and Leon, but also those of the domains of Navarra and Aragon, made up of today’s regions of Aragon, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Catalonia, which kept these colours. The four former components were also part of the crest, the central shield bearing their arms. At its base is the symbol of Grenada, the last region concerned by the Reconquista. In the very centre, the fleurs-de-lys recall affiliation with the reigning family in the Bourbon lineage. The pillars represent the columns of Hercules, i.e. the Rocks of Gibraltar and Ceuta. The banner wrapped around these columns bears the inscription plus ultra, translated as ‘further beyond’, reference to the Spanish colonial empire launched by Queen Isabelle of Castilla in the late 15th-century and the discoveries of the navigator Christopher Columbus.

The Royal Decree of 1785 made the choice of the flag with its horizontal bands official. At this time it was a question of avoiding confusion between the
maritime flags of the naval powers controlled by the monarchs of the Bourbon family as the former were to similar to be distinguished at sea. After having been adapted on several occasions, in particular the shield, the current flag was established in 1981. The emblem without the shield is used for civilian events.

2.4. The Romanian Flag

• Created in 1867 and adopted in 1994

The association of the three colours blue, yellow and red dates back to the uprising of 1821 against Ottoman overlordship over the two principalities of Valachia and Moldavia. Initially set horizontally, the bands became vertical in 1867. The three colours express the desire for freedom and unity of all the peoples of Romania, whether dominated by the Turks, the Russians or the Austro-Hungarians. They were originally the result of a merger between the colours of Moldavia which were blue and red, and the colours of Valachia which were yellow and red.

Other interpretations are often ventured to interpret the colours’ significance, such as the union of Romania’s three historic regions, Moldavia, Valachia and Transylvania, or blue for the sky and freedom, yellow for prosperity and equality and red for the blood of fraternity. Children were once taught in school that blue stood for the sky, yellow for the cornfields and red for the blood spilled by the heroic defenders of the Romanian land. But that version is no longer taught today.

Long bearing in its centre a crest combining the emblems of the country’s main regions, the flag was given a hammer and sickle by Nicolae Ceaușescu, the leader of the Romanian communist regime from 1965 until his fall and execution in December 1989. Ostensibly marking his distance from the USSR, Ceaușescu forged ties both with the West and with China, but he then proceeded to sink into the personalisation of power, radicalising the Securitate secret police and forcing the nation to fold in on itself and to withdraw into
isolation. A rebellion broke out in Timișoara in December and Ceaușescu fled with his wife after being heckled in Bucharest. The National Salvation Front took power under former communist Ion Iliescu after the erstwhile dictator’s execution.

Right from the very start of the unrest in Timișoara – and this was to become a major aspect of the 1989 revolution – the Romanian flag had a hole punched through the middle to remove the communist hammer and sickle. It was to fly with that hole in it throughout the revolution, its image going round the world and an example of the flag in that condition even being presented to US President Bill Clinton during a visit to Bucharest.

The flag was finally adopted in its present form in 1994.

2.5. The Flag of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

• Created in 1789 and adopted in 1801

The two crossed red crosses bordered in white and standing out against a blue background are a combination of St. George’s Cross representing England and Wales, St. Andrew’s Cross or Saltire representing Scotland, and St. Patrick’s Cross set in the centre of the Irish flag. They tell the story of three different stages in the country’s territorial history.

A red cross on a white ground, mentioned for the first time in 1277, evokes the figure of George, a fifteenth-century Roman soldier who was later canonised. Being adopted as the patron saint of England during the Hundred Years’ War, this warrior saint sanctioned the bravery of the English knights in the Order of the Garter who came over to France with King Edward III to defend England’s continental holdings against the French army.
The Scottish flag consists of the Saltire (or x-shaped Cross) of St. Andrew on a rectangular blue ground. Certain relics of this fisherman from Galilee, who was martyred on a x-shaped cross, are said to have been discovered in this region of the British Isles. Becoming the patron saint of Scotland, his cross came to symbolise his legendary intervention which, legend has it, allowed the king of the Picts and Gaëls to win the lands of "Engla Land" against the king of the Angles. This 11th century flag is omnipresent and is associated with dozens of pub signs, as well as appearing on the crest of the University of Edinburgh.

The visual unity of the British flag became properly structured after the succession to a throne left vacant following the death of Queen Elisabeth I, the last of the Tudors. Acceding to a plea from the late queen's ministers, King James VI of Scotland, a Stuart, united the two countries as personal possessions under a single flag and declared himself King James I of the new Kingdom of Great Britain in 1603. The two territorial banners were superimposed on one another to become known in 1606 as the Union Flag, which was flown by His Majesty's vessels in addition to the English or Scottish flag. That way the king avoided disputes among his subjects and, quite apart from forging their new identity, he also gave them an imposing Navy at the same time. The execution of King Charles I in 1649 brought the territorial union of England and Scotland to an end, thus eliminating the flag's very raison d'être. But when Queen Anne came to the throne in 1707, she revived both the territorial unity of the United Kingdom and its flag.

Ireland, which had previously been a separate kingdom, joined the territorial union in 1801, giving rise to the new United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Cross of St. Patrick was built into the Union Flag. The red saltire on a white ground was the symbol of the powerful Fitzgerald family, the family that was recognised at the time as embodying power in Ireland. The Union Flag, or Union Jack, came into full effect in 1801 and was henceforth to be seen on the emblems of the territorial possessions in what is now the Commonwealth. From coffee mugs to fashion colours, the Union Jack has become the symbol of a glamorous life-style with a sardonic tinge, but at the same time it is always a reliable pointer to the queen's presence in Buckingham Palace.
3. Flags inspired by patriotic symbols

3.1. The Flag of the Federal Republic of Germany

- Created in 1816 and adopted in 1919 then in 1949

The flag consisting of three equal horizontal bands of black-red-gold reflects the national colours of the Federal Republic of Germany and is the only symbol rooted in German Basic Law. This is not the case for the national anthem or for the heraldic eagle.

The exact origin of the use of the black-red-gold tricolour is uncertain. In 1815, after the wars of liberation against Napoleonic France, the three colours were associated with the black uniforms with their red lapels, decorated with the gold-coloured buttons of the Lützow Free Corps, a volunteer force of the Prussian army made up mainly of students and intellectuals. The 1816 flag of the corporation of Jena students, made up of members of the Free Corps, shows a golden oak branch on a red-black-red background.

In the mid-19th century, these three colours were mistakenly taken to be the colours of the former German Empire, even though they appeared in the coat of arms of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire. They were displayed on the flags of the revolutionaries who demanded a unified and free Germany before and during the “Springtime of the Peoples” in 1848, and were declared symbol of the German Confederation in 1848.

The black-white-red tricolour (Prussian and Hanseatic colours) was used after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and became the symbolic colours of the German Empire after German Unification, from 1871 to 1919 and from 1933 to 1945.
Today’s black-red-gold colours were adopted in 1919 by the Weimar Republic and readopted in 1949 for the FRG (West Germany) and the GDR (East Germany). It was not until 1959 that East Germany added its coat of arms (hammer, compass and ring of rye), this act being perceived by the West as a desire to distance the two Germanies.

In October 1990, the flag became that of Unified Germany. Its use is relatively limited, being for official occasions or international sporting events. The Germans however seemed to have less of a complex regarding the use of their flag during the 2006 FIFA World Cup, which was organised in Germany.

3.2. The Estonian Flag

- Created in 1881 and adopted in 1918, then in 1989

In 1881, the Estonian Students’ Society of the University of Tartu, known as Vironia, adopted the blue, white and black as the colours of the association. These colours, which were extensively deployed during national song festivals, were soon considered as those of the nation and were chosen by the independent nation in 1920.

One is tempted to link these colours to those of the symbolically natural elements: blue being the colour of the sky, black that of the earth and white that of snow. References to the values of the Estonian culture and people are also often evoked: blue symbolising loyalty to the homeland, black representing dedication despite the sufferings endured (or sometimes the colour of the jackets worn by the farming forefathers), and lastly the white marking faith in the future and the desire for freedom.

It is useful to mention that the national bird is the swallow and the national flower is the cornflower. When the colours of these two symbols are united, the three national colours are formed. This allowed the Estonians to fly the colours of the flag from as far back as the 1960s, this flag being forbidden by
the Soviet authorities. The flag was once again flown over the tower of Tallin Castle in 1989, thus substantiating the sovereignty regained by this republic.

Since the latest independence of 1990, several modification proposals have been made, including that of including the Nordic cross on the flag. The idea is undoubtedly linked to that of ridding oneself from the image of the former Soviet Union (three horizontal stripes) in order to take on that of a Nordic affinity, but these suggestions have not received popular support.

While the origin of the flag must be sought in the nationalist movement, it remains clear that the interpretation of the colours chosen reveals elements of cultural values in particular.

### 3.3. The Greek Flag

* Created in 1822 and adopted in 1978

The Greeks call their national flag *galanolefki*, which means “blue and white”. It is made up of 9 equal horizontal white and blue stripes with a white cross on a blue background in the upper hoist-side corner. The blue represents the sky and the sea and the white represents purity, symbol of the struggle for independence. The cross bears witness to the Orthodox Christian tradition of Greece. The nine stripes represent the nine syllables of the motto used during the wars of liberation of 1821 (“Freedom or Death”), stemming from the revolutionary movements of the Orthodox Christians against Ottoman domination.

The colours of the national flag have evolved very little since 1822, the date on which the National Assembly decreed, some two years after Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire, that the new emblem would be made up of a white cross on a blue background. Established in 1828, the flag with nine stripes was reserved for use abroad until 1970, and it coexisted with the blue flag with the white cross which was used only in Greece.
The proclamation of the Greek State was ratified by the British, French and Russian representatives during the London Conference of 1830, and authorised by Prussia and Austria. However, France and Russia kept a certain influence over the new State and imposed the Bavarian King Otto I on the young republic. He was replaced by George I in 1863 who reigned until 1913. During the reign of Otto I, the blue shade of the flag was coordinated with that of the Bavarian coat of arms of the House of Wittelsbach. Before the definitive abolition of the monarchy in 1974, the flag was sometimes decorated with a crown.

Between 1967 and 1974, during the “Regime of the Colonels”, the military junta used a much darker blue. Following the reestablishment of the parliamentary republic in 1975, the banner, which is still used today, was established in 1978.

In order to pay tribute to Ancient Greece, the flag is traditionally flown with that of the host country of the upcoming Olympic Games, during the closing ceremony. This is why at the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000, two Greek flags were flown side by side to announce the Athens Games in 2004.

3.4. The Irish Flag

- Created in 1830 and adopted in 1937

The green, the white and the orange are the colours that make up the tricolour flag created in 1830 by Irish patriots, in support of the Parisian episode of the July Revolution. It is made up of the two Irish religious symbols surrounding the white, emblem of peace and hope for reconciliation. The green, of Celtic tradition, is also the colour of the Nationalist Catholics, whereas the orange marks the victory of the Protestants with the British King, William III of Orange in 1690.

This flag was flown in 1848, during the Nationalist uprising led by Smith O’Brien and Young Ireland who were campaigning against the British for the return of an Irish government.
A tricolour symbol of Republican revolt, the flag marked the island's dual demand for revolution and independence. In Dublin, in 1916, it was flown during the Easter Rising, during which Catholic insurgents, led by Patrick Pearse, rebelled against the British occupier by proclaiming the Irish Republic. It initially became the banner of the revolutionary organisations such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and then the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The flag, which was made official after independence in 1922, was mentioned in 1937 in the Constitution as the official national flag in both official languages: An Bharrachtais Náisiúnta or the Irish National Flag.

The emblem is proudly flown all over the Republic on Saint Patrick’s Day, the national holiday, which allows people to also fly numerous other Irish flags, symbols based on the ancestral social organisation of the clans. The presence of these flags, also bearing demands, sometimes leads to clashes to the extent that some Northern Irish had an anti-flag rant in a popular song in 2013.

The colour green is nevertheless that which reminds us most of Ireland, often called the “Emerald Isle”. Green is also the colour of the shamrock, which had been used by Saint Patrick to explain the mystery of the Holy Trinity to the islanders and thus helped in their conversion to Christianity.

3.5. The Latvian Flag

- Created in 1917 and adopted in 1921, then in 1990

While the Latvian flag with its present form and colours was created by artists in 1917 and endorsed by parliament in 1921, it actually dates back to the 13th century, which makes it one of the oldest flags in the world, at least in terms of its aesthetic concept.

The colour red is said to hark back to the mulberry juice used to dye Latvian warriors’ garments, although another version tells us that the colours were chosen when a warrior chieftain who had been wounded in battle was being carried by his troops in a white sheet and his blood stained the edges of the
sheet red. The stained cloth was promptly used as a banner and led the troops to victory, going on to become the emblem of Latvia.

German missionaries of the time set up the Order of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword to convert the pagan Baltic tribes, such as the Curonians in the west (in Courland), the Latvians in the east and the Livonians in the north (in Livonia). The feudal system was enforced in the countryside, while German traders called the shots in the main towns and Riga became an important trading post in the Hanseatic system.

In the 1860s a student discovered this historical information in the Chronicle of the Livonian Order and, with his colleagues, he promptly revived the flag at the Riga Song Festival in 1873.

When it was adopted after the First World War and the Latvian state's independence, the dark garnet colour commonly known as “Latvian red” was chosen not only because of the flag's origins but also to distinguish it from Russia's bright red. The two coloured bands are twice the width of the central white band.

The flag was banned during the Soviet occupation in 1940 and only resurfaced in 1988. It became legal again after the country regained its independence on 27 February 1990. Latvia was probably the Baltic country that suffered the most under the Soviet yoke, its tense relations with its powerful neighbour being caused by the presence of a large Russian population in the country.

### 3.6. The Lithuanian Flag

- Created in 1918 and adopted in 1988

The flag in its present form was designed by a state commission and officially approved in 1918, shortly after Lithuania won its independence from its powerful neighbours. Banned during subsequent periods of domination, first under the Germans and then under the Soviets, it was legalised again in 1988.
When it was first designed, the colours chosen were yellow to symbolise the sun, light and prosperity, green to symbolise the beauty of nature, freedom and hope, and red to recall the earth, the courage and the blood spilt for the homeland. Naturally, the yellow symbolising the sun was set at the top of the flag.

It was updated by the Sažūdis, the movement for the independence of Lithuania, in 1988. The Lithuanian people earned the right to display their flag, to sing their national anthem and to wear their traditional costumes, none of which were perceived by the Lithuanians as merely authorised folklore but as fully-fledged rights, symbols laden with substance embodying the liberation of the people and a common heritage on which to build the nation’s unity. Over the following years the Lithuanians were to witness an alternation of nationalist protests and Russia reaction, at a time when the Soviet Union was itself being rocked by the collapse of its allied bloc in central and Eastern Europe. After the bloody but abortive grab for power in Vilnius attempted by Mikhail Gorbachev, the then president of the USSR, in January 1991, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin recognized the Baltic states’ independence and it was officially accepted a few months later. The last Russian troops departed Lithuanian soil in August 1993.

While Lithuanian national day on 16 February marks the date of the country’s declaration of independence in 1918, “Flag Day” on 1 January commemorates the day when the flag was first raised on a tower in Vilnius in 1919.

In addition to the official flag, the Lithuanian state officially uses also a crest adorned with a Vytis, a mounted knight, recalling the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania when the land shared with the Poles stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea.
3.7. The Maltese flag

Cosmopolitan both in spirit and by tradition, the island of Malta has been moulded over the centuries by its successive occupiers: the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Christians, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Normans of Sicily, the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, the Ottomans, the French and the British. This sovereign nation, which has been a member of the British Commonwealth since 1964, became an independent Republic in 1974.

Numerous standards, banners and flags have flown on Maltese soil over the centuries. The Cross of Malta, a distinctive symbol of the archipelago, is associated with the Knights Hospitaller, officially the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was enfeoffed with the island by Emperor Charles V in 1530, when it changed its name to the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. It was the first entity on the island to have an official flag, consisting of a white cross on a red ground (which had been the emblem of William the Conqueror at Hastings in 1066). Thus the two national colours were chosen by tradition, but the Maltese Cross was eventually to be removed from the flag.

The French flag flew over the archipelago for a time, Napoleon considering the islands an imperial conquest, but the Maltese people appealed to the British for assistance against the French occupier in 1801. England took over the island, which became the official property of His Britannic Majesty after the Treaty of Paris in 1814, and the Union Jack replaced the French tricolour flag on its public buildings.

The colony was granted “self-government” status – intermediate status between imperial territory and membership of the Commonwealth – in gratitude for the Maltese people’s display of fortitude during the Second World War. King George VI also awarded the entire island the George Cross in 1942, and this was to be added to two vertical white and red bands of equal size when the official flag was devised in 1947.
But while some of the island’s inhabitants approved of Britain’s presence, the Maltese nationalists were seeking complete independence. Winning the support of the Church of Malta, they forced the British Government’s hand and achieved the granting of independence on 21 September 1964. The country’s flag, however, which was officially adopted at the same time as the Constitution, continues to bear the George Cross rather than the Maltese Cross.

Protocol surrounding the flag today is very strict, bearing witness to the strong symbolic significance the Maltese people attach to it. Fluttering in the wind from sunrise to sunset, or lit up at night, it flies over all public and school buildings. The flag of a visiting international friend may be raised alongside the national flag as a mark of courtesy, and since 2004 it has been systematically associated with the European flag inside public buildings and at all points of entry into the country.

3.8. The Portuguese Flag

- Created in 1910 and adopted in 1911

While the colours green and red are fairly traditionally associated with hope and courage in battle, it is the coat of arms in the centre of the flag that offers us a fresco of Portugal’s history. The final version of the flag was only adopted in 1911, thus belatedly by comparison with the country’s long history, as though each point had been carefully thought through and weighed up.

In the centre of the main shield, five blue shields are set in a cross recalling the Cross of Christ. Each one contains five silver bezants, the number five also referring to the five wounds of Christ, and the shields also illustrate the victories of the first king of Portugal, Alfonso Henriques, over the Moors. In the surrounding field, the same king is evoked through the seven castles he won in the 12th century, thus making his mark on the country’s territorial expansion. Portugal achieved its current size after the southern province of the Algarve was conquered and annexed in the mid-13th century.
The shield rests on an armillary sphere symbolising the country’s maritime and colonial achievements. This maritime expansion, which began in around 1415, reached its peak with the navigators Vasco da Gama and Ferdinand Magellan. A plan submitted by Christopher Columbus, an Italian, however, was rejected by the Portuguese so he submitted it to Queen Isabella of Castille instead and she approved it. This period was to mark the golden age of Portugal under King Manuel I. An empire was gradually built spanning the five continents: Madeira, the Azores and Brasil in the west, Angola, Mozambique, Capo Verde and Guinea-Bissau in Africa, and Goa, Malacca, Macao, East Timor and the Moluccas in the east. Madeira and the Azores are still part of the Republic today, though they enjoy insular autonomy status.

A civil and military uprising in 1910 led to the establishment of the Portuguese Republic. A committee was tasked with devising the national flag, and the Constituent Assembly endorsed its choice on 19 June 1911. It is a complex flag that paints a historical fresco: only the colours green and red are republican symbols, because the monarchy’s traditional colours were blue and white.

The Portuguese people are very attached to their flag as a mark of their identity. Whenever the national team is playing in an international football competition, the balconies of Portuguese ex-parts the world over are instantly decked with the national flag!
4. Flags inspired by monarchich colours

4.1. The Austrian Flag

- Created in 1230
- Adopted in 1786

The Austrian flag has three horizontal bands: red, white and red. Duke Frederick II of the Holy Empire is said to have introduced this flag as early as around 1230 to show the will for greater visibility within the Holy Roman Germanic Empire. According to legend, the flag appeared in 1191 during a crusade. Following a battle, the white tunic of Duke Leopold V Von Babenberg is said to have been covered in blood, except at the location of his belt. The stained tunic was then used as a flag to gather the troops. On his return to Austria, the Emperor authorised the use of the colours red and white in defensive battles against the Slavs and Hungarians.

At the time of the Hapsburg Empire, the imperial flags were organised around the coat of arms of their dynasty. As the House of Hapsburg was at the head of the Holy Empire from the 15th century, their emblem featured the two-headed eagle, symbol of this imperial attribute. Until 1918, this flag was used as the State flag during ceremonies. As this emblazoned fabric is quite complex to produce, the red and white flag has been used in parallel since the early 17th century.

The fact remains that the red-white-red flag was officially adopted as the Austrian flag in 1786. Throughout the various periods in history, the flag has been decorated with different coats of arms and emblems. On the establishment of the First Republic of Austria in 1918, only the three bands were retained. With the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany, the Swastika was imposed on Austria between 1938 and 1945. Since its reinstatement at the end of World War II in 1945, the Austrian flag has remained unchanged. The official State flag today bears the federal eagle as an emblem. This eagle has been one-headed since the fall of the monarchy.
The Austrian emblem has therefore greatly evolved throughout its history. The fact remains that these three bands of red-white-red are both the oldest and the most representative of this country, which extended its authority and influence to all of Central Europe and sometimes even beyond it.

### 4.2. The Luxembourger Flag

- Created in 1830 and adopted in 1972

The collective memory of the people of Luxembourg celebrates the date of 1839 as marking the Grand Duchy’s independence, but in fact it was only in 1848 that the grand ducal family symbolising its unity was to institute ministerial responsibility for the government’s “administrators general”, thus certifying the country’s autonomy. And it was only much later, in 1972, that the national symbols consisting of the coat of arms and the flag were to be officially recognised.

A large part of the population of Luxembourg having backed the Belgian Revolution against William I in 1830, the flag is said to have first seen the light of day during those uprisings. But the jury is still out on the real origin of the choice of horizontal red, white and blue bands for the national flag. The flags of Luxembourg and Holland being very similar, it may well be that the Grand Duchy deliberately chose to keep the *Prinsenvlag*, the symbol of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, for a transition period. Yet the coat of arms of the counts and dukes of Luxembourg in silver, blue and red, established in the 13th century by Henry V, also has within it the three colours which may have determined the national flag. Other scholars argue that it was inspired by the French revolutionary flag. The choice of a light sky blue is always underscored in an effort to distinguish the flag’s colours from those of Holland, whose blue is decidedly more ultramarine.

Two national flags have been authorised on Luxembourger territory since 2007 following a proposal submitted by a deputy named Michel Wolter to replace the tricolour flag, difficult to identify at a distance, by the country’s naval ensign.
Thus the emblem of a red lion rampant sporting the grand ducal crown (Roude Leiw) on a background of horizontal blue and white stripes, created in 1990, may also be considered a civilian flag when it is adapted to the official dimensions of the tricolour flag.

4.3. The Dutch Flag

- Created c. 1572 and adopted in 1937

The Dutch flag consists of three horizontal bands in red, white and blue. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who led the struggle for independence against King Philip II of Spain, ruled that the three colours orange, white and blue were to form the flag of the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands whose governor he was, in an attempt to proclaim the sovereignty of the northern regions, or “United Provinces”. The flag was christened Prinsenvlag (the Prince's Flag) and was inspired, in all likelihood, by William I's heraldic colours. Its existence is mentioned for the first time in 1572. For reasons of which no one is really certain, orange was replaced with red in the course of the 17th century. Some scholars have suggested that orange may have fallen out of favour because it was so difficult a colour to manufacture and keep bright, while others argue that red was more visible out to sea, and yet others that the House of Orange's popularity was on the wane.

The red, white and blue flag was officially designated as the Dutch flag for the first time in 1796, when the Batavian Republic, the “sister republic” annexed by the French in 1795 following the revolutionary uprising and the French invasion, was officially established. The colours of the bands evoked at once a new proximity with France and a marking of distance from the House of Orange, following the exile to England of Prince William V of Orange after the Batavian rebellion. When the French left the country in 1815, William V’s son re-established the Royal House of Orange and became King William I, uniting the Netherlands with Belgium and Luxembourg. His descendants continue to sit on the Dutch throne today.
The Dutch flag is similar to the flag of Luxembourg, the only difference being the shade of blue chosen. The Luxembourger flag has light sky blue band while the blue on the flag of the Netherlands is decidedly ultramarine.

A code determines the occasions on which the flag can be flown today. For certain ceremonies an orange pennant is added to the flag to honour the House of Orange, particularly to mark royal birthdays or on 30 April each year to mark “King’s/Queen’s Day” (Koningsdag/Koninginnendag). The colour orange is also used by Dutch teams in international sporting events.

4.4. The Polish Flag

• Created and adopted in 1919

Poland has two official flags. One consists of two horizontal bands, one white, one red, while the other is similar but it has the national coat of arms in its centre. According to the law governing the use of coats of arms, anyone can use the Polish flag at national or cultural events on condition that it is used in a respectful manner. This new freedom of use of the national colours dates back only to 2004. The application of the coat of arms to the national flag is theoretically reserved for specific circumstances (in embassies, consulates and so on). We should remember that the communist authorities severely curtailed people’s use of the various national symbols; the flag thus acquired strong symbolism as an element of rebellion and identity, particularly through its use by the oppositionist trade union movement Solidarność, which built it into its logo. In effect, it is more indicative of patriotism than of nationalism.

The two colours, which have symbolised the Polish nation since the 13th century, are the same as those on a shield displaying a white eagle on a red ground that was the banner raised by King Władysław Jagiełło at the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410 which sanctioned his victory over the Teutonic Knights. People frequently associate the colours today with other meanings such as purity and courage, or snow and spilled blood.
During the Middle Ages the Polish flag followed the vicissitudes of the country, whose strategic position in the heart of Europe was to cause it to pay a heavy tribute to Sweden, Russia, Prussia, Germany and Austria, even to the point where it actually disappeared from the map in 1795, and again in 1815 after a series of “partitions” orchestrated by its neighbours. The flag appeared, disappeared and reappeared, but always with its two colours, sometimes accompanied by the coat of arms and at other times without it.

The Polish state established a national “Flag Day” on 2 May 2004 in honour of its flag and in memory of 2 May 1945, when the Polish troops in the Red Army are alleged to have raised the white-and-red flag on the column of victory in Berlin.
5. Flags which inspiration is common to several nations

Flags inspired by the *Dannebrog*

5.1. The Danish Flag

- Created in the 14th century and adopted in 1397

The Danish flag (*Dannebrog*) literally means ‘red cloth’. It is mentioned for the first time in the 14th century in a Dutch text, then in 1478 in a Danish text. It is a red flag with a white cross that extends to the edges of the flag and is shifted to the hoist side. The cross is known both as the ‘Scandinavian cross’ or ‘Saint Olaf’s cross’.

According to legend told in Christiern Pedersen’s Danish chronicle, the flag fell from the sky on 15 June 1219 and reinvigorated the troops of Valdemar II ‘the Victorious’ during a crusade against the pagan Estonians. The then Emperor of Rome, Constantine, had dreamed of a cross, before the battle in 1219 that made him the sole sovereign of the Roman Empire: this was typical of miraculous apparitions. Another legend tells of the tunic of Valdemar II that was stained red with blood following a Danish crusade in Estonia, with the exception of the shoulder strap and belt areas. This colouration is also said to have inspired the colours of the Danish flag. It is in memory of the battle that the *Dannebrog* order was established in 1219, which even today still rewards special contributions in the field of arts, science or matters in Denmark’s interest.

Firstly, the crests of Valdemar IV Atterdag, dating back to 1370-1386, were borne on a red standard with a white cross, officially adopted by the Danish royal family in 1397. From 1591 onwards, under the reign of Christian IV (cf. Danish national anthem), Danish coins were minted with a similar cross, which
soon became considered as that of the Dannebrog. Lastly, between 1848 and 1850, years marked by nationalism, the Danes often flew the national flag. Nowadays, they continue to fly it in their garden, for family celebrations and official holidays. The Danes celebrate Valdemar’s Day on 15 June and small Danish flags are sold on this occasion. Christmas is also the perfect opportunity to decorate Christmas trees with small Danish flags, another sign of the Danes’ attachment to the Dannebrog, the oldest flag in the world.

5.2. The Finnish Flag

- Created in 1870 and adopted in 1918

The Finnish flag, as its name indicates Siniristilippu (blue cross flag), shows a blue Scandinavian cross on a white background. In 1870, the Finnish poet Zacharias Topelius drew a flag that resembled today’s flag. He said at that time that the blue reflected the lakes of Finland and the white represented the snow of Finnish winters. The Scandinavian cross, with its vertical part shifted to the hoist side, is based on the Dannebrog, the oldest Nordic flag. This cross, is the common element of the flags of the Nordic countries, and also appears on the flags of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland.

In 1917, when Finland claimed its independence from Russia, a competition was launched to create a new flag. The Finnish artists, Eero Snellman and Bruno Tuukkanen designed the flag as we know it today. It was adopted in 1918. The official flags, for example the President’s flag, the flag of the embassies or that of the army all bear the national crest at the intersection of the branches of the cross. It is a crest from the 16th century, a period when Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden under king Gustav Vasa. This crest shows a crowned lion, walking on a saber and brandishing a sword. On the red background, nine roses can be seen, representing the nine historical provinces of Finland. This crest was reintroduced in 1917.
A 1978 law determined the use of the flag. Custom has it that as the flag should never be damaged or dirtied, it must be burned immediately if it touches the ground.

On 23 June, day of the feast of Saint John (Juhannus), is also the feast day of the flag of Finland. It is the only day in the year when it is authorised to fly the Finnish flag during the night, which is of course short at this time of the year, or even absent in the Great North.

5.3. The Swedish Flag

- Created in 1663 and adopted in 1906

The Swedish flag with the Scandinavian Cross on a blue background was adopted in its present form in 1906. A legend informs us that, during the Swedish crusades in Finland, King Eric IX of Sweden (“Eric the Saint”) looked up at the blue sky and saw the sun take the shape of a cross, the occurrence prompting him to adopt a blue banner with a golden cross. There is, however, no written evidence to suggest that the Swedes ever crusaded in Finland, or indeed that the flag in question was ever used before the 16th century. But having said that, there is a seal dated 1449 displaying a golden cross on a blue background...

The Swedish flag in the 14th century comprised a banner with three golden crowns on a royal blue background, but by the 16th century the crowns had been replaced by a golden cross, possibly a reference to the country’s throwing off the Danish yoke. Some scholars have suggested that King Johann III ordered the Scandinavian Cross to be applied to banners and flags in 1559, but be that as it may, a law in 1663 formalised the flag as we know it today. The use of the Scandinavian Cross, akin to that of the Dannebrog on the flag of Denmark, can be explained by Danish rule in Sweden at the time. Over the centuries the Scandinavian Cross was to appear on a number of Swedish flags, initially in gold but this was changed over the years to several different shades of
yellow for practical purposes. In the 19th century the king of Sweden also ruled over Norway, a fact reflected in the kingdom’s flag which at the time comprised the national flags of both countries.

In 1906, a year after Norway won its independence from Sweden, the Swedish flag took on its present format. It is distinct from the Swedish naval jack, which is a triple-tailed variant on the theme. Sweden decreed in 2005 that 6 June would henceforth be official “Flag Day” in memory of the enthronement of Gustav Vasa, of the adoption of the Constitution, and of the law on freedom of speech approved in 1809. The flag is both a national symbol and an emblem of the royal family, which gives it dual importance and significance in the eyes of the Swedish people.

The flag is flown in both public and private venues from 8 o’clock in the morning until 9 o’clock in the evening from March to October, while for the rest of the year it is only raised at 9 o’clock in the morning.

Flags inspired by Slavic colours

5.4. The Bulgarian Flag

- Created in 1879 and adopted in 1994

The origins of the current Bulgarian flag date back to 1879. From the end of the 14th century until this time, the territory was placed under Ottoman rule. The Turks severely reprimanded the Bulgarian revolt, thus provoking the indignation of the Western Powers, of the British man William Ewart Gladstone, and of the Frenchman Victor Hugo who spoke up against the atrocities being committed in Bulgaria. This country periodically suffered the effects of Russo-Turkish rivalry. The last conflict between the two powers, won by the armies of the Czar, led to the creation (through the Treaty of San Stefano) of an autonomous and very extensive principality, whose borders were not unlike those of the Empire of Simeon I of Bulgaria some one
thousand years before, which was a veritable Golden Age in Bulgarian culture. However, the other European powers, concerned about this new balance of power in the Balkans, immediately had the Treaty revised in Berlin, and drafted a compromise that would cost Bulgaria. It was divided into an autonomous principality and a Southern province remaining under Ottoman control.

It was in this context that the country adopted a flag that was very strongly and deliberately inspired by that of Russia, friend and ally, vector of independence, with the difference being that the green replaced the blue. The Bulgarian flag would thus be a local variant of the Slavic colours of white-blue-red.

According to the most widely admitted interpretations, the white symbolises peace and the Slavic mindset, the green both the richness of the fertile earth and the hope for freedom, and the red recalls the courage and bravery of the Bulgarian fighters, as well as their spirit of resistance and sacrifice against the oppression suffered by the people.

The national awakening of this key period was also marked by the laying of the foundations for a very democratic Constitution, that could only be actually applied after 1991 with its emancipation from Soviet control.

5.5. The Czech Flag

- Created and adopted in 1920, then in 1993

Bohemia, the most important region in the Czech Republic, has had a white and red coat of arms, similar to those of numerous central European countries such as Austria and Poland, for centuries. A flag comprising two horizontal bands, one red and one white, made its appearance during the “Springtime of the Peoples” that rocked the established order in Europe in 1848, embodying a claim to autonomy in the heart of the vast Habsburg domains, although only the region’s Hungarian neighbours were to benefit from it.
At the end of the First World War, central Europe, with its borders redrawn, saw the birth of a Czechoslovak state embracing Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. The Czechoslovak state’s independence was proclaimed on Wenceslaus Square on 28 October 1918. Tomáš Masaryk was one of the leading players involved in building this state, along with Edvard Beneš and with Milan Rastislav Štefánik from Slovakia, after an intense lobbying campaign with the Allies. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk became Czechoslovakia’s first president, holding office from 1918 to 1935.

Following the work of a special committee, a tricolour flag was chosen, and blue, representing Slovakia, appeared in the form of a triangle along the shaft. Thus the three colours together evoked the concept of pan-Slavism.

The flag remained in common use until the partition on 1 January 1993, which gave birth to two separate countries: the Czech Republic (including Moravia) and Slovakia. In the meantime, however, the image of the flag had become known around the world on account of its being spattered with blood during the “Prague Spring” in 1968 when Alexander Dubček sought to lead his country towards “socialism with a human face”. Russia responded harshly to this attempt in August 1968, triggering a rapid “normalisation” process under the aegis of Gustáv Husák. A student named Jan Palach set fire to himself on Wenceslaus Square in January 1969 in protest against this return to Soviet standards.

The flag became a symbol of purity once again in 1989, during the “Velvet Revolution” which was to bring full independence. Writer and philosopher Vaclav Havel embodied the period that put paid to communist power in the country. He was elected president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in 1989, and subsequently of the Czech Republic in 1993. The Czech Republic kept the common flag, with blue now representing the region of Moravia.

The colour white sits at the top of the flag, reminding us that the froth on a glass of beer, the national beverage *par excellence*, always sits at the top of the glass.
5.6. The Slovakian Flag

The colours white, blue and red on the Slovak flag are typical of countries that found inspiration in pan-Slavism, a romantic movement which argued that the Slavs, all being chips off a single block, were destined eventually to found a united community. Most of the movement’s adepts thought that the union would firm up around the Russian “big brother”. Thus the Slovaks began to use these three colours in the popular uprisings of 1848.

Pan-Slav colours being insufficient to characterise a nation, and even less to differentiate it from its Slav neighbours who use the same colour codes, however, the distinctive national shield added to the flag after partition from the Czech Republic in 1993 hosts two historical and geographical symbols: the white patriarchal cross and its setting, the country’s three legendary mountain tops. The mountains in question are the Tatra, Fatra and Mátra mountains, although we should note that the last of these is now in Hungarian territory.

The emblem of a cross on mountain tops first appeared in the 14th century as a symbol of Upper Hungary, because Slovakia was under Hungarian control at the time, and indeed had been so since the 10th century. An integral part of the Habsburg Empire, but not of the Holy Roman Empire the way Bohemia and Moravia both were, present-day Slovakia was given to the Hungarian crown after the historic compromise of 1867 that led to the partition of the empire between the Austrians and the Hungarians. Equivalent symbols are to be found on the Hungarian flag, bearing witness to the two countries’ long shared history.

The country also shared a common history with its Czech neighbour which began in 1918, was interrupted by the Second World War, and was restored under communism. After Soviet “normalisation” in 1968, a pseudo-federation was set up allowing the Slovaks a greater degree of autonomy. The state became binational and bilingual, but this was really nothing more than a façade.
because real power remained firmly in the hands of the Communist Party. The Czechs and the Slovaks separated again in 1993, yet they rediscovered their shared history once again when they joined the European Union on 2004.

5.7. The Slovenian Flag

• Created and adopted in 1991

The flag consists of three horizontal tricolour bands in white, blue and red, with the addition of a crest. The basic colours and the way they are arranged are typically Slav, and are also to be found, for instance, in the Russian flag. The crest, on the other hand, shows the country’s mountains, the Adriatic Sea and its rivers, as well as the three stars of the Counts of Celje.

The mountain depicted is Mount Triglav, the highest peak in the country at 2,864 metres above sea level, which every Slovenian has to climb at least once in his or her life. This legendary location situated in the heart of a national park is to be found on Slovenia’s euro coins. Its three-peaked shape also reflects the three stars, Triglav meaning “three heads” in Slovenian.

The historical connections are many and varied. The three colours are those of the pan-Slav movement which developed in central and Eastern Europe in the 19th century, and indeed we find them also in the other countries in which Slavs form the majority of the population. They are also the three colours of the flags and banners of the historic Carniola region centering on Ljubljana. This was an administrative division under the Habsburg Empire, and also the centre of the Illyrian Provinces in Napoleon’s empire. So the three colours carry the dual symbolism of a broad area shared by Slavs and of a smaller but specific area strongly imbued with national identity.

The stars of Celje refer to the County which proved capable of maintaining some form of independence from its powerful neighbours, even if only for a few years. The dynasty of the counts, allied to Luxembourg and opposed to the Habsburgs, died out in 1456 and their territory naturally fell under the
influence of the Austrian emperor, given that it had been a part of the empire since the 13th century. So the dynasty’s influence was only fleeting, but it was to prove strongly symbolic for the country’s identity when it achieved independence in 1991.

Thus the flag reflects both the country’s roots in the Slav world, in a specific and unique historical context, but also the image of the quality of life and the environment that are so dear to the Slovenian people’s heart.

It emphasises the country’s love of nature, of its rivers and its mountains, a love which we find in the national logo chosen in 2006 to promote the country abroad: “I feel Slovenia”, where the light green background highlights the beauty and purity of a country in which nature is paramount. This highly emotional slogan is embodied not only in the use of the words “I feel” but also, indeed more especially, in the use of the four letters forming the word “love” designed to boost the country’s attraction. The slogan can be seen in the world of tourism, on national sports teams’ kit and at major cultural events and receptions, where it stands alongside the national flag.

Flags inspired by the French Revolution

5.8. The Belgian Flag

- Created in 1830 and adopted in 1831

The multiplication of flags, just like the breakdown of Belgian institutional competences, is often disconcerting for the non-expert. In fact, Belgium, which has been a constitutional monarchy since 1830, is today governed jointly by the Federal State, the communities and the regions, each one having its own legislative and executive powers. Brussels-Capital holds the federal parliament (Senate and Chamber of Representatives) as well as the government. The three communities, organised according to language; Dutch, French and German, and the three regions (Wallonia, Flanders...
and Brussels-Capital) have specific institutions. The ten provinces, each one with its own flag, come under the governance of the regions, which also have their own banner.

Lastly, the Belgian monarch, head of State and of the armed forces, is one of the only European kings to participate parsimoniously in some of the executive powers of each entity, including the federal power. The Lion, associated with the motto “United we stand, divided we fall”, and the official flag, allow Belgium to be visible in international fora.

The Belgian flag, which defines the country, is indivisible from the creation of the State. The black-yellow-red vertical bands, with the black at the flagstaff, were made official in 1831.

Legend has it, that these three colours drew their inspiration from the banners displayed during the Brabantian revolution of 1787 and 1790, even though no flag of this type was mentioned at the time in the spoils of war taken from the Dutch armies.

During the summer of 1830, several revolutionary flags blazed in the Brussels sky, thus marking the desire for independence by the Southern provinces in relation to the Dutch possessions. Between 25 and 28 August, a series of banners appeared on the roof of the City Hall. The first flag, inspired by that of France, was quickly replaced by another one with the colours of Brabant, decorated with the iron cross.

Two days later, this was replaced by three horizontal bands of black-yellow-red, made by Marie Abts, who had a fabric shop where she sold canvases and sheets, just a few metres from Grand Place. The yellow (gold) and the red (gules), representing the Golden Lion, and the black bottom (sable) were the colours taken from the coat of arms of the Duchy of Brabant. These three colours, placed horizontally at the time, would be displayed all throughout Brussels by the 1st company of the bourgeois guard which, during the Revolution, maintained order throughout all the country’s main cities. On 30 September, the tricolour flag was instituted by the provisional government and the national congress. The vertical position of the colours was only adopted in 1831, by decree, and the black was then placed at the flagstaff. Today, the flag is always raised on the
roof of the City Hall of Brussels. Associated with various celebrations, including the commemoration of the deceased, events in the life of the royal family and some military victories, it is the emblem of the national holiday of 21 July and marks the accession of the first King of Belgium. On 21 July 2013, Brussels was covered in black, yellow and red to celebrate the beginning of the reign of King Philippe, 7th king of Belgium, who succeeded his father King Albert II.

5.9. The French Flag

- Created in 1789 and adopted in 1848

Progress was slow for this French emblem: the tricolour already existed in 1789, but it only became the official national flag in 1848.

The idea of associating the three colours, and more precisely of adding the white to the red and the blue, stems from the days that followed the taking of the Bastille, a symbolic prison then situated in the heart of Paris, in July 1789. It is difficult to determine who was behind this initiative, but it would seem that Louis XVI, King of France for another few short years, General La Fayette, hero of the independence of the British colonies in America, and lastly Jean Sylvain Bailly, mayor of Paris, were involved. The blue and the red, the colours of Paris, were worn by the rioters while the white was the then colour of the French royalty. These three colours were combined to make the official badge of the Municipal Guard of Paris. In 1792, the French Assembly ordered for it to be worn by all citizens.

What reasons thus determined this choice? Did the white surrounded by blue and red represent the king, prisoner of the Parisians? Was it a reference to American independence? The fact remains that the white has never been called into question, undoubtedly because alluded to France as a State more than as a royal dynasty.
This tricolour gained ground gradually. It took the form of a banner, then a flag, whose current form was drawn by the painter David in 1794 but its use was limited as a maritime flag. The bands became vertical in order to distinguish them from the Dutch flag. It was then used by ground forces, especially under the Napoleonic Empire. It was abandoned and even hunted down between 1815 and 1830 during the restoration of the monarchy by Louis XVIII. During several periods, the white space was decorated with various motifs.

It was only during the Second Republic in 1848, that the emblem was formalised and became a national symbol in its own right, for all civil and military occasions. Today, the tricolour flag flies over all public buildings. During the national holiday on 14 July, the presentation of the flag to the armed forces is an important time and exalts the feeling of patriotism, which is heightened when the planes of the Patrouille de France paint tricoloured clouds in the Parisian sky.

This flag strongly inspired the national flags of other European countries, (Italy, Belgium, Romania, etc.), but also those of several Latin American and French-speaking African countries.

5.10. The Hungarian Flag

- Created in 1848 and adopted in 1957

Composed of three horizontal bands of red-white-green, the Hungarian flag appeared for the first time in 1848, during the wave of the “Springtime of the Peoples” that was sweeping over Europe. This layout drew inspiration from the existing tricolour flags that were very popular at the time as a reflection of the French Revolution. The choice of colours, however, was strictly linked to the history of Hungary: the red recalled the banners of the tribes of King Arpad, who settled the Magyars in the heart of the Pannonian Plain; the white was the colour of King Stephen, who freed the kingdom and was canonised in 1083; the green belonged to the royal coat of arms, especially since the time of Mathias Corvin in the 15th century.
A less historic interpretation stresses that the red represents courage, the white loyalty and the green hope.

The flag, which was initially forbidden by the Hapsburg Emperor, reappeared in 1867. The 1848 revolution, which was initially liberal, became radical under the impetus of the political leader Kossuth. With the help of the Czar the Emperor crushed the movement and regained control of the Kingdom of Hungary. Franz Joseph of Austria, weakened by his defeat against the Prussians in 1866, agreed to a compromise within his empire granting autonomy to the Kingdom of Hungary. This was known as the “double monarchy” or dual monarchy.

Over the course of several periods, the flag bore a shield in its centre. The most famous one, which bears the patriarchal cross, with green hills, the red and white colours of Arpad and King Stephen’s crown, is still used today. The Soviet emblem was removed during the uprising in Budapest in 1956. Despite the repression of the Russian Army and the appointment of Janos Kadar to power instead of the popular Imre Nagy, the idea of placing a new emblem on the flag was quickly cast aside and the simple tricolour flag took on its definitive form.

5.11. The Italian Flag

• Created in 1797 and adopted in 1948

The origin of the Italian flag is linked to the Napoleonic era in the peninsula. The Republics of Northern Italy, set up after 1796, chose the current colours of green, white and red to compose their banner. At that time, the first Italian campaign launched from France by the Directoire in 1796 was conducted by General Bonaparte and resulted in such famous battles as Arcole or Rivoli. Two Republics founded in the north and called the Cispadian and Transpadanian Republics were soon merged into a single Cisalpine Republic with Milan for capital.
The inspiration for the flag comes from France but green, the symbolic colour of the Emilia-Romagna region, took the place of blue for a number of reasons: it was the basic colour of the Lombard National Guard’s uniform and also of the cockade that that militia group wore in its early days. Napoleon is also said to influence the change, some reports even claiming that he personally designed a crest to add to the banner.

The flag was updated during the uprising of 1848 and the years immediately thereafter. It was adopted by the new kingdom of Italy in conjunction with the coat of arms of the House of Savoy, which had reigned over Piedmont-Sardinia until that time but which now ruled the whole of Italy. The royal crest was to be removed only in 1946 when the royal family was exiled for having hobnobbed with Fascism, and the Italian flag acquired the republican form that it maintains to this day.

Several other explanations have been ventured regarding the choice of colours, based on different aspects of Italian culture. One is inspired by the Divine Comedy, where Dante calls green the colour of hope, white the colour of faith and red the colour of charity. The version peddled to schoolchildren, on the other hand, tells us that green is the colour of the plains, white that of the peaks of the Alps and Appenine mountains and red that of the blood shed for Italian independence and unity.

In a more anecdotic vein, the three colours are frequently seen together in such typical dishes as spaghetti pomodoro e basilico (with tomato sauce and basil) or pizza margherita, though such images have more to do with contemporary culture than with history.

Another colour symbolising Italy but not in the national flag is the national sports teams’ blue. The origin of this choice of colour dates back to the House of Savoy, which reigned over Italy from 1861 to 1946. Blue framed a white cross on a red ground on the dynasty’s crest and national sports teams have been donning the colour since 1911, maintaining it even after the monarchy was exiled.
CONCLUSION

“It is by an awareness of that which links our conflict-based origins to today’s solidarity that the current community of destiny can retroact on Europe’s history and make it shared. It is not a matter here of rereading European history in order to coyly paper over its wars and divisions. It is a matter of rewriting history, as each generation has always done, in light of the events experienced today, an exercise which, if we cast our gaze back critically onto the past, will show that history in a new light.”

As Edgar Morin highlights in this quote, in a history that has seen its fair share of conflict and division, if we are to understand the present it is crucial to be able to look back so that we can forge a new viewpoint.

It is also crucial for us to know our neighbours so that we can lay the groundwork for a common future. Each country has chosen its emblems and symbols, and each people treasures them. We hope that this study will help you to gain a better and deeper knowledge and appreciation of the main symbols of the countries that have joined together in the great adventure of the European Union.

That is what unites us. We cannot end without sharing with you a remark we picked up while conducting our university research on the construction of Europe.

Mirela Carina Sinca, Romanian representative for the Timis region with the Brussels institutions, said:

“I speak of my experience, of the project, of Brussels with my family and my friends. I speak the voice of Europe”.

Each country in the Union contributes its voice and its colours. The voice of Europe does exist, and its colours appear to shine all the more brilliantly when we observe them all together.

RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This study aims to provide readers with an overview of the way symbols are represented in the countries of the European Union. It makes no claim to be exhaustive, it simply seeks to highlight the situations and circumstances in which national anthems and flags developed and were then adopted.

Readers seeking further information on these symbols are warmly encouraged to consult the various countries’ individual government websites.

We recommend the following books for readers wishing to delve deeper into the topic of national anthems:

Grocholski Ian, Une histoire de l’Europe à travers ses chants nationaux, Paris: Edilivre, 2007
Maugendre Xavier, L’Europe des hymnes, Brussels: Mardaga, 1996

There are two books that contain the flags of every country in the world, accompanied by a brief history of each:


For historical references, we recommend consulting this excellent collection:


To explore the forging of national identities and their symbolism in greater depth, two books in particular offer a broad range of keys for analysis:

THE BALTIC STATES IN THE EU: YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW
Jerzy Buzek, Agnia Grigas, Andres Kasekamp, Kristina Mastauskaite and Liva Zorgenfrej, Studies & Research No 98, Notre Europe – Jacques Delors Institute, September 2013

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UNITED IN DIVERSITY:
ANTHEMS AND FLAGS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

This study’s purpose is to highlight the meanings and context underlying the appearance of the main symbols attached to each EU member country, that are the national anthem and the flag, by also associating the portrayal of this union.

Because they are “united in diversity”, EU countries regularly put forward their colors and anthems, the lyrics and harmonies of which represent as many different historical context and traditions, which are not well known among Europeans. Yet, these symbols perfectly illustrate the concept of a “European federation of nation states” promoted by Jacques Delors, and based on both the uniqueness of each country, and on the lasting reconciliation among the countries in the EU, to the point where the fiercest showdowns between them these days are of the sporting variety! The Union makes sense in a globalising world, yet in its partners’ and competitors view “Europe” is growing old and shrinking. The answer is not to build a new nation or super-state but to forge greater unity among countries and peoples while continuing to respect their unique characteristics and features.

Bearing all of this in mind, this study has the merit of homing in on the nitty-gritty, of getting straight to the heart of the matter, condensing in a few lines the reasons why certain colours, words and tunes make our neighbours’ hearts beat that little bit faster. It is particularly useful, and even unique, in that it does not make do with simply introducing the EU countries’ symbols in alphabetical order, it also illustrates the historical context that led to the development and adoption of the flags and anthems, grouping them together in like categories.

A feeling of belonging is something you build, it is a result of imaginary interpretation and needs to be rooted first and foremost in a political project, but it can also be usefully rooted in such tools as flags and national anthems. In the EU’s case it is not simply a matter of getting the peoples of Europe to feel greater attachment to the star-spangled flag or to the “Ode to Joy”. It is also necessary to help them learn more about the flags towards which their “European compatriots” turn and the anthems they entone on ceremonial occasions, at European sporting events or during the Olympic Games.