

CONSTRUCTING THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF SLOVAK MUSIC DOBROSLAV OREL IN INTERWAR BRATISLAVA

VLADIMÍR Z V A R A

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During his residency in Bratislava in the 1919–1938 period, the Czech Catholic priest and musicologist Dobroslav Orel was not only an active scholar and teacher but was also an influential figure in musical life, and even in cultural politics, in the Slovak part of the new republic. The then dominating Czechoslovak idea and his identity as a Catholic priest played an important role in shaping his views. The paper deals with Orel's reconstruction and interpretation of the music history of the territory of present-day Slovakia and with relations between Orel's scholarly output and the then-current issues of Slovak music, its definition, its function in the society, and its "right course".

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“The musical culture of Slovakia is a pebble in the mosaic of European musical culture, a part of that great European house. This is how it should be viewed, too; the image of European musical culture, its directions, tendencies, functions, and essence would be incomplete without it. While our musical public of today manifests only a minimum interest in the values of contemporary musical works, it shows no interest whatsoever in the works of the past created in our territory. [...] Sadly, a Slovak student must go to Budapest (just as a hundred years ago) to purchase the sheet music of the works that constitute the fundamental source base of our history. [...] The reconstruction of our musical history thus becomes one of the most urgent tasks. [...] Needless to say, with the resuscitation of the works, we resuscitate ourselves and, thereby, also our present.”¹

1 GODÁR, Vladimír. Hudba, história a historici [Music, History, and Historians]. In *Slovenské pohľady*, 1989, vol. 105, no. 1, pp. 69–77. ISSN 1335-7786. Reprint in: GODÁR, Vladimír. *Rozhovory a úvahy* [Conversations and Essays]. Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 2006,

Vladimír Godár wrote these words more than three decades ago. Yet, they are still topical to a certain extent. In the meantime, Slovak music historians have done a great amount of work in the field of making early music from the territory of present-day Slovakia available in the form of sheet music. Ensembles like Solamente Naturali and Musica Aeterna have rehearsed, performed, and even recorded, several early sources of music. The domestic musical public – if we dare to designate the small community of classical music lovers with the proud term of musical public – knows a bit more about the musical past of Slovakia. The actual public, the general one, continues to view its own cultural history and heritage mainly through an ethnic prism that effectively filters out the majority of artistic assets from its visual field with the exception of folk culture. The phrase “our musical history”, into which Godár inserted his invitation for us to appropriate the musical past of the land where we live, has still not become a generally accepted concept.

This study is about a man who energetically and with great zeal contributed to the creation of the common memory of the Slovaks in the field of music – as a scholar, lecturer, organizer of musical education, protagonist of source collection in the field of folk music, stimulator of concerts and opera performances, and a practising musician. One might say he was motivated in his work, similarly to his 86-year-younger counterpart Godár, by his belief that to know one’s past is a precondition for a meaningful present.

Dobroslav Orel (*15 Dec 1870 in Ronov nad Doubravou – †18 Feb 1942 in Prague), a Catholic priest and musicologist, the founder and director of the Seminar for Musicology at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University (FA CU; 1921), the dean of FA CU in 1923–1924 and the rector of CU in 1931–1932, was an indispensable part of the musical “scene” of Bratislava in the 1920s and 1930s. He was a prominent figure in historical remembrance and has inevitably become its object, too. In this context, Marián Janek’s monograph on Dobroslav Orel² is highly valuable, as it forms a suitable point of departure for further research; there are a number of other relevant publications, too, among which the respective passages in Nad’a Hrčková’s book *Tradícia, modernosť a slovenská hudobná kultúra 1918 – 1948* [Tradition, Modernity, and Slovak Musical Culture 1918–1948] stand out for their bold and convincing interpretation of historical facts.³

pp. 102–107, here pp. 104–107. ISBN 978-80-8888-069-6.

- 2 JANEK, Marián. *Dobroslav Orel. Muzikológ, hudobný pedagóg, osvetový pracovník* [Dobroslav Orel. A Musicologist, Pedagogue of Music, and Upliftment Activist]. Banská Bystrica: Matej Bel University, 2007, 122 pp. ISBN 978-80-8083-389-3.
- 3 Bratislava: Litera, 1996, mainly pp. 99–120. ISBN 80-967118-1-4.



Josef A. Král (1899 – 1978): Prof. Dobroslav Orel As the Rector of Comenius University (1937). Oil on canvas, 98 x 95.5 cm. Property of Comenius University. Photo: Ladislav Sternmüller, 2009.

The context which Orel enters in Bratislava is usually viewed as a period of building cultural and educational institutions and, at the same time, as one of political disputes, especially between pro-Czechoslovak forces and Slovak nationalists. The broader context should not be forgotten either. From 1919, Czech scholars, specialists, and clerks were arriving in this city where only 18% of the population had reported to be of Slovak nationality in 1910.⁴ The

4 Cf. FRANCOVÁ, Zuzana. *Obyvatelia – etnická, sociálna a konfesijná skladba* [The Popula-

establishment of the Czechoslovak State University, renamed in November 1919 as Comenius University, was preceded by the dissolution of the Hungarian Elizabethan University and the placement of its professors under police surveillance. Bratislava was not a city “*infested with aliens*” as it was labelled by the actors of the Czechoslovak political project,⁵ but the historical cultural centre of a German-speaking and Hungarian-speaking bourgeoisie. The German-language and the Hungarian-language cultural heritage lived on in Bratislava even after 1919, although with a minority status, but Czechoslovak Bratislava and Czechoslovak Slovakia did not identify themselves with it. We will point out below that it was in this important aspect that Dobroslav Orel went against the tide.

Not only the political situation, but the cultural one was tense, too. A high-priority political task was to establish cultural institutions in Slovakia at an accelerated pace and define anew its cultural values and cultural value system. In this process, ideological formulas and a selective perspective of the past determined by these formulas were applied massively.

The roots and the main ideologies of “the right path” of Slovak musical culture, which was defined in the 1920s and 1930s and remained valid, with some slight adjustments, long after World War II, were documented by Nad’ a Hrčková in her above-mentioned work. The ideology of “the right path” may be summed up in a few points. Firstly, Slovak composers had to build Slovak musical culture (they often talked about catching up with Czech culture) and gradually raise, as a “*sensible parent*”, a Slovak audience.⁶ As Otakar Zich put it, they should “*avoid mere temporal experiments because the young, budding music culture cannot afford these like others can, which have tradition that protects them from going astray*”.⁷ As for the compositional form of modern Slovak music, a concrete formula was being asserted, which was connected to the composer Vítězslav Novák from whom a whole range of Slovak composers, representatives of the

tion: Its Ethnic, Social, and Denominational Composition]. In *Bratislava (Ročenka Mestského múzea)*, no. 10. Bratislava: City Museum, 1998, pp. 17–38. ISSN 0524-2428.

5 Cf. „Vyzvanie na upisovanie podielového kapitálu družstva ‚Slovenského Národného Divadla““ [“Invitation to Subscribe to the Share Capital of the Cooperative of the ‘Slovak National Theatre’”], dated 26 November 1919. Cited from LAJCHA, Ladislav. *Dokumenty SND* [Documents of the SNT], vol. 1: *Dokumenty SND 1920–1938. Zápas o zmysel a podobu SND* [Documents of the SNT 1920–1938. Battle for the Significance and the Form of the SNT]. Bratislava: The Theatre Institute, 2000, pp. 187–188. ISBN 80-88987-17-2.

6 KRESÁNEK, Jozef. *Národný umelec Eugen Suchoň* [National Artist Eugen Suchoň]. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry; Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění, 1961, p. 71. ISBN 301-09-1292. On the issue of the national audience as a co-determinant of the “course” of national art, cf. HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, pp. 133–134.

7 Cited from: HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, p. 136.

“Slovak Musical Moderne” including Alexander Moyzes, Ján Cikker, Dezider Kardoš, and others, studied. To put it simply, the Novákian formula consisted of integrating elements of folk music into the *lingua franca* of Late Romantic – Modern musical language, as represented especially by the compositions of Josef Suk and Vítězslav Novák. The former thinking of nineteenth-century western musical tradition and, essentially, even its expressive world, remained intact. Inspiration by folklore was used to give the music a special touch rather than as a tool to newly define the means of musical expression. “The right path” was conceived as a combination of modernity – which was, however, so moderate that, with regard to the given period, it would be better to call it conservatism – with folklore, the essence of “*Slovakness*” in the Herderian spirit.⁸ The legacy of a “higher” musical culture, which had been developing in the territory of Slovakia in the past century, had no place in this model.

Due to his outlook and profession as a priest, and also thanks to his scrupulosity as a historian, Dobroslav Orel was, to a certain extent, immune to this ideology of “the right path” of Slovak music, which was gradually gaining momentum. The fundamental thesis of Orel’s “*patriotic*” and “*politically conscious*” musical historiography,⁹ the thesis that also had an ideological character (regardless of its truth value), was that Slovakia is part of Europe and, as Godár put it, the image of European musical culture would be incomplete without the musical culture of Slovakia. Orel documented this thesis with pieces of knowledge about the musical past of our territory without ethnic filtering. At the same time, he did not adjust the image of the musical past of Slovakia to a strong ideological concept such as that applied in Zdeněk Nejedlý’s work on the history of Hussite chant, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*,¹⁰ which was pro-Hussite to a manipulative extent. Even if Orel’s orientation was “*positivist*”¹¹ (which, as we will see later, does not apply completely), it appears in this regard as a virtue and advantage:

8 On “the right path” of Slovak music, besides the cited work of Hřčková, cf. also ZVARA, Vladimír. Marginálie k premenám „slovenskosti“ v slovenskej hudbe [Marginalia on the Metamorphoses of “Slovakness” in Slovak Music]. In CHALUPKA, Ľubomír (ed.). *Slovenská hudba 20. storočia v pohľadoch a kontextoch*. Bratislava: Comenius University, 2011, pp. 31–48. ISBN 978-80-223-3116-6. Cf. also LADIČ, Branko. Transformations of Folklorism in 20th-Century Slovak Composition. In *Studia Musicologica*, 2015, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 197–224, here mainly pp. 199–200. ISSN 1788-6244.

9 HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, p. 101.

10 Cf. TESAR, Stanislav. Das hymnologische Konzept von Dobroslav Orel. Bemerkungen zum tschechischen und tschechoslowakischen Weg einer musikwissenschaftlichen Disziplin. In ZAGORSKI, Marcus – ZVARA, Vladimír (eds.). *Musicologica Istropolitana XII*. Bratislava: Comenius University, 2016, pp. 111–118, here mainly pp. 114–115. ISBN 978-80-223-4100-4.

11 HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, p. 111.

*“In the first place, we must get acquainted with the primary sources of music in Slovakia, let them concern any discipline of musicology. We must not limit ourselves only to Slovak music, but it is necessary to encompass also sources of alien music, which are often of international significance. We must begin with bibliographical and archival studies, which will bring to the surface manuscripts and prints that have been so far hidden and will contribute to the broadening of the pieces of knowledge that belong to the general history of music and will elucidate musical life in Slovakia.”*¹²

In the interwar period, the relations between Czechoslovak Slovakia and Hungary, and between the Slovak and the Hungarian ethnicities in our territory, were tense and marked by mutual isolation, which could be felt even in culture and arts. An episode that aptly illustrates these tense relations was a meeting between the young Alexander Moyzes and Béla Bartók in Prague in 1926 where Bartók addressed Moyzes as the “*son of a traitor*”.¹³ The rigorously monitored borderline between what is ours, i.e. Slovak, and what is alien, i.e. Hungarian, did not essentially influence Orel’s activities as a music historian, even though, on the other hand, his priority was to answer the question of how the Slovaks contributed to the musical culture of Hungary. Unsurprisingly, Orel occasionally also “*shot polemical arrows against Hungarians*”,¹⁴ e.g., in his contribution to the debate instigated by the efforts of Princess Wittgenstein to transfer the remains of Franz Liszt to Budapest:

*“His birthplace, Raiding, belongs to Burgenland today, and this year’s Liszt Festival in Raiding convinced the world that Burgenland claims Liszt as its own. In this respect, too, the Hungarians cannot have any claim on Liszt, who hardly knew a few words in Hungarian. He communicated in French and Italian, besides German. Let him, therefore, rest on, and always, in Bayreuth!”*¹⁵

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- 12 OREL, Dobroslav. Hudební prameny na Slovensku [Musical Transformations in Slovakia]. In EISNER, Jan – HOFMAN, Jan – PRAŽÁK, Vilém (eds.). *Prispevky k praveku, dejinám a národopisu Slovenska. Sborník archeologického a národopisného odboru Slovenského vlastivedného muzea za rok 1924–1931*. Bratislava: Spoločnosť vlastivedného muzea, 1931, pp. 59–79, here p. 79.
- 13 ZELJENKA, Ilja. *Rozhovory s Alexandrom Moyzesom (1984)* [Conversations with Alexander Moyzes (1984)]. Ed. Vladimír Godár. Bratislava: Scriptorium Musicum, 2003, p. 22. ISBN 80-88737-37-0. On the life and oeuvre of Moyzes’s father Mikuláš (Miklós), cf. KOČIŠOVÁ, Renáta. Moyzes Miklós pedagógiai és zeneművészeti tevékenysége az egykori Magyarország területén [The Pedagogical and Art Musical Activities of Miklós Moyzes in the Territory of Former Hungary]. In DOMBI Józsefné, ASZTALOS Bence (eds.). *Művészetek kölcsönhatása: tanulmánykötet*. Szeged: SZTE JGYPK Művészeti Intézet Ének-zene Tanszék Kiadványa, 2016, pp. 203–212. ISBN 978-615-5455-57-5.
- 14 HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, p. 101.
- 15 OREL, Dobroslav. *František Liszt a Bratislava* [Franz Liszt and Bratislava]. Bratislava: Fa-

Dobroslav Orel also took part in the building of the cult of Ján Levoslav Bella as a great Slovak composer of the nineteenth century. In Orel's "*philosophy of the history of music in Slovakia*",¹⁶ Bella served as a highly important pillar:

"*Bella was an asset for the programme that was scientifically formulated by Orel through his activities. Bella was the tradition Orel had been looking for, the wanted gauge; Bella was the Slovak musical genius.*"¹⁷

Orel instituted Bella as the model of a professional artist that contrasted with a number of Orel's contemporaries, professionally less prepared candidates for the title of "*Slovak composer*".¹⁸ Orel's image of Bella as a Slovak composer was aptly complemented by his character- and personality-related features befitting a saint in line with the concept of *Heroengeschichte*: simplicity, nobility, diligence and perseverance, the absence of jealousy, in-depth education, and a European outlook.¹⁹ It is no coincidence that Orel's almost hagiographic characterization of Bella largely resembles Nejedlý's way of depicting the "*great Czech composer*", as Miloš Zapletal pointed out in his discursive analysis.²⁰

In this respect, the story of the (re)interpretation of Bella's most extensive work, his opera *Wieland der Schmied*, composed to a libretto written by Oskar Schlemm based on Richard Wagner's draft, is intriguing.²¹ The opera, completed by the composer in 1890 in Sibiu in Transylvania, was premièred in 1926 at the Slovak National Theatre under the baton of Oskar Nedal in Vladimír Roy's Slovak translation. No other work was available at that time to which the title of a Slovak national opera could have been applied. Yet, in the spirit of nineteenth-century nationalism, which significantly influenced the way the identity of Slovakia and of Slovaks was built after the coup, a national opera was one of the fundamental attributes of a culturally sovereign nation. Several Slovak musicologists and journalists of the time fervently defended the "Slovak spirit" of *Kováč Wieland*, which was clearly German in its theme, language, and style.

culty of Arts of Comenius University, 1925, p. 62.

16 OREL, ref. 12, p. 61.

17 HOŘEJŠ, Antonín. Prof. Dr. Dobroslav Orel 60-ročný [Professor Dr. Dobroslav Orel 60 Years Old]. In *Slovenský denník*, 1930, vol. 13, no. 287, 14/12/1930.

18 Cf. *ibidem*.

19 Cf. OREL, Dobroslav. *Ján Levoslav Bella. K 80. narodeninám seniora slovenské hudby* [Ján Levoslav Bella. On the Eightieth Birthday of this Senior of Slovak Music]. Bratislava: Faculty of Arts of Comenius University, 1924, p. 89.

20 ZAPLETAL, Miloš. Martyrdom and Moral Perfection. Zdeněk Nejedlý's Conception of the Great Czech Composer. In *Musicologica Istitopolitana XII*, ref. 10, pp. 69–90.

21 Cf. HAFNER, Ottfried. *Wieland der Schmied zwischen Bella und Wagner*, In LENGOVÁ, Jana (ed.). *Ján Levoslav Bella v kontexte európskej hudobnej kultúry. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej muzikologickej konferencie*. Banská Bystrica: Nadácia Jána Levoslava Bellu, 1993, pp. 53–56. ISBN 80-900436-8-2.

One of the contemporaneous, today seemingly precarious, arguments in support of the hypothesis of the Slovakness of Kováč Wieland was formulated by Miloš Ruppeltdt: the story of Wieland who forges wings to escape from his bonds was meant as a metaphor of the desire for the liberty of the Slovak nation.²² Others, such as Ivan Ballo, and also Dobroslav Orel, emphasized the professionalism and the international dimension of Bella's composition, and supplemented it only with a subtle, non-binding reference to the Slovak identity of the composer:

*“Technically, he stood on the contemporaneous level of European composition, asserting his Slovak individuality with a non-Slavic theme.”*²³

Orel drew on Bella also in his exposition of the origin of Slovak folk music. The theory that the modality of Slavic folk songs is connected to “ancient Greek” modality as it survived in the liturgical chants of the Eastern, Byzantine tradition and, in a different form, in the Western Church, had been present in the texts of several Slavic theoreticians already before Bella.²⁴ Even Bella wrote about the “Greek church system” and the “Greek system and the church system that stems from it”,²⁵ which he saw present in Slavic and Slovak songs. According to him, the ancient Greek tradition and Slavic, or Slovak, folk songs share a common base. Bella also emphasized the specificities in intonation that survived in Slovak folk music, the so-called imperfect, unstable pitches (“*overly minor second*”, “*overly major second*”), which cannot be explained within the framework of modern,

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- 22 Cf. LENGOVÁ, Jana. K exegéze opery Jána Levoslava Bellu Kováč Wieland [On the Exegesis of Ján Levoslav Bella's Opera Blacksmith Wieland]. In MUNTÁG, Emanuel (ed.). *Ján Levoslav Bella, národovec a Európan (1843 – 1936). Zborník materiálov z podujatí usporiadaných pri príležitosti 160. výročia narodenia nestora slovenskej národnej hudby*. Liptovský Mikuláš: Mesto Liptovský Mikuláš; Nadácia Jána Levoslava Bellu; Martin: Hudobný odbor Matice slovenskej, 2004, pp. 17–30. ISBN 80-967332-8-1.
- 23 OREL, Dobroslav. Kováč Wieland. Opera o 3 jednáních [Blacksmith Wieland. Opera in 3 Acts]. In *Průdy*, 1926, vol. 11, No. 5–6, p. 352. ISSN 1337-172X.
- 24 In Slovakia, these connections were already pointed out by Ladislav Fűredy: FűREDY, Ladislav. O nápevoch čiže melódiách slovenských Spievaniek (1835) [On the Tunes, i.e. Melodies, of Short Slovak Folk Songs]. In KOLLÁR, Ján. *Národné spievanky, II. diel*. Ed. Eugen Pauliny. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1953, pp. 540–543. At the time when Bella was dealing with this topic, a series of articles were popular and influential among Slavic music theoreticians: SEROV, Alexandr Nikolajevič. Русская народная песня как предмет науки. In *Музыкальный сезон, 1969–1870*, vol. 1, no. 18; 1870–1871, vol. 2, nos. 6 and 13. (Incomplete) Czech translation by Josef Durdík: Ruská národní píseň jako předmět nauky [Russian National Songs as the Subject of Science]. In *Hudební listy*, 1871, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 1–4. ISSN 410-724. Accessible on the Internet: <<http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mlp/view/uuid:acbc6a30-751f-4d11-a00f-8ed84973997f?page=uuid:eb3ffc3-148a-11e6-b5db-001b63bd97ba>> [cit. 17/08/2020].
- 25 BELLA, Ján Levoslav. Myšlienky o vývine národnej hudby [Thoughts on the Development of National Music and Slovak Songs]. In *Letopis Matice slovenskej*, 1873, vol. 10, pp. 10–29, here p. 15.

equal-tempered tuning. At the same time, these also represent parallelisms and, according to the views of nineteenth-century Slavic theoreticians, including Bella, genetic connections with the ancient tradition.²⁶

For Orel, a Catholic priest and a liturgical music specialist, it was natural to draw on this line of exposition of Slovak folk songs. In the respective chapter of his book about Bella, he interprets Bella's views on Slovak folk songs and immediately slightly modifies these in accordance with his own ones. With regard to the traditional "Greek" theory of Slavic/Slovak folk songs, he added several notes on the connection of Slovak folk songs with plainchant, i.e., with western liturgical music.²⁷ In his later publications, he adopted a clearly pro-western standpoint: "*Slovak folk songs that are in early keys do not have the tonic of ancient Greek scales, but the regular tonic of church scales*".²⁸ It should be noted, however, that Kresánek's exposition of the tonal system of folk songs, namely the principle of tonal skeletons, refutes the derivation of the tonality of folk songs from both Greek and Western "church" modes.²⁹

Another tendency of Orel which distinguishes his views on Slovak folk songs from those of Bella is his concept of the transfer of elements from "higher culture" into folk music. For Orel, a disciple of Guido Adler, this concept, well-established in the German musicological tradition of his time, was natural. According to him, folk art is shaped by "*influences from higher culture, unconsciously adopted from contemporaneous arts*".³⁰ He sees the modality of folk music clearly as a consequence of the influence of plainchant: "*The Greek system formed the basis also of plainchant, which survived in Slovakia in Christian liturgy for the longest period, and the people inadvertently adopted the interval elements and entire melodic shapes of church chant into its own folk songs.*"³¹ As for the metre and rhythm aspect of Slovak folk songs, he finds parallelisms with the "*mensural Latin hymns of the period of Humanism from Franus's Hymnal of 1505*".³² In this explication, unfortunately unillustrated with specific examples, the above-

26 On this topic, cf. especially: URBANCOVÁ, Hana. Bella a slovenská ľudová pieseň [Bella and Slovak Folk Songs] In LENGOVÁ, ref. 22, pp. 44–52.

27 OREL, ref. 19, pp. 85–87; OREL, ref. 12, pp. 59–60.

28 OREL, Dobroslav. Teorie o lidové písni slovenské [referát na Medzinárodnom kongrese pre ľudové umenie v Prahe v roku 1928] [The Theory of Slovak Folk Song (Paper Presented at the International Congress for Folk Arts in Prague in 1928)]. In *Prúdy*, 1928, vol. 11, No. 9, pp. 557–562. ISSN 1337-172X.

29 Cf. KRESÁNEK, Jozef. *Slovenská ľudová pieseň zo stanoviska hudobného* [The Slovak Folk Song from the Musical Perspective]. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied a umení, 1951, 296 pp.

30 OREL, ref. 12, p. 60.

31 OREL, ref. 19, p. 85.

32 OREL, ref. 28.

mentioned concept of “decreasing values” goes hand in hand with Orel’s basic tendencies: Catholicism and Czechoslovakism.

As for classical music, Orel’s “philosophy” of Slovak music was based on two great figures – musical “heroes”: Bella and Vítězslav Novák. Orel was building Bella’s interwar cult together with Ruppeldt and others. The cult of Novák – the composer of the symphonic poem *V Tatrách* – as the “most Slovak” composer was also relatively widespread, especially thanks to Otakar Zich, as Nad’a Hrčková pointed out.³³ However, using these two, at first glance completely different, pillars for the temple of Slovak music was the personal input of Dobroslav Orel. Bella and Novák – this was a truly original attempt to define the basic historical trajectory of Slovak music, an attempt undoubtedly inspired by the *Heroengeschichte* concept and by Czech reasoning about the “philosophy” of national history, as represented by Zdeněk Nejedlý³⁴ and Nejedlý and Orel’s common teacher, Otakar Hostinský.

As we know, Orel’s architecture based on Bella and Novák did not get accepted in the historical debate about “the right path” of Slovak music. Dilemmas and scepticism with regard to Bella prevailed, from Zich up to Kresánek: whether he was Slovak enough, whether he was truly a first-class composer, and (after 1948) whether his music was not overly influenced by church tradition.³⁵ Another, unspoken motive is also hidden behind these arguments. As already implied above, the valid ideology of “the right path” of Slovak music was based on a strong ethnic understanding of “Slovakness” and consisted of two categories: modernity (the “*Slovak Musical Moderne*”³⁶) and antiquity (in a “*plebeian understanding*” – inspiration by earlier layers of Slovak folklore). In this construction, there was no place for Bella – a Hungarian romantic with Slovak roots, who spent most of his creative life among Germans in Transylvania, where he devoted himself to church music. According to the ideology of “the right path” of Slovak music, Slovak music does not have, and does not need, a nineteenth century. That is

33 Cf. HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, mainly pp. 135–143.

34 Cf. ZAPLETAL, ref. 20.

35 “*With respect to music, the biggest obstacle to the development of its specific individuality was its growth from the cosmopolitan attitude of church music that rules out individuality.*” BURLAS, Ladislav – NOVÁČEK, Zdeněk – MOKRÝ, Ladislav (eds.). *Dejiny slovenskej hudby* [History of Slovak Music]. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1957, p. 268 (Chapter “VI. Vznik národnej hudby v 19. storočí” [“VI. The Genesis of National Music in the 19th Century”] written by Jozef Kresánek).

36 This term became established in Slovak music historiography mainly thanks to the following publication: BURLAS, Ladislav. *Slovenská hudobná moderna. Malá moderná encyklopédia* [The Slovak Musical Moderne. A Small Modern Encyclopaedia]. Bratislava : Obzor, 1983.

why, e.g., the question of how much Eugen Suchoň's music has in common with nineteenth-century music, became a taboo in Slovak musicology.³⁷

On the other hand, Novák's authority continued, although after World War II, it relied on his own works increasingly less than on the authority of Novák's Slovak students, who became "national artists". In this form, the image of Novák as the father of the "*Slovak Musical Moderne*" was maintained for a long time, until as long as the end of the era of socialist realism. Actually, in 1946, a young composer, Oto Ferenczy, in his futile protest against the canonization of the "*Novákian*" path of Slovak music, turned to Bella as an alternative model and Orel's motto "*Bella and Novák*" polemically escalated into the phrase "*Bella or Novák*".³⁸ Compared to Orel, Ferenczy's intentions were completely different. However, both projected their own goals into the figure of Ján Levoslav Bella and both used his image to enhance their own ideas and arguments about Slovak music. For both of them, Bella, a follower of Liszt and Wagner and a friend of Richard Strauss, was an icon of a (utopian) European orientation in Slovak music.

Naturally, Vítězslav Novák had a completely different view of this. In his memoirs, he summed up the ceremony of awarding the honorary doctorate degree of Comenius University to him and to Ján Levoslav Bella, an event staged by no one else than Dobroslav Orel as follows:

"Along with me, the honorary doctorate of the Bratislava University was received by the composer Ján Levoslav Bella. Almost all his life, he was active among the Saxons in Transylvania, where he married too, and he was composing in the spirit of Liszt, without the least connection to Slovak music. His magnum opus was the opera 'Wieland der Schmied', setting to music Richard Wagner's words, which, however, could not become a Slovak opera only by changing its title to 'Kováč Wieland'. However, Bratislava musicology wanted to give him credit by discovering him for Slovak music and wanted to highlight his artistic significance by all means. Therefore, I truly do not know whether Bella received

37 The connection of Eugen Suchoň's music with nineteenth-century musical tradition was discussed in the following two texts: ZAGAR, Peter. Žalmové kantáty Eugena Suchoňa a Zoltána Kodálya [The Psalm Cantatas of Eugen Suchoň and Zoltán Kodály]. In *Slovenská hudba*, 1998, vol. 24, nos. 1–2, pp. 73–81. ISSN 1335-2458; ZVARA, Vladimír. Suchoňovské mýty [Myths Around Suchoň] In HAVLÍK, Jaromír (ed.). *Miloslav Kabeláč (1908 – 1979) – Eugen Suchoň (1908 – 1993). Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní muzikologické konference ke 100. výročí narození*. Prague: Nakladatelství Akademie múzických umění, 2010, pp. 62–72. ISBN 978-80-7331-158-2.

38 FERENCZY, Oto. Bella či Novák [Bella or Novák]. In *Kultúrny život*, 1946, vol. 1, no. 16/17, p. 4. ISSN 1338-015X.

his doctorate because of me, so that the Slovaks were not sorry, or whether I received it because of Bella since, without me, it would not have gone well."³⁹

Dobroslav Orel showed sincere interest in the cultural heritage of Slovakia, which he viewed, as already mentioned above, in a broader sense than was usual in his time. On the other hand, in his works, he made his best to emphasize and enhance Czech-Slovak solidarity. He was one of the main actors of the interwar "inundation"⁴⁰ of the repertoire, both the concert and the opera one, in Slovakia with the works of Czech composers. He participated in the organising of the Smetana (100th jubilee in 1924) and the Dvořák (25th anniversary of the death of the composer in 1929) festivals, which were important events of Czechoslovak commemoration strategy in Slovakia.⁴¹ He gave public lectures and wrote about Czech music as a model for Slovak music. He presented the choral works of Czech composers as the artistic director and choirmaster of the Academic Singers' Association (Akademické pevecké združenie, APS) in Bratislava.⁴²

He looked for, and emphasised, Czech-Slovak contacts even in the history of music. This corresponded to the line represented mainly by Václav Chaloupecký and Albert Pražák, Czech historians active in Bratislava, who helped legitimise the idea of the Czechoslovak state by "revealing even the smallest traces of Czech-Slovak relations in history",⁴³ although, on the other hand, Orel did not take part in the disputes provoked by Chaloupecký's publications about the history of Slovakia and Slovaks, which had a polemic undertone.⁴⁴ We have already mentioned Orel's contribution to the installation of Vítězslav Novák as a model figure for Slovak music. We have also mentioned that Orel emphasized

39 NOVÁK, Vítězslav. *O sobě a o jiných* [About Myself and About Others]. Prague: Supraphon, 1970, p. 311.

40 HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, p. 113.

41 The context is elucidated in MICHELA, Miroslav. Státní oslavy a konstruování československé národní pospolitosti za první republiky [National Celebrations and Constructing the Czechoslovak National Solidarity at the Time of the First Republic]. In HUDEK, Adam – KOPEČEK, Michal – MERVART, Jan (eds.). *Čechoslovakismus*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny; Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2019, pp. 223–242. ISBN 9788074226793.

42 The activities of the cooperation are documented in the APS Collection of the sublibrary of the Department of Musicology of FA CU. Cf. also JANEK, ref. 2, pp. 36–41.

43 MANNOVÁ, Elena: Historiografia Bratislavy. Diferencovaná prezentácia minulosti multietnického mesta po politických zlomoch 19. a 20. Storočia [The Historiography of Bratislava. A Differentiated Presentation of the Past of this Multiethnic City After the Abrupt Political Changes in the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries]. In CZOCH, Gábor – KOCSIS, Aranka – TÓTH, Árpád (eds.). *Kapitoly z dejín Bratislavy*. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2006, pp. 49–62, here p. 54. ISBN 80-7149-803-3.

44 Cf. DUCHÁČEK, Milan. *Václav Chaloupecký. Hledání československých dějin* [Václav Chaloupecký. The Quest for Czechoslovak History]. Prague: Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2015, pp. 203–227.

the presence of Czech sacred hymns in Slovakia and their influence on the domestic culture. The readers of his study about the lawyer and composer Štefan Fajnor⁴⁵ from Senica may easily form the impression that even Fajnor gained Orel's attention to a large extent by his Czech-Slovak orientation, his contacts with Moravian nationalists, by being an "admirer of Smetana",⁴⁶ and by his song cycle *Cymbál a husle* (1877), in which he set to music Adolf Heyduk's poems.

Czechoslovak accents also figure in Orel's book on Bella, especially where the author discusses Bella's trips to Prague and describes Bella's personal contacts and his relationship with Ludevít Procházka and Bedřich Smetana. In Bella's memoirs, as quoted by Orel in his book ("Now we let Bella speak [...] by merging his oral and written communication."⁴⁷), the relationship of Bella and Procházka is presented more idyllically than it appears to have been based on their surviving correspondence. This was documented already by Marie Rysplerová, who explained the discrepancies by the fact that, on Orel's request, Bella recalled the events of his life after a long span of time.⁴⁸ Ernest Zavorský is of the opinion that certain passages in Bella's memoirs presented by Orel as Bella's words in quotation marks bear the stamp of Orel's unadmitted interventions and editing:

"[Smetana] was more interested in me than I liked, since my friend [Procházka] had praised me before Smetana more than I would have deserved. [...] After this visit, I understood not only Smetana's greatness, but I also became convinced that the new global principles of opera composition, on which all national music must be based so that it does not lag behind contemporary works of art and does not lose its value and effect, are justified. The best proof of this was Smetana's oeuvre, which was so ahead of its time and, at the same time, it was purely national."⁴⁹

Zavorský commented on this as follows:

"It appears to us that a lot was added to these reminiscences of Bella ex post, especially about the differences between the various types of composition and Bella's alleged judgement about Smetana's music. It is a prominently newer, Czech way of looking at Smetana's oeuvre. Bella could not have had such a

45 OREL, Dobroslav. Štefan Fajnor. Slovenský skladateľ (1844 – 1909) [Štefan Fajnor. A Slovak Composer]. In *Bratislava, časopis pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi*, 1935, vol. 9, no. 1–2. ISSN 1335-4930. The reprint was published under the same title as the brochure in Bratislava in 1935 (s. n.; printed by Státní tiskárna in Prague).

46 *Ibidem*, p. 7.

47 OREL, ref. 19, p. 33.

48 RYSPLETOVÁ, Marie. Vztah J. L. Belly k českému hudebnímu životu [The Attitude of J. L. Bella to Czech Musical Life]. In *Hudební rozhledy*, 1953, vol. 6, no. 15, pp. 686–688, here p. 687. ISSN 0018-6996.

49 OREL, ref. 19, p. 44.

strong opinion about it in 1923, since he did not even know it well. Therefore, these are definitely traces of Orel's retouches to Bella's memoirs."⁵⁰

Zavarský's hypothesis and convincing argumentation in its favour question Orel's "positivism" in this respect. This is no longer a reconstruction of history, as Godár put it, but its construction. In this regard, Marián Janek is right indeed when he says that "*Orel was a bearer of the national function of musicology.*"⁵¹

In his Bratislava period, compared to his earlier activities, Dobroslav Orel gained a significantly wider scope of competence and, at the same time, considerable influence: as a music historian and writer, and also as a member of management bodies, especially of the Cooperative of the Slovak National Theatre and the curatorial board of the School of Music and Drama for Slovakia, of the State Institute for Folk Song, and of the Association for Music Education in Bratislava.⁵² In most cases, he was nominated for these functions by the state, which bears witness to his good political contacts.

During his activities in Bratislava, Orel got involved also in several conflicts in which, according to some other participants, he did not act as a positive hero.

50 ZAVARSKÝ, Ernest. *Ján Levoslav Bella. Život a dielo* [Ján Levoslav Bella. His Life and Oeuvre]. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1955, p. 165. In several places in his book, Zavarský corrects, questions, or refutes the information in Orel's monograph on Bella.

51 JANEK, ref. 2, p. 112. I cannot resist the temptation to quote a lengthier passage from a writing of Antonín Hořejš, a student of Dobroslav Orel in Bratislava. In 1953, completely in the spirit of the time, he "unmasked" the interest of Orel (and others) in Bella as a manifestation of the "Czechoslovakism" of the first republic – a "colonialist" ideology of the Czech bourgeoisie: "*Unfortunately, the nationally lazy and lordly bourgeoisie of that time (nineteenth century) was so indifferent to the fate of the national arts and artists that it did not give a helping hand to almost any of them; to Bella, neither. However, it seized on Bella consciously when he was discovered by a group – Koričanský, Krofta, Jindra, Orel, Kolísek – when he arrived in Slovakia from his emigration for the first time, in 1923, and when he settled here for good in 1927. At that time, Bella's contacts with Czech artists, Bella's attitude to Prague, his compositions with Czech lyrics, and his attempts at a Czech opera [the fragment of 'Jaroslav a Laura' on Václav Pok Poděbradský's libretto], discovered by bourgeois music historiography, came in handy. It was water to their mill, demonstrable 'Czechoslovakism', a reinforcement for their colonialist ideology of Czechoslovak unity recognizing one nation with two branches and denying the existence of Slovaks as an independent nation. That is why it did not hesitate to make generous gestures – providing a pension, purchasing his manuscripts, organizing various festive events, including the costly staging of his opera 'Kováč Wieland'. Without Bella realizing it, he was transformed by this attention, love, and care, unusual in the history of our arts, into a 'Czechoslovak', a policy instrument, and he was intentionally elevated above Slovak composers who were unenthusiastic about the Czechoslovak ideology. Naturally, Bella and, first and foremost, his works, did not benefit from this brilliant policy, in which the Czech bourgeoisie had the lion's share.*" Na okraj Bellova jubilea [Marginal Notes on Bella's Jubilee]. In *Hudební rozhledy*, 1953, vol. 6, no. 15, pp. 684–685, here p. 684. ISSN 0018-6996.

52 Cf. JANEK, ref. 2, pp. 41–54.

These conflicts and scandals led to several critical assessments of him in the press, in memoirs, and in specialized literature.⁵³ These definitely cannot be viewed only as some outbursts of Slovak nationalists hating anything that is Czech, partly because his opponents were often Czech themselves.

This was the case also in one of the most well-known scandals in which Dobroslav Orel participated – a conflict around the appointment of the conductor and composer Oskar Nedbal as the director of the Slovak National Theatre (SNT) in 1923. As a member of the Cooperative of SNT, Orel became the main campaigner against Nedbal and for keeping the previous director of SNT, Milan Zuna, in his function. Although this has been interpreted in Slovak literature as a “*battle of two fractions of Czech bourgeoisie*”⁵⁴ and the attitudes of the actors in it were indeed influenced by political parties, this conflict should be viewed mainly as a dispute led by the employees of the Ministry of Education and National Upliftment (MENU) in Prague with several influential figures of Czech music fighting for various, undoubtedly even competitive, motives against the return of Oskar Nedbal into arts in the republic. As Ladislav Lajcha noted, the fear that “*he would switch from SNT to the National Theatre in Prague, where he might pose a threat to Otakar Ostrčil*” also stood behind these attacks on Nedbal.⁵⁵ On the one hand, therefore, stood Jaroslav Kvapil, a senior official of MENU and the father of the idea to engage Oskar Nedbal at SNT⁵⁶ and, on the other hand, Vítězslav

53 Let us mention only three examples here. The first out of the following views on the personality of Dobroslav Orel is influenced by the personal bias of the writer (Karel Nedbal was the nephew of Oskar Nedbal and his successor at SNT), while the other two (written by the same author) apply the ideological rhetoric of the time when they were written. “*The apodictic and, in his polemical methods, priestly skilful Dobroslav Orel is an especially dangerous enemy.*” (NEDBAL, Karel. *Půl století s českou operou* [Half a Century with Czech Opera]. Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1959, p. 201.) “*Prof. Orel, however, was active not only as a teacher and scientist, but also in organizing the musical life of Slovakia and, namely, of Bratislava. About this activity of his, more negative judgements and assessments could be written than positive ones. By his actions and his authoritarianism, he intervened in all developments in music and these interventions were not always fortunate ones and were often harmful even to the good events. [...] Slovak musical life gains a lot by the departure of Prof. Orel.*” (BOKES, František. K odchodu univ. Prof. Dr. Orla z Bratislavy [On the Departure of Professor Dr. Orel from Bratislava]. In *Slovenský denník*, 1938, vol. 21, no. 256, 05/11/1938, p. 5. ISSN 1337-8147.) “*Dr. Orel may be called as the grey eminence in Slovak music in the period of the pre-Munich republic, acting with Jesuit instruments.*” (BOKES, František. Dokumenty k dejinám Slovenského národného divadla [Documents on the History of the Slovak National Theatre]. In BAGAR, Andrej – HALUZICKÝ, Juraj – MRÁZ, Andrej – TURZO, Ivan (eds.). *Pamätnica Slovenského národného divadla. Sborník*. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1960, p. 293).

54 JANEK, ref. 2, p. 30.

55 LAJCHA, ref. 5, p. 514. Cf. ibidem also on p. 41.

56 Cf. ibidem, p. 41.

Novák and Zdeněk Nejedlý who, along with Vladimír Helfert, even participated at the public meeting of the Cooperative of SNT on 28 February 1923 to support their colleague Orel in his anti-Nedbal campaign.⁵⁷ In fact, other standpoints, motivated by political affiliation, personal sympathies and antipathies, and also opinions about the best way to uplift SNT, also accompanied this fundamental conflict in Bratislava.⁵⁸

The fact that the opponents of Oskar Nedbal did not pick and choose their arguments is documented also in a report of the department of MENU of 6 February 1923:

“Among the most significant moments of the negotiation in the above-mentioned meeting, the ruthless criticism of Mr. Oskar Nedbal in terms of his artistic and as well as national reliability, whose mouthpieces were especially Prof. Dr. D. Orel, professor of the university here, who read at the meeting his submission sent to the ministry of education and a letter of Mr. doc. Helfert from the university in Brno, have to be particularly emphasized; in these speeches, Mr. O. Nedbal was depicted as a composer of operettas who lacks artistic qualification and as a person who compromised his nationalism during his stay in Vienna in such a way that engaging him at the theatre here would constitute a national offence as it would pave the way for this political opportunist into the republic.”⁵⁹

Luckily, despite all these activities, the committee of the Cooperative of SNT approved the engagement of Oskar Nedbal. As an office holder in the cooperative and a reviewer, especially for the Lidové noviny newspaper in Brno, Dobroslav Orel continued to criticise Nedbal even after his arrival in Bratislava. Regardless of Orel’s attitude, Nedbal and Orel collaborated in the preparation of the staging of *Kováč Wieland* in 1926 and, in 1926–1929, Oskar Nedbal generously taught instrumentation at Orel’s Seminar for Musicology at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University.⁶⁰ This, however, did not prevent Orel from continuing to write against him.⁶¹

57 Cf. *ibidem*, p. 43.

58 On this topic, cf. LASLAVÍKOVÁ, Jana. Reflexia opery v medzivojnovom období v Bratislave v referátoch Antonína Hořejša [Reflection of the Opera in Interwar Bratislava in the Papers of Antonín Hořejš]. In *Slovenské divadlo: revue dramatických umení*, 2017, vol. 65, No. 2, pp. 142–156. ISSN 0037-699X.

59 Zpráva o dnešním stavu Slovenského Národného divadla v Bratislavě [Report on the Current Condition of the Slovak National Theatre in Bratislava], report of the department of the Ministry of Education and National Upliftment (MENU), typescript, Archive of The Theatre Institute Bratislava, from the archive of the former MENU, file 1923.

60 Documents in the Archive of Comenius University Bratislava, FA CU Collection, Seminar for Musicology Section.

61 Cf. JANEK, ref. 2, pp. 34–36.

It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the other conflict situations here. Marián Janek summed up the disputes in the curatorial board of the Music School for Slovakia, where Orel, as a representative of MENU, faced accusations for misleading the other members of the body and for “*undervaluing the Slovaks*”.⁶² Literature also reveals disputes about Bella’s personal and artistic estate, which Orel “*was protecting as if he owned it*”⁶³ at the Seminar for Musicology, as even Bella himself complained about it.⁶⁴ The Personal Documents – D. Orel file in the Archive of Comenius University consists mostly of various reminders and notices addressed to professor Orel. These were often repeated requests to return publications and manuscripts borrowed by Orel from various, mostly ecclesiastical, archives and libraries,⁶⁵ but also late payment notices for delivered books and sheet music from booksellers. Today’s researchers may be perplexed whether the reason behind these was Orel’s busyness or absent-mindedness, or his passion for collecting, and tendency to add, even borrowed materials, most often sources of music, to the delightfully growing library of the seminar.

How to assess Orel’s activities in Bratislava when looking at his scientific oeuvre and his position as a “public figure” in music in their mutual connection? Naďa Hrčková offered an evaluation of him, praising, on the one hand, his contribution to music historical research, but noting, on the other hand, that Orel cultivated “*authoritarian and patronising upliftment strategies*” and “*organizational and bureaucratic authoritarianism*”, placed emphasis on “*representative cults*” of composers, and represented a type of “*positivist*” musicology, which was “*unable to become enchanted by the beauty of musical details or stylistic specificities, nor did it have any sense for the true up-to-dateness of musical culture and composition*”.⁶⁶

Undoubtedly, Orel had a less prominent attitude to contemporary music. He was informed about it and even lectured about Les Six, Béla Bartók, and the

62 Ibidem, p. 44.

63 HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, p. 117.

64 Cf. ZAVARSKÝ, ref. 50, pp. 304–305. Today, the estate of Ján Levoslav Bella forms part of the collection of the Music Museum of the Slovak National Museum.

65 Several letters written indignantly by Gustáv Stanik, the administrator of the assembly of bishops in Rožňava, may serve as an example. According to Stanik, Orel borrowed from him the manuscript of his composition *Oltárny hymnus* in 1924, which he allegedly wanted to use for a forthcoming Smetana exhibition (an exhibition of the works of Slovak composers, which formed part of a Smetana festival and complemented the exhibition on Smetana). As Stanik wrote to Orel’s superior, the rector of Comenius University, on 14 October 1925, he had sent six requests for returning his manuscript to Orel from the end of the exhibition in May 1924 and had received no reply whatsoever. Archive of Comenius University, Bratislava, Faculty of Arts Collection, Personal Documents – D. Orel file.

66 HRČKOVÁ, ref. 3, pp. 101, 111–113.

Second Viennese School.⁶⁷ However, if we recall that, on the one hand, he wrote appreciatively about the works of Štefan Fajnor and Milan Lichard while, on the other hand, he was critical towards the works of young Alexander Moyzes – according to Ladislav Burlas, he even urged Vítězslav Novák not to accept young Moyzes as his student⁶⁸ –, Karel Nedbal's comment on the staging of Bella's *Kováč Wieland* at SNT appears to be somewhat true:

*“Even the great musical inquisitor and Bella's fanatic promoter Dobroslav Orel was – perhaps for the first time since Zuna's time – satisfied with the performance of the Bratislava opera and its leader. This excellent connoisseur of plainchant and the further development of church music rarely had the right attitude to secular music, especially to recent one!”*⁶⁹

Nevertheless, Orel's activities in Bratislava may be viewed as a form of a concept of musicology that is engaged, socially active, and exercises influence on public discourse on culture in the spirit of Otakar Hostinský's legacy. A concept that was practised, although in a different way, by Zdeněk Nejedlý in Prague and Vladimír Helfert in Brno equally vehemently. From among these three, only Helfert demonstrated true perceptiveness and discernment with respect to the music of his time and, in that way, even an ability to cultivate a value system of Czech music, and not only regarding Smetana and Dvořák and the exposition of the oeuvre of Leoš Janáček.⁷⁰

As Marián Janek concluded, Dobroslav Orel is a “rewarding food for thought with respect to the interwar musical culture of Slovakia”.⁷¹ For Slovak culture, this was a highly dynamic period, a period of fierce disputes and a frenetic quest. Dobroslav Orel participated in this process as one of its prominent actors. The musicology department at the university in Bratislava was never again such a significant opinion-shaping power centre of Slovak music.

Even if we do not agree with Dobroslav Orel in all his views – which were, as we demonstrated above, often influenced by ideology and personal bias –, this does not diminish his merits in the development of knowledge on music history. His energy and productivity dedicated to the historical “inclusion” of Slovakia in the field of music remain impressive and worthy to follow. Had Slovak musicology maintained some of Orel's pace of work and dedication after

67 Cf. notes on lectures in the Archive of Comenius University Bratislava, FA CU Collection, Seminar for Musicology section.

68 Cf. BURLAS, Ladislav. *Alexander Moyzes*. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1956, pp. 38–39, 63.

69 NEDBAL, ref. 53, p. 206.

70 Cf. HRABAL, František. Pohled na Vladimíra Helferta [A Look at Vladimír Helfert]. In *Hudební rozhledy*, 1970, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 4–5. ISSN 0018-6996.

71 JANEK, ref. 2, p. 113.

his departure in 1938 and had the postwar communist ideology not put obstacles in the way of further music historical research especially in the field of sacred music, Vladimír Godár might have written more joyful words about the historical awareness of the Slovaks in the field of music half a century later.

Preklad: Mgr. Monika Dorna, PhD.

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