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Richard Wagner, Hungary, and the Nineteenth Century

Aspects of the Reception of Wagner's Operas and Music-Dramas

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Abstract

The dissertation deals with a rarely discussed topic regarding the international Wagner-literature: the Hungarian Wagner-reception. It investigates the reception of Richard Wagner's compositions throughout discussing the contemporary Hungarian and international historical, social and music-historical circumstances.

One of the main objectives of this Ph. D. Thesis was to find and introduce the reasons and conditions that might have had an impact on the Hungarian reception of Wagner's compositions, aesthetic ideas and personal attendance in contemporary Hungary. The thesis seeks to acquaint the reader with the occurring questions in relation to the Hungarian Wagner-reception, both from the aspect of their content and interpretation throughout analysing a wide range of sources. At the same time, it tries to introduce an interesting local phylogeny, which led to the complete and unquestionable efflorescence of the 'Wagnerism' in Hungary. Apart from the listed items, the dissertation intends to commemorate Wagner's Hungarian supporters, including well-known, lesser-known or by this time almost forgotten Hungarian musicians and public figures. Some of them not only contributed in getting the public acquainted with the art of Richard Wagner, but also promoted the development and blooming of Romanticism in Hungary.

Among the thesis' research-results many of the 'Hungarian Wagner-letters' and some firstly released facsimiles are going to be published, whose data are summed up in two catalogues, in which the writer compares both the data published so far in Hungary and international results — such as Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis (WBV) — with her own researches. Among the achievements of the dissertation, we can mention two summaries, which filled the gaps regarding the premieres of Wagner's compositions in Hungary and further data of performances. Moreover, parts of some data of important music-historical sources will be also modified.

The dissertation covers Wagner-Performances in Hungary until 1924, when all of Wagner's operas and music-dramas had been presented in Hungary –

except the early operas – and enables the reader to walk along an interesting road paved with latest scientific findings and results of the research.

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Foreword

2013: Wagner Commemoration. The double anniversary has provided us with an opportunity to account for and to sum up our findings thus far, and it also enables the academic world to reexamine our understanding of Richard Wagner, and perhaps to begin to see the teeming life work the phenomenal composer left behind in a new light.

I did not set out to introduce the full complexity and intricate ‘system’ behind Richard Wagner’s art and will have to leave this daunting task to those more knowledgeable than me. What I have hoped to achieve in this study is to introduce the Hungarian reception of the Mastermind and to create a chronicle that spans a specific period of time in Hungary. While writing my dissertation, I put aside my admiration of Wagner and strong emotions about the leading figures of Hungarian Romanticism and have attempted to accurately introduce an era in the relationship between a composer and a country and its people. I hoped to shed light on the factors, which hindered the reception of Richard Wagner’s work and ideas in Hungary. It was my wish to report an exciting story, the chronicle of an almost two century, and to convey it thoroughly and extensively.

I was quite aware of the difficulty of my task. Analysing several centuries of data and finding the connections between facts was not easy. I have to admit that this assignment required extraordinary efforts on my part, but I am thankful that there were many who contributed to my project. Out of all the people contributed to my PhD. Thesis, firstly, I have to mention Éva Király, the President of the Hungarian Wagner Association who regrettably, passed away lately. Her work was awarded a ‘Golden-W’ prize in 2012 by the International Association of the Wagner Societies. I also have to highlight her husband, dr. László Király, who lent a few useful Wagner-documents to me. Furthermore, András Bajai, the current President of the Society and András Ádám, the editor in chief of the Hungarian Wagner Society’s periodical; *Hírmondó (Herald)*, from whom I received plenty of support and inspiring thoughts. I also have to express my gratitude to Professor Eva Märtson — the President of the International Association of the Wagner Societies — who did not hesitate to provide me with

answers for questions asked her in connection with my Ph. D. Thesis. Moreover, to Josef Lienhart — the President Emeritus of the International Association of the Wagner Societies (Richard Wagner Verband International) — who personally took the time and effort to send me an issue of the Association's paper, which I was in need of as it cannot be found in any bookshop or any second-hand bookshop. My other helpers include Nóra Wellmann and Márton Karczag, librarians and theatre historians at the Museum and Archive of Hungarian State Opera; Balázs Mikusi Ph. D., the head of the Music Historical Section and Miss Ildikó Sirató Ph. D., the leader of the Theatre Historical Section of the Széchenyi National Library; the librarians of the Theatre- and Music Historical Sections and Manuscript Collection; e.g. Katalin Szende and Edit Rajnai, and researchers of the Hungarian National Museum; Endre Lipthay and Róbert Szvitek; Zsuzsanna Domokos Ph. D., the director of the Liszt Museum (LFZF) and Mrs. Gulyás, née Klára Somogyi, the librarian of the Research Library of Liszt Museum in Budapest, Mrs. Ferenc Szabó, née Anna Nádor, at one time the director of the Music Section of the Central Library ('Tudásközpont') of Pécs, and the librarians of the Music Section, Dr. Barnabás Füzes, legal consultant, who helped me understand the importance of some problems in the field of theatre-history which arose in my dissertation, and the members of the Microfilm Section of the Széchenyi National Library, who helped by collecting nineteenth- and twentieth-century journals concerning Richard Wagner and Hungary. Out of all my colleagues, I would like to express my gratitude to János Ferenc Szabó for the researches he has done for me and also for his valuable thoughts. I also wish to thank researchers and experts besides those mentioned above who helped me to achieve my goal.

I would like to render thanks for vetting and providing me with linguistic support during the process of my Ph. D. Thesis to Noémi Najbauer — Ph. D. Assistant Professor, Department of English Literatures and Cultures, Pécs, Hungary — Jan Jógvansson Poulsen linguist, Manfred Lemke, Csilla Ébert, Zita Bagi, Gabriella Paczári and many others.

I gratefully dedicate my work to my teachers Professor Revers, Professor Dorschel and Professor Aringer and thank them for their help and support. I am grateful not only for the help my teachers gave me during the writing of my dissertation, but also for the enthusiastic encouragement I received from them

throughout my academic years and my Ph. D. studies. I am thankful that they helped me rise to the challenge. I believe this dissertation could not have been born without them. Warm thanks to my mother, my family and friends, as well for their love, support, and — last but not least — their patience.

Introduction

In 2008, when I began my PhD studies, there were three topics in connection with Richard Wagner which seriously interested me. The first was the comparison of the motif of the *Tetralogy* ('*Ring*') with *EDDA* and *The Song of the Nibelungs* on which I also wrote my MA thesis at the Faculty of Music and Visual Art of the University of Pécs titled *The Origin of the Nibelungs (A Nibelungok eredete)*; the second was: examination of the aspects and circumstances of the Hungarian reception of '*Ring*'; and finally, the third, which was a possibility of writing a whole — preferably all-pervasive — analysis, trying to discover — in the most exact and accurate way — the reception or welcome of Richard Wagner's art in Hungary, the reasons, circumstances and facts, embedded into the music history and history of Hungary. My final decision regarding the themes was influenced by several circumstances.

The similarity is not a coincidence between the title of my Ph. D. Thesis, *Richard Wagner, Hungary, and the Nineteenth Century*, and Zoltan Roman's, *Mahler and Hungary*. The book of Professor Roman — which I was gotten familiar with in 2009 by the supervisor of my thesis, Professor Revers — had a great impact on me. While reading Professor Roman's work, I decided to create something, which follows the idea of 'The relationship of a composer and a country'. This thought in itself was not a new idea, since in the mentioned topic, not only the work '*Mahler and Hungary*', but also several other books were written, such as a shorter work by Bertalan Fabó: *Haydn in Ungarn, Ein Festbeitrag zu seiner Zentenarfeier*, Budapest, 1909, or the book by Papp Viktor, *Beethoven the Hungarians (Beethoven és a magyarok)*, Budapest, 1927, in 1941 Ede Sebestyén's work titled *Mozart and Hungary (Mozart és Magyarország)*. Moreover, there was a DLA Thesis by Ferenc János Szabó published in 2011, with a quite similar topic, *Karel Burian and Hungary* and a

three parts essay by Tibor Tallián — „*És most itt ülök a bassamateremtä-k közepette*”, *Richard Wagner in Pest* (1st part), „*Mi pedig magyarok, buzduljunk fel az ő példáján...*”, *Richard Wagner in Pest* (2nd part), *Pest (Die unmusikalischste Stadt)*, *Richard Wagner in Pest* (3rd part), which were published in the Hungarian journal *Muzsika (Music)* in May, June and July 2013.

The most detailed book written until now on the topic of Wagner and Hungary is Emil Haraszti's *Richard Wagner and Hungary (Wagner Richard és Magyarország)*, published in 1916, which — not only regarding its age — needed significant proofreading and correction, so the other motivation of my topic selection was also to compare his research to the data of today. However, this topic did not only interest me because of the aforementioned facts, but also, because I believed, the most trustworthy view about a certain topic can be only provided, if every single circumstance of it is investigated in detail. Because the deficiency of Emil Haraszti's book — just like a few other writings — is, that it investigates the music historical events without introducing the historical and social environment.

The other pillar of my Ph. D. Thesis is on the Wagner-reception, in which I found important the use of primary sources, and tried mostly to rely on the currently available written records, and draw my conclusions from them. In this theme (Wagner-reception), probably one of the most elaborate and trustworthy works is the book of Ute Jung, *Die Rezeption der Kunst Richard Wagners in Italien, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhundert*, which was published in Regensburg, 1974. But the work by Hannu Salmi, titled *Wagner and Wagnerism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic Provinces (Reception, Enthusiasm, Cult)*, is also a very interesting and holistic book, published in New York, 2005. Amongst these writings, the first established a precedent for me in the thorough examination and explanation of primary sources, while the second work in processing the theme in an entertaining way.

Throughout these stances Wagner and Hungary and the theme of the Wagner-reception and Hungary could become the two keystones of my Ph. D. Thesis. Besides following the two main paths, I intended to commemorate the well-known and sometimes forgotten figures of the Hungarian Romanticism, and exemplify those strings, with which they could be connected to Hungarian Wagner-history. An essay had already been written in the 1940s about the

personal connections of Richard Wagner — *Richard Wagners persönliche Beziehungen zu Ungarn* (1946) by Elisabeth Hammerstein — but besides this volume, there was no other extensive academic writing published in the international music history in the topic of Richard Wagner and Hungary, and the Hungarian Wagner-reception. So, my forthcoming motivation is to introduce these topics in a wider, international way.

I am concerned, that no book, Ph. D. Thesis, no intellectual or artistic work can be created without the encounter, jingle or inspiration of certain people or events. If we pay attention, and try to embrace the presents of moments, the way which we have to go on would always reveal itself. Not only the aforementioned events, but also the further encounters of mine may prove my theory. The following important stage of my path was, when I had the opportunity to meet with Éva Király — the previous president of the Hungarian Wagner Society — and her husband, who contributed a lot to my work.

The next significant stage of my research was when I had the chance to give presentations about the topic of my Ph. D. Thesis both in Graz and Hungary. These made me systematize the data I had more profoundly, and to elaborate on the topic to a greater extent. I gave these following lectures: *Doctoral Forum*, 5 June, Graz, 2009, *The First Hungarian Presentations of Richard Wagner and His Compositions/Opuses 1853–1863*, in English. *Doctoral Forum*, 28 May Graz, 2010, *The Operas of Ferenc Erkel, the Hungarian National Opera (Genre) and the Influence of Richard Wagner*, in English. *From contemporaries to contemporaries/From peers to peers, interdisciplinary Conference Around Music, in the Organization of the Musicology Department of National Association of Doctors (DOSz)*, the title of the talk: *The Hungarian Wagner-reception in the light of the 'Hungarian letters' of Richard Wagner*, 14 June 2014. For summing up my doctoral research, I will give a presentation in autumn 2014, which will be in Budapest as a part of the lecture-series of The Hungarian Richard Wagner Society.

Besides my presentations, there was an approximately 4, or 4 and a half year, which was very fruitful for me; I tried to investigate most elaborately the short news, reports, articles criticisms, essays and studies of the contemporary Hungarian and German media, in connection with Richard Wagner, 'Wagnerism' and the compositions of the Mastermind, between 1842 and 1924.

In this period — until 2013 — I processed, evaluated, contrasted and pasted both the information published besides the documents, essays, studies and books of the contemporary media, regarding the Hungarian Wagner-reception, and the thoughts found in scientific sources, considering the aesthetic conceptions of Richard Wagner, into my Ph. D. Thesis.

From 2010, I regularly published informative and scientific publications in Hungary, relating to Richard Wagner, which also made me approach the theme of my Ph. D. Thesis from different aspects, and changing the direction of a topic in some cases: for instance my first concert-critique, *Wagner and Bartók*, 20 February 2010, which was published in MusicianWho.hu, or *Richard Wagner and the Hungarians, Alias the History of Richard Wagner in Hungary in the 19th Century, in the Light of the 'Hungarian Letters' of Wagner. Curiosities, 1853-1883. (Richard Wagner és a Magyarok, avagy Richard Wagner magyarországi története Wagner „Magyar Leveleinek” tükrében. Érdekességek, 1853-1883)*, released in *Hirmondó (Herald)*, Spring-Summer 2014, 1.-2./XVI. — the magazine of the Hungarian Richard Wagner Society. My first publication in English, in connection with the topic of my Ph. D. Thesis is going to be published in the May-June of 2014, on the website of the Hungarian Wagner Society, titled *The First Time, or The First Publication of Richard Wagner's Name and the Premieres of His Compositions in Hungary, 1842-1924*, which tries to give a general view of all the Wagner-premieres in Hungary.

From 2012/2013, I started to collect and organise the Wagner-letters which can be found in Hungary, because I reckoned, that it is impossible to introduce the Hungarian history and activity of Richard Wagner authentically, without mentioning the relevant parts of Wagner's correspondence. Two catalogues are going to be published on the basis of my work in this present dissertation. One of them is *Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letters'-Selection*, and the other is the *Comparison, The Similarities and Differences between WBV (Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis, Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Briefe von Richard Wagner) and WHL-S (Wagner's 'Hungarian Letters'-Selection) on the Basis of Former Researches, the Data of WBV and Ildikó Rita Anna Varga's Researches (WHL-S)*. To give the most overall survey of the Hungarian Wagner-reception, I tried to catalogue letters, which are not kept in Hungary, but still they can be

important in introducing the Hungarian Wagner-history. In the end, the Thesis could be put together through the aforementioned phases.

Research Report

Though, both in 2012 and 2013 there were several issues published about Richard Wagner — e.g. Barry Millington's, *Richard Wagner—The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*, 2012 (*Richard Wagner, Bayreuth varázslója*, Hungarian publishing in 2013), Paul Dawson-Bowling's, *The Wagner Experience and its Meaning to Us* (2013), John Louis Digaetani's, *Richard Wagner, New Light on a Musical Life* (2013), Raymond Furness', *Richard Wagner* (2013), Ernest Newman's, *The Life of Richard Wagner 1813–1883* (2013), David Trippett's, *Wagner's Melodies, Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity* (2013), William Kinderman's, *Wagner's Parsifal (Studies in Musical Genesis, Structure, and Interpretation*, 2013), William James Henderson's, *Richard Wagner: His Life and his Dramas; a Biographical Study of the Man and an Explanation of his Work* (2013), Eva Rieger's (Author), Chris Walton (Translator), *Friedelind Wagner: Richard Wagner's Rebellious Granddaughter* (2013), Samael Aun Weor's, *Parsifal Unveiled: The Meaning of Richard Wagner's Masterpiece* (2013), Martin Geck's (Author), Stewart Spencer (Translator), *Richard Wagner: A Life in Music* (2013) — the Wagner-year left some debts in connection with the Hungarian reception and the detailed chronicle in English of the Hungarian welcome of Richard Wagner's art. As I mentioned earlier, the most actual and most exhaustive view on the topic was written by Tibor Tallián in his three parted essay, in 2013, in Hungarian. The previously published essays in Hungarian, German and English — such as Miklos Lukacs: *Richard Wagners Werk in Ungarn*, in *Richard Wagners Festwochen in Dessau, 1955* (1955), Ferenc Bónis: *Bartók und Wagner in Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele, Siegfried VI*, 1979, Ferenc Bónis: *Liszt- und Wagner-Briefe an Mosonyi in Kodály's wissenschaftlicher Bearbeitung in: Die Musikforschung*, 4/39, 1986, Ferenc Bónis: *Richard Wagner und sein Komponisterfreund aus Pest: Mihály Mosonyi in: Richard Wagner: Des Ring der Nibelungen 1876-1978, Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1978*, July 1978 (in Hungarian in

2000), András Batta: *Richard Wagner und Ungarn* in: *Wagner Weltweit, Die Zeitschrift des Richard Wagner Verbands International* e. V, Nr. 30/10, July 1999, Zoltán Rockenbauer: 'Üvöltésükkel megrendítik a szívet, világot', A 'Ring' magyarországi megismertetésének 30 esztendeje (*The 30 years Hungarian History of the 'Ring'*), in: *Hírmondó (Herald)*, Budapest, 2009 — are also very valuable documents, however, most of them only dealing with certain parts of the Hungarian Wagner-reception. The theme of the Hungarian Wagner-reception was also reconsidered in an elaborate way in the essay of Ewa Burzawa, *Richard Wagners Werk in Osteuropa*, Nr. 129. in *Richard Wagner 1883-1983, Die Rezeption im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 1984, the writing of Roswitha Vera Karpf, *Beiträge zur Österreichischen Wagner-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert*, Nr. 129. in *Richard Wagner 1883-1983: Die Rezeption im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Gesammelte Beiträge der Salzburger Symposions*, 1984, Hubert Kolland, *Die kontroverse Rezeption von Wagners Nibelungen-Ring 1850-1870, Diss., Berliner Musik-Studien, Bd. 5*, 1992, and the study by Markian Prokopovych, *From Gypsy Music to Wagner without a transition? The Musical Taste of the Budapest Urban Public in the Late Nineteenth Century*, 2010.

As it was mentioned in the 'Introduction' of my Ph. D. Thesis, the book of Emil Haraszti, *Richard Wagner and Hungary (Wagner Richard és Magyarország)* — published in 1916, almost 100 years ago — was a valuable, elaborate source for my dissertation, though in several cases some correction was needed in the data it contained. Furthermore, to get a clearer view about the topic, the notes of Ervin Major — given to Haraszti's book — were also very beneficial, which I had the chance to study from the collection of The Hungarian Academy of Sciences Research Centre for the Humanities Institute for Musicology.

For introducing the Hungarian Wagner-history from more perspectives, I used several other — also up to par — sources. Such as for the chronicle of Richard Wagner's first visit to Hungary the book of Rosamund Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia (Cambridge Studies in Russian Literature)*, published in 1995, the work of Hannu Salmi, *Wagner and Wagnerism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic Provinces (Reception, Enthusiasm, Cult)*, released in 2005, and the essay of the Czech music-scholar/professor, Jarmila Gabrielová, *Antonin Dvorák and Richard Wagner, (Muzikologija-Musicology, 6/6, 2006)*.

For finding sources for the topic of my Ph. D. Thesis, I searched both in the 'Wagnerspectrum' and JSTOR and in the other online database RILM, but I found other precious writings on the internet, for instance the study of dr. Franz Metz, *Die Musik Richard Wagners im Banat, Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte zum 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, in *Edition Musik Südost* (2013), or the essay by Szilvia Peremiczky, „Az emancipáció utáni Fin de siècle-Budapest és Gustav Mahler" (*The Fin de siècle after the Emancipation, Budapest and Gustav Mahler*, Summer, 2008).

In my thesis I did not only want to show the difficult process which led from the almost complete refusal of Richard Wagner's art in Hungary to its almost general acceptance in the nineteenth and especially in the beginning of the twentieth century, but the changes, too, which were partly caused by Richard Wagner's personal visits in Pest (1863 and 1875), the premieres of his operas, music dramas, and the publication of his theoretical writings in the then evolving and developing nineteenth-century Hungarian music history. My intention was also to introduce the Wagner-reception in the early twentieth century, and the path which led to a flourishing early twentieth century Wagner-cult ('Wagnerism') in Hungary. And although my dissertation mainly deals with the Hungarian music history of the aforementioned centuries, the reasons for the first reactions of the Wagner-reception could be partly attributed to the eighteenth century. This is why the substantiation of my thesis begins with the presentation of data in connection with eighteenth-century Hungarian music history and their influences.

In the first chapters of my dissertation I intend to highlight the Hungarian historical and music historical antecedents, which, at first (in the beginning of the 1850s) were partly the reasons for the negative reception of Richard Wagner's music in Hungary. That is why I have found it indispensable to introduce a few events, genres, and concepts, such as the Italian and French opera tradition in Hungary (see main chapters 1.1., 1.2., and 1.3.), or 'Hungarianisation' which term was probably used for the first time by Margit Prahács, however, its meaning was developed and broadened by me (see the chapters 1.3.1., 1.3.2., 1.3.4., 2.3.2. and 4.5.4.). I have also found it necessary to present the various waves of anti-German sentiment (the theme appears many times, e.g. in chapters 1.3.4.), recent trends in Hungarian genres (see

chapter 2.3.1.2.) and opera-performance, and the 'new Hungarian consciousness' (e.g. in 1.3.4.), which — according to my theory — were partly the reason why the first few performances of Richard Wagner's compositions failed in Hungary. The accomplishments of my thesis do not only include the discovery of previously possible yet unfound connections but, for example, the collection and publication of the 'Hungarian Letters' of Richard Wagner, which are in connection with the Hungarian reception of his music in one way or another. Some of which, and the information in connection with them, are presented in this dissertation for the first time. (First publications: Richard Wagner's letter to Ödön Mihalovich, probably from the end of January 1875, Bayreuth-Budapest, WBV 8896, WHL-S/34, and a copy of Ferenc (Franz) Liszt's letter, which was written by Ödön Mihalovich, 24 March 1875, Budapest, WBV 7072, WHL-S/38.).

The accomplishments of my thesis also include the discovery and clarification of few important data and facts. The photostat copy of original documents confirmed that I have to modify the list of the singers' names of the Erdődy Castle Theatre (chapter 1.1.) which was published by Géza Staud in a volume titled *Budapesti Operaház 100 éve (The 100 Years of the Opera House of Budapest, 1984)*. Furthermore, I refuted one of Géza Staud's statements concerning the Erdődy Castle Theatre in Bratislava also based on the previously mentioned documents and the collection which includes the complete list of performances in the Burgtheater between 1776 and 1976. (See chapter 1.1.). I also intended to find the point when the name of the genre attached to Ferenc Erkel, the Hungarian national opera (genre), first appeared in the Hungarian press, probably thanks to Lázár Horváth Petrichevich or Louis (Ludwig, Alexander Balthasar) Schindelmeisser (see chapter 1.3.4.). While researching data, it was proved again for me that often hardly visible, but very interesting correlations, can be found between music historical events. My affirmation can also be confirmed by the example, that Louis (Ludwig, Alexander Balthasar) Schindelmeisser, who probably christened (named) the new genre of Hungarian Romanticism, Hungarian national opera, probably among the first ones, and worked in the German Theatre of Pest in 1838, was Wagner's friend, even one of his first supporters, his so-called 'partisan', and according to Klaus Ronnau and Ursula Kramer — the authors in the second

edition of the New GROVE (Art. Schindelmeisser, Louis) — Wagner was appointed to be a music director in Riga directly due to Schindelmeisser's recommendation (1837). But Schindelmeisser's and Richard Wagner's life were connected not only because of the previously mentioned data, but also because, according to Henry Theophilus Finck, Hannu Salmi and the aforementioned writers, he was one of the first ones who presented the great composer's three operas: *Lohengrin*, *Rienzi*, and *Tannhäuser* in Wiesbaden and Darmstadt in the 1852s-53s. According to the previously mentioned researchers' articles, only the following data of the premieres can be proven: *Tannhäuser*, 26 Oct. 1852, Wiesbaden; *Lohengrin*, 2 July 1853, Wiesbaden. Salmi (p. 82) published the date of *Tannhäuser*'s premiere in Darmstadt: 23 Oct. 1853. (See: chapters 1.3.1. and 1.3.4.).

My next discoveries were in connection with the Hungarian premiere of *Tannhäuser*. I had to reevaluate the general conclusions Emil Haraszti made concerning the Hungarian presentation of Richard Wagner's *Overture to Tannhäuser* based on nineteenth-century newspaper articles. (Chapter 2.1.). I also had to find out that the international literature on Wagner does not entirely cover the circumstances of the Hungarian premiere of *Tannhäuser* (since the negotiations about 'ordering' the *Tannhäuser* probably started in 1853. See chapter 2.3.1.1.), or the questions in connection with the date of the premiere (see chapter 2.3.2.). During my research on the Hungarian premiere of *Tannhäuser*, it also became clear to me that the researchers of the New GROVE and the GROVE *Opera*, Harold Rosenthal and Desmond Shawe-Taylor, were wrong about two points in connection with the conductor of the premiere of *Tannhäuser*: Carlo Emanuele (de) Barbieri (chapter 2.3.2.).

Some questions also arose in connection with the antecedents of Richard Wagner's first Hungarian visit, but the documents of scholarly value, which I found, do not exhaustively clarify the arising questions in every case. However, in chapter 3.1.1. of my dissertation, I found it essential to point out the fact that Hannu Salmi and Rosamund Bartlett could not agree on the date of Richard Wagner's third concert in Saint Petersburg (3 or 6 March 1863, (sic). I also tried to present the fact, based on Salmi and Bartlett and on contemporary newspaper articles, that while for the Prussians Richard Wagner's music was freedom and revolution itself, initially (1850-63) for some Hungarians it did not

mean other than some sort of 'German (Austrian) influence' they could rebel against. There are two reasons why I found it important to present the circumstances, programs, and the reception of Richard Wagner's concert tour. The first reason was, that after his concerts in Saint Petersburg and Moscow — intermitted by shorter trips to Vienna and Berlin — he arrived at Pest, Hungary, on 18 or 19 July 1863 — see the facsimile of the short letter Wagner wrote about the beginning of the journey in Addendum 11, 18 July 1863, Penzing WBV A 214, WHL-S/9. — and the second reason was that I compared: at which points the excerpts of Wagner's compositions were identical or different in the sequence of the four stations of the tour —, in Vienna and Prague besides the aforementioned ones. The comparison shed light on, for example, the fact that *Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud* — *Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud* from *Lohengrin* — was only performed in Pest (on 20 and 23, 1863) out of the tour venues.

In addition to the presentation and examination of the letters Richard Wagner wrote to Hungarian musicians, the Hungarian general public, and his Hungarian friends, and his two visits to Pest constitute important parts of my dissertation, I also had to find an answer to the question whether Richard Wagner really wrote a letter to Ferenc Erkel, and if yes, when.

The first data about the Wagner-Erkel letter, or letters, are from 1863. The fact that Wagner wrote a letter to Ferenc Erkel in the last days of June in 1863 — or possibly in the first days of July — was reported in the *Zenészet* on 9 July, 1863. The short article in the *Színházi Látcső* — published on the same day — also contains a reference to one or more letters, written by Wagner to Pest, but it can be also interesting to mention that according to this latter magazine, the negotiations between Wagner and the National Theatre had started even in the April of 1863, around the publication of the first issue of the paper (6 April, 1863). As the *Addendum of the WBV*, and the WBV — which nowadays is considered to be the most authentic collection of the Wagner-letters — regards the existence of the letter written to Erkel as a fact, and it is also possible that originally Wagner himself offered to Erkel and the directorate of the National Theatre, to give concerts in Pest. It could be also interesting to add, that Emil Haraszti was concerned about Kornél Ábrányi Sr. was wrong, when mentioning the story in his biographical book about Erkel (Kornél Ábrányi, *The Life and activity of Ferenc Erkel*, (*Kulturtörténelmi Korrajz*), p. 79.). The lost

letter Wagner wrote to Erkel, is also mentioned in Elisabeth Hammerstein's Dissertation in 1946 (Elisabeth Hammerstein, *Richard Wagners persönliche Beziehungen zu Ungarn*. Diss. 1946, Chap. 2, pp. 1-2, 13-14.), furthermore, it is mentioned in the 15th volume of the collection of the Wagner-letters (Richard Wagner: *Sämtliche Briefe, Bd. 15, Briefe des Jahres 1863*, Nr. 171, p. 209.). The mystery is escalated by that in the autobiographical book of Wagner, *Mein Leben* (Volume II, p. 443.), there is no reference at all about any of the letter(s), but in two of his still existing letters he mentioned that the directorate of the National Theatre and the 'Hungarians' visited him in Penzing to ask him to be a conductor of two concerts in Pest. (Wagner referred to this request in his letter to Mathilde Maier. 20 July 1863, Pest, WBV 3625, WHL-S/12. There is also a reference to the request of the 'Hungarians' in his letter to Mathilde Wesendock. 3 Aug. 1863, Penzing, WBV 3630, WHL-S/15.).

As the articles of the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) and the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) were published for the first time in my article in Hungary (published in the magazine: *Hirmondó-Herald*, see earlier in 'Introduction'), I found it important to enclose the photocopy (with the catalogue number also provided) of them in the Addendum of my Dissertation. (*Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) 41/III, (WHL-S/8/A) and on the same day in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*), issue 93. (WHL-S/8/B).

In the light of contradictory data the existence of the letter, or letters from 1863 which Richard Wagner wrote to Erkel, cannot be proved anymore, but it is sure that Wagner wrote to Erkel from Luzern on 28 June 1870 (the facsimile of the letter can be found in the Addendum, 32. In this Wagner wrote about the questions concerning the *Tannhäuser's* 'old version's' presentation. (Scores: WBV 5611, WHL-S/25.).

Another Wagner letter to Ödön Mihalovich (its exact date of writing is unknown, but, according to my research, the end of January 1875 is the most likely, scores WBV 8896, WHL-S/34.) was also of special significance for me. I was curious whether the ironic tone Wagner used in his letter about his concerts in Pest written to Mathilde Wesendonck on 3 Aug. 1863 (WBV 3630, WHL-S/15.) and to Heinrich Porges (27 Sept. 1863, scores WBV 3661, WHL-S/17.) was meant for giving concerts in general or only for Pest. I was interested in this question because the great composer was seemingly very fond of Hungarians,

Hungarian culture, and his Hungarian friends in general. Emil Haraszti stated (Haraszti, p. 273.) that Richard Wagner did not dislike Pest but only giving concerts itself, but he could neither prove his theory nor search for an answer for the question: what could have been the reasons for Richard Wagner's dislike towards giving concerts? Studying the aforementioned Wagner letter written to Ödön Mihalovich (from the end of January 1875) gave opportunity for me to assume that I found the reasons for the great composer's dislike of concerts which — based on Wagner's words — can include at least three causes. The first is, it was only Wagner's constant financial troubles which forced him to conduct and to present his compositions 'in parts', in fragments to the European audience, the second is, he gave concerts only to call up and direct the attention of the European audience to his operas and ideas, and the third is, he felt that concert tours made him digress from his most important task, creating and developing the idea and the 'system' of Bayreuth (see chapters 3.2.1. and 3.5.3.).

It was not less exciting to present several historical and music historical events which led to Wagner's first visit to Pest (1863) and the process the educated layers of Hungarian society could not have gone through without the help or, in some cases, resistance of contemporary press (see Sámuel Brassai, chapter 2.2.2.2.). Not only the excellent music journalists of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), or *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*), but those of other daily and weekly newspapers did a lot for the presentation of the great composer's artistic principles too. E.g. Sándor Bertha Jr.'s essay, or Baron Károly Fechtig's article helped certain layers of the Hungarian society get closer to the acceptance and reception of Wagner's art. (Bertha: chap. 2.3.1.2. and Fechtig: 3.3.3.2.).

Both in the case of the Hungarian and German papers and the 'Hungarian Letters' of Wagner, I found it significant to publish the texts in their original language, and also the Hungarian translation of all letters of Wagner. In several cases, I provided the original German documents with new Hungarian translations.

Thanks to Hungarian musicians' and journalists' endeavours and to Richard Wagner's first Hungarian visit, the reception of Wagner's compositions and artistic ideas had become almost completely positive in Hungary by or around

1863. Most of the Hungarian audience's approval was enhanced by the appearance of Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter', written to Kornél Ábrányi Sr. on 8 Aug. 1863 (WBV A 218, WHL-S/16.), in which 'essay' Richard Wagner discussed the future of Hungarian music. The sources of Wagner's discussion were contemporary Hungarian composers' works which Ede Reményi gave to Richard Wagner during his first stay in Pest. (Under number 19. in the Addendum the music sheet of the piano piece written by Mihály Mosonyi can also be found which the Mastermind (Wagner) refers to in his study. This was the thirteenth composition of the second volume of *Tanulmányok zongorára, a magyar zene előadása képzésére (Studies for the Piano, for the Improvement of Hungarian Music's Performance)* by Mihály Mosonyi. Adagio assai (Andalogva) in the style of Fatyal-Fatyal modorában).

Although the WBV is surely the most authentic catalogue of the Wagner correspondence, I have to add that I had to correct several 'Hungarian data' of WBV while putting together the facts. (The study about my corrections is under construction and it's going to be rendered to the editors committee of Wagnerspectrum.). E.g. the catalogue mistakenly considered *Niederrheinische Zeitung* the first publication of Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter' — 8 Aug. 1863, to Kornél Ábrányi Sr. — appeared. During my research it turned out that the first newspaper in which the aforementioned important letter was put out in Hungary was *Pester Lloyd* which published Richard Wagner's discussion in German in its 188th issue on 19 Aug. 1863. Wagner's thoughts appeared for the second time in Hungarian in *Zenészetű Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, issue 47/III, on 20 August 1863, for the third time also in Hungarian in *Színházi Látcső (Opera-Glasses)* in its 137th issue on 23 August, later in *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung für Musikfreunde und Künstler* in German in issue 35/XI, on 29 Aug. 1863, and finally in *Zenészetű Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, issue 9/12, on 26 Nov. 1871 both in German and in Hungarian translation. (See section 3.4. For the press-cuttings of the aforementioned newspapers' articles see Addendum 18.).

According to Richard Wagner's other letter, written in Penzing on 12 Oct. 1863 (WBV/3669, WHL-S/18.), it can be suspected that due to the composer's huge personal success in Pest he was considering the possibility of settling in Pest or staying there for a longer period of time. It is possible that Ferenc Erkel's

behaviour became antagonistic towards Wagner exactly because he had been informed of the great composer's plans concerning Pest, but this cannot be proven anymore. The letter, which is about the aforementioned question, was written to Mihály Mosonyi, and Jenő Péterfi(y) published it for the first time in Hungary under the title *Richard Wagner's three unpublished letters*. (*Richárd Wagner három kiadatlan levele in Magyar Művészeti Almanach-Hungarian Artistic Almanach*, Ed. by Henrik Incze, Budapest, 1907. See Add. 21.). The facsimile of the previously mentioned letter to Mosonyi and the first published version can also be found under number 20. in the Addendum.

Richard Wagner's and Mihály Mosonyi's close friendship is also proven by another letter which Wagner sent from Munich on 14 June 1865 (WBV/4215, WHL-S/20.). In this letter Wagner wrote about the successful premiere of *Tristan and Isolde* in Munich, and expressed his regret that his friend: Mosonyi could not hear the first performance. The certified copy of the aforementioned letter, which probably will be published for the first time in this dissertation, can be seen in Add. 22. Richard Wagner also wrote another letter to Mihály Mosonyi (written on 24 May 1865, WBV 4187, WHL-S/19.), but the manuscript of that is not available anymore. (Haraszi's version of the letter can be found in the main part of my thesis).

The history of Hungarian Romanticism was again enriched by another significant event in connection with Richard Wagner in Hungary in 1866, when the National Theatre premiered *Lohengrin* on 1 Dec. 1866 (see chapter 3.5.2.) despite Ferenc Erkel's strong objection. Wagner could not be present at the premiere, but he wrote a letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy), about which the Hungarian press — of course — reported about. (26 Nov. 1866. WBV 4607, WHL-S/21. For the facsimile see Add. 23., for the two press publications see number 24. in Addendum). In another personal letter, written in Luzern on 14 Dec. 1866 (WBV 4619, WHL-S/22.), Richard Wagner thanked for the conductor's Károly Huber's work, that he did during the rehearsals and conducting *Lohengrin*, furthermore he expressed his delight in connection with the successful premiere. (Facsimile, Add. 26., press-cutting Add. 27.)

The popularity of Richard Wagner's operas continued to increase in Hungary after 1866. Richard Wagner was probably informed about the Hungarians' growing enthusiasm for him and his art since in one of his letters, Luzern, 31

March 1870 (WBV 5543, WHL-S/24.) — written to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy), who did not receive the letter, since he died on 9 Oct. 1869 — he recommended his friend and loyal patron: János (Hans, Baptist, Isidor) Richter for the director position (or the chief conductors position) of the National Theatre. Richter did not receive the position in the National Theatre that time, although later, as the conductor of the Theatre, he tried to do a lot for the acceptance of Wagner's work in Hungary sometimes with more, sometimes with less success.

In the next year the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in the National Theatre on 11 March 1871 was an important music historical milestone of the National Theatre and Hungarian culture. Wagner's operas were performed in Hungarian in Kornél Ábrányi Sr.'s translation (see chapter 3.5.2.). With this event Wagner's music had definitively become part of the contemporary Hungarian repertoire. After the mixed critiques *Tannhäuser* received, another temporary relapse could be experienced again in connection with the Hungarian reception of Wagner's operas, which, according to both, mine and Haraszti's theory, could be partly attributed to János (Hans) Richter and Bódog Orczy. The recurrent anti-German and anti-Wagnerian sentiment could have been caused by the fact that both Orczy and Richter considered Hungary a country yet to be conquered (see chapter 3.5.2.). János (Hans) Richter's work in Hungary still brought many positive results as well since *Lohengrin* was reintroduced, conducted by him on 7 Oct. 1871 with great success. Also the establishment of the Hungarian Richard Wagner Society — which held its first meeting on 25 Feb. 1872 in Hotel Hungária — could partly be thanked to him. (The manuscript of the letter Richard Wagner wrote to Theodor Kafka — Luzern, 2 Jan. 1872, WBV 6000, WHL-S/26. — in which Wagner writes about the Wagner societies in Hungary and Vienna among others, can be found under number 33 in the Addendum). The critics, from whom the premiere of *The Flying Dutchman* on 10 May 1873 — conducted also by Richter — later received mixed responses, were only in agreement concerning praising Richter's excellent work. It cannot be forgotten either that Richter conducted Wagner's '*Ring*' at the premieres of Bayreuth between 1876 Aug. 13-17.

Based on the previously mentioned events, I had to conclude that the standard of Richter's work as a conductor — at least his work in Hungary — much

exceeded his political abilities, which was proved by contemporary press, including the Wagnerian *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) and Kornél Ábrányi Sr.'s articles itself, too (for the example see the issue on 7 Apr. 1872 in chapter 3.5.3.). According to contemporary critiques, it also seems certain that Richter wanted to win over the audience, who had already liked Wagner, with the premiere of *Rienzi* on 24 Nov. 1874, which worsened the current state of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' for a while. (*Zenészeti Lapok-The Musical Journal*, issues 29 and 30/10, 30 Nov. 1874 and 6 Dec.).

Around the 1870s some interesting episodes coloured Hungarian music history in connection with Richard Wagner. A few 'agents' of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' had sent birthday greetings to Wagner, whereon the Mastermind answered. (On 23 May 1869, from Luzern to Pest, WBV 5304, WL-S/23, Add. 29. and chap. 4.5.2. Probably first publication.). The addressees were Friedrich Altschul, Imre Bellovics, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, József (Josef) Ellinger, Mihály Mosonyi, Gyula Rózsavölgyi, Rudolf Schweida and (Jenő) 'Szoupper' (he used his name as Szupper, or Soupper as well). My dissertation also includes another quite interesting document, a photo, that I have found in the Archives of Kalocsa Archbishopric (Add. 28.), and on which Ferenc Liszt, Hans Richter, Ödön Mihalovich, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, Count (Baron) Albert Apponyi, Count Guido Karátsonyi, Imre Huszár, and Cardinal Lajos Haynald and other devotees of both Richard Wagner and Ferenc Liszt can be seen. Previously published issues, books, essays and articles, in which the aforementioned 'Haynald-Liszt-photo' was published before, identified Count Imre Széchenyi as the person sitting on Haynald's right side. I had found out, that the man sitting on the right of Haynald cannot be the count. On the basis of my research the director of the Kalocsa Archbishopric, dr. Andor Lakatos, replaced the name of Count Imre Széchenyi with Antal Siposs on the website of the Archives on 9 September 2013. He also noted the amendment of this mistake could be done thanks to my research.

(<http://archivum.asztrik.hu/?q=oldal/6-liszt-es-haynald-a-foszekesegyhazban-az-angster-orgona-epitese>).

I have the honor to tell that the aforementioned achievement and other data — relying on my research — have been used by Zsuzsanna Domonkos — the director of Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre — for the

material of the contemporary exhibition *Wagner and his Hungarian friends* (17 May 2013 — 15 May 2014, LFZF, Budapest) and the results of mine were also published in the booklet *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends* in the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum on 26 Feb. 2014.

My dissertation includes other interesting documents as well, e.g. the letters Wagner wrote to Károly Weber, a gardener from Békásmegyer, Mihály Mosonyi's godson, on 22 Oct. 1874 (WBV 6897, WHL-S/28), to order a consignment of wild vine to the garden of the Villa Wahnfried in Bayreuth (see the letter in Addendum 38.A.), and another short message, probably written on 10 or 11 March 1875 (WBV A 439, WHL-S/37, Add. 38.B.), which has been published with a wrong date by Jenő Péterfi(y) and with a wrong name by Haraszti.

Two other letters, written to the excellent and well-known harp player Péter Dubez — Bayreuth, 8 Dec. 1874 and 28 May 1875 (WBV 6925, WHL-S/29. and WBV 7061, WHL-S/39. Addendum 40. and 44.) — from which in the first one Wagner thanked for the instrumentation which Dubez did with the reworking of the harp parts of *The Rhine Gold* and *The Valkyrie*, in addition, he asked for his further help in connection with parts of *Siegfried* and the *Twilight of the Gods*, and in the second one he invited the excellent musician to the orchestra of the opening evenings in Bayreuth (see chapter 3.5.4.).

Richard Wagner's second visit to Hungary had an influence on Hungarian music history, but probably not that big as the first one had. The concert held together with Ferenc (Franz) Liszt on 10 March 1875 was organised for the sake of Bayreuth with rather high ticket prices, and it was a great success according to contemporary press. On 11 March 1875 the article (issue 57, number 26) of *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*) directly wrote about the significant event that: 'Wagner is popular at us, and he has been understood here much earlier than in other countries'. Wagner himself left Hungary in a delightful mood on 11 or 12 March and he also told his true friend, Ferenc (Franz) Liszt about his experiences and thoughts in his letter of apology written on 24 March 1875. (WBV 7072, WHL-S/38, Ödön Mihalovich made a copy, whose facsimile is in Add. 43. See also chapter 3.5.4.). Appr. one month after Wagner's aforementioned letter was written, János (Hans) Richter also left

Hungary, but before that, he conducted *Lohengrin* on 24 Apr. 1875, for the last time.

The Hungarian general public was rather shocked to receive the news of Wagner's death on 13 Feb. 1883. The National Theatre sent a laurel wreath tied with a mourning-band to Wagner's grave together with a condolence letter, The Philharmonic Society organised a commemoration ceremony where *The Overture to Faust*, *Good Friday Spell (Parsifal)*, and one of Wagner's favourite *Beethoven Symphonies*, the *Third* were played, and Gyula Reviczky wrote a poem to show his respect, which appeared in *Fővárosi Lapok* on 14 Feb. 1883. (Addendum 45. Haraszti mistakenly dated the issue to 8 Feb. (sic.).

The popularity of the great composer's operas continued to grow after Wagner's death. With Angelo Neumann's Wagner-staggione the whole '*Ring*', and as an encore, Beethoven's *Fidelio* were also performed in the German Theatre in Gyapjú Street (today probably Báthory Street 24.), Pest, with complete success, where — according to Haraszti — Ferenc Erkel was present as well. (23 May 1883: *The Rhine Gold*, 24 May 1883: *The Valkyrie*, 25 May 1883: concert from the fragments of Wagner's operas, 26 May 1883: *Siegfried*, 27 May 1883: *Twilight of the Gods*, on 28 May: *The Valkyrie* again, then on 29 May: *Fidelio*).

The next important Wagner-premiere in Hungary took place not much later since the National Theatre scheduled '*Mastersingers*' to 8 Sept. 1883, conducted by Ferenc Erkel's son, Sándor. Although it is true that the opera did not immediately find its way to the Hungarian's heart, the response of the Hungarian press was obviously not as negative as Haraszti described it. After the premiere of the *Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, a new and important event strengthened the development of the already growing Wagner cult on 27 Sept. 1884 since the Hungarian Royal Opera House opened this day. At its opening ceremony the first movement of *Lohengrin* was played besides the first act of Ferenc Erkel's *Bánk bán* and the *Overture to László Hunyadi*.

Gustav Mahler, who became the music director of the Hungarian Royal Opera House on 10 Oct. 1888, attempted to increase the frequency in performances of Wagner's operas in Hungary. The Hungarian audience was expecting the performance of *The Rhine Gold* on 26 Jan. and *The Valkyrie* on 27 Jan. 1889 with great interest, both were conducted by Gustav Mahler and played in

Hungarian. The Hungarian press dealt quite a lot with the performance of the Tetralogy's first two parts, and published mostly positive critiques. *The Rhine Gold* was repeated on 29 Jan., *The Valkyrie* on 7 Feb. The reason why the second performance of *The Valkyrie* was more than a week later was because Crown Prince Rudolf died on 30 Jan., the day when the performance was to take place, but despite its belatedness the audience's response was mainly euphoric in Pest. Despite the success the last two parts of the tetralogy were only presented after Mahler's departure (22 or 23 March 1891) in the Hungarian Royal Opera House, where *Siegfried* was played on 9 Apr. 1892 and the *Twilight of the Gods* on 12 Dec. 1892.

The '*Ring*' was played as a Tetralogy for the first time only on 30 Jan. 1893 (*The Rhine Gold*), 31 Jan (*The Valkyrie*), 2 Feb. (*Siegfried*), and 4 Feb. (*Twilight of the Gods*). The last significant event in connection with Richard Wagner before the turn of the century was the presentation of a 'cycle' of four Wagner operas. In the first evening *The Flying Dutchman* was performed on 11 July, *Tannhäuser* on 12, *Lohengrin* on 14, and the *Mastersingers of Nuremberg* on 16, 1895.

Although the Hungarian premiere of *Tristan and Isolde* already took place in the 20th century, on 28 Nov. 1901, I still found it important to continue my dissertation with this important music historical event. '*Tristan*' was performed in Emil Ábrányi Sr.'s translation in Hungarian, with the contribution of the star singer Karel (Károly) Burian (Burrian, Burián). The premiere of '*Tristan*' was a very momentous event in Hungarian music life and also a significant milestone in the reception of Richard Wagner's works in Hungary. Besides the great public success, it can clearly be stated, too, that this performance very much helped Hungarian 'Wagnerism' flourish.

Although, the last chapters of my Ph. D. Thesis stretch into the XX. century, I still found it significant to report also about the Hungarian premiere of *Tannhäuser* (24 Oct. 1907, 'Paris-version', Hungarian Royal Opera House), and *Parsifal* (1 Jan. 1914, 'Népopera'-Folk Opera, in German) and 1 June 1924, Hungarian Royal Opera House, in Hungarian. Not only because of giving a frame to my Dissertation — the first news released in connection with Wagner in the *Regélő*, *Pesti Divatlap* (*Chatter, Fashion Paper of Pest*), 4 Dec. 1842, Pest — but also as with the 2 performances of the *Parsifal* all of the operas of

Richard Wagner had been introduced in Hungary (except for the early operas, *Die Feen*, and *Das Liebesverbot*).

In my Dissertation, besides the mentioned results, I also dealt with forming thought-provoking questions and searching for their potential answers. For instance, the impact on the Hungarian Wagner-reception of Ferenc Erkel, János (Hans) Richter, Gustav Mahler and others, the circumstances of the development and spreading of the 'Wagnerism' in Hungary, and also whether the art of Richard Wagner affected the compositions of Ferenc Erkel, Mihály Mosonyi and Ödön Mihalovich or not. I tried my best to introduce the most famous and less well-known figures of the Hungarian Romanticism, and to bring the reader closer to the genres and musical idioms regarded as especially Hungarian (e.g. 'verbunkos'), and to collect and publish the poems of Richard Wagner, which had been written in Pest and were addressed to his Hungarian acquaintances, and also the one about Wagner, and publish the posters of all the Hungarian Wagner-premieres during the researched period and those 'Hungarian Letters' of Wagner, which can be found nowadays in Hungary. I also publish some photocopies of articles, which as far as I know, had not been published before, and tried to introduce all of the Hungarian premieres and performances of Wagner in two summaries; VII. The first time, or The First Publication of Richard Wagner's Name and the Premieres of His Compositions in Hungary. 1842-1924, and VIII. Detailed Summaries, About the Performances of Richard Wagner's Compositions in Hungary, With the Supplements of the *Tannhäuser-parodies' Data*. 1853-1924, and finally, to mention the Hungarian press in respect of the Hungarian Wagner-reception. In my Ph. D. Thesis, I also did not forget about my hometown. I found a lot of interesting information about Pécs and other provincial cities of Hungary, relating to the Hungarian history of Wagner and his Hungarian friends.

With the completion of my work, I can only hope, it helps to the reader to get familiar with an interesting story, and I can pay my respect to both Richard Wagner and my Hungarian ancestors.

Pécs, 30 April, 2014.

Ildikó Rita Anna Varga.

I. The Beginnings of Opera in Eighteenth-Century Hungary and the Earliest Roots of ‘Anti-Wagnerian’ Sentiment

1.1. The Roots of the Nineteenth-Century Opera Traditions

The reception of Richard Wagner’s art — from the first appearance of the *Overture to Tannhäuser* (8 Dec. 1853) to the premiere of *Tristan and Isolde* (28 Nov. 1901) — passed through many different stages of Hungarian Romanticism. In the middle of the nineteenth century Wagner’s compositions were almost entirely rejected by most of Hungarian society, but this rejection turned into acceptance over a relatively short period of time. The reasons for both the support and the resistance toward Richard Wagner and his compositions can be partly traced back to various historical and music historical circumstances, which affected almost every aspect of nineteenth-century Hungarian society.

In the first chapters of my dissertation my aim was to introduce a few of the reasons for the former resistance, such as the development of primarily Italian (and later French) opera repertoire and stage traditions that made it difficult for Hungarians to accept ‘new German music’, and a wave of anti-German sentiment that appeared under Joseph II, whose measures urged some Hungarian musicians and a portion of the general public to protect the development of the newborn Hungarian culture, opera, and the newly revitalised Hungarian language. These were some of the reasons behind the resistance against Wagner’s art which characterized nineteenth-century Hungary. I have therefore found it indispensable to explore the historical, music historical, political, and cultural political context which add to our understanding of Richard Wagner’s Hungarian reception.

The history of Wagner’s reception in the nineteenth century began a century earlier, when the demand for opera performances¹ in the Kingdom of Hungary mostly came from the nobility. Although Hungary had some historical traditions

¹ In the first chapters the word *opera* is used as a collective noun to indicate all of the following: comedia, festa teatrale, dramma giocoso, marionette-opera, dramma eroicomico, dramma eroico, opera seria, Singspiel and so on. The differences will be detailed case by case.

in orchestra music,² the 'birth' of the opera genre was a difficult one.³ Historical conditions such as the Turkish occupation (of 150 years), several insurgences and wars of independence, which erupted at this time (e.g. the peasant rebellion led by Tamás Esze in 1703, the Rákóczi War of Independence between 1703-1711, and the peasant rebellion led by Horea in Transylvania in 1784). The plague epidemic which surfaced several times beginning in 1700 (the cruelest epidemics occurred in 1709, 1725, 1732 and 1752 in Transylvania, and between 1711-19 and 1737-44 in the whole territory of Hungary)⁴ partly contributed to the fact that Hungarian 'classical music'⁵ was not yet able to reach the contemporary European level.

Among other factors, it was partly due to the Treaty of Szatmár — which put an end to Rákóczy's War of Independence, let noblemen keep their land and properties, but forbade armament and warfare while expecting loyalty to the Habsburg Empire — that a narrow stratum of the Hungarian nobility of the eighteenth century could emerge, which was extremely loyal to the Habsburg Empire and whose fortune accumulated constantly.⁶ Their incredible wealth enabled them to hire highly educated musicians and temporary and permanent theatre companies as well.⁷ This was a much-needed step because it was the only way to build up an opera repertoire and to fall in line with musically developed countries — such as Italy and France — in eighteenth-century

² According to Zsolt Szefcsik (Szefcsik, pp. 3-4), there were orchestras in the 17th century in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava), Győr, Sopron, and Kismarton (Eszterháza). According to Ágnes Sas (Sas/Harmonia C., p. 13), Pál Esterházy (1635-1713) had a kind of 'military-orchestra' (a drummer and 4-7 trumpet-players) working from 1659 in Kismarton (Eszterháza) and a 'church-orchestra' (four singers, three violinists, an organ-player, a lute-player, sometimes harpists) working from 1678 there. Pál Esterházy, the great maecenas also 'composed' — actually collected — sacred songs in his song book: *Harmonia Caelestis*, that became an important culture-historical relic of Hungary. Source: Sas/Harmonia C., pp. 35-39.

³ According to Ágnes Sas (Sas/Esterházy, p. 1), Pál Esterházy (1635-1713) collected the librettos of the operas he saw performed in Vienna.

⁴ Rákóczy, Magyartört/1686-1790, 4/II, Novus Ordo, pp. 1069-1077, Petres, pp. 165-183, Démoni ragály, p. 7. and 60, Faragó, *Korall* 30/8, 2007, pp. 19-60.

⁵ Orchestra music and stage performances.

⁶ BudOp100, p. 7.

⁷ BudOp100, pp. 7-10.

Europe. The nobility established approximately fifty private theatres in Hungary around the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The four that may be termed important from the aspect of Hungarian Wagner reception were the theatres in Kismarton (Eisenstadt today) in the castle of Duke Esterházy, another in Süttör (Eszterháza), today called Fertőd, Count János Erdődy's (Nepomuk) castle theatre in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava), and Bishop Ádám Patatich's theatre in Nagyvárád (Grosswardein, Oradea in Transylvania).⁸

These theatres played a significant role in the life of contemporary opera in Hungary, built up a mostly Italian and partly 'Latin repertoire' (dramas and 'operas', which were written in Latin or translated into Latin), and worked with Italian scenic professionals such as Giuseppe M. Quaglio or Pietro Travaglia. Two of the theatres (Esterházy's and Erdődy's), or the nobility behind them, allowed members of lower social classes to attend performances, as well.

'Esterházy theatres' may be considered the most notable of these institutions. This is demonstrated by the fact that the first 'opera-like performance' in Hungary, the *Ecloga pastorale* was performed in Kismarton (Eisenstadt) in 1755 with Claudio Pasquini's lyrics, Francesco Maggior's music,⁹ and Giuseppe M. Quaglio (1747-1828), the famous artist's¹⁰ scenery and costumes.¹¹ The castle theatre of Kismarton arrived at a turning-point when Duke Pál Antal Esterházy (1711-1762) hired Franz Joseph Haydn (Heyden¹² 1732-1809) as a second conductor on 1 May 1761 with a salary of 400 forints (Gulden).¹³ The first 'operas' that Haydn wrote in Kismarton were the festa teatrale, *Acide* (Hob.

⁸ Sas, pp. 171-233. (about Kismarton and Eszterháza) and p. 190. (about Pozsony, Pressburg, Bratislava), Kristófi, pp. 279-286.

⁹ James L. Jackman/Francesca Seller, Art 'Maggior, Francesco' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 5, pp. 583-84.

¹⁰ MagySzíntört, *A kezdetektől 1790-ig, Kastélyszínházak Magyarországon*, 3/I/I, p. 29.

¹¹ Pohl, Volume 1, p. 213.

¹² Haydn's name figures as Heyden in the contract. Sources: Bartha-Révész, pp. 15-19, Somfai *Haydn*, pp. 25-33.

¹³ Facsimile in Somfai *Haydn*, p. 33.

XXVIII/1) and the comedia, *La marchesa Nespola* (Napoli, Hob. XXX/1), which were written in 1762 and performed in the new theatre probably in 1763.¹⁴

Esterházy's newly built, and modern theatre and the marionette-theatre in Süttör (Eszterháza) opened in 1768, in the era of Miklós József Esterházy, who is also known as 'The Glorious' or 'The Magnificent' (1714-1790). The building hosted not only nobles, but civilians and peasants as well, so the first theatre open to the lower strata of society was probably the Eszterházy theatre. The stage of this theatre was small compared to the size of others in Europe, but the stagecraft was exceedingly up-to-date.¹⁵

On opening night¹⁶ Haydn's dramma giocoso, *Lo speziale* (Hob. XXVIII/3) was performed, but many other compositions by renowned composers were also performed there later, such as operas by Karl (Carl) Ditters von Dittelsdorf, Niccoló Vito Piccinni, Florian Leopold Gassmann, Pasquale Anfossi, Giuseppe Gazzaniga, Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, Giovanni Paisiello, Giuseppe Sarti, Antonio Salieri, or Domenico Cimarosa.

This first opera centre of Hungary received many 'important' visitors, the most illustrious of whom was Empress Maria Theresia. A ball, a masquerade, fireworks, and a performance of a 'burletta per musica' were arranged in her honor from 1 September 1773 on.¹⁷ Haydn's latest marionette-opera, *Philemon and Baucis (oder Jupiters Reise auf die Erde*, Hob. XXIXa/1)¹⁸ was probably performed as a way of continuing the festivities on opening night (on 2 September 1773) in the newly built marionette theatre.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the

¹⁴ Malcolm Boyd/H. Diack Johnstone, Art. 'Haydn (Franz) Joseph', §3 (ii): Eszterházy court: Kapellmeister, 1766-90, in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 11, p. 177.

¹⁵ Somfai *Haydn*, p. 48.

¹⁶ In 1768. Source: Finscher, p. 31.

¹⁷ According to Géza Staud (BudOp100, p. 9), Haydn's burletta per musica (Hob. XXVIII Nr. 5) the festivities opened with was *L' infedeltá delusa*. According to Hoboken (II, p. 359), this was probably the case, because the composition was written by Haydn in September 1773. Ludwig Finscher dates it also around 1773 on page 35 of his book: *Joseph Haydn und seine Zeit*.

¹⁸ Malcolm Boyd/H. Diack Johnstone, Art. 'Haydn (Franz) Joseph', §3 (iii): Eszterházy court: Opera impresario, 1776-90, in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 11, p. 179, Hoboken, II, p. 437.

¹⁹ Finscher, p. 35.

building of the 'main' theatre burnt down on 18 November 1779,²⁰ but the singers were able to work in the marionette theatre until the completion of the new opera building.

Only two operas by Franz Joseph Haydn were staged in the rebuilt theatre. The maestro's last 'Eszterházy operas' were the *dramma eroicomico* *Orlando Paladino*²¹ (Hob. XXVIII/11, composed in 1782) and the *dramma eroico* *Armida*²² (Hob. XXVIII/12, composed in 1783). Haydn did not compose any more operas in Eszterháza, but — according to James Webster — he reissued 'operas' of Cimarosa, Paisiello, Anfossi, and Sarti on his own.²³

After Miklós József Esterházy (1714-1790), 'The Glorious', passed away, his heir apparent, Antal (1738-1794) disbanded the entire theatre company,²⁴ but he did not terminate the contract with Haydn. Prince Antal sent the composer on holiday, so Haydn used his forced vacation to travel to London. This was when the first glorious Eszterházy era of Hungarian opera life came to an end.

Starting in 1794 Kismarton (Eisenstadt) was the most prestigious opera centre of Hungary. This was in Miklós Esterházy II's (1765-1833) time. Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* was first performed here on 10 August 1804. Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) conducted the composition and Carl Maurer (? – after 1843) designed the scenery.²⁵ Mozart's 'operas' were gradually taken into the Hungarian opera repertoire in the period between the end of the eighteenth- and beginning of the nineteenth century, starting with his Singspiel, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* on 13 June 1785.²⁶ Haydn conducted the orchestra for the last time in 1803,²⁷ ten years before Duke Miklós II (1765-1833) dismissed the orchestra and dispelled the company (in 1813).²⁸

²⁰ Malcolm Boyd/H. Diack Johnstone, Art. 'Haydn (Franz) Joseph', §3 (iii): Eszterházy court: Opera impresario, 1776-90, in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 11, p. 180.

²¹ Hoboken, II, p. 405.

²² Hoboken, II, p. 417.

²³ Webster, pp. 25-26.

²⁴ Szefcsik, p. 9.

²⁵ MagySzíntört, *A kezdetektől 1790-ig, Kastélyszínházak Magyarországon*, 3/I/I, p. 30.

²⁶ *Hochgräfllich Erdődy'sches Operntheater 1785*. Almanac in SzNL, MHS. The source is identical with the addendum of issue 207 000 of the General Collections (Mus. Co. 44).

²⁷ Landon, p. 267.

²⁸ BudOp100, p. 10.

Besides Eszterháza and Kismarton, there were two other significant castle theatres, Count János Erdődy's theatre in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) and Bishop Patachich's (1717-1784) theatre in Nagyvárád (Grosswardein, Oradea). Bishop Patachich's theatre was overseen by skilled and respected musicians: Johann Michael Haydn (1737-1806), who worked there from 1757 to 1762,²⁹ and Karl (Carl) Ditters von Dittersdorf, who also worked in Nagyvárád from April 1765.³⁰

According to Charles Sherman and T. Donley Thomas, Johann Michael Haydn composed mainly church music and orchestra music (meaning: mainly concertos, like MH36, 20. Dec. 1760, and symphonies, like MH37, 16. Feb. 1761) in Nagyvárád (Grosswardein, Oradea), and it also seems obvious that he composed his compositions marked from MH33 (*Salve Regina*, 11 Sept. 1760) to MH41 (*Concerto*, 19. Dec. 1761?) in Grosswardein. The place where the compositions marked from MH42 to MH55 were composed is uncertain, similarly to the one marked MH 58 and titled *Vesperae de Dominica*, (3 April 1762?).³¹

Based on the aforementioned events it seems evident, that Johann Michael Haydn did not compose any operas in Hungary, but there are reliable data about Dittersdorf's work. Karl (Carl) Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799) built up a truly remarkable repertoire with an orchestra of thirty-four members (the orchestra had operated with fewer members earlier). The first 'opera-like' performance was on 23 December 1764, when Wenzel Pichl's cantata, *Zelus Pastorum Bethlemiticorum (In Cognoscendo et Amando Verbo Divino in Terris Hospite Recens Nato)* was presented in a 'stage-like' performance. On 23 December 1765, the opera company performed a 'real opera' with the translated version of Metastasio's 'libretto' (*Isacco, figura del Redentore*, translated by Bishop Ádám Patachich) and the music of Dittersdorf's *Isaac, figura Redemptoris* in Latin.³²

²⁹ Manfred Hermann Schmid, Art. 'Johann Michael Haydn', in MGG2, Personenteil Volume 8, 2002, col. 1095, BudOp100, p. 11.

³⁰ Margaret Grave, Jay Lane, Art. 'Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 7, p. 386.

³¹ Sherman/Thomas, pp. 14-22.

³² BudOp100, p. 11.

A few singers and musicians of this castle opera company — Wenzel Pichl for example, who was from Prague and became a close friend of Dittersdorf — and Franz Klette (a castrato soprano), Ignaz Weidlich (castrato alto, also a painter), Andreas Renner (tenor), and Vitus Ungericht (basso)³³ are known by name. (Wenzel Pichl did not only write the texts but also composed the music of the opera librettos and operas such as *Pythia, seu Ludi Apollinis*).³⁴

Latin was the official language and also the everyday language of the nobility at that time. Bishop Ádám Patachich often invited nobles to his castle; that is why every opera, cantata, or oratorio staged in Nagyvárád, Grosswardein was either translated into Latin or was originally written in that language. This is probably the reason that the first opera of Nagyvárád (Grosswardein), Dittersdorf's *Certamen deorum in ornando Amynta pastore*, was written in Latin as well (this was also the case for his later opera called *Olimpia Jovi Sacra sive Incrementum Musas inter, et pastores Amoris certamen*).³⁵ The activities of Bishop Patachich's castle theatre came to an end in 1769, when he moved to Vienna.

The fourth most famous castle theatre of the Kingdom of Hungary in the eighteenth century was Count János Erdődy's theatre in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava), which was operating between 1785 and 1789. Pieces of information in connection with the theatre can be verified with the help of three valuable sources, the photostat of the original documents. The title of the first is *Hochgräflich Erdődisches Operntheater 1785*,³⁶ the second is an almanac *Hochgräflich Erdődischer Theateralmanach auf das Jahr 1787*,³⁷ and the third is a theatre almanac published by Johann Nepomuk Schüller in 1788, *Hochgräflich Erdődischer Theateralmanach auf das Jahr 1788, Herausgegeben*

³³ BudOp100, p. 11.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Herbert Seifert, Art. 'Ditters von Dittersdorf', in MGG2, Personenteil Volume 5, 2001, col. 1118.

³⁶ SzNL, MHS. The addendum is identical with the addendum of issue 207 000 of the General Collections (Mus. Co. 44).

³⁷ SzNL, MHS, 333/2000.

*von Joh. Nep. Schüller Mitglied der hochgräfl. Operngesellschaft zu Pressburg in Ungarn.*³⁸

According to the first aforementioned document, the first opera performance at Erdődy's castle theatre was the Paisiello drama eroico *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* on 16 May 1785. The entrepreneur Hubert Kumpf was the director of the theatre, the conductor was Joseph Chudy, and the coach was Anton Krauth. Kumpf's association had eleven musicians, five male and six female singers, all of whom were renowned in Europe at that time.

Herr (Mr.) Franz Xav. (Xaverius) Giržick (or Girzek),³⁹ Herr Johann Bapt. (Baptist) Hübsch, Herr Ferdinand Rotter, Herr Nep. (Nepomuk) Schüller, Herr Joseph Wiser, Dlle (Demoiselle-Miss) Josephe Abeck, Dlle Marianna Hablin (or Habl), Dlle Antonie Hofmann, Dlle Margar. Rayser, Mde (Madame-Mrs.) Barbara Rotter and Mde Nanette Giržick⁴⁰ performed 138 operas, out of which twenty-five were premiered in Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) in 1785-86.⁴¹

The premiere of Mozart's Singspiel, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* on 13 June 1785 was the most momentous event at this theatre. It might be interesting to note that Géza Staud's statement that 'the aristocratic theaters looked to the Viennese court theaters when shaping their program (...) and Count Erdődy's opera house (...) was swifter than the one at Eszterháza in responding to Viennese novelties' (BudOp100, p. 14) seems erroneous if we examine the information found in a collection of Burgtheater programs covering the years 1776 to 1976.⁴² It is almost certain that out of all the performances in Pozsony, only *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* was performed in Vienna on 16 July, 1782. Evidence for this can be found in the chronicles of the Burgtheater (Volume 1, p. 31) as well as the *Erdődy Theater Almanach 1787 and 1788*.

³⁸ SzNL, MHS, V. 872/1976.

³⁹ According to Géza Staud (BudOp100, p. 12), Franz Xaver Giržick (Girzek) was a member of the castle theatre of Prince Auersperg before being hired in Pozsony. He composed an opera titled *Stephan I, König von Ungarn* (*Stephen I, The King of Hungary*), wrote two librettos, and translated the text of twenty-five operas from Italian to German.

⁴⁰ The list changed in 1787: Carl Christian Prange, Johann Friedrich Herz and Margarete Kaiser were the new singers. Miss Julianne Ulich was hired in 1788. (SzNL, MHS, 333/2000).

⁴¹ BudOp100, p. 12.

⁴² Burgtheater/1776-1976, p. 31.

Géza Staud also published the artists' names of the Erdődy castle theatre based on the data of the *Hochgräfliches Erdődisches Theateralmanach* published in 1787, but after analysing the document, it turns out that he was wrong about several points. The singer Joseph Böckle, which Staud mentions, is not included in the almanacs of 1785, 1787, or 1788, but Géza Staud did not even mention Johann Friedrich Herz's name in his study, who signed a contract with the theatre in 1787. Miss Josephe Abeck's case is similar; her name was published as Josephine Abeck, and similarly to the previous one, it was changed from Margerette Kaiser to Margarete.

Despite the contradictions discussed above, the theatre of Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) could be considered substantial in eighteenth-century Hungarian musical life. As was the previous custom in Süttör, few performances were open to civilians, furthermore, every composition performed there was performed in German.⁴³ (*Armida* by Franz Joseph Haydn and *Don Juan (Don Giovanni)* by Mozart (both performed earlier in Eszterháza) were first presented in German in Pozsony).⁴⁴ After Count János Erdődy died on 15 April 1789, his family closed the theatre. However, Kumpf held the theatre company together and joined the German Theatre of Pest for eight or nine months. So it can be stated that with the cooperation of Kumpf, his cast, and the other aforementioned singers and musicians, the foundations of opera-playing in Hungary had been laid.

According to Géza Staud (BudOp100, p. 15.), besides the four most significant opera centres, there were a few other temporary castle theatre companies and events that were significant in Hungarian opera life in the eighteenth century. The following are cases in point: the theatre in Németújvár (there was a stage built in the 'Italian style' in 1788), Csenke (where many opera performances were held, for example Haydn's *La canterina* in 1767), Rohonc (where operas were performed in a castle with two hundred and two rooms starting in 1774), in Körmend (Duke Fülöp Batthány gave the costumes and stage-sets of the castle theatre to Komlóssy Ferenc, the director of the Transdanubian Acting Company), Püspöki (Kumpf's company performed here sometimes, staging, for

⁴³ BudOp100, p. 12.

⁴⁴ BudOp100, p. 14.

example, Paisiello's opera, *Das listige Bauermädchen* (*The Unexpected Wedding*, *La contadina di spirito*, or *Il matrimonio inaspettato*).

It is easy to conclude from the aforementioned facts that the first twenty-five to thirty years of Hungarian opera life were influenced by composers, musicians, companies, and 'stage specialists' (meaning: costume designers, painters) — e.g. Carl Maurer, Girolamo Le Bon, Pietro Travaglia — hired from abroad. Not only the artists, but the repertoire of the theatres and the stage traditions were mostly Italian at the time. It can also be said, however that alongside these 'foreign influences', tendencies of separation and the desire to seek a new path began to surface in the musical life of eighteenth-century Hungary. The situation changed between 1780 and 1790, when Joseph II followed Empress Maria Theresia on the throne of the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary as well.⁴⁵

1.2. The Beginning of Centralized Opera-Playing in Hungary

1.2.1. Italian and French Opera Repertoire in German in the First German Public Theatres in Pest and Buda

Although the heyday of the castle theatres was around 1774, the first public theatre opened in Pest in the so-called Rondella in the same year.⁴⁶ In the beginning, there were only ballets on the program, but when Joseph II came to the throne (1780) a new chapter of the history of Hungarian opera began.

Thanks to the measures of the Emperor,⁴⁷ the second theatre started to operate in Buda in 1783 in an opera house which had been rebuilt from a church building, and the new theatre, Várszínház ('Festungstheater' or Castle Theatre) became the new German Theatre in 1787.⁴⁸ It could hold 1200 seats (there was a spacious standing-room as well) and had excellent acoustics to the satisfaction of the civil servants settled in Pest and Buda.

⁴⁵ EnlAbs, pp. 47-71.

⁴⁶ BudOp100, p. 16.

⁴⁷ For Joseph II's measures see footnote 53.

⁴⁸ MagySzingtört, *A kezdetektől 1790-ig, A német színház hazánkban*, 4/1/1, p. 36.

According to Géza Staud,⁴⁹ the first opera premiere of the Hungarian capital happened to be in the previously mentioned Rondella in Pest in 1784, when Salieri's dramma giocoso, *Die Schule der Eifersüchtigen* (*The School of the Jealousy*, *La Scuola de gelosi*)⁵⁰ was performed in German. In 1786 Heinrich (Henrik) Bulla became the director of the theatre, and he tried to stage an opera again to see if it would be more successful than the premiere of the Salieri opera had been. The second opera performance, presented in German in the capital, was *Die eingebildeten Philosophen* (*The Imaginary Philosophers*, *I filosofi immaginari*) by Paisiello and resulted in the much-deserved success.

Heinrich (Henrik) Bulla, as a director of both the Rondella and Várszínház theatres, longed to achieve the same success in Buda as well, so he put the *Doktor und Apotheker* (*Doctor and Pharmacist*) by Dittelsdorf on the program of the Várszínház in 1786. It was followed by Mozart's Singspiel, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (*The Abduction from the Seraglio*) in 1788. Thanks to Bulla's auspicious program policy and the arrival of the Kumpf Company at Buda (in 1789), casual opera performances started to multiply. The Kumpf Company performed every opera which had already been on their repertoire in Buda in German (they had previously worked for Count Erdődy).

Johann Baptist Bergopzoom became the new director after Bulla around Easter of 1789, who was followed by Count Emanuel Umwerth (it is written as Unwerth sometimes). Umwerth led the Várszínház from 1790 to 1793, and the first performance of Mozart's Singspiel *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute*) was connected to his name as well. The role of Sarastro was sung by the most excellent bass of the time, Carl (Karl) Friedrich Weinmüller in 1793.⁵¹

⁴⁹ BudOp100, p. 16.

⁵⁰ Note to the reader: In the first couple of chapters, the titles of all operas appear in the language in which they were performed at the performance in question. For example, if an opera was sung in German, regardless of the language of the original libretto, it will be mentioned first by its German title, which will be followed by the English translation and the title in the original language. If an opera was performed in Hungarian, it will appear under its Hungarian title, then in English, then in the title as it stands in the original language. In case an opera was performed in its original language, then the title in the original language will figure first, followed by the English translation.

⁵¹ Poór, 4/2/1994.

Beside Wenzel Müller's, Peter Winter's and Joseph Weigl's plays, it was mainly the French operas of Grétry, Méhul, D'Alayrac, Solié and Boïeldieu⁵² that were performed in the theatres of Pest and Buda. Hence it can be proven that French operas started to gain popularity in the repertoire of the theatres in the Kingdom of Hungary from this time on. The mostly Italian and French opera repertoire and stage traditions influenced Hungarian musical taste, which could be partly the historical reason that made the reception of 'German opera' and compositions (e.g. Richard Wagner's operas) so difficult in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well.

1.3. The First Steps of Independent Hungarian Culture

1.3.1. The Beginning of Anti-German Sentiment and the Importance of Opera

Although opera-playing flourished in the Hungarian capital, Hungarian society was divided into two parts. This diversification, however, did not happen without a reason. The resistance started in 1784, when Joseph II decided to make German the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary instead of Latin. This decision resulted in tremendous controversy among the gentry, the nobility, and the rest of Hungarian society.⁵³

⁵² BudOp100, p. 18.

⁵³ Although it cannot be said of Emperor Joseph II that he was anti-Hungarian, many of his policies antagonized the relationship between the central government and the Hungarian people. These policies were the cause of a prolonged period of anti-German sentiment in Hungary and in Transylvania. The emperor's controversial policies included the transfer of the Sacred Hungarian Royal Crown to Vienna, the changing of the official language of the courts, governance and education from Latin to German in all the provinces of the empire, and making German mandatory in all the Hungarian schools of the empire. Joseph II also reorganized the counties which had been the hotbeds of resistance on the part of the nobility. He placed royal officials at the head of the counties, thereby limiting the rights and political power of the nobility. The emperor abolished the rank of lord-lieutenant and reserved the right to appoint deputy-lieutenants. Joseph II relocated the 'dicasteriums' — the Resident Council, the Chamber of the State and the Board — from Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) to Buda. He held out the prospect of a land tax for the nobility, a policy with which he would have gone against the ancient rights of the aristocracy. Joseph II revoked the loan that his mother, Maria Theresia had granted the nobles and kept and supplemented his mother's double-customs policy in an attempt to protect

However one single decree by Joseph II would not have been able to stimulate the process which led to an increase in anti-German sentiment. The decree which concluded the introduction of German as the official language in Hungary was only a part of Joseph II's series of policies, which had a detrimental effect on almost all layers of Hungarian society. The aims of the Emperor were understandable and seemed obvious from his point of view, but contrasted with his mother, Empress Maria Theresa, Joseph II was not sensitive to the needs of Hungarian society. Empress Maria Theresa had advocated a more 'moderate' policy than had Joseph II, who wanted to standardize the Habsburg Empire without taking the past into consideration. Joseph II's policies affected the Hungarian nobility, gentry, and middle classes seriously unfavourably. These groups within society felt they were being deprived of their rights. That was a reason why anti-German sentiment escalated and Hungarian society simultaneously began to find the Hungarian language and culture more and more important.

Hungarian students at foreign universities developed an interest in Hungarian history, but they tried to improve their 'Western European education' as well. The aim of the educated nobility and gentry was presumably to create a new Hungarian culture based on universal knowledge, Hungarian traditions, and history.⁵⁴ ('Hungarianisation').⁵⁵ That is why the Hungarian language was so

the Austrian industry, and repealed the rights of Hungarians to run mills, butcher's shops and pubs. He placed seminaries and parochial schools under the jurisdiction of the state and dissolved several religious orders. Joseph II also introduced new policies regulating the life of the peasantry. These policies were largely unhelpful due to Joseph II's low opinion of peasants, whom he considered no more than weak-willed children. Sources: NaKépViltört, II/X, II. József uralkodása (*The Absolutism of Joseph II*), Kulcsár/II. József, Kulcsár/Nem, 265/II. József, Marczali, H. Balázs, pp. 1023-1123.

⁵⁴ Miklós Párdányi's essay: *Nép, nemzet, nemzetiség* (*Folk, Nation, Nationality*) in *MagyMűvTört*, Volume V, Chapter 3.

⁵⁵ 'Hungarianisation': it happened often in the nineteenth century that writers of different nationalities simply rewrote other writers' prose or verse dramas while retaining the original structure and characters. 'Hungarianisation' is different from this in the sense that Hungarian authors also added characteristically Hungarian and often revolutionary and current political content. For example: see chapter 1.3.4. *Mária Báthory* versus *Ignez De Castro*, etc. The term (or practice): 'Hungarianisation' was mentioned by Margit Prahács in her article: *Zene és zenetörténet* (*Music and Music Culture*) at first. For source see List of Abbreviations, Prahács.

important in the 1780-90s and it seems that the historical roots of the Wagner resistance may be traced back to this phenomenon as well.

The situation worsened when Joseph II passed away and the son of Leopold II: Franz I introduced strict censorship, the so-called Hágelin Edict.⁵⁶ The edict forbade the performance of plays of historical, revolutionary, or heroic subject in the theatres of Pest and Buda (censorship forbade *Shakespeare's* dramas as well as *The Robbers* and *Intrigue and Love* by Schiller). This was probably one of the reasons that the attention of the public was transferred to opera. This change was also aided by the fact that Hubert Kumpf's Company was the guest performer in the Várszínház for eight months in 1789; they performed thirty-two operas during this period including Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in Giržick's German translation with the title *Don Juan*.⁵⁷

Die Zauberflöte (*The Magic Flute*) and the other Mozart Singspiels and operas became more and more popular. After the concert-like performance in 1793, *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute*) was acted in a stage-like performance with costumes and scenery 78 times until 1801. The Hungarian audience had the opportunity to attend *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* (*The Marriage of Figaro*, *Le nozze di Figaro*) and in 1797 *Don Juan*, and *Die Gnade des Titus* (*The Clemency of Titus*, *La clemenza di Tito*) in 1795.

The censorship of Franz I let up slightly at the beginning of the nineteenth century while the demand for a new theatre increased at the same time. Baron László Orczy (1750-1807) donated the building site where the first permanent theatre of the Kingdom of Hungary was built. The name of the house was the Royal Municipal (German) Theatre of Pest, and it also had another name, the German Theatre of Pest. The building was designed by Johann Aman and János Hild; Mihály Pollack carried out the project. The theatre, which had unusually poor acoustics but 3500 seats, opened on 9 or 12 February 1812.⁵⁸

Kotzebue (August von), a well-known German writer at that time, was commissioned to write a play for opening night, but because his work, *Belas*

⁵⁶ Glossy, Volume 7, pp. 238-340, Waldapfel *Bánk*, 41/4, p. 396.

⁵⁷ BudOp100, p. 16.

⁵⁸ The date 9 February can be found in MagySzíntört, *A kezdetektől 1790-ig, A német színeszet hazánkban*, 4/I/I, p. 41, and 12 February in BudOp100, p. 19.

Flucht (The Flight of Bela), was considered to be too patriotic,⁵⁹ an unknown writer's play of the title *Die Erhebung von Pest zur königlichen Freystadt (The Elevation of Pest into a Free Royal City)* was performed. Kotzebue wrote the prelude and an epilogue to the drama which was performed with Beethoven's music. All sources agree that Beethoven's aforementioned compositions were *Ungarns erste Wohltäter (The First Benefactor of Hungary)*, or *König Stephan (King Stephen)* and *Die Ruinen von Athen (The Ruins of Athens)*.⁶⁰ (Only the latter was composed for the opening ceremony of the German Theatre of Pest).

The opening of the German Theatre of Pest played a pivotal role in German opera performances in Hungary. The audience of Pest still had an affinity for Mozart operas, but they had a new favourite as well. Nicoló Isouard's (Nicoló de Malte) opera titled *Aschenbrödel (Cinderella)* was on the program of the theatre for quite a long time. The conductors of the theatre were hard-working composers as well. Vincenz Ferrarius Tuczek,⁶¹ Franz Xaver Kleinheinz,⁶² and János Spech⁶³ wrote a few operas and operettas for the German Theatre of Pest.

Márkus Szentiványi and Pál Gyürky (1812-15), Count Pál Ráday (1815-18), Ferenc Brunszvik and Mihály Bodor (1818-21), and the civilian consort led by Lőrincz Orczy (until 1824) followed each other relatively quickly in the position

⁵⁹ The censorship did not like, that the story dealt with the Hungarian King Béla IV, who had to flee the country.

⁶⁰ BudOp100, p. 19, MagySztörtört, *A kezdetektől 1790-ig, A német színház hazánkban*, 4/I/I, p. 41.

⁶¹ Stanislav Bohadio, Undine Wagner, Art. 'Tuček, Vincenc', in MGG2, Personenteil, Volume 16, 2006, col. 1098.

⁶² An operetta of Kleinheinz was performed with the title *Der Käfig (The Cage)* in 1816 in Pest. Source: Hans Jancik, Art. 'Kleinheinz, Franz Xaver', in MGG2, Personenteil Volume 10, 2003, col. 246.

⁶³ Spech's opera, *Ines und Pedro oder die Johannismacht (Ines and Pedro and a Midsummer Night)*, based on the legend *Tátika* was performed on 30 March 1814 in Pest. Spech was the conductor of the German Theatre of Pest (Pesther Stadttheater) between 1812 and 1815. Source: Ludwig Finscher, Art. 'Spech, Johann', in MGG2, Personenteil Volume 15, 2006, col. 1158.

of theatre director.⁶⁴ Brunszvik and Bodor did not lead the institute exceptionally well, but at least they put opera and ballet in the centre of the repertoire.

In the 'Ráday era' a Rossini opera, *Tankred*, was the first to be performed in 1818 and was performed 89 times between 1840 and 1880. Brunszvik and Bodor put ten other Rossini operas on the program of the German Theatre of Pest. That is how *Die diebische Elster* (*The Thieving Magpie*, *La gazza ladra*), *Otello*, *Die Italienerin in Algir* (*The Italian Woman in Alger*, *L'italiana in Algeri*), *Der Barbier von Sevilla* (*The Barber of Seville*, *Il barbieri di Siviglia*), and *Aschenbrödel* (*Cinderella*, *La cenerentola*) became part of the repertoire.⁶⁵

Even though the aforementioned performances were successful, the theatre was liquidated under Brunszvik's and Bodor's direction, and guidance was transferred to a civilian consortium. The new management carried on with the Rossini tradition, but tried to play operas which were new to the Hungarian audience too. That is why *Freischütz* (*The Marksman*) by Weber was performed in 1822.⁶⁶

The actors Fedor Grimm and Anton Babnigg took over the leadership of the house from 1824 to 1827, and between 1827 and 1836 Grimm⁶⁷ directed the theatre. He recognized the public's preference for plays and operas in Hungarian, so these were put on stage more and more often.

The 'Grimm era' brought other novelties as well. This was a time when an allegorical competition between German and Hungarian language opera-playing was appreciable as proven by the fact that the French operas such as Auber's *Fra Diavolo* or Meyerbeer's *Robert der Teufel* (*Robert the Devil*)⁶⁸ became successful, while *Oberon* by Weber generated only a languid response.⁶⁹

Although Grimm helped the German Theatre of Pest reduce its financial problems, he left the position and was followed by Alexander Schmidt (1836-1841), Gustav Frank (1841-1847), and Josef Frost (1847-1848), and finally by a

⁶⁴ MagySzínLex, *Pesti Német Színház*, p. 609.

⁶⁵ BudOp100, p. 20.

⁶⁶ BudOp100, p. 21.

⁶⁷ MagySzínLex, *Fedor Theodor Grimm*, p. 264.

⁶⁸ Before *Robert der Teufel* (*Robert the Devil*) was premiered *Emma di Resburgo* (1821) and *I crociati in Egitto* (*The Crusader in Egypt*, 1828) was played. Source: Tallián, p. 118.

⁶⁹ MagySzínLex, *Pesti Német Színház*, p. 609.

triumvirate of actors, Anton Philippe Berg, Emil Kalis and (?) Windisch (1848-1849).⁷⁰

During Alexander Schmidt's period (1836-41) mainly the Italian and French repertoire were extended, with a few exceptions. Ludwig Schindelmeisser's *Szapáry* was also performed there on 8 August 1839.⁷¹ During Schmidt's direction Donizetti's *Der Liebestrank* (*The Elixir of Love*, *L'elisir d'amore*), *Belisario*, and *Lucia di Lammermoor* were performed, followed by Halévy's *Die Jüdin* (*The Jewess*, *La Juive*) and Meyerbeer's *Die Gibellinen* (*Huguenots*).⁷² Neefe, the first professional stage manager, worked with Schmidt and designed the scenery of *Norma* and *Don Juan*.

The number of the opera performances decreased when Frost and Frank were the directors, but the Italian repertoire continued to grow. *Die Römer in Melitone* (*The Exile from Rome, or the Proscribed Man*, *L'esule di Roma, il ossia di proscritto*), *Die Templer in Sidon* (*Ellinor, La favorita*), *Maria von Rohan, Marie*, *Die Regimentstochter* (*The daughter of the Regiment*, *La figlia di reggimento*), and *Dom Sébastien* by Donizetti were performed, but each had only a few performances. The most successful opera was Flotow's *Stradella*, which was performed twenty-three times.⁷³

On the basis of the previous facts, it can be stated that the period between approximately 1780 and 1840 elapsed absolutely under the autocracy of the German theatres in Hungary. Yet the relationship, which tied Hungary to the Habsburg Empire assured a kind of cultural flow and an exceedingly rapid progress in the Hungarian opera scene. At the same time it is also true that the

⁷⁰ MagySzínLex, *Pesti Német Színház*, p. 609.

⁷¹ Louis (Ludwig, Alexander Balthasar) Schindelmeisser was a conductor, composer, clarinetist and journalist. He worked in the German Theatre of Pest in 1838. According to Ferenc Bónis (Bónis, p. 42) on 3 March 1844 he conducted the 'Hangászegylet' in Pest, which performed Mihály Mosonyi's first, *D major symphony*. According to Klaus Rönna, Ursula Kramer (Grove, sec. ed, Volume 22, p. 509) and Henry T. Finck (WagnHW, p. 274), Schindelmeisser was one of the first ones who presented Wagner's operas: *Lohengrin*, *Rienzi*, *Tannhäuser* in Wiesbaden and Darmstadt in the 1852s-53s. (*Tannhäuser*, 26 Oct. 1852, Wiesbaden; *Lohengrin*, 2 July 1853, Wiesbaden). Salmi (p. 82) published the date of *Tannhäuser's* premiere conducted by Schindelmeisser in Darmstadt: 23 Oct. 1853.

⁷² BudOp100, p. 23.

⁷³ Ibid.

national sentiment and a stronger self-image as well as extended interest about the Hungarian language all contributed to a stronger sense of an independent Hungarian national identity.

It can also be said that anti-German or anti-Austrian sentiment did not manifest itself directly in the form of people boycotting German theatres, but rather indirectly, when the public welcomed non-German operas. The repertoire which characterized the period between 1780 and 1840 mostly demonstrates the above-mentioned trend. The list of the performed operas shows that a mostly Italian and French opera repertoire evolved in Hungary in the period mentioned above. The compositions of only two German composers — Beethoven and Carl Maria von Weber — were performed during those decades.

In sum, it seems logical that a few roots of the Wagner resistance of the nineteenth century may be seen in eighteenth-century Hungarian history. It is possible, too, that the aforementioned facts made it more difficult for a few Hungarian social classes to accept and appreciate the art of the extraordinary German composer in spite of the fact that there was no direct resistance against him and his operas.

1.3.2. The Hungarian Opera and the Roots of Opera in Hungarian

Previously I set out to reveal the historical facts that influenced a proportion of the 'theatregoers' of the Hungarian capitals (Pest and Buda) and which resulted in increased anti-German sentiment. During this time, Hungarian culture, theatre, and opera developed quietly but efficiently in the 'country scene' far away from Pest-Buda.

The basis of the national Hungarian opera performance was laid down with the emergence of a practice that was to determine opera performances of the coming centuries. This customary law or convention might be described as the 'Hungarianisation' of opera. In this century it meant that the librettos of the operas were handled freely and rewritten with new, often revolutionary political meaning to become one hundred percent Hungarian instead of cosmopolitan.

This practice had two sources. On the one hand, it came from an amateur theatrical tradition of the newborn Hungarian opera-playing companies. On the other hand, it arose from a precept that every stage-play and opera performed in Hungarian was considered to be Hungarian. That is why in the provinces it was a custom to translate every French or Italian libretto from its German version into Hungarian. This strange situation resulted in the fact that the new Hungarian libretto became partly or sometimes totally different from the original or, better said, from its German version.

During these decades of the eighteenth century the first original Hungarian 'opera', as a matter of fact a burlesque with songs, was performed in Hungarian under the title *Pikko hertzeg és Jutka Perzsi* (*Prince Pikko and Perzsi Jutka*). József (Joseph) Chudy, who was the conductor of the opera company of Count Erdődy's theatre and worked in the German Theatre of Pest at the time, composed the music. The plot was based on the stage-play *Prinz Schnudi und Evakathel* by Philipp Hafner, which was translated, or 'Hungarianised', by Antal Szalkay (1753-19 Aug. 1804).⁷⁴ According to Staud (BudOp100, p. 25), and the poster of *Pikko hertzeg és Jutka Perzsi* in Széchenyi National Library, the opening night was in Buda on 6 May 1793. The other popular 'Hungarianised' music drama, a kind of 'magic opera' around this time was the *Csörgősapka, avagy a jótevő zarándok* (*Fool's Cap, or the Benevolent Pilgrim*), originally written by Emanuel Schikaneder, composed by Johann Baptist Henneberg, and — according to Éva Gurmai — Benedikt Schack and Franz Xaver Gerl. 'Fool's Cap' was performed throughout Hungary in András Szerellemhegyi's (Liebenberger's or Liebenberg's) 'translation', performed by the Nemzeti Színjátszó Társaság (National Acting Company), from its premiere in 1795 until the 1850s-60s.⁷⁵

Opera playing in Hungarian branched out from two centres, which were Pest-Buda and Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg-Romania). Neither of the aforementioned locations could count upon the subsidy of the dynasty as a result of aforementioned historical background. That is why the aristocracy took it upon itself to promote opera-playing in Hungarian. The actors of the centres of

⁷⁴ Illésy Szalkay, pp. 87-96.

⁷⁵ Gurmai Csörgősapka, pp. 271-278.

Kolozsvár and Pest-Buda travelled all over Hungary. The stations of their tour were Marosvásárhely, Debrecen, Szeged, Miskolc, Kecskemét, Nagykovács, Gyöngyös, Losonc, and so on. The intention of the companies, which performed in Hungarian, was partly the propagation of their mother tongue.

The most important opera centre had evolved in Kolozsvár by the nineteenth century. The theatre opened on 12 March 1821.⁷⁶ It was supported financially by Baron Miklós Wesselényi (1796-1850) who constantly patronized Hungarian companies and inspired the aristocracy, the gentry classes, and the wealthier middle classes to do the same.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first 'operas' (or dramas with songs) in Hungarian and by Hungarian composers were composed. Here we must mention three of them: Gáspár Pacha's composition with the title *Az első hajós* (*The first Sailor*), József Ruzitska's (1755-13 February 1833)⁷⁷ operas *Béla futása* (*The Flight of Bela*) and *Simon Kemény*, out of which the first one was performed in the aforementioned Rondella and the two others⁷⁸ in Kolozsvár.

Béla futása (*The Flight of Bela*, premiered on 26 December 1822, or in Feb. 1822) with the Hungarian text of János Kótsi Patkó was based on the Kotzebue-drama, which originally would have been presented at the opening ceremony of the German Theatre of Pest (this is the previously mentioned play of Kotzebue, which was considered to be too patriotic). Ferenc Erkel, the Hungarian composer, conductor, pianist, and teacher, who played a pivotal role in the Hungarian history of Wagner's reception, lived in Kolozsvár at the time and was Ruzitska's friend as well. He probably heard *The Flight of Bela* in 1828, which affected him deeply and resonated with Hungarian national Romanticism.⁷⁹

Italian, French, and German operas with Hungarian texts were first performed in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg, now in Romania). Mrs. Déry, née

⁷⁶ Lakatos, p. 26.

⁷⁷ MagySzínművLex, Volume IV, p. 74. and Lakatos, p. 29.

⁷⁸ BudOp100, p. 28.

⁷⁹ For Ferenc Erkel's biography see Addendum, 1.

Róza Széppataki⁸⁰ — it is necessary to note that married singers were usually listed on posters under their husbands' names as follows: Mrs. Déry, or Mrs. Déry, Róza Széppataki — was the prima donna of the theatre. She has sung every female protagonist in every opera. *A sevillai borbély* (*The Barber of Seville, Il barbieri di Siviglia*), *Tankred*, *Az olasz nő Algírban* (*The Italian Girl in Algiers, L'italiana di Algieri*), *Semiramis*, and *A tolvaj szarka* (*The Thieving Magpie, La gazza ladra*) by Rossini, *Joseph* by Méhul, *A Kékszakáll* (*Raul, Bluebeard, Raoul Barbe-Bleue*) by Grétry, *A bűvös vadász* (*Freischütz, The Marksman*) by Weber, *Helvétiai háznép* (*The Swiss Family*, or after its Hungarian title: *The House of Helvétia*, original title: *Die Schweizer Familie*) by Weigl, *Ágnes Sorel* by Gyrowitz, *A vízhordó* (*The Water-Carrier, Les deux journées*) by Cherubini, *Párizsi János* (*John of Paris, Gianni di Parigi*) by Donizetti, and also *Don Giovanni* and *The Magic Flute* (its old Hungarian title was *Tündérsíp*) were performed enthusiastically, if not entirely authentically, and in Hungarian by the 'singing' actors in Kolozsvár.⁸¹

The first opera company to present the aforementioned operas in Hungarian went to Buda (Várszínház, Castle Theatre) and enjoyed considerable, albeit short-lived success. From 1837, the Hungarian Theatre of Pest (which became the Nemzeti Színház, the National Theatre from 1840) took over the job of Hungarian-language opera-playing in Hungary.

1.3.3. The National Theatre as a Bastion of Opera in Hungarian

The development of 19th-century Hungarian culture of opera continued to be determined mostly by Italian and French opera traditions which influenced the music taste of Hungarian society as well. Meanwhile, there was a growing demand for theatre and opera performances in Hungarian too. These music historical circumstances also supported the establishment of the centre of Hungarian culture and anti-German unity: the Hungarian Theatre of Pest.

⁸⁰ Mrs. Déry, née Széppataki (Schenbach, Scheckenbach) Róza born on 23 December 1793, died on 29 September 1872). Celebrated Hungarian actress and singer. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume I, pp. 341-43.

⁸¹ BudOp100, p. 29.

The National Theatre (first called the Hungarian Theatre of Pest), which had been pending for many decades, finally opened on 22 August 1837. Contributors from various layers of the Hungarian society covered the costs of the constructions, and a director and a corporation, which was operated as a concern of Pest County, managed the theatre.⁸²

With one exception, which is the drama by Eduard von Schenk with the title *Belizár*, every play and composition performed in the opening night was Hungarian: *Árpád ébredése (The Awakening of Árpád)* by Vörösmarty, József Heinisch's overture under the title *Thalia diadalma az előítéleteken (Thalia's Victory over Prejudices)*, and *Nemzeti örömhangok a pesti magyar színház megnyitásának örömére (National Sounds of Joy to the Opening of the Hungarian Theatre of Pest)* by Rózsavölgyi.⁸³

The auditorium could hold 1416 people, but the house did not have a costume- and stage-set stock. There were no modern gas-lamps, only candles and oil-lamps, the stage machinery did not function properly, so it was necessary to replace it. The Hungarian Theatre of Pest had a rough beginning.⁸⁴

The continuation was not easy either. The management of the house expected the former middle-class audience of the Várszínház (Castle Theatre), but the majority of the target audience lived in Buda, which was too far away from Pest at that time (there was no stone bridge across the River Danube). Ticket and box prices were quite high, the repertoire was much more shallow especially when compared to the German Theatre in Pest, and the success of only two opera performances such as *A sevillai borbély (The Barber of Seville, Il barbiere di Siviglia)* by Rossini, first performed on 29 August 1837), and *Norma* by Bellini (performed on 28 October same year) could not compensate for the financial, technical, and program policy problems. So the theatre had to come up with a better program policy.⁸⁵

⁸² MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849), A Pesti Magyar Színháztól a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/1, pp. 265-66.

⁸³ BudOp100, p. 32.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ The German Theatre of Pest offered thirty-one opera performances, but the Hungarian Theatre of Pest played only thirteen. Source: MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849), A Pesti Magyar Színháztól a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/1, p. 266.

The director, József Bajza took swift action to improve the unfortunate situation of the Hungarian Theatre of Pest in 1838. He lowered ticket prices and employed Mrs. Schodel, née Rozália Klein, the famous and extremely well-trained soprano. These measures improved the situation of the Hungarian Theatre. It was also indicated in contracts drawn up under Bajza's directorship that every newly-written Hungarian drama or opera would get a share of the income. In this way Bajza contributed to the development of Hungarian national Romanticism.⁸⁶

The same year that Bajza hired Mrs. Schodel, he also employed Ferenc Erkel (for Erkel's biography see Addendum, 1). Erkel became the leading conductor of the house and went about his tasks with enormous energy. He suggested that the Hungarian Theatre of Pest should increase the number of members in the orchestra to thirty-two and employed five musicians from Vienna⁸⁷ and a stage director.⁸⁸ Unfortunately there were only eight singers in the theatre,⁸⁹ which made the performance of the Belcanto operas impossible. That is why Erkel decided to select operas which would be successful because of the prima donna.

Mrs. Schodel, née Rozália Klein⁹⁰ was the leading lady of the Hungarian Theatre of Pest. She was one of the most wanted artists at that time (she sang

⁸⁶ Writers and the composers got one-fifth of the income of the first performance and two-fifths of the second and the third performances. MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849), A Pesti Magyar Színházról a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/I, p. 266.

⁸⁷ György Kaiser-Császár (1813-1850) was one of the five. He was a composer and a conductor as well and worked as the first conductor of the National Theatre from 1837 to 1845. His opera: *A kunok (The Cumans)* was first performed on 16 September 1848; it can be called a kind of 'Hungarian opera', because it contained 'verbunkos' music. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume I, p. 283.

⁸⁸ The stage director was Pál Szilágyi, the second conductor was József Heinisch, the singing master was János Schodel (Mrs. Schodel's husband), and the choir leader was József Glöztler. Source: MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849), A Pesti Magyar Színházról a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/I, pp. 267-68.

⁸⁹ According to Staud (BudOp100, p. 33) four male and four female singers (included Mrs. Schodel).

⁹⁰ Mrs. Schodel was Hungarian as well, born in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg) in 1822 (died in 1854), and sang in the German Theatre of Pest before. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume IV, pp. 93-95.

in Hannover and at Covent Garden after she left Hungary in 1840). Thanks to Mrs. Schodel's talent, there were mainly Bellini and Donizetti operas on the program such as *Az ismeretlen nő* (*The unknown Lady, La straniera*), *Beatrice de Tenda* by Bellini,⁹¹ and *Bájital* (*The Elixir of Love, L'elisir d'amore*), *Gemma de Vergy* and *Lucrezia Borgia* by Donizetti.⁹² Mrs. Déry, née Róza Széppataki (the first and precious prima donna of Hungarian opera-playing in Hungary) was the other significant member of the Hungarian Theatre of Pest in 1837. Her training, however, was not adequate for her to sing the leading roles of the Belcanto operas. The difference between the two sopranos' qualifications and knowledge became obvious when *Norma* was first performed.

Putting Italian Belcanto operas on the program proved to be an excellent program policy since Donizetti-, Bellini-, and Rossini-operas had several performances. *Norma* was performed 150 times, *Lucrezia Borgia* 154 times, *Az alvajáró* (*The Sleepwalker, La sonnambula*) 143, and *Barbier* 183 times in Hungarian until the opening of the Hungarian National Opera House in 1884. There were, however, three German operas (Weber's *Freischütz* (*The Marksman*) and *Oberon* and Beethoven's *Fidelio*) first performed in Hungarian on the repertoire, but they had a smaller audience than did the Italian operas.⁹³ The attendance of the German and Hungarian Theatres of Pest seemed more or less balanced, due to Erkel's and others' efforts.

1.3.4. The First Hungarian Operas, 'Verbunkos', 'Folk-like songs', Hungarian National Opera, 'Hungarianisation', and Ferenc Erkel

Erkel as a first conductor preferred and also encouraged the presentation of the new Hungarian plays and operas besides those of the Belcanto genre, and it would not take long that the first 'real' opera by a Hungarian composer, an

⁹¹ BudOp100, p. 33.

⁹² According to Staud (BudOp100, p. 33.) *Lucrezia Borgia* was performed first in National Theatre and just after that in the German Theatre of Pest.

⁹³ According to Staud (BudOp100, p. 34.), *Bűvös vadász* (*Freischütz, The Marksman*) was performed 83 times, the *Barbier* 57 times.

opera buffa titled *A csel (The Catch)*, was performed in Hungarian on 29 April 1839.⁹⁴ The libretto was written by István Jakabos, whose play was in the style of the libretto of the *'Barbier'* by Rossini. Endre Bartay (1798-1856)⁹⁵ composed the music, which bears the characteristics of Viennese Classicism (Mozart) and early Romantic German opera (Weber and Louis Spohr, to an extent). In his composition Bartay also made the first step in the direction of creating a new genre, the Hungarian national opera, because a few musical details of his opera contain 'verbunkos' (military recruiting) melodies as well. (E.g. the musical characterization of the 'toborzó káplár' ('recruiter')).

'Verbunkos' music was a kind of symbol of the opposition against German oppression and the representation and 'symbol of the Hungarian soul'. Although 'verbunkos' is a kind of art music, it was considered the national or folk music of this period. It arises from many sources, such as csárdás, Hungarian folk music, but it contains oriental, Slavic, gypsy, and even Viennese elements. It probably became fashionable, despite its German roots — the name comes from the German substantive: 'Werbung' (recruiting) —, because of the Hungarian content and language.

The main characteristic of the 'verbunkos' is its virtuosity. In recruiting music, there are dotted rhythms, semiquavers, demisemiquavers, syncopated rhythms, and triplets, in its melody there are modified notes and mainly modal scales. (For an example see Add. 2.). The types of the 'verbunkos' are the 'solo-verbunk' and the 'circle-verbunk' of which it was mostly the former that was adapted by nineteenth-century composers. Based on the 'verbunkos', there were several opuses composed, for example, a Haydn march; *Hungarian National March (Magyar nemzeti induló*, Hob. VII/6) composed in 1802, two piano pieces called *Zum Andenken (Zwei ungarische Werbungstänze von*

⁹⁴ MagySzínművLex, Volume I, p. 132.

⁹⁵ Endre (András) Bartay was a notable representative of nineteenth-century Hungarian Romanticism, and he also wrote the first Hungarian essay on musicology in Hungary in 1834. Title: *Magyar Apollo, avagy útmutatás a General-Bass' játszásának, a harmónia ösméretére 's a' hangszerzésre vezető alapos rendszabásainak megtanulására*. Bartay was the founder of the first singing school (Pestvárosi Singing School, 1829) and the director of the Hungarian Theatre of Pest between 1843-45 (the theatre was called National Theatre at that time). Sources: Kassai, pp. 328-331, MagySzínművLex, Volume I, p. 132.

László Fáy und János Bihari) by Liszt (probably his first 'Hungarian' compositions),⁹⁶ and many opuses by Erkel.⁹⁷

Ferenc Erkel and Ferenc (Franz) Liszt did not only use the elements of 'verbunkos' in their compositions, but increased them into a higher level. Erkel's 'invention', the so called 'Hungarian scale' was used not only by Ferenc Erkel but by Ferenc (Franz) Liszt as well, (for an example see Addendum 3, Ex. 1.), so as the choriamb (see Add. 3, Ex. 2.), and the so called 'Bokázó cadence'- 'Cadence Magyare' (see Add, 3, Ex. 3) which was 'transformed into a vision of Hungary' by Liszt.⁹⁸

The most famous 'verbunkos' composers were János Bihari (1764-1827), János Lavotta (1764-1820), and Antal György Csermák (around 1774-1822),⁹⁹ all of whom became extremely prominent members of Hungarian society and musical circles too. Bihari, Lavotta and Csermák followed a principle which stemmed from educated aristocratic and middle-class writers and composers. The principle was to combine Hungarian content (or content deemed Hungarian) with Western European forms. The aforementioned composers remade the conventional genres of chamber music, such as sonata and suite, by endowing them with 'verbunkos' music.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ According to Mária Eckhardt and Rena Charnin Mueller, the two piano pieces entitled: *Zum Andenken (Zwei ungarische Werbungstänze von László Fáy und János Bihari)* were composed in 1828. S (Searle-number): 241, R (Raabe-number): 107. In Ch. Mueller-Eckhardt *Liszt* the number of the piano piece is: A11, in Chiappari *Liszt* the numbers are: 41-42. Sources: Eckhardt, Rena Charnin Mueller, Art. 'Liszt, Franz, Works' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 14, p. 787, Eckhardt-Mueller, *Liszt*, Ch. Mueller-Eckhardt, Art. 'Liszt, Franz, §28: Style, reception, posterity', in Oxford Music Online, Grove Music Online, downloaded: 10 Jan. 2013.

⁹⁷ The *Mária Bátori* (1840) among others.

⁹⁸ Say Loya alluded to Emile Haraszti's idea that appeared in Haraszti's essay; '*Un romantique déguisé en tzigane*'. Source: Shay Loya, *Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian-gypsy Tradition*, Chapter: *Verbunkos idiom in the Music of the Future*, Rochester, New York, (University Rochester Press), 2011, p. 200. For the publishing details about Haraszti's essay see Bibliography (XII).

⁹⁹ ZenLex, Volume 3, verbunkos, pp. 586-588, Major *Népdal*, pp. 221-240.

¹⁰⁰ A musical example is Bihari *Hatvágás verbunk* (*Six-Beat Verbunk*). See Addendum, 2.

From the ‘verbunkos’ a new genre had also evolved. The so-called ‘popular song in folk-art’¹⁰¹ started to emerge from 1820 onward and became the basis of Hungarian folk-like music culture. The aim of the composers, who wrote this kind of music, was to create a new kind of Hungarian music culture based on folk-like elements albeit they were determined to use the new music to create a more self-conscious, artistic, and folk-like song culture as well. It would seem that a few devotees of Hungarian Romanticism did not make any difference between vernacular, folkish or folk-like, and popular music at all.

A Csel (The Catch), which included ‘verbunkos’ elements, was a tremendously significant step in the development of Hungarian national Romanticism, but it could not compete with Belcanto operas. This was probably one of the reasons why the opera failed after two performances. In spite of its flaws, Erkel deeply appreciated *A Csel (The Catch)* and, as a sign of his regard, he wrote a few variations on the few musical themes, or motives of the Barthay’s opera. The first variation — composed for horn and piano (Adagio) — was performed by Erkel and Theodor Moralt;¹⁰² the second was a piano-violoncello duet,¹⁰³ and the third was a chamber piece written for piano and string-quintet.¹⁰⁴

Although the first Hungarian opera turned out to be a failure, the standard of the Hungarian performances gradually improved because of the ambitious,

¹⁰¹ The ‘popular song in folk-art’ or ‘folk-like song’ (called ‘Hongroise’ or ‘Ungarischer’ too) is a short song with a Hungarian text written in ‘verbunkos-like style’. These songs were accompanied by a small, ‘gypsy’ chamber orchestra or a piano. The song became one of the most popular genres of the nineteenth century. Representative composers and writers are: Mihály Mosonyi, Gáspár Bernát, Béni Egressy, János Bihari, Ferenc Pfeifer, József Kossovits, Gábor Mátray, Ignác Bognár, István Bartalus, János Erdélyi, Gusztáv Szénfi, Gusztáv Nyizsnyai, Júlia Szendrey-Petőfi, Elemér Szentimay, András Kerekes, Miksa Róth. Sources: Dobszay, pp. 530-548, Major *A népies*, pp. 1-26.

¹⁰² According to Legány (p. 22.), the composition was performed first in Pest on 30 December 1838. Moralt played the horn part, Erkel played the piano.

¹⁰³ Legány (p. 24.) wrote about the first performance of the variations-cycle. According to him, the cycle was performed with the violoncello player and associate composer Joseph Menter in Pest on 5 April 1839.

¹⁰⁴ The composition for piano and string-quintet was probably written around 1839. The original title was: *Begleitungs Stimmen zu den Csel Variationen (Accompanying Sounds to the Csel-Variations)*. The score is in SzNL, MHS, Ms. mus. 1661. According to Somfai (p. 104. in *Erkel kéziratok*), probably Erkel’s son: Sándor wrote the string parts in the 70s or 80s.

competent, and accurate presentation of the Italian operas. The other reason for the rise in the standard could be that the aforementioned Belcanto operas were translated from their original Italian version rather than from their German translation, which had been the practice before. The fact that Mrs. Schodel was a perfectionist, who complained if she got the scores late and was not satisfied with the Hungarian texts of the operas either, helped to raise the level of the opera performances as well. Mrs. Schodel's dissatisfaction with the Hungarian translations urged her to translate e.g. *Anne Boleyn*, producing a translation which was much better and much closer to the original version than the previous Hungarian librettos of other operas had been.¹⁰⁵

The standards of Hungarian opera-playing rose even higher when the German Theatre of Pest took over the scene plans of La Scala in Milan. This fact can be proved in three cases; the first was *Az eskü (The Oath, Gli amici di Siracusa)*, an opera by *Mercadante*, which was performed on 12 January 1839 with the 'benefit' or 'bonus' performance of Mrs. Schodel. Orchestration: Ferenc Erkel.¹⁰⁶

[...] the new decorations were beautiful enough and modelled after La Scala in Milan. [...]

The second one was *Lucrezia Borgia* by Donizetti, which was performed on 31 August 1839:

[...] the stage-direction followed the model of La Scala in Milan. [...]

And finally *Marino Faliero* by Donizetti performed on 25 April 1840:

[...] the setting followed the scene-plan of La Scala in Milan. [...]¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849), A Pesti Magyar Színházról a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/I, p. 270.

¹⁰⁶ Legány, p. 22, MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849), A Pesti Magyar Színházról a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/I, p. 270.

¹⁰⁷ The Hungarian originals of the above-mentioned sentences are: *The Oath-Gli amici di Siracusa*: „az új díszítmények megfelelő szépek, s átalján a milánói Scala színházának mintájukra készülék...” *Lucrezia Borgia*: „az operának elrendezése a milanoi Scala operaházi elrendezés szerinti”. *Marino Faliero*: „az elrendezés a milanoi Scala operaházi elrendezés

The high standard of the opera performances and the historical circumstances (anti-German sentiment) created a new situation in the theatre that assisted the appearance of new Hungarian compositions. That is how Erkel's first opera, *Mária Bátor*i (also spelled like *Mária Bátor*y or *Báthory*)¹⁰⁸ was written and performed soon after in the Hungarian Theatre of Pest on 8 August 1840.¹⁰⁹

Erkel's friend Béni Egressy¹¹⁰ wrote the libretto based on András Dugonics's drama, which had been on the program of the National Theatre from 1838 to 1855. The drama *Bátor*i *Mária*, *Szomorú történet öt szakaszban* (*Mária Bátor*i, *Sad Story in Five Chapters*) was written in 1793, first performed in 1794 and published in 1795.¹¹¹ The play was extremely popular with Hungarian touring theatrical troupes during the nineteenth century. According to Dezső Legány, Dugonics's plot goes back to Camoëns's epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (1572), but the latest research proves that Dugonics also used Julius Friedrich von Soden's drama, *Ignéz de Castro*.¹¹² Dugonics followed the aforementioned drama so faithfully that his work can almost be described as a Hungarian translation of Soden's work with the difference that Dugonics composed his own ideas — such as the motivation of the characters or the 'introductions' which head the chapters — into the 'Hungarian version' of Soden's drama, too. Béni Egressy changed Dugonics's story in his libretto, since he set the story in the Hungarian court of the twelfth century. Although Egressy's texts were anachronistic, this

szerint történt". Source: MagySzíntört, *A magyar romantika színháza (1837-1849)*, *A Pesti Magyar Színházról a Nemzeti Színházig*, 3/IV/I, p. 270.

¹⁰⁸ Legány, pp. 29-31.

¹⁰⁹ After the first performance of *Mária Bátor*i the theatre was renamed and became the National Theatre. The new name appeared on the poster of the first performance of *Mária Bátor*i. Source: The poster of *Mária Bátor*i in SzNL, THS.

¹¹⁰ Béni Egressy (Benjámín egresi Galambos) was born on 21 April 1813/14, died on 17 (or 15) July 1851. Hungarian composer, writer, and singer (baritone). He studied singing in Milan, sang in *Mária Bátor*i and in *László Hunyadi* a few times. He composed mainly in 'verbunkos' style and spoke fluent German, Italian, and French. Egressy 'translated' the libretto of *Lucia di Lammermoor* among others into Hungarian. Sources: MagySzínművLex, Volume I, pp. 389-90, and ZenLex, Volume 1, pp. 534-35.

¹¹¹ Erkel Operas, *Mária Bátor*i, pp. X-XI.

¹¹² Dugonics *Bátor*i, von Soden, *Ignéz de Castro*, Dezső Legány, Art. 'Ferenc Erkel' in GROVE *Opera*, Volume Two, p. 64, Erkel Operas, *Mária Bátor*i, pp. X-XI.

was the first 'real' opera libretto written in Hungarian. It must also be noted that the music and the text did not fit together quite perfectly due to various problems with prosody.¹¹³

The aforementioned story is perhaps the best example of how the earlier mentioned 'Hungarianisation' happened during the birth of nineteenth-century Hungarian drama and national opera, and how exactly Hungarian writers and composers sought to make use of Western European theatre- and musical traditions as a framework for Hungarian historical and national content.

This happened somehow with the music of *Mária Bátor*i as well. Although many elements of Ferenc Erkel's first opera could be called Hungarian — like the thoroughly composed, original music infused with the melodic patterns of instrumental 'verbunkos', 'original' Hungarian text, and Hungarian historical content — it is clear that Erkel mainly referred to the forms and character of contemporary Italian and French operas (in the style of Donizetti, Halévy, or Meyerbeer).¹¹⁴ This may be proved by the fact that Erkel put the character of the prima donna in the centre of action, and composed a very difficult 'Sopranó di Agititá' part for the leading lady, a tradition which started to be common mainly in nineteenth-century Belcanto operas (Donizetti, Bellini). It might be interesting to note that Erkel composed Mária Bátor*i*'s role for Mrs. Schodel, but because of the latter's illness, Mária Felbér¹¹⁵ sang the part during the opening night. There is an extraordinarily difficult tenor role in *Mária Bátor*i, the character of István, which was inspired by Erkel's brother, József, and was sung by him on 8 August 1840.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Béni Egressy's libretto in SzNL, THS, Budapest, MM. 13 539, MM. 13 540.

¹¹⁴ It might be interesting to mention that Meyerbeer's style was more Italian at the time. According to Dolinszky and Barna, contemporary Italian Belcanto influences can be recognized for example in the 'Aria of the King' in act two, in No.10, Scena e Terzetto con Coro, or in the later composed 'Cabaletta of Maria'. 'Verbunkos' elements or Hungarian content are to be found for example in Friss Magyar (Fresh Hungarian or Ballet Hongrois) from the first act (Finale), the Quartet of the 'Introduction', or choir parts. Sources: Erkel Operas, *Mária Bátor*i, pp. XIII, XIV, Barna, pp. 175-177.

¹¹⁵ Mária Felbér (Fölbér, ?- February 1892), Hungarian soprano. She was hired by the National Theatre in 1838 and worked there until 1841. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume II, p. 19.

¹¹⁶ The main characters of the cast on 8 August 1840: Kálmán, The King of Hungary sung by (Károly) Konti, István, Crown Prince sung by József Erkel, Árvai, Councilor—Váray, Szepelik,

Although the music and the character of *Mária Bátor*i were influenced by contemporary Italian and French opera traditions, it was certainly a national opera which met the expectations of the Hungarian society, by (for example) introducing of the German (Austrian) — Hungarian conflict in the dramaturgy. The genre was probably called national opera from the first performance on, at least this was the general categorization to appear on the posters (the National Theatre advertised Ferenc Erkel's new composition as *Új hősi nemzeti szomorú opera* (*New Heroic National Sad Opera*).¹¹⁷ On opening night, Erkel conducted his own composition with a new symphony orchestra¹¹⁸ in front of a full house and achieved remarkable success.

The contemporary Hungarian and German press wrote short news articles and critiques about the premiere as well. Short articles were published in *Atheneum* (a few days before 8 August 1840), *Sürgöny* (*Telegraph* on 9 August 1840), and longer, fine critiques in *Pesther Tageblatt* (*Pest Daily* on 11 August 1840), and *Honművész* (*Home Artist* on 13 August 1840).¹¹⁹ It can safely be stated that the history of Hungarian national opera began with this performance.¹²⁰

The Hungarian public continued to hunger for new national dramas and operas, so Erkel's second opera was just in time. The premiere of *László Hunyadi* (*Hunyady*)¹²¹ took place on 27 January 1844.¹²² The composer improved the

Councilor—(Kálmán) Szerdahelyi, Mária Bátor*i*, Fine Lady—Mária Felbér, István—Béla Szilágyi, Sarolta—Lilla Szilágyi, Miklós—(Zsigmond) Joób, Szepelik's Follower—(József) Zsivora. (SzNL, THS).

¹¹⁷ The poster of *Mária Bátor*i in SzNL, THS.

¹¹⁸ According to Bauer (p. 78.), in the new symphony orchestra there were two flutes, two piccolos, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, four horns, two trumpets, three trombones, an ophicleide, percussions, and a string quintet. According to Staud (p. 34.), there were only one piccolo, and a ventile-horn (*corno ventile*) instead of ophicleide.

¹¹⁹ According to Barna (pp. 175-177.), two other articles were published about the premiere of *Mária Bátor*i as well, in *Der Spiegel* (*The Mirror*) on 12 August 1840 and *Jelenkor* (*Period*) on 15 August 1840.

¹²⁰ Dezső Legány had a same opinion as well. (Legány, p. 29.).

¹²¹ Based on the information appeared on the poster of *László Hunyadi* (SzNL, THS), the cast of opening night was comprised of Mihály Havi, Mihály Füredi, Adolf Pecz (guest singer from Pozsony—Pressburg, Bratislava), Lujza Éder, Béni Egressy, Miklós Udvarhelyi, Leopoldina Molnár, Mrs. Schodel, née Rozália Klein, Mrs. Hubenai, née Klára Lipcsei.

Hungarian national opera, because he put the ‘verbunkos’¹²³ and ‘folk-like song’ (‘popular song in folk-art’) more into the focus of the *Hunyadi*’s musical language.¹²⁴ There are ‘verbunkos’ elements in the overture, the opening choir of the first act, the finale (‘Meghalt a cselszövő’, ‘The Intriguer Is Dead’), in both of Erzsébet Szilágyi’s arias (the second one is the later composed ‘La Grange aria’¹²⁵ that is from 18 July 1850; Erkel wrote it for Anne La Grange), the aria of Gara, the mixed choir of the ‘Oath Scene’, or the ‘Palotás’ (see Addendum, 3). The parts where Erkel used ‘folk-like songs’ are in László’s two arias (sung by Ferenc Stéger on 12 November 1859 for whom a new version was written) and the Andante of the duet of Maria and László.¹²⁶

Although the contemporary Hungarian, Austrian, and German press was not entirely charitable when writing about *Hunyadi*, they agreed that the premiere was a tremendous success. There were friendly critiques published in *Ungarn* (Hungary) on 29 January 1844, *Pesther Tageblatt* (Pest Daily) on 30 January 1844, *Világ* (World) on 31 January 1844, *Nemzeti Újság* (National Paper) on 31 January 1844, *Spiegel* (The Mirror) on 31 January 1844, *Életképek* (Life Scenes), and *Honderű* (Home-Joy) on 3 February 1844, but the critic of *Regélő*, *Pesti Divatlap* (Chatter, Fashion Paper of Pest) on 4 February 1844¹²⁷ was hard on Erkel’s *Hunyadi*. In spite of the harsh words it is quite evident that thanks to beautiful melodies, amiable Hungarian historical characters, strong dramatic flair, the composer’s recognizable ‘personal sound’, and the constantly

¹²² Béni Egri wrote the libretto based on the drama *Two László’s* by Lőrinc Tóth. The premiere was conducted by Ferenc Erkel.

¹²³ Musical example. Erkel, *László Hunyadi*, ‘Palotás’. See Addendum, 3.

¹²⁴ According to Bauer (p. 80.) the influence of Meyerbeer or Rossini is still recognizable.

¹²⁵ According to Németh (Németh *Erkel*, p. 45.), the aria is very much in Verdi’s style. The aria was composed 18 July 1850 for the great soprano: Anne de la Grange, who played Erzsébet Szilágyi’s part. According to the editor of the website, the structure of the aria is very much in ‘verbunkos’-style: three parts, all of them with new music-themes. Source: *Erkel, Honlap, Kutatószoba, Élete, A zeneszerző*, <http://erkel.oszk.hu/kut/zeneszerzo>. Downloaded: 11 Febr. 2011.

¹²⁶ Ferenc Erkel, *Hunyadi*, in SzNL, Main Collection, Budapest, [1844 – 306.774].

¹²⁷ Barna, pp. 202-212.

developed musical language (e.g. 'leitmotifs'),¹²⁸ this composition from Erkel was much more mature than '*Bátori*' had been. However it is also recognized that the 'national topic' — the story is about a struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed — and 'Hungarian' music played a momentous role in the reception of this Hungarian national opera. According to Barna, *Hunyadi* was called the Hungarian national opera in the critique of *Honderű* (*Home-Joy*), which was published on 24 February 1844. Lázár Petrichevich Horváth gave Erkel's opera this title. It is also possible that Ludwig Schindelmeisser wrote about Erkel's opera as a Hungarian national opera earlier in his critique, which was published in the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* (*Theatre Paper of Vienna*). The date of the article is questionable, since *Honderű* (*Home-Joy*) only quoted Schindelmeisser's words in its issue published on 2 March 1844.¹²⁹

After the premieres of *Bátori* and *Hunyadi*, there was another exceptionally substantial moment that helped the intensification of the 'new Hungarian national consciousness'. On 29 February 1844, Endre Bartay and the National Theatre proclaimed a contest for setting Ferenc Kölcsey's poem (the *Hymn* or *Anthem*) to music. Ferenc Erkel won the competition with his own version (all applications were judged anonymously). The first performance of the new *Hungarian National Anthem* (*Hymnusz*) was on 2 July 1844 in the National Theatre.¹³⁰

After the success of '*Hunyadi*', Erkel encountered something new, which had a profound effect on him. Giuseppe Verdi's (1823-1901) operas appeared in Hungary in 1846, when *Ernani* and *Nabucco* (*Nabucodonosor*) were performed by an Italian travelling theatre-company.¹³¹ Both Verdi operas enjoyed

¹²⁸ According to Németh (Németh *Erkel*, p. 45.) an example of Leitmotifs in *Hunyadi* would be: the trumpet-signal which appears in the beginning of the opera and its variations.

¹²⁹ Barna, pp. 210-212.

¹³⁰ Erkel's composition is the National Anthem of Hungary. Thirteen works arrived for the competition, six of which were performed at a concert alongside Erkel's composition. The other composers were: Béni Egressy, Ádám Molnár, János Travnyik, Márton Elias, Károly Seyler (two compositions). Source: Somfai *Himnusz*, pp. 59-60.

¹³¹ *Ernani*: 6 Aug. 1846, *Nabucco*: 26 Aug. 1846. The leader of the Italian travelling theatre-company was Luigi de Bezzi. (Source: Fazekas, p. 5.). According to Staud (BudOp100, p. 24.), Jacobelli previously sang a Verdi-cavatina from the opera *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* in Italian in the German Theatre of Pest in July 1846.

considerable success; thus both theatres (the German Theatre of Pest and the National Theatre) wanted to see them on their repertoire.

The German Theatre of Pest was faster to react and ordered four Verdi opera scores from Ricordi, but they could not perform *Nabucco* (*Nabucodonosor*), because the building burnt down on 2 February 1847. The National Theatre took advantage of the situation and put on *Nabucco* for the first time with Mihály Füredi (1806-1869) and Mrs. Schodel in the leading roles on 2 January 1847.¹³² The opera was performed in Hungarian ten times and another Verdi opera, *Ernani*,¹³³ was performed soon after, with Erkel's coaching.¹³⁴ Some of Verdi's operas were premiered in Hungarian in the National Theatre: *Macbeth* on 26 February 1848, *A két Foscari* (*The Two Foscari*, *I due Foscari*) on 9 Dec. 1850 and *Luisa Miller*¹³⁵ on 30 May 1851.

Two other Verdi operas were performed in the National Theatre as well, where a vagrant Italian theatre group played *Attila* (17 July 1852) and *I Masnadieri* (*The Bandits*) in August 1852. *Attila* did not enjoy outstanding success. The reason of the failure could be that the title hero is not a positive protagonist in this Verdi opera and the way his character was presented did not reinforce the 'new Hungarian consciousness'. Perhaps that is why *Attila* did not take root and was translated into Hungarian only much later, but *A haramiák* (*The Bandits*, this is the earlier mentioned *I Masnadieri*) did, and it was performed with Hungarian lyrics probably on 5 May 1853.¹³⁶ Although the reception of *Attila* was not particularly good, the popularity of Verdi operas seemed to grow.

¹³² Hungarian translation: Béni Egressy. Sources: Fazekas, p. 5, BudOp100, p. 37.

¹³³ According to Várnai (*Verdi Magy*, issues 5, 7, 8), Staud (BudOp100, p. 37.), and Gergely Fazekas (Fazekas, p. 5.), *Ernani* was performed in Hungarian as well, on 3 February 1847.

¹³⁴ Kornélia (Júlia Klára) Hollósy (13 or 23 April 1827-10 February 1890), born as Kornélia Korbuly sang the female leading role. She was a very famous singer in her day and went on to fill Mrs. Schodel's shoes. She worked in the National Theatre first between 1846-49, then 1854-62. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume II, pp. 260-62.

¹³⁵ According to Várnai and Staud, *Luisa Miller* had only four performances in the National Theatre in 1851. For sources see footnote 133.

¹³⁶ Other Verdi premieres in Hungary between 1852 and 1857: *Rigoletto* on 18 Dec. 1852, *A trubadúr* (*The Troubadour*, *Il trovatore*) on 31 Oct. 1854, *Guzmán Johanna* (*The Sicilian Vespers*, *I vespri siciliani*) on 7 Oct. 1856, *Tévedt nő* (*La traviata*) on 10 Nov. 1857. For sources see footnote 133.

In the previous chapters I attempted to introduce the context of Hungarian history and music history which can help characterise the educated Hungarian audiences' first and latter reactions to Richard Wagner's art in a correct way and without any legends. The cultural and historical milieu which had developed by the middle of the 19th century, just as well as the anti-German, or anti-Austrian sentiment, 'Hungarianisation', the 'new Hungarian consciousness', supporting the development of Hungarian language and culture, the prioritization of Hungarian theatre and opera performances, and the inclusion of Italian and French opera traditions in the new genres of Hungarian Romanticism had created a situation and a public sentiment which did not easily make the circle of highly educated Hungarians enthusiastic about Richard Wagner's opuses. The first, although 'little' Wagner premiere was soon to come, partly thanks to Ferenc Erkel and despite all difficulties.

II. The First Presentations of Richard Wagner's Compositions and Their Reception in Hungary

2.1. The First Performance and the Reception of Richard Wagner's *Overture to Tannhäuser* in Pest

The music historical, historical, political, and cultural political circumstances, which deeply affected the conditions of the reception of German culture and music had already evolved by 1853, along with the Hungarian history of the reception of Wagner's music. An exceedingly intriguing situation was created by factors such as the Italian and French opera repertoire and stage traditions, 'Hungarianisation', anti-German or anti-Austrian sentiment, and the new Hungarian genres that helped to promote Hungarian language, culture, and the 'new Hungarian consciousness'.

Although Hungarian society loved to see new Hungarian compositions, they still did not have 'practice' in attending philharmonic concerts. Ferenc Erkel and other Hungarian musicians perceived this fact, and since they worked continuously and methodically to shape the future of Hungarian Romanticism,

the establishment of the Philharmonic Society of Pest was the next logical step. The Philharmonic Society of Pest was founded with Erkel's leadership in 1853.¹³⁷ There were excellent musicians in the orchestra of this society, for example, the Doppler brothers,¹³⁸ Károly Huber, Lipót (Leopold) Szu(c)k, the composer of *A kunok (Cumans)*, György Császár,¹³⁹ and so on.

The political situation that evolved after the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848-49 was not open to national endeavours, so the society operated as a private initiative. Hungarian musical life, music culture and not incidentally, opera playing in Hungarian, took their first steps amidst the difficulties that characterized the historical period of Hungary between 1848 and 1853. At the same time, the consequences of the War of Independence brought about a resurgence of anti-German sentiment at several levels of Hungarian society.

The first concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest¹⁴⁰ was considered a momentous occasion for Hungarians and was performed in front of a full house on 20 November 1853. Despite the beautiful program and the attention of high

¹³⁷ Németh *BudFilh.*, pp. 18-19, Facsimile of the establishing booklet in BudFilhTárs, p. 10.

¹³⁸ 1. (Albert) Franz [Ferenc] Doppler (16 Oct. 1821-27 July 1883). Flautist, composer, and conductor. He was the first flautist in the German Theatre in Pest from 1838 and the National Theatre from 1841. His opera: *Benyovszky* combines Italian influences (e.g. Donizetti) but Hungarian music as well. He met Liszt in 1854 in Weimar. His only German opera, *Judith*, was performed at the Viennese Court in 1870. Source: Zoltán Gárdonyi/R, Art. '(Albert) Franz [Ferenc] Doppler' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 7, pp. 500-503.

2. Karl [Károly] Doppler (12 Sept. 1825-10 March 1900). Flautist, composer, conductor, and Franz Doppler's brother. He was flautist in the German Theatre in Pest and later in the National Theatre. His Hungarian Singspiel: *A gránátos tábor (The Grenadier Camp)*, libretto by József Czanyuga) was performed in Feb. 1853. His prize-winning song: *Honfi dal (Patriotic Song)*, composed in Pest, 1857) was probably his most popular composition. He also composed piano pieces and arrangements for men's choir. Source: Zoltán Gárdonyi/R, Art. '(Albert) Franz [Ferenc] Doppler' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 7, p. 503.

¹³⁹ According to Németh (*BudFilh.*, pp. 18-19.), the other members were: Lipót (Leopold) Eisler, Ridley Kohne, Antal Pfeiffer. Ferenc Kirchlechner Szeráf and György Császár joined the Society later.

¹⁴⁰ BudFilhTárs, p. 10.

society, it seems that only two newspapers¹⁴¹ covered the first concert, out of which only the newspaper called *Délibáb (The Mirage)* is available to us today. *Délibáb* published an enthusiastic critique. The *Symphony No. 7* by Beethoven, one *Aria di Bravura* by Mozart, which was probably Donna Anna's from the second act (*Ah, crudele... Non mi dir...*),¹⁴² the *Wedding March* of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (from the *Midsummer Night's Dream*) and the *Struensee-overture* by Meyerbeer¹⁴³ were on the program of the first concert.

After this successful evening, a second concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest was arranged in the great salon of the National Museum¹⁴⁴ on 8 December 1853.¹⁴⁵ This was the first time that Hungarians had the opportunity to hear a composition of Richard Wagner. The first time, however, when the name of Richard Wagner came into view in the columns of the Hungarian newspapers was probably the 4 December 1842. It was the period when, the 'Omnibus' heading of the 97th issue of the *Regélő, Pesti Divatlap (Chatter, Fashion Paper of Pest)* reported about the first performance of the opera *Rienzi* and the upcoming opening night of the *Der fliegende Holländer*.¹⁴⁶

The 'Omnibus' heading of the *Regélő, Pesti Divatlap (Chatter, Fashion Paper of Pest)*:

Dresden. Richard Wagner, a new opera-author whose first work 'Rienzi' was an enormous success with its vivid music, aroused the

¹⁴¹ According to Németh (*BudFilh*, p. 19.), there was another article in *Pest-Ofner Localblatt (Local Paper of Pest and Buda)*, which is not available to us today.

¹⁴² Németh *BudFilh.*, p. 19.

¹⁴³ The program of the concert is in *Délibáb (The Mirage)*, 27 November 1853, number XXII. Source: SzNL, Microfilm, Score: FM3/4270.

¹⁴⁴ The information about the place is in the column 'Napi események' (Daily Novelties), 'Fővárosi és vidéki napló' (Diary of the Capital and of the Countryside) in *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest)*, issue 290 which was published on 10 December 1853.

¹⁴⁵ According to Salmi (p. 82.), the premiere of *Tannhäuser* took place in Darmstadt on 23 October 1853.

¹⁴⁶ The header of the paper including the short article and its interpretation can be found in the Addendum (7). (Press-cutting). I have found this article in the Microfilm Collection of the National Széchenyi Library. 'Micro pages' (Mikrolapok), score: ML3/23. Haraszti, H. p. 210, also published these lines.

attention of Dresden papers. His second opera, 'Der fliegende Holländer', will be performed in Berlin.¹⁴⁷

The world premiere of Richard Wagner's opera *Rienzi* took place in Dresden on 20 October, 1842 indeed, so the short article included absolutely trustworthy information. The writer of the article was not mistaken in the case of the 'Holländer' either, when claiming to be taken place in Berlin, because firstly Wagner wanted it to be played in the Opera house of Berlin, but he changed his mind about the venue — the opera to be performed in Dresden —, after the great success of *Rienzi*. (The opening night of the *Der fliegende Holländer* took place on 2 January, 1843. Dresden).

In the columns of the same journal — 'Omnibus' heading, 19 January 1843. —, a short article was published could refer to Wagner.¹⁴⁸

Rumour has it that one of our young German composers went to Paris to make his new opera famous, but the director of the local theatre regarded his work as not performable, still in a strange fashion his 'idea' was bought for 500 franks.¹⁴⁹

We can take cognizance of the fact that the article claims the information, which was valid and current at that time, because Wagner offered his 'Holländer' for Leon Pillet to buy — the director of the Paris Opera — at first. According to the legend, Pillet gave the book to Pierre-Louis Dietsch to set it to music. It is unverifiable that Dietsch got the original libretto of Richard Wagner,

¹⁴⁷ *Regélő, Pesti Divatlap*, Omnibus rovat:

'Dresda. Dresdai Lapok egy új opera szerzőre tesznek figyelmessé, Wagner Richardra, mint kinek első operája „Rienzi” igen tetszett, s jellemző, élénk zenével bír; egy második operája „A repülő hollandi” Berlinben jó színpadra.'

¹⁴⁸ The Liszt Ferenc Memorial (Memory) Museum and Research-Library of Liszt Academy in Budapest published this and the previous result of my researches in the booklet: *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends*, which contained the events of the same titled temporary exhibition in the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum. Budapest, (Liszt Academy, Liszt Museum), 26 Feb. 2014, p. 7, and p. 64. endnote 3. The scores were the same in the Hungarian and English booklet.

¹⁴⁹ 'Beszélük, hogy egy ifjú német hangszerzőnk Párisba ment, új operájának ott remélvén szerencsét, de a színikazgató, mint színszerűtlent visszaadta, azonban „az eszmét” különös tekintetből 500 frankon mégis megvevé.'

but it is obvious that *Le vaisseau fantôme, ou Le maudit des mers* (*The Phantom Ship or The Accursed of the Sea*), which was presented on 9 November 1842, resemble the theme of the '*Holländer*'. Concerning the opera made by Dietsch, Emil Haraszti — who wrote a remarkable book about Richard Wagner¹⁵⁰ — was wrong about the date of the opening night and imprecise about a few other data.¹⁵¹ Still, it is worthy to note that Emil Haraszti was the one observing the moment of Richard Wagner's appearance in the columns of Hungarian papers, so his merits — regarding this fact as well — are indubitable.

Erkel was probably the one to invite the Archduchess Hildegard¹⁵² (1825-1864) to the second concert of the Society, which seemed to be an illogical and 'uncharacteristically Hungarian' action, but Erkel certainly had his reasons. The composer must have known that with the attendance of the Archduchess, both the importance and the legitimacy of the Society would be ensured. In connection with the first performance of the *Tannhäuser-overture* in Hungary I definitely have to tell about a presumption of Ferenc Bónis. He was persuaded of Ferenc Erkel setting the *Tannhäuser-overture*¹⁵³ into the repertory of the Pesti Filharmóniai Társaság's second concert because of Mihály Mosonyi's suggestion. (See Mihály Mosonyi's biography in Addendum, 6).

Four sources can serve as documentation for the program, the reception of the second concert, and of the overture to *Tannhäuser*. The first is the *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*, conservative nationalistic weekly newspaper, 10 December 1853, issue 290, column: 'Fővárosi és vidéki napló' — Diary of the Capital and of the Countryside in 'Napi események' — Daily Novelties), the second is in *Délibáb* (*The Mirage*, literary weekly newspaper, 11 December 1853, issue XXIV, column: Philharmoniai Hangverseny II — Philharmonic Concert II), the third is in the *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*, high quality literary weekly newspaper, 11 December 1853, issue 73, column:

¹⁵⁰ Emil Haraszti, *Wagner Richard és Magyarország*, Budapest, (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása), 1916.

¹⁵¹ Haraszti, p. 211.

¹⁵² The information about the invitation is in *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*).

¹⁵³ Ferenc Bónis, *Mosonyi Mihály, a magyar zenei romantika úttörője* (*Mihály Mosonyi, the pioneer of the Hungarian musical romanticism*), http://www.zemplenimuzsa.hu/05_2/bonis.htm, checked out: 6 Oct. 2005.

‘Zenészet’ — Music). The last authoritative source is a mainly economic daily paper, the *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*), which covered the first presentation of the *Tannhäuser*-overture and published the program of the second concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest in issue 1128 of the fourth year, which appeared on 13 December.

Based on a detailed study of the press coverage, it is obvious that the program had changed compared to the first concert. Amadé Németh was certainly wrong when he dated the aforementioned concert to 22 December 1853, because critiques of the second concert were published as early as 10 December 1853 in the Hungarian press. He made a mistake in connection with the location as well, since he wrote that it was the House of Parliament in Buda. Based on the events mentioned in the *au courant* press, the program of the concert on 8 December 1853¹⁵⁴ was the following:

1. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: *Symphony in A minor*.

Three of the aforementioned sources agreed on the A minor, but the *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*) referred to it as Mendelssohn’s *Symphony in F Minor*. Since Mendelssohn does not have a symphony in F minor, the A minor (‘Scottish’, op. 56) is most likely the symphony which appeared on the program of the concert.

2. An aria from *A tündérsíp* (*The Magic Flute*) by Mozart.

Sung by Ms. Lesniewska¹⁵⁵ in Italian.¹⁵⁶

A Wagner-composition: the *Overture to Tannhäuser* succeeded the Mozart aria as the third composition on 8 December 1853.

At this point two absolutely fascinating questions must be raised. First, one may wonder why Erkel put a Wagner overture on the program of the Philharmonic Society, which was established to promote Hungarian

¹⁵⁴ Németh *BudFilh*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁵⁵ Lesniewska (Ludwika-Lujza). Polish singer, who sang at the National Theatre a few times in 1853, 1854, and 1855. Source: *MagySzínművLex*, Volume III, p. 122.

¹⁵⁶ The column of the *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*) and the *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*), reported this fact. The aria could be one of the arias of the Queen of the Night.

Romanticism. Second, one may ask how Hungarians and the Hungarian press received the 'German' *Tannhäuser-overture*.

The answer to the first question might be that although Erkel was a powerful agent of the newborn 'Hungarian consciousness' and the new Hungarian culture, he was also interested in novelties, different directions and ideas in the music of the nineteenth century.

The other question concerning the reception of the *Tannhäuser-overture* is slightly more complicated. With the help of the articles of the aforementioned newspapers, it can be proved that there were a few compositions at the concert which the public welcomed enthusiastically. These were Mendelssohn's *Wedding March* and the *Mozart-aria*, which were repeated twice (four newspapers agreed on these facts). Haraszti wrote in his book that the reception of the *Tannhäuser-overture* was as wholehearted as that of the other compositions had been. Unfortunately, Haraszti's statement cannot be proven with reference to the articles available to us today.¹⁵⁷

Based on the information in the articles of the *Délibáb (The Mirage)*, *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest)*, *Divatcsarnok (The Fashion-hall)*, and *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)*,¹⁵⁸ it seems that critics' reactions to the *Tannhäuser-overture* were ambivalent at best.

This can be demonstrated with reference to the article of the *Délibáb (The Mirage)*, 11 December 1853, issue XXIV, column: 'Philharmoniai Hangverseny' II.-Philharmonic Concert II) first.

The overture of Wagner is a nice piece, but it is devoid of the simplicity which is the hallmark and the first and most noble parameter of any masterpiece.¹⁵⁹

The second part of the same article also reflects ambivalent feelings:

¹⁵⁷ Haraszti, pp. 216-217.

¹⁵⁸ Every aforementioned newspaper can be found in the SzNL (Microfilms). *Délibáb (The Mirage)* FM3/4270, *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest)*, FM3/710, *Divatcsarnok (The Fashion-hall)* FM3/5026, and *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)* FM3/706.

¹⁵⁹ 'Wagner nyitánya szép mű, de nélküli azon egyszerűséget, mely a remekműnek első legnemesebb tényezője.'

[...] we would not discredit the worth of *Wagners overture* [...], but something may be grand without the eccentricity exhibited in this piece. [...]¹⁶⁰

There are significant details in the last lines as well:

It is said that Wagner wanted to represent an enchanted world in the music of his *Tanhauser-opera* (it was written like this in the article) to us! This may be! But if we mention the music of the *Struensee* and the '*Midsummer Nights*' we cannot help but crown the composers of those pieces with the laurel wreath of immortality.¹⁶¹

There is a laconic report in the *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*, a conservative nationalistic weekly newspaper, 10 December 1853, issue 290) about the *Tannhäuser-overture*:

[...] the other compositions were the *Tannhäuser-overture* by Richard Wagner, which was played with artistic precision despite the exceptional difficulties of the composition. [...]¹⁶²

The *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*, a high quality literary weekly newspaper, 11 December 1853, issue 73) described the opus with vitriolic humor:

[...] But the most fascinating composition was Wagner's 'famous' *Tannhäuser-overture*, which is one of the few pieces, [...] that proves to be a veritable 'Apple of Eris' to critics and dilettantes alike.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ 'Wagner nyitányának műbecsét nem akarjuk kétségbe vonni (...), azonban (...) a nagyszerűség nem szorult azon (...) különcködésekre, melyekkel e műben találkozunk (...)'

¹⁶¹ 'Mondják sokan, hogy Wagner Tanhauser operája zenéjében a bűvös világot akarja előtűnk feltűntetni! — Meglehet! részünkről azonban felemlítjük a „Struensee” és a „Nyáréj álom” zenéit, és tartózkodás nélkül e zenék szerzőit koszoruzzuk a halhatatlanság babérjával.'

¹⁶² '(...) a többi számok voltak Wagner Richárd „Tannhäuser-nyitánya”, a compositio rendkívüli nehézsége dacára is művészi pontossággal játszva, (...)'

¹⁶³ '(...) De az estély főérdekét (...) a Wagner R. elhírült Tannhäuserének nyitánya tevő: oly mű, mely criticusok és dilettánsok segére Eris almájakint hat (...)'

The author of the article seems to have thought that Wagner's music is nothing but a 'fountain of troubles', since Eris was a goddess of discord, who dropped a golden apple among people to involve them in a quarrel.

The last lines of the critique are also far from generous:

[...] we are totally unable to understand how the orchestra and the conductor were able to perform this difficult and thoroughly artificial piece so accurately and faithfully. [...]¹⁶⁴

The last source which may still be considered authentic is from a mainly financial daily paper, the *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, issue 1128 of the fourth year, dated 13 December), which also published a critique of the first premiere of the *Tannhäuser-overture*. This is the only positive review of Wagner's composition.

[...] — The *Tannhäuser Overture* of Richard Wagner's opera is an adventurous undertaking, the oeuvre of a poetic soul, filled with beauty and surprising originality. Let it also be said in praise of the piece that the printed explanation of the exposition could not be found in the composition. [...]¹⁶⁵

Based on the foregoing facts it has been shown that there was only one paper, the *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*) that was charitable to Wagner and his overture. Haraszti's opinion must be questioned, because although he

¹⁶⁴ '(...) nem győztük eléggé bámulni, mikép sükerült a zenekarnak és a (...) karmesternek oly kimondhatatlan pontossággal és hűséggel adni elé ezen nehéz és mesterséges (semmi más, mint mesterséges) zeneművet.'

¹⁶⁵ '(...) — Wagner Richard „Tannhäuser” című operájának nyitánya egy merész fantasia, egy költői lélek műve, teli szépséggel, meglepő eredetiséggel. A mű dicséretére legyen mondva, a nyitány nyomtatott magyarázatát magában a compositióban nem találtuk fel. (...)’ The writer of the short article complained because of the following description of the overture published in the explanatory booklet: ‘a chaotic movement of an awfully annoying dance appears in the overture’.

presented the same examples¹⁶⁶ as I did, he arrived at an altogether different conclusion. Haraszti was convinced that Hungarians welcomed the first appearance of a Wagner-composition as one man, but after re-evaluating the evidence we must conclude that according to the articles in Hungarian press the reception was varied and mostly lukewarm.

Miklos Lukacs, who issued a monograph with a title of *Richard Wagners work in Hungary* in the volume published for the Wagner Festival Week in Dessau in 1955¹⁶⁷, also wrote about the Hungarian opening night of the *Tannhäuser-overture* and how the Hungarian audience appreciated it. According to Lukacs, the overture had been given such a warm reception that it was performed three more times in the following five months. (...) Der Erfolg beim Publikum war so gross, dass die Ouvertüre in den nächsten fünf Monaten noch dreimal gespielt worden ist. (...) While I tried to do my best in analysing expansively and perhaps giving refutation about the welcome of *Tannhäuser*, in the following lines I am going to deal with the second part of Lukacs's statement. Although it is 2014, there is still no evidence that the *Tannhäuser-overture* was performed three more times in the following five months after the premiere on 8 December 1853 in Hungary. On the contrary, it seems to be provable, that it was performed in Pest on the following dates: on 25 March, 1854, on 2 December 1855, on 28 March 1859, on 6 January 1860, and probably on 22 February 1862. (For more details see under Summaries in the appendix). Kálmán D' Isoz¹⁶⁸ also wrote about the performances of the *Tannhäuser-overture* between the period of 1853 and 1855, and presumed that it was only played two times during this time in Pest. Regarding the statements above, it seems to be the most presumptive that — including the first night — it was only performed three times in Hungary between 1853 and 1855. (Specified dates can be seen above).

The question of the *Tannhäuser-overture's* welcome is also a pivotal point in this analysis. On the basis of the criticisms from the past, as it can be seen above, we can claim it had a pretty varied reception. The articles mentioned

¹⁶⁶ Exept one, which is lost. The lost source was in the *Pest-Ofner Zeitung* (*Paper of Pest and Buda*) after Haraszti. (H, p. 223.).

¹⁶⁷ Art. *Richard Wagners Werk in Ungarn* by Miklos Lukacs in *Richard Wagners Festwochen 1955*, (published by the management of the Dessau Theatre), p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ D' Isoz, *Erkel*, p. 138.

above may prove my theory that a nation so deeply imbued with anti-German sentiment, and a public, which was mostly accustomed to Italian and French operas, could hardly have erupted with enthusiasm over a 'German' composition. As it was previously mentioned, Hungarian society had progressively seem to ignore German operas from the eighteenth century onward, so it seems that Erkel's first attempt was doomed to failure. But in spite of the lukewarm reception of the first performance, a subtle change was under way. The Hungarian press had begun to write about events connected to Richard Wagner.

2.2. The Reception of the Events Related to Wagner and His Compositions by the Hungarian Press from 1853 to 1858.

Questions Concerning the Beginnings of Hungarian 'Wagnerism'.

2.2.1. Wagner, Hungary and the Hungarians between 1853 and 1854.

Questions Concerning the Beginnings of Hungarian 'Wagnerism'.

The reception of Richard Wagner's composition was ambivalent, but it also precipitated a chain of events, which led the Hungarian press and society to encounter Wagner and his work and to grow in their understanding both of the composer and his oeuvre.

Thanks to changes in attitude the *Délibáb (The Mirage)*, the *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest)*, the *Divatcsarnok (The Fashion-hall)* and the *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)*, the *Pester Lloyd* began to write about the news connected to Richard Wagner more often. *Pester Lloyd* was a predominantly financial daily paper, which was established by Jakob Kern (a merchant) in Pest in 1852.

The issue of this Hungarian-Austrian newspaper, which was published on 24 January 1854 (issue 20) contains the first news about the baritone Franz Horti (Horti Ferenc), who sang the male leading role (Wolfram) in *Tannhäuser* in Cologne. In the column called 'Tagesneuigkeiten' (Daily Novelties), there is a

short paragraph about Horti's preparation to sing in the German Theatre in Paris as a guest-artist.¹⁶⁹

There is only one source still available in the Széchenyi National Library of Hungary, by which the reception of the second appearance of Wagner's composition may be proven. It concerns the concert which was arranged on 25 March 1854¹⁷⁰ by the Philharmonic Society of Pest in the salon of the National Museum.¹⁷¹ The column — 'Művészet' (Art), 'Zeneügy' (Music-affair) — of the *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*) covered the concert in issue 18, which was published on 30 March 1854 (issue 18). This source could be extremely useful for two reasons:

The first is the premiere of the '*Pilgrim-chorus*'¹⁷² from *Tannhäuser* in Hungary. The second reason is that a few sources like Emil Haraszti's book or another booklet which was written about the beginnings of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism' (or better said, the Hungarian Wagner-movement)¹⁷³ argue that this concert played an important role in the development of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' as did the second concert of the Philharmonic Society (8 December 1853).

Based on the information given in this number of the newspaper *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*, 'Zeneügy' (Music-affair) in column: 'Művészet' (Art)¹⁷⁴ it can be shown that the program on 25 March 1854 was the following:

¹⁶⁹ 'Unser Landsmann, der bekannte Baritonist, Franz Horti, der gegenwärtig am Stadttheater zu Köln engagiert ist (...) hat eine Einladung für die deutsche Oper in Paris erhalten.'

¹⁷⁰ Emil Haraszti alluded to Mészáros-Isoz's book: *A Philharmoniai Társaság múltja és jelene*. (*The Past and Present of the Philharmonic Society*). Source: Haraszti, p. 217. and 224.

¹⁷¹ According to Haraszti (p. 225.) and to BudFilhTárs (p. 11.) the aforementioned concert was repeated on 9 April 1854. Its program was: *Symphony in G-minor* by Mozart, an aria from *Bűvös vadász* (*Freischütz, The Marksman*) by Weber, *E-flat major piano-concerto* by Beethoven, and the '*Pilgrim-chorus*' of *Tannhäuser*. The issues, which discussed this fact are unfortunately lost.

¹⁷² According to Haraszti, p. 224, the '*Pilgrim-chorus*' was performed by the 'Pestbudai Hangászegylet' (The Singing Association of Pest-Buda).

¹⁷³ AmagyWagn, p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ '(...) (mart. 12. és 25.) Beethoven „mezei élete” (pastoral symphonie) és 4-ik (B-dur) symphoniája (...) többi hangszeres művek Weber „tánczra hívása” Berlioztól igen ügyesen hangszerelve, Spohr Faust-nyitánya, (...) A tulajdonképi ének-darabok mindenkének, a „Párisi János”belinek szintúgy, mint a „Serailból szöktetés”belinek választását nagyon helyeseljük, (...)'

1. - 2. *The 'Pastorale' symphony (op. 68)* of Beethoven and his *Symphony No. 4 (op. 60)* as well.

3. *Felhívás táncra (Aufforderung zum Tanz, Invitation to Dance)* by Carl Maria von Weber in Hector Berlioz's symphonic arrangement.

4. *The Overture to Faust* by Louis Spohr.

5. *The Overture and the 'Pilgrim-chorus' of Tannhäuser.*

6. Two arias.

One of them is from the *Párizsi János (John of Paris, Gianni di Parigi)*¹⁷⁵ by Donizetti and the other is from the *Szöktetés a szerájból (Die Entführung aus dem Serail)*. Both arias were sung by Miss Róza Bogya (Bogyai).¹⁷⁶

From the programs of the Philharmonic Society it seems that Erkel, who conducted this concert as well, had his own ideas about the future of music in Hungary and attempted to shape national musical taste by familiarizing Hungarians with high quality Western European classical music. Perhaps this is the reason that there was always a composition in the Viennese Classical style, a few romantic, or shorter orchestra pieces and an aria on the program of the concerts of the Philharmonic Society of Pest.¹⁷⁷ Erkel's attitudes become clearer if we consider that he was the one who first performed (conducted) Wagner's compositions in Hungary despite widespread resistance within Hungarian society.

This Wagner-resistance, which was partly a result of Hungarian music historical, historical and cultural political events at the time, can be seen in the

'(...) 12 and 25 March. Beethoven's *'Pastoral symphony'* and *4th (B-major) Symphony* (...) the other compositions for orchestra Weber's *'Invitation to Dance'* in the very 'clever' symphonic arrangement by Berlioz, *Faust-overture* by Spohr, (...) we were very happy with the 'singing-pieces', such as the aria of *John of Paris (Gianni di Parigi)*, and the other from *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (...)'

¹⁷⁵ It was probably sung in Hungarian, because it had been translated and played only in Hungarian due to the premiere having been in Kolozsvár. See chapter 1.3.2.

¹⁷⁶ Róza Bogya (or Bogyai, also used the name: De Ruda after 1864). Hungarian singer, member of the National Theatre. Source: *MagySzínművLex*, Volume I, p. 215.

¹⁷⁷ Kálmán D' Isoz had the same opinion, since he reported the above fact in his essay: *Erkel és a szimfonikus zene*, which is in *Erkel Ferencz Emlékkönyv, Születésének Századik Évfordulójára Írók és Tudósok Közreműködésével*. Source: D'Isoz *Erkel*, p. 139.

following lines of the newspaper of *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*, issue 18) which was published on 30 March 1854:

[...] The superficial and unlimited banality of the motives can not be elevated by the power, the noise and the 'magnificence' of the orchestration in the 'admired' *overture and chorus of the Tannhäuser* by Wagner. [...] ¹⁷⁸

The closing lines of the criticism talk not only about the *Tannhäuser* and the 'Pilgrim-chorus' in a derogatory way, but also Richard Wagner is being considered in a degrading manner by the anonymous writer who used 000. as a pen-name for his work.

[...] that the lack of imagination and thought can not be substituted by the coquetry of the scoring, that with the accompaniment of the foolish tinkler and the sportive mallet the chorus will not sound any better or musical, and finally, all of the false inducements and delusive tools will not only put a smile on the connoisseur's face, but also on the face of the amateur audience who only rely on their sober senses and healthy ears.

The empty chairs were the proof that this mystification was not succeeded considering the 'Son of the Wilderness' (Wagner), and this could not be refuted neither by the roman legion that were applauded back multiple times nor by the wreathes gifted by them.

There is no time and pleasure in dealing with this question; in point of the 'Son of Wilderness', the less we talk about him, the better will it be. It is a waste of time and money that seems to be prodigalized to him. ¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ '(...) Wagner Tannhauser-nyitányát és bámult chorusát, melyekben a hangszerelés minden ereje, csínja, lármája s ha tetszik „nagyszerűsége”, sem bírja a motívumok jelentéktelen és határtalan mindennapiságát csak egy fokkal is fölebb emelni. (...)'

¹⁷⁹ '(...) hogy gondolat- és phantasia-szegénységét a hangszerelés kacérságaival ki nem pótolhatni, hogy karéneket sem csörgettyű, sem kalapács gyermekies kísérete jobbá, zeneibbé nem teszi, és végre mindazon ál ingerek és csalfa segédeszközök nemcsak a műértőt kényszerítik mosolyra, de a műkedvelő, s csupán józan esze s egészséges füle után ítélő közönséget sem bírják elámitni. Hogy ez az ámitás a „Vadon fiá”ra (Wagner) nézve nem

The lines quoted above proved there were people in the lines of the hall who were delighted to hear the fragments of *Tannhäuser*. It is evident as well, that the author of the article was not fond of Wagner's music at all, and this person was not a professional musician. On the basis of the lines above and the style of the article, it came to my mind that the person used the pen-name 000. could be Sámuel Brassai who — will be come into question later — was known as the greatest Hungarian opponent of Wagner. (For more details see subsection 2.2.2.2.). Brassai — and many more besides Zsigmond Kemény, Gábor Kazinczy, Csengery, Bérczy, János Repiczky, József Szvorényi, Ferenc Mentovich and Gábor Mátray — had written articles and essays in the paper *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*)¹⁸⁰, which was a literary paper that put an emphasis on science as well. The journal, which became a paper of high standard, was mainly addressed to the 'elite'. A proof of its high standard could be that the poems of János Arany — one of the most prominent Hungarian poets — were published in the journal in 1853-54. However, the enthusiasm of some people does not imply the steady infatuation of the whole audience, still if we read the citation above more carefully, it would be clear that the fragments of *Tannhäuser* was given a warmer reception in Hungary for the second time.

If we examine a few lines from the beginning of the article, the aforementioned source becomes even more valuable. The critic reports on an ambiguous situation that arose during the concert. He writes the following:

sikerült, bizonyíták az üres padok, s a római légió sokszorozott minden kihívásai és koszorúi sem valának képesek ellenerősségül szolgálni. Mélyebb taglalásba ereszkedni sem időnk, sem kedvünk; magára a „Vadon fiára” nézve is annál jobb, minél kevesebbet szólunk róla. Kár azért a temérdek időért, s költségért, mely reá pazéroltnak látszik.'

¹⁸⁰ The paper *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*), edited by Ferenc Császár, was published between 3 April 1853 and 30 July 1863. There was a pause in publishing from 30 March 1856 to 15 January 1857 and also between the 27 September and 8 November in 1859. Source: Art. 'Délibáb, *Divatcsarnok*' in *A Magyar Sajtó Története*, 1/II, 1848-1867, editor in chief: Szabolcsi Miklós, pp. 432-435.

There is an enraptured and overly enthusiastic audience member who threatens to strike me down if I dare to doubt the absolute genius, Richard Wagner.¹⁸¹

Emil Haraszti uses the above citation as evidence of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' on page 224 of his book, and he also thinks that 'Wagnerism' in Hungary was born in 1853. Margit Szöllösi, the editor of the pocketbook *The Hungarian 'Wagnerism'* is of the same opinion.¹⁸² It is obvious that the first few concerts putting Wagner's composition on their programs helped a lot in the evolution of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism', but based on the previous and the following facts it can also be shown that the aforementioned writers came to the wrong conclusion. I would like to introduce a series of events in support of my opinion.

Ede Reményi (Hoffmann, 1828 or 1829-1898), who is one of the most respected figures of Hungarian 'Wagnerism', met Wagner in Basel in 1853. (He was banished from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, including Hungary until 1860). This fact and a few other events can be found in the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, 20 August 1863, 47/III), in the article that was written by Reményi.

[...] I met Wagner in Basel approximately 10 years ago in 1853, during my banishment from (Hungary). [...]¹⁸³

From Reményi's¹⁸⁴ lines above we can conclude that he and Franz (Ferenc) Liszt and a few young musicians — called 'Murls' by Liszt — went from Karlsruhe to Basel to visit Wagner.¹⁸⁵ The leader of the 'Murls' was Liszt, their

¹⁸¹ '(...) egy túlragadottan lelkesült hallgató (...) agyonütéssel fenyegete, ha Wagner R. nagyszerű lángeszűségében (...) kételkedni merünk. (...)'

¹⁸² AmagyWagn, p. 3.

¹⁸³ '(...) Wagnerrel, számkivetésben Baselben ismerkedtem meg, ezelőtt mintegy 10 évvel. (...)'

¹⁸⁴ Reményi's biography is in Addendum. (4).

¹⁸⁵ '(...) Liszt azt a pompás indítványt tevő, hogy mennénk el egynehányan Baselbe a nagy száműzöttet meglátogatandók. (...)'

'(...) Liszt made the marvellous suggestion that a few of us travel to Basel to visit the great émigré (...).' Reményi's article in *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, 20 August 1863, 47/III).

god was Wagner and the works of Wagner were their bible.¹⁸⁶ Aside from the virtuoso violin-player Reményi, Liszt was the greatest prophet of Wagner in Hungary, but their relationship has been presented in many books and essays, that is why I think this current research should focus on the other Wagner prophets in Hungary.

One of the most appreciated musicians with regard to the Hungarian reception of Richard Wagner was the leader of the first group of Hungarian 'Wagnerists': Kornél Ábrányi Sr. (1822-1903).¹⁸⁷ The leader of the very first 'wave' of Hungarian 'Wagnerism', the commander-in-chief, the generalissimo who first encountered Wagner's work via Liszt, as did Reményi, was Erkel's friend around that time as well as a devoted representative of Hungarian romanticism. He established the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, which wrote about Richard Wagner in almost every issue from 1860. So it seems he became a 'soldier for Wagner' around that time.

Mihály Mosonyi (1814 or 1815-1870)¹⁸⁸ was the third prominent musician, composer, and also musicologist, who worked to increase the appreciation of Richard Wagner in Hungary. It was Franz (Ferenc) Liszt again who was the first link between Mosonyi and Wagner. Liszt had immense respect for Mosonyi. It may be a result of this friendship that two of the Mosonyi-compositions, the *Offertorium and the Graduale*, which were written for the dedication ceremony of the Basilica of Esztergom, were first performed with the contribution of Franz Liszt on 24 August 1856, a week earlier than Liszt's *Esztergomi mise (Missa Solemnis zur Einweihung der Basilika in Gran)* was premiered. Mosonyi wrote a kind of 'German opera' as well with the title *Kaiser Max auf der Martinswand* (with a libretto by Ernst Pasqué),¹⁸⁹ which was finished by 13 June 1857, so it

¹⁸⁶ MagySzínművLex, Volume IV, p. 34.

¹⁸⁷ Ábrányi's son, Kornél Ábrányi Junior was also a well-known journalist. Ábrányi Sr.'s biography can be found in Addendum. (5).

¹⁸⁸ Mihály Mosonyi's name was Michael Brand before he changed it. His Hungarian name comes from the name of the county, in which he was born. (Moson-County). One of the results of 'Hungarianisation' was the changing ('Hungarianising') of names among those who belonged to the educated layer of society. Ede Reményi changed his name from Eduard Hoffmann, for example. The said custom of changing one's name started well before the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848-49.

¹⁸⁹ Bónis, p. 67.

seems that the 'German opera' had made an impact on his music. Still it is likely that the work he produced for Wagner and Wagner's reception in Hungary started later. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact date, but since Mosonyi had neither met nor had a chance to grow in respect for Franz Liszt until 1856, the date that was highlighted by Haraszti and Szöllösi (1853) as the beginning of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' is probably wrong. This may also be proven by the fact that Mosonyi¹⁹⁰ started to work at the *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*) in 1860, and this was where he wrote regularly about Wagner.

There were three other people in the fellowship of the Hungarian Wagnerists, who played a significant role in the Hungarian reception of Richard Wagner's art at that time. Pál Rosti (Rosty-Barkóczy, 1830-1874), Sándor Bertha Jr. (1843-1912) and Viktor Vajda (1835-1916) were enlightened, cultured, and appreciated members of society in nineteenth-century Hungary.

Pál Rosti (Rosty, Barkóczy, 1830-1874)¹⁹¹ studied science in München, photography in Paris and became one of the first and most notable photographers in Hungary. He was interested in music, literature and fine arts, besides travel and science. He was a close friend of Liszt,¹⁹² and probably he organized and managed Wagner's first trip (1863)¹⁹³ to Pest. After the failure of the War of Independence in Hungary he went to Paris and then to America from whence he returned in 1859. Since his career in Hungary only began in 1859/1860, his contribution to the Hungarian reception of Richard Wagner's music and theoretical art, or Hungarian 'Wagnerism' can be traced back to that particular year.¹⁹⁴ According to a few sources Rosti was not only a front-line fighter of Hungarian 'Wagnerism', but he was also Wagner's acquaintance, or

¹⁹⁰ Mosonyi's biography is in Addendum. (6).

¹⁹¹ Kincses, pp. 5-57.

¹⁹² Rosti wrote an enthusiastic article about the premiere of Liszt's *Esztergomi mise* (*Missa Solennis zur Einweihung der Basilika in Gran*), which shows their good relationship. Source: 'Bécsi levél Lisztről' (*Letter from Vienna about Liszt*) in *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*), published on 15 April, 1869.

¹⁹³ There are events about Richard Wagner and Pál Rosti's friendship and Wagner's first Hungarian trip in Haraszti on page 204-205, 230, 260-262, and 305, but it would be interesting to mention that Wagner wrote about Rosti in *Mein Leben* as well. (*Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 444).

¹⁹⁴ Kincses, pp. 18-26.

friend. Their close relationship becomes evident in the following lines from the newspaper *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*, issue 115, 31 July 1863): 'The first toast was raised by Pál Rosty,¹⁹⁵ and also by the events, that Rosti and Mosonyi were invited to the premiere of *Tristan and Isolde* in Munich. (For source see the photo of Richard Wagner and his friends in Addendum. (8).

The next great Hungarian 'Wagnerist', Sándor Bertha Jr.¹⁹⁶ (1843-1912), came into contact with 'Wagnerism' via Mihály Mosonyi, Hans von Bülow and Franz Liszt.¹⁹⁷ He had studied piano with them, and that is probably how he became exposed to Wagner's music. As a composer, he wanted to reform Hungarian classical music. His aim was to compose a 'new Baroque polyphony'¹⁹⁸ or a new 'Haydn style'¹⁹⁹ and 'fill' it with 'verbunkos' and 'folklike-song' elements. In 1853, which date was considered by Haraszti and Szöllösi to be the beginning of Hungarian 'Wagnerism', Bertha was ten years old, so it is unlikely he was able to do much for Wagner at that time.

The last prominent agent of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' was Viktor Vajda (1835-1916), a well-known journalist of nineteenth-century Hungary who often wrote articles connected to Richard Wagner. It is written in Haraszti's aforementioned book that Vajda was also a friend of Wagner's²⁰⁰ as was Hans von Bülow.²⁰¹ It is almost sure that Vajda and Wagner met in 1863 (Wagner's first Hungarian trip), so it was probably then that Vajda's 'Wagnerism' began. It was also quite prevalent that Viktor Vajda wrote about the premieres of Richard Wagner just as explaining his opinion about the developing Hungarian musical criticism and life. For instance, he appeared on 20 June 1868, in the first night of the *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, and wrote a four-parted long essay on his experiences, which was published in the *Zenészet* (*The Musical Journal*)

¹⁹⁵ 'Az első pohárköszöntést Rosty Pál mondá'.

¹⁹⁶ Sándor Bertha's father (1796-1877), the academic and lawyer was also known in Hungary. Source: József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, Budapest, (Hornyánszky), 1891.

¹⁹⁷ MagyarÉLex, Volume I, Sándor Bertha, p. 198.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Haraszti, p. 350.

²⁰⁰ Haraszti, p. 231.

²⁰¹ Birkin, p. 173.

in 1868, issues 45, 46, 47 and 48.²⁰² It may be a proof of Viktor Vajda's 'Wagnerism' and probably his personal relationship with Wagner that he took part in the rehearsal of *Das Rheingold* on 27 August 1869 in Munich, which was conducted by János (Hans) Richter, and he could have also seen the premiere on 22 September,²⁰³ which was conducted by the German musician and conductor Franz Wüllner. It was Ludwig II who insisted on the 'pre-performance' of the '*Ring*' first two parts in Munich (not only the *Das Rheingold* but also the *Die Walküre* was performed there on 26 June 1870), which finally — against his defiance — Wagner accepted. Amongst the flow of illustrious guests, Ferenc Liszt also took part in the performance declaring the following — according to the article of Haraszti²⁰⁴ — and the unsigned, 12 September 1869 issue of the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*: 'I did not come to see neither *Tristan und Isolde* nor the '*Die Meistersinger*', because I knew that these performances would not be the coping-stone of Richard Wagner innovative power, but I took part in the performance of *Das Rheingold*, because this is the most marvellous and splendid musical reform that could happen in this period...'

Based on these observations it seems that Reményi, Mosonyi, Ábrányi, Rosti (Rosti), Bertha and Vajda most likely encountered Wagner's music around 1853, but the 'Wagnerism' which was partly generated by them blossomed much later. It is almost certain that Emil Haraszti's statement about the beginning of 'Wagnerism' is incorrect.

My previous analysis and conclusions are supportable with the fact that Prof. Dr. András Batta, who investigates the general history of Wagner and Hungary from more aspects in his article *Richard Wagner und Ungarn (Richard Wagner*

²⁰² Issue 45. was published on 9 August 1868 without the signature of Vajda. Issues 46. (16 August), 47. (23 August) and 48. (30 August) were published with the signature of Vajda. Source: *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* 1867/68 year. Issues can be seen above.

²⁰³ Article: *Rheingold and Richard Wagner*, in issue 50/9 on 12 Sept. 1869 of *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, Article: *München és a 'Rheingold-affaire' (Munich and the Rheingold-affair)* by Imre Áldor in issue 51/9 on 26 Sept. 1869 of *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, Column: 'Feuilleton', Article: *Egy érdekes nyilatkozat (An interesting statement)* by János Richter in issue 1/10 on 3 Oct. 1869 in *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*.

²⁰⁴ Of course it is not accidental that I quoted the word of Liszt in connection with Vajda, because Haraszti was certain that Viktor Vajda heard those words in reality. Source: Haraszti, pp. 340-41.

and Hungary), puts the beginning of the Hungarian Wagner cult to 1863. Prof. Batta's article was published in connection with the *International Wagner Congress in 1999 in Budapest*, in the issue of *Wagner Worldwide, Newspaper of International Association of the Wagner Societies*. (P. 23).²⁰⁵ In the same monograph, András Batta laid down that Ferenc Liszt was a link between Richard Wagner, the Hungarian musical life and Hungary. 'As everyone knows, a Hungarian leitmotiv played a tremendously influential and hardly negligible role in the life of Richard Wagner — maybe it was unintentional and not a nation, but only a person is involved. This leitmotiv is called Ferenc (Franz) Liszt. (...)'²⁰⁶

On the basis of the previous conclusions, I would extend this idea with an example that Viktor Vajda's and Sándor Bertha's presumably good relationship with Bülow could benefit them to get into Wagner's art and then to turn into his prophets. Furthermore, there is no doubt that Liszt had a pivotal role as a link between Hungary and Wagner, but he was not the only one who benefited Wagner's operas to become famous in Hungary. There were also many significant Hungarian musicians and cultivated people in the nineteenth century whose work resulted in the later blooming of 'Wagnerism' in Hungary.

2.2.2. The Reception of Wagner Oeuvres in Hungary between 1855 and 1858

2.2.2.1. Wagner, the Hungarians, and Hungary in 1855

The next concert at which a Wagner-composition was performed was held in the salon of the National Museum with the contribution of Philharmonic Society of Pest on 2 December 1855.²⁰⁷ The *Overture to Tannhäuser*²⁰⁸ was on the

²⁰⁵ *Wagner Weltweit, the newspaper of International Association of the Wagner Societies*, Nr. 30 year 10 on July 1999, pp. 21-29.

²⁰⁶ 'Es ist bekannt, dass im Wagners Leben ein ungarisches Leitmotiv — zwar quasi zufällig, durch eine Person und nicht durch eine Nation — eine kaum zu überschätzende Rolle gespielt hat. Dieses Leitmotiv heißt Ferenc (Franz) Liszt. (...)' Source: *Wagner Weltweit, the newspaper of International Association of the Wagner Societies*, Nr. 30 year 10 on July 1999, p. 21.

²⁰⁷ It was the first concert of the third season of the Philharmonic Society of Pest.

program, which composition had an ambivalent reception in the Hungarian press. Mendelssohn's *Symphony in A major (The 'Italian', op. 90)*, Beethoven's *Scherzo (from the 9th symphony)*²⁰⁹ and a *Trio for two flutes and voice*²¹⁰ (performed by the Doppler-brothers and Mrs. Hollósy, née Kornélia Korbuly) were on the program that night as well. The aforementioned compositions were received enthusiastically according to an article of the *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest, conservative nationalistic weekly newspaper, published on 5 December 1855, issue 888)*, but the reception of the *Overture to Tannhäuser* was not warm, as is evidenced by the following example:

Wagner's *Overture to Tannhäuser* was performed last. This very noisy and loud piece did not fit very well at the end of such a beautiful concert. [...]²¹¹

The *Divatcsarnok (The Fashion-hall, a high quality literary weekly newspaper)*, which published a extremely harsh critique of the first performance of the *Tannhäuser-overture* in its issue 67 (column 'Művészet'-Art) on 5 December 1855, was very generous this time:

The first 'Philharmonic concert' took place on 2 in this month in the salon of the National Museum. The orchestra played these beautiful pieces with complete accuracy. Mrs. Hollósy's beautiful singing achieved the greatest success; she sang an aria from the *North Star*

²⁰⁸ According to McKnight (p. 146) Wagner's *Tannhäuser-overture* was performed by the New York Philharmonic Society in 1855. This was the first time most New Yorkers heard anything by Wagner.

²⁰⁹ Although the Society performed only the *Scherzo* of Beethoven's 9th, it was the first time that this Beethoven-composition appeared in Hungary. Source: BudFilhTárs p. 11.

²¹⁰ According to the article in *Divatcsarnok (The Fashion-hall)* the composition was a part of *Éjszak csillaga (North Star, original title: L'étoile du nord)* by Meyerbeer. As further proof it must be stated that the leading role of this opera was previously played by Mrs. Hollósy, née Kornélia Korbuly and it was one of her biggest successes on the opera-stage. Sources: The issue of *Divatcsarnok—The Fashion-hall* (see later), *MagySzínművLex, Volume II*, pp. 260-62.

²¹¹ 'Végül adatott a „Tannhäuser” című dalmű nyitánya Wagnertől. E nagyon zajos-lármás műdarab nem a legjobban illett egy ily szép hangverseny záradékául. (...)'

which she then repeated. The lovely singing was accomplished by the gorgeous flute-playing of the Doppler brothers.

We believe that *the Overture to Tannhäuser* by Wagner²¹² was the ‘most magnificent’ of the performed pieces.²¹³

With the help of this source it can be shown that compared to the previous reception of the Hungarian newspapers, more Hungarians had developed a better opinion of the ‘music of the future’. The Philharmonic Society of Pest led by Erkel played the *Overture to Tannhäuser* for the third time (on 8 December 1853, on 25 March 1854 and on 2 December 1855)²¹⁴ in Pest, so it seems that Erkel sought to help Hungarians develop respect for the high level of contemporary music.

2.2.2.2. Wagner’s Greatest Hungarian Opponent, the ‘Music of the Future’ and Hungary in 1856

Erkel’s greatest supporter and Wagner’s greatest Hungarian opponent was probably Sámuel Brassai (1797 or 1800-1897) a master of the arts, philosopher, academic,²¹⁵ scientist, journalist, editor, teacher, linguist and vice-chancellor of the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg, now in Romania).²¹⁶

They met in Kolozsvár where Erkel lived between 1827/28 and 1834. (For more details see Erkel’s biography in Addendum, 1.). Brassai was a unique character,

²¹² Richard Wagner’s name was spelled as ‘Vagner’ in the aforementioned article. The German ‘W’ is the equivalent ‘V’ in Hungarian.

²¹³ ‘– F. hó 2-ikán ment végbe a m. nemz. múzeum termében, nagyszámú válogatott közönség előtt az első „Philharmoniai hangverseny”. A zenekar a legnagyobb szabattal játszák az eléadott nagyszerű műveket. Legtöbb tetszést aratott Hollósi L. né asszonyság gyönyörű éneke az „Éjszak csillagá”ból, melyet zajos kíváncsi ismételné szives volt; a szép éneket emelte még a remek fuvola-kíséret a derék Doppler uraktól. – Az eléadott részek közt szerintünk legnagyobbyszerű Vagner nyitánya volt „Tannhäuser”ból.’

²¹⁴ Not to mention the ‘*Pilgrim-chorus*’, which was performed twice at the concerts of Philharmonic Society of Pest between 1854 and 55. (On 25 March and on 9 April 1854).

²¹⁵ He wrote scholarly works as well. One of them is entitled: *Magyar vagy cigányzene?* (*Hungarian or Gypsy music?*). Source: ZenLex, Volume 1, p. 129.

²¹⁶ MagyÉLex, Volume I, p. 262.

one of the last Hungarian ‘Renaissance men’ who was always ready to travel to Vienna, or to Berlin to attend a fantastic concert.²¹⁷ Brassai reproached Erkel for his affection for the music of Wagner and was angry with him as well, because it was with Erkel’s help that Wagner’s compositions were first performed in Hungary. Brassai, as a journalist, wrote music-critiques that were remarkably accurate and seldom off the mark, therefore it seems strange that he did not recognize Wagner’s importance and greatness and did not understand the complexity of Wagner’s historical influence ‘which reached far beyond the field of music’.²¹⁸

Brassai was the music-critic of the *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*) from 1856 and wrote two essays, which both show signs of obvious hostility towards Richard Wagner. In the article that was published in issue 25 on 30 January 1856, Brassai used dark humor:

Wagner and his applauders may look with disdain upon the seventy-year-old ‘youthful’ veteran [Mozart], but *Don Juan* will continue to be carried off by the devil when the Venusberg and *Lohengrin*’s [it is **Lohengrimm** in the text, a pun referring to the Grimm brothers] swan-drawn boat has long become a mythical, outmoded memory. [...]²¹⁹

The title of the article was *Mozart-festival* and it was written about the concert, which took place on 27 January 1856 on the centenary of Mozart’s birth.²²⁰ As Brassai used the pseudonym ‘Canus’, the essay may be traced to him based on

²¹⁷ Lakatos, *Brassai*, pp. 143-151.

²¹⁸ The quotation is from the *Prelude* in Salmi, p. 1.

²¹⁹ ‘Wagner és tapsoncai megvetéssel tekinthetnek a hetven éves ifju öregre, de bizony *Don Juant* még mindig fogja elvinni az ördög, midőn Tannhäuser Venusbergje és **Lohengrimm** hattyúvonta sajkája már másodszor váltak lesz mythologiai avult emlékké. (...)’

²²⁰ According to the poster of the concert the program was: *Symphony in C-major* by Mozart, an aria from ‘*Titus*’ (*La Clemenza di Tito*) sang by Mrs. Ellinger, née Teréz Engst accompanied by the clarinetist: Albin Reindl, or Reinl, sometimes Reinel (the aria had to be Sesto’s aria from the first act: *Parto, parto*), *D-minor piano concerto* (the solo played by Ferenc Erkel), the *Overture to ‘Titus’*, and a ‘big’ mixed choir: *Néked, világok ura* by Mozart. Source: BudFilhTárs, p. 13.

its style²²¹ and the meaning of the pseudonym. (The word 'Canus' comes from Latin, its meaning is old, gray, white, and snow-covered).²²² By analysing both of the following sources it can also be shown that the two writings have a similar style. (Multiple metaphors, profound knowledge of Greek mythology and Roman history, tricky phrasing, periodic style, etc.) Haraszti believes that the author of the aforementioned pseudonymous essay was Brassai, and I agree with him on the present occasion.²²³

The other source connected to Wagner stems from 1856 as well and Brassai — who wrote his name at the end of his essay this time — reported on the concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest. The following lines are from the *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*) issue 297, 24 December 1856. Although there was no Wagner-composition that evening,²²⁴ Brassai used his essay to 'assault' Wagner and his music. This is made evident by the first paragraph of his article.²²⁵

The music of the future which up to now has not done much more than shyly peek into our house in the form of fragments of the *Tannhäuser*, has now marched in as a triumphant general — with bells ringing and banners flying — and with frequent hurrahs. [...]

²²¹ There were not many music-critics at that time (around 1850/60) in Hungary with such extensive knowledge or elegant style as Brassai had.

²²² To prevent misunderstandings, 'Canis' means 'dog' in Latin. Source: Lat.Magy.

²²³ Haraszti, p. 227.

²²⁴ The program of the concert was: *Overture to Euryanthe* by Carl Maria von Weber, *Ruy Blas*-overture by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (orchestration by Berlioz), a Taubert-song entitled *Ich weiss nicht warum ich singe* (*I do not know why am I singing*) and the '*Eroica*' by Beethoven. (Brassai wrote a tough critique of the performance of that composition). As Taubert was a German composer (Carl Gottfried Wilhelm Taubert, 23 March 1811 - 7 January 1891), his music did not appear often at concerts in Hungary at that time. This is most likely the reason why his songs and operas did not become a part of the Hungarian opera- and song-repertoire. Source: Patrick J. Smith, 'Art. Taubert, (Carl Gottfried) Wilhelm', in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 25, p. 123.

²²⁵ 'A „jövendő zenéje” mely eddigelé a „Tannhäuser” némi töredékeiben csak amugy félénken kukkantott be hozzánk, most győző hadvezérként diadalpompával — mit klingendem Spiel und fliegenden Fahnen — vonult be, sűrű éljenzések közt. (...)'

According to Brassai's lines it seems, that the Hungarian public opinion had begun to be more charitable to Wagner's music, and Hungarians were becoming more receptive than they had been in 1856.²²⁶

The aforementioned source can be important from another reason too. Based on the previously presented articles of Hungarian press it seems possible that this was the first time that the 'music of the future'²²⁷ idiom appeared in the Hungarian press.

2.2.2.3. The First Performance of the *Overture to Lohengrin* and Its Reception in Pest in 1858

The concerts of the Philharmonic Society of Pest continued in 1857 and in 1858 at the National Museum, but according to the essay which was written about Erkel by Kálmán D'Isoz²²⁸ attendance had decreased. That is probably why Erkel wanted to change the program and add new compositions to their repertoire, so he started to place not only Wagner, but also Liszt and Schumann on the program of the Philharmonic Society of Pest.²²⁹

²²⁶ Brassai did not appreciate that the reception of Richard Wagner's music had begun to change for the better, and, as Wagner's greatest Hungarian opponent at the time he was still hoping for the 'Wagner-madness' to end soon: '(...) Echoes of the victory have not yet been reduced to silence and enthusiasm swells many breasts (...) we will not venture to predict how long this will last.'

²²⁷ Richard Wagner attempted upon many occasions to clarify the meaning of the expression 'music of the future' in order to avoid misunderstandings. An example of such attempts is his letter, which was written to Villot under the title: '*Zukunftsmusik*' (*The 'Music of the Future'*): *an einer französischen Freund (F. Villot) als Vorwort zu einer Prosaübersetzung meiner Operndichtungen*' (1860).

²²⁸ D' Isoz, *Erkel*, p.143.

²²⁹ According to the source above, Schumann's *Symphony in D-minor* was played twice and a few Liszt compositions were played by the Society in 1857/58.

The next performance of a Wagner-opus happened to be on 28 February 1858, when the *Overture to Lohengrin* was performed.²³⁰ There are two newspapers, which wrote about this concert available in the Széchenyi National Library in Budapest. The *Pester Lloyd* discussed the concert which was presented on 2 March 1858 as did the *Délibáb (The Mirage)* in its issue 10 on 7 March 1858. Neither of the newspapers published a kind critique on the concert.

The *Pester Lloyd's* critic (named 'r') wrote that the performance was not perfect, but the *Overture to Lohengrin* was repeated twice. This may be an indication of the appreciation of the public. The next part of the article.²³¹

[...] For most of the audience, the overture to Wagner's 'Lohengrin' was completely new. In this the composer quit the form of the overture he still maintained in 'Tannhäuser' and — one can say — of the composition he drew only a small, revolutionary image and its foundations. Among those, who were unfamiliar with it, the overture obviously evoked great interest, since they had already heard of the appearance of The Knight of the Swan and Others. Thus one knew

²³⁰ In the country, by all odds, Wagner's music could be heard on 7 November 1858, in Redout, Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony) for the first time with the instrumentality of Pressburger Liedertafel (Song-Table of Bratislava) and the Hainburges Männerverein (Men's Club of Hainburg). 'Pilgrim-chorus' from the *Tannhäuser*. Conductor: Volkmar Schurig. Source: H, pp. 232-33.

²³¹ '(...) Ganz neu für den überall größten Theil der Zuhörer war: die Introduction zu Wagner's „Lohengrin“. Der Komponist hat hier dieselbst noch im „Tannhäuser“ eingehaltene Ouverturenform abgeschüttelt, und nur in einem kleinen, wir möchten sagen, Rebellbilde die Grundzüge der nachfolgenden Dichtung hingezeichnet. Für den, welchem diese selbst nicht unbekannt ist, hat natürlich auch die Einleitung großes Interesse, denn er hört schon die Erscheinung des Schwanenritters und Anderes heraus, und weiß dadurch den für jeden Anderen melodischen unklaren Verschlingungen einen Ausbruch und damit eine Wahrheit zu verleihen und versteht die selbstständig neben einander erklingenden Tondialoge: zu scheiden und zu erschaffen. Wir sind aber selbst überzeugt, daß bei der Nichtkenntnis der Oper und der Wagner'schen Briefe überhaupt diese Intrada auf Jeden den Eindruck machen wird, welchen der Namenszug des türkischen Kaisers auf das Auge des unkundigen Beschauers hervorbringt. Vor lauter Schnörkel und verschlungenen Linien verlieren wir den Grundzug und in der Wagner'schen Einleitung entgeht uns das Verständniß des einzelnen Gedankens, da deren zu viele gleichzeitig und obendrein in einer uns zu fremden Form ertönen als daß das ungeübte Ohr folgen könnte. (...)'

that one could expect a 'melodic' breakthrough, complicated and obscure for everyone else, in which some truth could be reflected. One could understand the musical dialogues playing parallel to each other which enabled one to be detached, too, and to become creative. We are convinced, though, that on those, who knew neither the opera (*Lohengrin*) nor Wagner's letters, the overture could only make an impression similar to that of the Turkish emperor's signature on inexperienced eyes. We can lose the essence of the music due to the noisy swirls and the ever-disappearing music themes, and thus in the Wagnerian overture the comprehension of the unique thought avoids us also because of too many things happening at once, moreover, in forms too unfamiliar for inexperienced ears to follow.[...]

The *Délibáb* (*The Mirage*, issue 10, 7 March 1858) was not generous to the presentation of the overture either:

[...] The gentlemen Meyerbeer and Richard Wagner lorded it over the concert; the first with the *Overture to Struensee*, the second with the *Overture to Lohengrin*; this second piece was an overture of the 'future' and was incredibly noisy (disturbing); is this what the future has in store?! It is also not easy to understand how Mozart came to be mixed in with the furious bandits: *Lohengrin* and *Rinaldo*. [...]²³²

Despite the warm welcome of the Hungarian public as recorded in the aforementioned article of *Pester Lloyd*, it seems likely that Hungarian critics still did not like or understand Wagner's music very much.²³³ This statement may be confirmed with the 'overture of the future' misunderstanding, too. It seems that the epithet appeared in the Hungarian press for the second time, but it is also recognized that the concerts of the Philharmonic Society of Pest achieved their

²³² '(...) Meyerbeer és Wagner Richárd urak foglalták el a tért; az első egy nyitánnyal „Struensee”-hez, a másik egy előjáttékkal: „Lohengrin”-hez; ez az előjáték a jövő előjátéka volt; rettenetesen zavaros; tehát ilyen lesz a jövő?! Hogy a jámbor Mozart hogy keveredett Lohengrin és Rinaldo, ezen ádáz haramiák közé, sokan nem tudják megfogni. (...)'

²³³ According to Haraszti, p. 229, there was another article published in Hungarian press in *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*, on 16 March 1858). This article called Wagner's music noisy and something which floats between hell and heaven.

goal, and brought Wagner's music a bit closer to the Hungarians, which also helped the musical taste of few classes of Hungarian society to evolve.

2.3. *Tannhäuser* in Hungary

2.3.1. The Road to the First Performance and the First Performance of *Tannhäuser* in 'Pester Stadttheater' (The 'Second' German Theatre of Pest)

2.3.1.1. The Circumstances of the Ordering of *Tannhäuser* in 1858 and 1859

Since the German Theatre of Pest burnt down in 1849 and a sizeable German population²³⁴ was still living in Buda and Pest, a demand for a new German Theatre had arisen, which was established in the 'Újvásár-tér' (New Marketplace, today 'Erzsébet-tér') in Pest around 1853. The new theatre was also called The German Theatre of Pest, but it was known as 'Nottheater' or the 'Pester Stadttheater' as well.²³⁵ This aforementioned 'Nottheater' or the 'Pester Stadttheater' was the 'stone-theater', where the 'entire' *Tannhäuser* was first performed in Hungary.

In 1854, a rumor took wing about the first performance of *Tannhäuser* to be presented in Pest. There was not much written in Hungary about the event, but something must have been going on behind the scenes, because Wagner wrote a letter to Wilhelm Fischer (Wagner's publisher) from Zurich on 15 February 1854. (WBV-*Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis*: 1449, Wagner's Hungarian Letters-Selection, catalogue of Ildikó Rita Anna Varga: WHL-S/3. For more details see Appendix, WHL-S (IX.), and Comparison (X.) in the end of this present dissertation).

²³⁴ Joseph II resettled them there. For more details see chapter 1.2.1.

²³⁵ The 'Pester Stadttheater' existed until 9 April 1870. Source: *Múzsák a teátrum téren — 200 éve nyílt meg a Pesti Német Színház*, (*Muses on Theatre Square: On the 200th Anniversary of the Opening of the German Theatre of Pest*). Joint exhibition of the Budapest History Museum and the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, between 21 March 2012 and 2 September 2012.

[...] What is it with Pest then? I read it everywhere that the ‘*Tannhäuser*’ will be played at the beginning of the year with Tichatschek,²³⁶ and that is indeed very kind and considerate of Tichatschek, but I would dearly like to know how the people obtained the score. We must inquire it of Tichatschek. [...] ²³⁷

There are mentioned in two sources proceeding Richard Wagner’s letter to Fischer of budding negotiations between Wagner and the German Theatre of Pest concerning a possible performance of *Tannhäuser*. The first such hint may be found in the correspondence between Wagner and Liszt. At the end of Wagner’s letter written 16 November 1853 in Luzern—in the Erich Kloss edition²³⁸ there is a list of cities that had purchased the score of *Tannhäuser*. (WBV 1405, WHL-S/1). The list contains both information Pest and the price, 15 Louis’dor.. Neither the word Pest nor the price figures in the 1887 edition of the same letters.²³⁹ It is quite possible, however, that news of the negotiations was true because Wagner mentioned the issue in a letter to Bülow composed in Zurich on 3 February 1854.²⁴⁰ In this letter, Wagner asked Bülow to post a score to Meser (C. F.), as the latter had few copies of his own and was therefore unable to give one to Witte (Theodor) who was then the director of the German Theater of Pest. (WBV 1443, WHL-S/2).

In spite of the data mentioned before, the premiere of *Tannhäuser* was postponed since there are further evidences of negotiation between Wagner and the ‘Pester Stadttheater’ from the years 1858 and 1859. The Hungarian press did not publish a single line concerning the talks, but Wagner’s own words — written to his wife Minna — can verify the fact. Wagner wrote two letters

²³⁶ Josef Aloys Tichatschek (1807-1886). Bohemian singer, ‘Heldentenor’, who was much respected by Wagner. Source: John Warrack, Art. ‘Tichatschek, Joseph’, in GROVE *Opera*, Volume Four, pp. 733-734.

²³⁵ ‘(...) Was ist denn das mit Pest? Überall lese ich, daß sie dort im Frühjahr mit Tichatschek den ‘*Tannhäuser*’ geben wollen, das ist nun sehr schön und freut mich herzlich von Tichatschek; wie die Leute zu der Partitur kommen, möchte ich auch gern wissen. (...)’

²³⁸ BrWL2, pp. 278-285.

²³⁹ BrWL1, pp. 285-291.

²⁴⁰ BrWB, pp. 45-46.

which contained this topic as well from Venice on 14 November 1858²⁴¹ (WBV 2296, WHL-S/4) and from Luzern on 18 April 1859 (WBV 2424, WHL-S/6). In the first letter Wagner wrote that Pest wanted his *Tannhäuser* (as did other cities.)²⁴²

In Wagner's second letter, which came from Luzern on 18 April²⁴³ the composer informed Minna that the *Tannhäuser* had been ordered by Pest and he asked Minna to send a score to Fischer. But Wagner insisted that Fischer should not act before he had Wagner's permission. The composer uses the word 'Zwangpass' (documented agreement, Wagner liked to use this word) in his letter.

An order for the *Tannhäuser* came from Pest as well. Would Fischer be so kind as to make one of the few scores available immediately? I ask that he post it only after I have been given permission by the director and I have given him my permission as well.²⁴⁴

Wagner's letter continued as follows:²⁴⁵

Müller (in Dresden) still has a score. I will order Schmidt to give it to Fischer. Russia and America can come too and then I will be in serious trouble.²⁴⁶

The interest of the 'Pester Stadttheater' is made evident by another letter which was written by Wagner as well. This can be found in Lindner's book and it was

²⁴¹ RWaMW, letter 151, p. 4.

²⁴² '(...) Auch in Pest wollen sie den Tannhäuser haben. (...)'

²⁴³ RWaMW, letter 169, p. 75.

²⁴⁴ 'Auch kam eine Bestellung aus Pesth auf den Tannhäuser. Fischer möge so gut sein, sogleich eine von den paar Partituren herrichten zu lassen, aber erst auf Erhalt des dem Director von mir gegeben Zwangpasses sie ihm zuschicken.'

²⁴⁵ RWaMW, letter 169, p. 76.

²⁴⁶ 'Der Müller (in Dresden) hat noch eine Partitur. Ich bestehe gegen Schmidt darauf, dass er sie an Fischer herausgiebt. Es kann noch Russland, Amerika kommen, und ich bin in grösster Verlegenheit. (...)'

written by Wagner to the Breitkopf and Härtel publisher company from Venice on 1 March 1859.²⁴⁷ (WBV 2388, WHL-S/5).

[...] It makes me very confused that it seems this opera has to start a second life. Vienna, Pest, Moscow, New York want it; [...]²⁴⁸

According to all the aforementioned Wagner-letters, Wagner and the 'Pester Stadttheater' started negotiations in either 1853-54 or 1858. The mentioned source could be interesting from another perspective too. In p. 301, footnote 5 in Lindner's book it could be seen that Lindner thought that the first performance of the *Tannhäuser* was in Pest in 1871. Lindner referred to Emmerich Kastner,²⁴⁹ who was partly wrong²⁵⁰ not only concerning the Hungarian premiere, which happened on 6 March 1862,²⁵¹ but also concerning the date of the first performance in New York. Based on McKnight's essay entitled *Wagner and the New York Press 1855-76*, and also on Richard Wagner's letter, written to Minna Wagner on 24 April 1859, the New York premiere of the *Tannhäuser* took place at the German Theatre in the Bowery of New York on 4 April 1859.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ RWEL, p. 301.

²⁴⁸ '(...) Dies setzt mich in grosse Verlegenheit, denn es scheint, daß diese Oper jetzt noch ein zweites Leben beginnen soll. Wien, Pest, Moskau, Neuyork usw. verlangen sie. (...)'

²⁴⁹ Emerich Kastner, *Die dramatische Werke Richard Wagners: Chronologisches Verzeichnis der ersten Aufführungen*, sec. ed., Leipzig, (Breitkopf and Härtel), 1899.

²⁵⁰ *Tannhäuser* was also premiered on 11 March 1871 in the National Theatre in Hungarian, in Kornél Ábrányi Sr.'s translation. For more details see Appendix VII. and VIII.

²⁵¹ Ute Jung was also wrong about the date of the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Pest. Source: Ute Jung, *Die Rezeption der Kunst Richard Wagners in Italien, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Volume 35, Regensburg, (Gustav Bosse Verlag), 1974, p. 59.

²⁵² McKnight, p. 146.

2.3.1.2. Wagner, the 'Wagnerians', and the First Appearance of Wagner's
Artistic Conception in the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*).
News about the Premiere of the *Tannhäuser* in Paris.
Pest 1860/61.

As it has been mentioned in section 2.2.1., there was a group of educated Hungarians and musicians, many of whom had studied abroad, who supported the reception of the Wagner's art in Hungary. (The first 'wave' of Hungarian 'Wagnerism'). The Philharmonic Society of Pest and Ferenc Erkel worked hard to introduce Wagner's compositions to the public of Pest, but there were others who shared these aims, so these aforementioned people became the first 'agents' of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism'. Kornél Ábrányi Sr., Mihály Mosonyi, Ede Reményi, Pál Rosti(y), Sándor Bertha Jr. and Viktor Vajda assisted in the process, which resulted in Hungarian society gaining a deeper understanding of Richard Wagner's art.

In chapter 2.2.1. my goal was to find the date of the beginnings of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism', which might be dated around 1860. This date can also be confirmed with the help of the fact that Kornél Ábrányi Sr. (1822-1903) the editor of the musical newspaper: *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), started to publish on musical events concerning Richard Wagner from 8 August 1860. Based on Katalin Szerző's essay, this issue and another one on 3 October 1860²⁵³, are exactly the same. Since the first issue with references to musical events concerning Wagner appeared on 8 August (on 3 October the same issue appeared) 1860, it is almost sure that Ábrányi supported the development of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism' from the first edition of 'his' newspaper.

The first news connected with Wagner appeared in the aforementioned newspaper, when the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) reported on the partial amnesty²⁵⁴ that had been granted the composer on 15 July 1860, with the comment that the story seemed incredible. The author of the article was still hoping that the rumors were true:

²⁵³ Szerző/*Zenészeti Lapok*/1860-1876, pp. 17-21.

²⁵⁴ His banishment from Saxony continued.

*Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*), issue 1/I, 8 Aug. (3 Oct.) 1860:

O, the writer of 'Bohemia' seems to know that Richard Wagner got the permission to return to Germany — but not to his home in Saxony. [...] It would be nice if this would be true, but we have our doubts. [...] Wagner is the only German person who has not yet heard *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*.²⁵⁵

The following lines in the column 'Bel és külföldi újdonságok' (Novelties from Inside and Out) *Zenészet*i Lapok-*The Musical Journal* on 24 October 1860, 4/I) discusses the upcoming performance of *Tannhäuser* in Paris and the French translations of *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *Fliegende Holländer* and the *Tristan und Isolde*,²⁵⁶ but it might be more interesting to mention that this was the first time Ábrányi and the *Zenészet*i Lapok published an article in support of 'the music of the future' and he took Wagner's side of course.

He (Wagner) wrote the introduction to those translations himself.²⁵⁷ In it he writes about his innovative ideas and methods based on his aesthetic precepts and defends them from those who still think that

²⁵⁵ 'O, A „Bohemia” tudni akarja hogy Wagner Richard engedélyt kapott Németországba visszatérhetni — kivéve hazáját Szászországot — (...) Szép ha igaz; de mi kételkedünk rajta; (...) Wagner életében az a legnevezetesebb, hogy széles nagy Németországban ő az egyedüli német ki még nem hallotta „Tannhäuser” s „Lohengrin” dalműveket.'

²⁵⁶ 'O. [The letter indicates the author.] Wagner Richard „Tannhäuser”-je jövő Február előtt nem igen fog színre kerülni Párizsban, ha bár a próbák már a nyár folytán megkezdettek, s azóta folyvást készülnek hozzá. Wagner, legismertebb s elterjedtebb dalműveinek, u. m : a „Tannhäuser” — „Lohengrin” — „Repülő Hollandi” s a „Tristan s Isold” szövegét francia nyelvre fordíttatá.'

'(...) the *Tannhäuser* is hardly going to be performed in Paris before February next year, despite the rehearsals that had begun during the summer. Wagner had the texts of *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, the *Flying Dutchman* and *Tristan and Isolde* translated into French. (...)'

According to John Deathridge and Carl Dahlhaus (*GROVE Monographs*, p. 43) the translation of *Tannhäuser* (prose) was written by Paul Challemeil-Lacour. Libretto: Charles Nuitter. The journalist was almost right in connection with the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Paris, since the revised opera was first performed on 13 March 1861.

²⁵⁷ Richard Wagner: 'Zukunftsmusik' ('*Music of the Future*): an einen französischen Freund (F. Villot) als Vorwort zu einer Prosa-Übersetzung meiner Operndichtungen', 1860.

Wagner was sent by providence only to frighten presumptuous dwarves like Verdi and Mercadante, [...] and to give some German doctor from Berlin an opportunity to apply the scornful epithet ‘the music of the future’ (to Wagner’s music).²⁵⁸

The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) as the most prominent source of information on Wagner in Hungary worked unwaveringly and reported accurately on all events related to the composer. On 27 February 1861 (22/I) another article appeared in the columns of the newspaper. It was about Franz Liszt, who was going to travel to Paris to attend the premiere of *Tannhäuser*.

Franz Liszt has arrived in Paris. [...] The aim of his travels is to attend the premiere of Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*. [...] ²⁵⁹

In spite of the great failure of *Tannhäuser* in Paris — the first performance of the revised *Tannhäuser* was in Paris on 13 March 1861, which failed after three performances — the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) wrote a realistic critique of the first performance, which turned into a laudation by the end of the article. To prove the supportive attitude of the editor (Ábrányi),²⁶⁰ I present the

²⁵⁸ ‘E fordításokhoz ő maga írta az előbeszédet, melyben a dalmű érdekében széptani elvekre fektetett reformátori eljárásait s nézeteit fejtegeti, s oltalmazza azok ellenében, kik még maiglan is azt hiszik, hogy Wagnert csak azért küldte a gondviselés a Verdik, Mercadant-ok (...) s olasz nagyságos törpék megrémítésére, hogy egy Berlini német doktornak alkalma legyen reá a „jövő zenéje” című sületlen élcet alkalmazni. (...)’

²⁵⁹ ‘(...) Liszt Ferenc Párisba érkezett, (...) Utazásának célja nem más, mint Wagner Tannhäuserjének első adatásán jelen lenni. (...)’

In the same issue of the aforementioned newspaper may be found another piece of news concerning the first ‘*Tannhäuser-parody*’:

‘Párisban a „Folies dramatiques” című színházban egy Wagner Richárdot parodizáló darabot adnak elő ily címen „Une grande Symphonie de tanne-tout-le-monde en scie majeure. (...)’

‘(...) there was a parody on Richard Wagner in Paris in the ‘Folies dramatiques’-theatre. Its title was ‘Une grande Symphonie de tanne-tout-le-monde en scie majeure’. (...)’ Source: *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), issue 22/1 on 27 February 1861.

²⁶⁰ There is a wrong date on the main page of the newspaper. The date 1651 is a typographical error.

following lines, which are from the 26th issue of the first year which was published on 17 March 1861.

[...] we can read many kinds of retroflections and many different opinions about the first performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. One of them calls it a complete fiasco, but many critiques are written with a pen dipped in the greatest enthusiasm.[...] ²⁶¹

[...] The composition 'came through' against all odds. This can be proven by the high turnout/full house despite soaring ticket prices.

[...] ²⁶²

The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) published a longer review on 10 April 1861, in which the newspaper quoted remarks from the leading French papers. The article conceded the failure of *Tannhäuser*, but the author blamed politics for the defeat... (The political background of the premiere was considered in the context of the Austrian-friendly politics of Napoleon III of which the French public was convinced). The author first quoted the *Moniteur*, which published an extremely tough and uncharitable critique of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. There are other lines from the *Patrie* in the aforementioned critique, in which the French newspaper compared Wagner's music to Johann Sebastian Bach's compositions with the comment that Wagner's music is mainly symphonic and not operatic. By analyzing the lines carefully it will be obvious that the author considers the behaviour of the French critics reprehensible.

[...] the *Tannhäuser* opera is not theatrical but purely symphonic music, and it exhibits connections, indeed a family resemblance, to the music of Sebastian Bach! [...] ²⁶³

²⁶¹ 'Wagner „Tannhäuser” dalművének első párisi adatási sikere felől a legkülönbözőbb véleményű tudósításokat lehet olvasni. Egyik tökéletes fiasciónak mondja, míg sokan a legnagyobb lelkesedésbe mártott tollal hoznak róla bírálatokat. (...)'

²⁶² '(...) Mindezek ellenére a dalmű keresztül hatott, s valahányszor adják, mindig a legmagasabb árak mellett kiárult színház tanuskodik nagy érdekeltsége felől. (...)'

In connection with the *Tannhäuser* and France, I have to mention a letter, which Wagner had written in Paris to one of his beloved acquaintances, who was probably Mrs. Bertalan Szemere, née Leopoldina Jurkovich. The lady lived in Paris during that period and had been the wife of Bertalan Szemere, the ex-prime minister of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49. In Richard Wagner's letter of 16 April 1861, which — as far as I know — is going to be published for the first time, Wagner had written about the *Tannhäuser* as well. On the basis of the systematization, I made about Richard Wagner's letters that can be connected to Hungary, the letter written to Mrs. Szemere is scored WHL-S/7. (The facsimile of the letter is in Addendum, 9. More information about the letter can be found in the appendix under the banner of Comparison (X.) and WHL-S, IX). It can be interesting to note, that the letter WBV 8787 was also written to a lady in German and in this letter the *Tannhäuser* was mentioned as well.

The Ábrányi-led *Zenészetí Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) carried on its 'Wagnerist' work, publishing a short article about the idea of a new theatre that was going to be constructed solely for performing Wagner's compositions in Germany. It was presumably the first time that any news appeared in Hungary about Wagner's plans for Bayreuth. (30/I, 24 April 1861).

Not only Ábrányi, but also Sándor Bertha Jr. worked for the acceptance of Wagner's art and ideas. Bertha, who stood by Wagner in the beginning of his career but later became an opponent, wrote a long essay for the *Zenészetí Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) under the title '*A dalmű-szöveg*' which can be translated as *The Opera-Text*. This comprehensive article was published in three parts on 3 October 1861 (1/II), on 10 October 1861 (2/II) and on 17 October 1861 (3/II).

²⁶³ '(...) a „Tannhäuser” dalmű nem annyira színpadi, mint valóságos hangversenyi zene, s hogy (...) minden zene között a legnagyobb hasonlatossága s rokonsága van Bach Sebestyén zenéjével! (...)'

Although Ábrányi took the parallel between Bach and Wagner as an evidence of incompetence of the journalist, similar idea appears in one of Dahlhaus's work as well:

'Richard Wagner gave combination of Bach and Beethoven a nationalistic accent. Whereas Beethoven's symphonic works had always — since the early enthusiasm for the Ninth Symphony — represented the epitome of music itself, Bach, representative (presents) (of) the 'German spirit' in 'wretched times. (...)'

Source: Dahlhaus, p. 119.

In his scholarly essay Bertha introduced the artistic ideas of Wagner, which characterized the thoughts and the music of the outstanding German composer around 1850, based primarily on Wagner's theoretical work: *Opera and Drama* and the text of the '*Holländer*' (*Flying Dutchman*).²⁶⁴ Bertha used the first part of Wagner's academic writing entitled: *Az opera és zene lényege* (*The Essence of Opera and Music*) in the second part of his essay. The Hungarian 'Wagnerist' followed the logic and ideas of the first seven chapters of this book, and introduced Wagner's opinion about the past and the problems of the genre in his discussion of opera from Gluck to Meyerbeer.

Sándor Bertha wrote also about Wagner's exceptional artistic ideas like his unique style of using the melodies to serve the unity of poetry and music in opera, and to create music drama. Bertha — as a composer — was also enchanted by Wagner's use of poetry as a device to explain the nature of the inner state of the characters and the direction and development of their passion. He argued that the melody is a 'tool' to show the depth and greatness of this passion and that the orchestra was meant to provide a commentary, ergo the orchestra took over the place of the choir of the Greek dramas, so its new function was to warn and guide the soul. The only difference is, that in Wagner's music-dramas the orchestra correlates the current episode to the characters from the first moment until the last strains of the opus. In the aforementioned essay — whose last part was also based on Wagner's great scholarly essay *Oper und Drama* — Bertha used the text and music of the *Flying Dutchman's* (*Der Fliegende Holländer*) to write about Richard Wagner's artistic ideas in general. He concluded his serious academic work with the following lines:

And we Hungarians must be roused by his example. [...] If every one of us brings only a particle of dust to the altar of progress, our homeland will rise to the greatness she deserves faster than we could have hoped. [...] So let us keep moving, because standing still is the equivalent of regression.²⁶⁵ Sándor Bertha Jr.

²⁶⁴ *Opera and Drama* in *Költészet és zene a jövő drámájában*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1983, pp. 9-17.

²⁶⁵ 'Mi pedig magyarok, buzduljunk fel az ő (Wagner) példáján, (...) a haladás oltárára mindenikünk csak egy porszemet hozván, hamarább felfog az (hazánk) emelkedni méltó

It seems that the aforementioned lines, and the previously mentioned several publications that year (first year, 1860/61)²⁶⁶ the publicists of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) did a tremendous service to Wagner-reception in Hungary. The last sentences of Bertha's essay also show that the Hungarian 'Wagnerists' coupled Wagner's name with the idea of progress and revolution, which has to be an example for every Hungarian musician.

2.3.2. The First Performance of *Tannhäuser* in Hungary in the 'Pester Stadttheater' (the 'Second' German Theatre of Pest) on 6 March 1862

While Ábrányi and the other 'Wagnerists' worked for the reception of Richard Wagner's art in Hungary, the 'Pester Stadttheater' (the 'second' German Theatre of Pest) once again started negotiations with Richard Wagner about the first performance of *Tannhäuser*.

According to Emil Haraszti, there were four articles written about the first performance of the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Pest,²⁶⁷ out of two appeared in the columns of *Pester Lloyd*. *Pester Lloyd* commonly reported about almost every event in connection with Wagner with immense care, for example, the letter Richard Wagner wrote to the Hungarian general public would later appear in this newspaper as well, in issue 188th on 19 Aug. 1863, for the first time in Hungary.

As I have already explained in subchapter 2.3.1.1. that not only Hungarian writers' Hungarian articles, essays and books dealt with the previously mentioned topic, but also Lindner and Kastner, who dated the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Pest to 1871. (The *Tannhäuser* was performed firstly in Hungarian in 1871). The latest studies published in connection with the topic, such as Roswitha Vera Karpf's study, marked as early as 1862 as the date of the premiere just as the last update of the website on 13 Aug. 2012, edited by

nagyságára mint (...) mi hittük volna. Csak haladjunk folyvást; mert maradni: süllyedés. Ifj. Bertha Sándor.' Source: *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), 3/II, 17 Oct. 1861.

²⁶⁶ The first year of the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) from 8 August 1860 (3 October) until October 1861.

²⁶⁷ The other was an issue of the *Zenészeti Lapok*, but according to Haraszti (p. 234) it was published many years after.

Richard S. Bogart, a scholar of Stanford University, considered the date 6 March 1862 credible. (See: <http://opera.stanford.edu/Wagner/Tannhauser/history.html>. 7 Oct. 2014). Both the website and Karpf's aforementioned study regarded Budapest as the location of the premiere of *Tannhäuser*, but the unification of Buda, Pest and Óbuda did not happen until 17 Nov. 1873, so the data about the location needs to be modified in both publications. It can also be interesting to know that Zoltán Kodály's composition *Psalmus Hungaricus* was to be performed at the 50th anniversary of the unification of Budapest, but the date of the premiere was changed to 19 Nov. 1923 — as it seems, mistakenly. Emil Haraszti, who is also frequently mentioned on these pages, called Zoltán Kodály's composition ingenious, according to Péter László.²⁶⁸

But coming back to the details of the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Pest. Bernhard Winter was the director of the 'Pester Stadttheater' from 1862 until 1864²⁶⁹ and Carlo Emanuele (de) Barbieri (1822-1867) the Italian composer²⁷⁰ who probably lived in Pest from 1862,²⁷¹ was the conductor of the theatre and also of the first *Tannhäuser* according to Géza Staud (BudOp100, p. 42.). It might be intriguing to note that Harold Rosenthal and Desmond Shawe-Taylor, who wrote the article about Barbieri in GROVE *Opera* were convinced that Barbieri was conductor of the National Theatre in Buda (it was in Pest) from 1862 to 1867,²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Péter László, *Zenei textológia* in *Tiszatáj*, Feb. 1993, pp. 92-93.

²⁶⁹ As it can be found in MagySzínművLex, Volume III, *Pesti német színház*, p. 468, the directors of the new 'Pester Stadttheater' ('Nottheater') were: Theodor Witte (1852-56), Karl Dietrich in 1857, (József ?) Treichlinger also in 1857 (only for one day), Georg von Grundy between 1857-60 and 1867-70, Karl Alsdorf (1860-1862), Bernhard Winter (1862-64), Josef Röhring (1864-65), Adolf Landvogt (1865-67). The encyclopedia used Wolfgang Binal's work: *Deutschsprachiges Theater in Budapest*, 1972. The facts can also be proved by Géza Staud. (BudOp100, p. 42).

²⁷⁰ Carlo Emanuele (de) Barbieri was known as conductor, but he composed operas, vaudevilles and some sacred music as well. His wellknown opera: *Perdita, ein Wintermärchen* (*Perdita, A Winter's Tale*, performed first on 11 Jan. 1865), was based on Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. Sources: Harold Rosenthal, Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Art. 'Barbieri, Carlo Emanuele', in GROVE *Opera*, Volume One, p. 314. and Martin Tartak, Art. 'Barbieri, Carlo Emanuele', 'Works', in Grove Music Online. Downloaded: 7 July 2013.

²⁷¹ BudOp100, p. 42.

²⁷² Harold Rosenthal, Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Art. 'Barbieri, Carlo Emanuele', in GROVE *Opera*, Volume One, p. 314.

but according to other researchers like Géza Staud, Miklós Hofer, Bálint Magyar, Mrs. Mályusz, née Edit Császár, György Császár and László Vámos²⁷³ it can be stated that Károly Huber, Károly Doppler, Ferenc Erkel and his son Gyula Erkel conducted all opera performances at the National Theatre at this period. Based on the aforementioned facts, it is almost certain that Rosenthal and Shawe-Taylor were wrong. (For more details see later in this chapter).

Thus it seems that *Tannhäuser* was first performed in the 'Pester Stadttheater' with Barbieri conducting on 6 March 1862. Haraszti wrote in his book that the poster for the premiere appeared in the newspaper called *Zwischenakt* (*Intermission*)²⁷⁴ but because the particular issue of the newspaper has been lost, it is not sure who the singers in the first staging of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* in Hungary were. Although nothing is certain, I have decided to publish a 'presumed' cast of the first *Tannhäuser*, which can be seen below.²⁷⁵ According to Géza Staud (BudOp100, p. 42.), the first performance of *Tannhäuser* enjoyed enormous financial and public success, and the performance won over the Hungarian public, so that they began to frequent the 'German-Theatre' of Pest. The reason for the lack of attention in the Hungarian press might have been the fact that the first *Tannhäuser* was played in German, in the rival of the National Theatre, the 'antagonistic' 'second' German Theatre. The premiere of *Tannhäuser* — at 7 p.m. on 6 March 1862 — was a full-house performance according to the only subsistent critique. It is certain that from the prominent representatives of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism/Wagner-cult' Ödön Mihalovich and Kornél Ábrányi Sr. had taken part in the opening night.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ BudOp100, p. 40. and ANemzSzính150, pp. 242-44.

²⁷⁴ According to Haraszti, p. 234. *Zwischenakt* (*Intermission*) was a German-language theatrical newspaper in Pest.

²⁷⁵ The cast probably were: Hermann: (Rezső) Schmidt, Tannhäuser: Coloman Schmidt, Wolfram: (Gusztáv) Simon, Walter: Baer, Biterolf: Borkovszky, Reimar: Lechner, Elisabeth: Frl. (Miss) Leinauer, Venus: Frl. Braun, Shepherd: Frl. Alsdorf, Four Pageboys: Frl. Hild, Arnstein, Frühwirth, Dobrowolny. Source: Haraszti, p. 234.

²⁷⁶ Ákos Windhager, *Mihalovich Ödön pályaképe*, Literary Studies Doctorial School, Thesis, Budapest, 2010, p. 3. and 5. and Haraszti, p. 234.

Sándor Czeke alias Julius Czeke²⁷⁷, a music-art critic publicizing under the pseudonym 'C', wrote a review of the first night of the *Tannhäuser* in Budapest in the 56th issue of *Pester Lloyd*, published on 8 March 1862, with a title of *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg. Grosse romantische Oper in drei Aufzügen von Richard Wagner (Zum ersten Male aufgeführt in deutschen Theater am 6. März)*.²⁷⁸ In the first part of his review Sándor Czeke mentions the theoretic works of Wagner, and later writes about how he made the acquaintance with the outstanding master-mind during a performance of the *Fliegende Holländer* — probably on 30th April 1852 — in Zurich, which was conducted by Richard Wagner.

In the substantive part of the article Czeke goes on like this:

[...] First of all, we shall emphasize the 'merits' of the work, then we shall highlight the lapses and oversights. One of the opera's advantages is that — like the compositions of Wagner in general — it also breaks with Italian opera's aria-structure, which is often thoughtless and markedly contradictory to the lyrics, and it opposes a character-drawing to it, acquiring the use of beauty's barrier and the exceeding of musical logic form it, by which it gains a significant

²⁷⁷ Sándor (sometimes Julius) Czeke (born in my hometown: Pécs, 1828 or 1830-1891 or 1900) had written several treatises about 'gipsy music', which materials were put to use by Ferenc Liszt in his book *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie-About the Gypsies and Gypsy Music in Hungary*. One of those treatises is Sándor Czeke: *Über ungarische Musik und Zigeuner (About the Hungarian Music and Gypsies)*. Liszt sent a letter to Ferenc Erkel on 19 September, 1856 (in 1911 existed on Mus. Ep. 15. in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. Prahács mentions the letter on a date of 16 September). In the letter Liszt asked Erkel to send him the treatises of Czeke. Liszt's book — which kicked up a storm — was published on French in 1859, Paris and also on Hungarian in 1861, Budapest. Sources: Art. *Liszt Ferenc kéziratai a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban* by István Kereszty in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1911, Booklet III, p. 196, Margit Prahács (Ed.), *Franz Liszt Briefe aus ungarischen Sammlungen 1835-1866*, Bp. - Kassel - Basel etc. (Akadémiai Kiadó, Bärenreiter), 1996, 88, p. 92, Alan Walker, *Ferenc Liszt*, Volume 2, pp. 375-76, *Liszt cigánykönyvének magyarországi fogadtatása* by Klára Hamburger in *Muzsika (Music)*, 12/43, Dec. 2000, footnotes 6.

²⁷⁸ Premiere: 6 March 1862, 'Pester Stadttheater'.

advantage — the replacement of the operatic arbitrariness with an artistic drive.²⁷⁹ [...]

In the next part of his critique Czeke mentions the aforementioned method, which is not new because it was even applied by Gluck, Mozart and Aubere, but while they wanted to keep the boundaries of music, Wagner preferred widening them, following his own logic and highlighting drama. Czeke resumes:

[...] the focus of his (Wagner's) character-representation is not in the melodiousness since musical inventiveness is not his strongest side, so he had an array of harmonious and orchestral armed forces to equip his musical commander-nimbus in the most magnificent way. [...]²⁸⁰

Furthermore, Czeke states his case about the dramatic truth. In his opinion, in the genre of opera the truth could hide in the proper ratio of music and drama, so the scale ought not to turn the balance to neither drama, nor music. After telling the story of *Tannhäuser* Czeke compliments the poetry of Wagner's lyrics, but deems that the music would be half so impressive without the drama and the text. As a conclusion he believes, that '(...) the musical grandiosity of Wagner is not as significant as Wagner's artistic will/purpose. (...)'. In the critique Czeke also writes about the elaboration of themes, which he is dissatisfied with, because as he sees it, they are repeated too many times, but he compliments the construction of the choruses and the Duet of *Tannhäuser and Elisabeth* (*Gepriesen sei die Stunde...*, act II.). On the contrary, he talks

²⁷⁹ '(...) Wir werden zuerst die 'Verdienste' des Werkes hervorheben, und sodann dessen Fehler und Irrthümer beleuchten. Ein Verdienst dieser Oper, wie der Wagner'schen Dichtung überhaupt ist, dass es den oft gedankenlosen, und mit dem Texte in schreiendem Widerspruche stehenden Arienwesen der italienischen Oper eine musikalische Characterzeichnung entgegenstellt, (...) dennoch den wesentlichen Vorzug hat, eine künstlerische Sucht an die Stelle operistischer Willkür zu setzen. (...)'

²⁸⁰ '(...) den Schwerpunkt seiner (Wagner) Characterzeichnung nicht im Melodischen sucht, dieweil die melodische Erfindung überhaupt nicht seine starke Seite ist, so musste er das Aufgebot der harmonischen und orchestralen Streitkräfte zu Hilfe rufen, um seinen musikalischen Feldherrn-Nimbus auf des Glänzendste aus zustatten. (...)'

about '*Der Sängerkrieg*' (*Blick ich umher...*, act II.) and the Aria of Wolfram from III. act (*O, du mein holder Abendstern...*) in a derogatory way and remarks, in connection with the latter, that it could only become famous because the audience was exulting to hear an aria at last. In the final section of his essay Czeke talks about the premiere as being respectable and also commends the work of Barbieri as he did not forget to mention the crowded auditorium.

On the basis of the aforementioned lines it can be said that the report written by Sándor Czeke is a competent and positive one, which reflects the changes in the Hungarian Wagner-reception, or at least the 'premonitory signs' of them. The paper, *Pester Lloyd*, issue 56, 8 March 1862 reported that *Tannhäuser* was performed on 8 March in the Pester Theatre at 7 pm as well, but after the second performance no new report was published in the Hungarian press. Haraszti wrote — H, p. 237. — that there were a few occasions when *Tannhäuser* was performed at the 'Second German Theatre' on 19 and 28 March, and on 20 May and at the Ofner Sommer-Theater ('The Summer-Theatre of Buda') on 12 June 1862.²⁸¹

The Philharmonic Society of Pest first performed Wagner's compositions on their programs in Hungary, so the question remains why Erkel and the Philharmonic Society of Pest did not carry on the work they had done towards a positive reception of Richard Wagner's compositions in Hungary. The question also arises why the National Theatre did not offer a Wagner opera first. Could it be that the director of the 'Pester Stadttheater' was simply faster to react than Erkel (the chief music director of the National Theatre) had been?

To answer these questions we must consider a few events. It is a fact that Richard Wagner and the Pester Stadttheater started negotiations first, in 1853-54 and 1858-59, which can show the demand of the Hungarian aristocracy and middle classes, who got used to and even developed a fondness for the 'very new Wagner-music'. Most of the conditions were in place for the National Theatre to 'order' and perform a Wagner opera around 1862. The reason why it was not the National Theatre and its music director Erkel that first ordered a

²⁸¹ *Vasárnapi Újság* (*The Sunday Journal*) reported about the performance of *Tannhäuser*'s second act. (25/9, 1862, 22 June 1862). According to the news which appeared in column 'Budai Népszínház' (The Folktheatre of Pest-Buda) the second act was played on 7 June 1862, in The Folktheatre of Pest-Buda.

Wagner-opera can yet again be found in Hungarian historical, music historical, and music political situation. To clarify my point, I must briefly summarise what happened in Hungarian history in that critical period.

After the failure of the War of Independence Emperor Franz Joseph II (1830-1916) ruled the whole country (Hungary) by himself in a neo-absolutistic way. The new system, which was born in 1851 and has been called the Bach Era, was based on officials of government and the army. The Habsburg Empire's intention was to integrate Hungary into the Empire and to modernize the country as well. That is why the Austrian Civil and Criminal Code and a predominantly Austrian system of officials were introduced, the system of weights and measures was integrated and the educational system was reformed.²⁸² A part of the nobility went bankrupt due to stringent measures like high taxes and high monthly installments. Despite the problems in agriculture, industry experienced significant economic growth with the building of railroads throughout the country, not to speak of the establishment of new industrial plants and the influx of Italian and French capital. The industrial development also had a positive impact on demographics.

The ignoring of the constitution, the introduction of policies opposed by society (e.g. repeated tax raises), the permanent presence of officials and soldiers in Hungary and the police informer-system (secret service) undermined the relations between the Emperor and Hungarian society. Hungarians developed identity problems and began to feel like foreigners in their own country, so they started to oppose the system in three different ways: real resistance, passive resistance and emigration.

Real resistance meant actual armed encounters between the soldiers of the Empire and bands of Hungarian highwaymen, but it also included attacks against the political system and the distribution of inflammatory leaflets as well. Most of the educated Hungarian classes engaged in passive resistance by abstaining from politics, refusing to pay their taxes and preferring the Hungarian language, culture and theatre. Those members of the aristocracy who used emigration as a weapon against the Habsburg Empire mostly moved to Turkey

²⁸² MagyTört19, 16/VIII, *Az önkényuralom kora-The Age of Autocracy (1849-1867)*, pp. 279-287.

(Istanbul) and to Paris. Their goal was to call the attention of the foreign countries to the 'Hungarian Question'.²⁸³

After 1859, the financial failure of the Bach Era urged Franz Joseph II to dismiss Alexander Bach and promise to introduce further reforms. Despite the promises, the situation in the country had become unmanageable, so Archduke Albert had to resign, and Marshal Lajos Benedek succeeded him in 1860.²⁸⁴ As the Hungarian parliament refused the new measures in 1860 and 1861 (e.g. the 'February-Constitution' in 1861), a new absolutism was introduced in Hungary starting from 1861. These were the historical facets which pushed a large part of Hungarian society into a new wave of anti-German sentiment between 1858 and 1861.²⁸⁵

The consequences of these historical changes appeared in the cultural life of Hungary as well. The National Theatre started to ignore 'German music' and 'German operas' again. The repertoire of the National Theatre between 1860 and 1862 aptly reflects this tendency:

1860-61

1. Meyerbeer: *Dinorah, vagy: A Ploermeli búcsú*, (*The Pilgrimage of Ploërmel, Le pardon de Ploërmel*).

Hungarian text: Lajos Csepregi, conductor: Ferenc Erkel, premiered on 17 November 1860.

2. Offenbach: *Eljegyzés lámpafénynél* (*The Wedding by Lantern-Light, Le Mariage aux Lanternes*).

Hungarian text: Miklós Feleki, conductor: Károly Huber, premiere: 21 November 1860.

3. Donizetti: *Belizar*.

Hungarian text: Ferenc Gyergyay, conductor: Károly Doppler. Premiere: 29 December 1860.

4. Offenbach: *Férj az ajtó előtt* (*Husband at the Door, Un mari à la porte*).

Hungarian text: Kálmán Szerdahelyi.

²⁸³ MagyTört19, 16/VIII, *Az önkényuralom kora-The Age of Autocracy (1849-1867)*, pp. 287-293.

²⁸⁴ MagyTört19, 16/VIII, *Az önkényuralom kora-The Age of Autocracy (1849-1867)*, pp. 310-316.

²⁸⁵ MagyTört, 6/I, pp. 526-638, 639-673, 696-707.

5. Ferenc Erkel: *Bánk bán*.

Libretto: Benjámín Egressy, conducted by Ferenc Erkel, premiere: 9 March 1861.

6. Offenbach: *A varázshegedű (Breton Legend, Le violoneux, légende bretonne)*.

Hungarian text: Kálmán Szerdahelyi, conducted by Károly Huber, premiere: 14 March 1861.²⁸⁶

1861-62

1. Offenbach: *Az elisondói leány (The Girl of Elisondo, Pépito)*.

Hungarian text: Lajos Csepregi, conductor: Károly Huber.

2. Verdi: *Nabucodonosor (Nabucco)*.

Hungarian text: Benjámín Egressy, conducted by Károly Doppler, premiere: 21 November 1861.

3. Donizetti: *Don Pasquale*.

Hungarian text: Benjámín Egressy, conducted by Károly Huber, restaged on 23 January 1862.

4. Offenbach: *Fortunio dala (The Song of Fortunio, La chanson de Fortunio)*,

Hungarian Text: Lajos Csepregi, conducted by Károly Huber, premiere: 25 January 1862.

5. Auber: *A szirén (The Mermaid, La sirène)*.

Hungarian text: József Szerdahelyi, conductor: Károly Doppler, premiere: 5 April, 1862.

6. Suppé: *A nőnevelde (Boarding School, Das Pensionat)*.

Conductor: Károly Huber, premiere: 14 May 1862.

7. Ferenc Erkel: *Sarolta*.

Libretto: József Czanyuga, conducted by Ferenc Erkel, premiere: 26 June 1862.

8. Offenbach: *Denis úr és neje (Mr. and Mrs. Denis, Monsieur et Madame Denis)*.

Hungarian text: Kálmán Szerdahelyi, conductor: Károly Huber, premiere: 31 July 1862.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ ANemzSzính150, pp. 242-243.

²⁸⁷ ANemzSzính150, pp. 243-44.

The aforementioned list shows that there was not a single ‘German’ opera on the program of the National Theatre between 1860 and 1862 and that the National Theatre performed dramas (besides comedies and operettas) which depict a country’s or a hero’s lonely fight against oppression. From 1860 to 1862 the theatre premiered six operettas and comedies by Offenbach and some of Verdi’s and Erkel’s operas focusing on liberty and the punishment of a tyrant (e.g. *Nabucco* or *Bánk bán*). The practise of ‘translating’²⁸⁸ Italian and French operas into Hungarian, or better to say, ‘Hungarianising operas’ also continued. Beside the mostly French and Italian opera repertoire, contemporary opera-playing and Hungarian national opera carried on with development. There were two prominent premieres of Erkel: his operas *Bánk bán*²⁸⁹ and *Sarolta*²⁹⁰ were first performed at this time.

In *Bánk bán*, Ferenc Erkel followed the practice of using a Hungarian historical topic in a new Hungarian opera. Benjámín Egressy wrote the libretto, which was based on József Katona’s contemporary drama.²⁹¹ Parts of the plot of the drama had appeared in various sources, the earliest of which were probably ‘*Képes Krónika*’ (*Illustrated Chronicle* from 1358), Antonio Bonfini’s ‘*A magyar történelem évtizedei*’ (*The Decades of Hungarian History* from 1545),²⁹² Hans Sachs’ verse drama (‘*András magyar király és hű helytartója, Bánk bán*’-*The Hungarian King András and His Faithful Administrator Bánk bán*, 1561) and András Valkai’s epic poem (‘*Bánk bán históriája*’-*The Tale of Bánk bán*, 1574).²⁹³ The topic of ‘*Bánk bán*’ became extremely popular in the eighteenth

²⁸⁸ As it has been mentioned many times before in my essay, the texts were very freely handled.

²⁸⁹ Romantic opera in three acts, the libretto was written by Benjámín Egressy after József Katona. The first performance was on 9 March 1861. Source: ANemzSzính150, pp. 242-43.

²⁹⁰ *Sarolta* is an opera buffa in three acts. Libretto: József Czanyuga. Premiere: 26 June 1862. Source: ANemzSzính150, pp. 243-44.

²⁹¹ The drama was published in 1821, but performed only from 1833 in countryside and from 1839 in Pest. Source: ‘Szikrát’ *Erkel*, pp. 353-54.

²⁹² ‘Szikrát’ *Erkel*, p. 345.

²⁹³ The full title of András Valkai’s epic poem is: ‘*Az Nagysagos Bank Bannak Historia, miképen az András Király felesége, az Bank Ban iambor hytes feleséget az eczeuel meg szeplösittete: S-miképpen Bank ban az ő iambor hytesenek meg szeplosytteteseért az Kiralne aszszont le vagta.*’ Sources: *Erkel Operas, Bánk bán*, p. XXXI, András Valkai, *Bánk bánnak históriája*,

century. Two novels and one ballad published in German can be found in the contemporary literature, out of which József Katona certainly used Müller's *Leithold* (1782).²⁹⁴ Miklós Dolinszky thought that Katona 'borrowed' some two hundred lines of text from Veit Weber's *Die Brüder des Bundes für Freyheit und Recht* (*The Brethren of the Coalition for Freedom and Justice*)²⁹⁵ as well.

Bánk bán was somehow a symbol of passionate opposition to foreign dominance over Hungary, which was one of the reasons why the librettist Egressy and the composer Erkel²⁹⁶ had chosen the drama of József Katona. The other reason could be that the drama was on the repertoire of the National Theatre since 1833, it became a classic and 'even a ten-year absence from the repertoire'²⁹⁷ could not erase it from the national consciousness.²⁹⁸ ('New Hungarian consciousness'. For the earliest appearance of the term, see section 1.3.4). The other event that must have played a role in the urgent staging of the opera was that two months before the premiere Count György Károlyi²⁹⁹ — who was known from his ardent patriotism, and who was profoundly respected by Hungarians — became the president of the committee of the National Theatre.³⁰⁰

Because of the great expectations of Hungarians,³⁰¹ the Philharmonic Society of Pest performed the final scene (*'Tiszaparti jelenet', Scene on the Bank of Tisza*) of the third act of *Bánk bán* with the contribution of Kornélia Hollósy (Mrs.

Debrecenben 1574-ben fennmaradt egyetlen példánya után közli és a Bánk bán monda eredetével bevezette Ballai Károly, Budapest, (Medvei Dezső könyvkereskedő kiadása), 1930.

²⁹⁴ The original title of Leithold drama is: *Leithold, ein Fragment aus der Geschichte fürstlicher Leidenschaften*, (*Leithold, a Fragment from the History of Princely Passion*). Source: 'Szikrát' *Erkel*, 350.

²⁹⁵ Ferenc Erkel Operas, *Bánk bán*, p. XXXIII.

²⁹⁶ Erkel also developed the libretto, because Egressy died in 1851.

²⁹⁷ In 1839 Katona's drama was performed only once, but between 1845 and 1848 was played five to seven times per year. After 1849 it was banned until 1858. Source: SzNL, THS, B 51/1.

²⁹⁸ Quotation from Ferenc Erkel Operas, *Bánk bán*, p. XXXIII.

²⁹⁹ It can be proved also with the fact, that Erkel dedicated the piano score to him. Sources: Pukánszky, p. 192. and Legány, p. 75.

³⁰⁰ Pukánszky, pp. 262-264.

³⁰¹ According to Legány, p. 73., the very long silence between *'Hunyadi'* and *Bánk bán* was mainly caused by political and historical circumstances in Hungary.

Hollósy, née Kornélia Korbuly) and Károly Kőszeghy (Kőszeghy-Purth) in the salon of the National Museum on 6 January 1861.³⁰² The performance earned laudatory words from the critique of *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*), *Nefelejts* (*Forget-me-not*) and *Vasárnapi Újság* (*The Sunday Journal*).³⁰³

The premiere of the 'entire' opera³⁰⁴ enjoyed an ongoing success, which was recorded in Hungarian and German-language contemporary press. The very first article about the premiere of *Bánk bán* appeared in *Trombita* (*Trumpet*, on 10 March 1861), but there were exceptionally polite critiques in German-language Hungarian press as well. The *Pest-Ofner Zeitung* (*Pest-Buda Paper*) published a positive commentary as did *Pester Lloyd* on 12 March 1861 and *Der Ungar* (*The Hungarian*) on the same day. The critic of *Hölgyfutár* (*Ladies' Herald*, on 12 March 1861) was exceedingly kind to Erkel's original composition and the 'Wagnerist' *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, writer: Kornél Ábrányi Sr.) and *Magyarország* (*Hungary*) also presented laudatory reports on 13 March 1861.

Nefelejts (*Forget-me-not*, on 10 and 17 March 1861), *Családi Kör* (*Domestic Round*, on 17 1861) and *Vasárnapi Újság* (*The Sunday Journal*, on 17 March 1861) were also enthusiastic as was Mihály Mosonyi, the 'Wagnerist', who wrote a lengthy academic essay about Ferenc Erkel's *Bánk bán* in *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) on 21 and 27 March 1861³⁰⁵ and on 4, 11, and 18 September 1861.³⁰⁶ There were three other newspapers reporting on *Bánk bán*, out of which the first two: *Csatár* (*Forward*, on 4 April 1861) and *Pesti Hölgy-Divatlap* (*Ladies Fashion-Journal of Pest*) on 1 July 1861,³⁰⁷ published kind words, but *Nővilág* (*Women's World*, on 15 March 1861) called the premiere a

³⁰² Legány, p. 74.

³⁰³ *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*) on 9 January, *Nefelejts* (*Forget-me-not*) on 13 January and *Vasárnapi Újság* (*The Sunday Journal*) on 20 January 1861. Source: Legány, p. 74.

³⁰⁴ The cast of the premiere on 9 March 1861: *Bánk bán*—(József) Ellinger, Melinda—Mrs. K., Hollósy (Mrs. Hollósy, née Kornélia Korbuly), Tiborc—(Mihály) Füredi, Petur bán—(Károly) Kőszeghi(y), Endre II—(Lajos or Louis von) Bignio, Gertrudis—Zs. (Zsófia) Hofbauer, Otto—(Mr.) Albert Telek as a guestsinger, Biberach—(János) Kaczvinszki(y), Seneschal—Bognár. Source: SzNL, THS, the poster of the premiere.

³⁰⁵ According to Legány, p. 75.

³⁰⁶ Barna Erkel, p. 221.

³⁰⁷ Barna Erkel, pp. 217-233.

‘despaired attempt’.³⁰⁸ The earlier mentioned *Hölgyfutár* (*Ladies’ Herald*, on 19 March 1861) and *Trombita* (*Trumpet*, on 21 March 1861) also raised a few objections in its latter issues, but based on the details of contemporary press it can be stated, that the Hungarian press welcomed Ferenc Erkel’s *Bánk bán* with almost unanimous enthusiasm, which was probably not only the result of the beautiful music, but also of its strong political and patriotic content.³⁰⁹

So as Tibor Tallián wrote it:

The real message of *Bánk bán* is: the journey of Hungarians to Hungarian national pride.³¹⁰

Although the *Bánk bán* of Ferenc Erkel was called ‘new national opera’ by *Csatár* (*Forward*) in its report, which was published on 4 April 1861, the opera was not one hundred percent Hungarian in its music and style. Mihály Mosonyi, in his above-mentioned essay, criticized Erkel for just that, but it was probably Ferenc Bónis³¹¹ who first presumed that to write a hundred percent ‘Hungarian music’ in the new Hungarian national opera³¹² was certainly not Erkel’s desire. Bónis used Ferenc Erkel’s essay, which he discovered at the Széchenyi National Library in 1960.³¹³

From Erkel’s words it can be seen how the composer’s style changed compared to *‘Bátori’* and *‘Hunyadi’*. The contemporary Hungarian and German-language press and latter writings also recognized the fact that Ferenc Erkel established a new version of the Hungarian national opera, by composing in different forms and styles with a kind of musical device. That is why there are

³⁰⁸ Barna Erkel, p. 233.

³⁰⁹ ‘Szikrát’ Erkel, p. 371.

³¹⁰ Hungarian origin: ‘Út a magyaroktól a magyarságig’. Source: ‘Szikrát’ Erkel, p. 375, with reference to Tallián, ‘Melinda a haza’, pp. 30-40, (35-38.).

³¹¹ Bónis Erkel, *Bánk bán*, p. 68.

³¹² According to Barna (p. 211.), the name of the genre, Hungarian national opera, was first mentioned either by Lázár Petrichevich Horváth or Ludwig Schindelmeisser in connection with *‘Hunyadi’*. For more details see chapter 1.3.4.

³¹³ Erkel’s manuscript, An. lit., from the end of February or the beginning of March 1861, in Bónis Erkel, *Bánk bán*.

e.g. Italian and French musical elements — like ‘francia Styl’ (French style)³¹⁴ or ‘édesgető olasz Styl’ (sweet Italian style)³¹⁵ for describing and characterizing the ‘foreign’ persons of *Bánk bán* (like Otto, or Gertrud of Meran), or ‘Meyerbeer’s style’ in scenes³¹⁶ and orchestration³¹⁷— interlaced with popular Hungarian music³¹⁸ and accompanied by popular ‘Hungarian’ instruments (like ‘cimbalom’).³¹⁹ By fusing those different musical ‘characters’ a particularly intriguing musical style developed, wherein a balance of styles was reached.³²⁰

According to Bence Szabolcsi, Erkel considered *Bánk bán* ‘cosmopolitan opera’, whose musical notes ‘cover a cosmopolitan realm of sounds and musical vocabulary’.³²¹ From Erkel’s words it seems clear that the composer wanted to write ‘cosmopolitan’, or ‘universal’ music in his *Bánk bán*, but although Erkel’s music is beautiful and in no case an inferior work when compared to contemporary masterpieces, *Bánk bán* became especially Hungarian with its intense, new kind of ‘Hungarianisation’.

³¹⁴ According to Bónis Erkel, *Bánk bán* (p. 63), this ‘style’ can be found in duet of Melinda and Otto. (First Act, Scene 2.).

³¹⁵ Bónis Erkel, *Bánk bán*, p. 68.

³¹⁶ According to Tibor Tallián, the similarity can be found in the ‘melodramatic conversation’ between Dinorah and Hoël (*Dinorah*) and Melinda’s and Tiborc’s (*Bánk bán*) duet which almost turns into a kind of ‘melodramatic conversation’, too. Source: ‘Szikrát’ Erkel, p. 377.

³¹⁷ According to the essay which appeared in *Nefelejts (Forget-me-not)*, issue 507. on 13 January 1861. Source: ‘Szikrát’ Erkel, p. 377. Erkel also used ‘viola d’amore’ and english horn in orchestration.

³¹⁸ Mainly popular song in folk art.

³¹⁹ The ‘cimbalom’ is a hammered dulcimer. It was mainly used in popular music in folk art and in verbunkos in nineteenth-century Hungary, but its Hungarian history probably goes back to the fourteenth century. (Hungarian King ‘Nagy Lajos’, 1326-1382). The special kind of ‘cimbalom’ which was a dulcimer with foot pedals was developed by József Schunda V. in Hungary. Source: József Schunda V., *A cimbalom története*, Budapest, (Buschmann F. Könyvnyomdája), 1907, pp. 5-9.

³²⁰ According to Bónis the musical examples are: the first aria of *Bánk bán* is in ‘Italian style’ (Cavatine-Romance in A-flat major, First act, Scene 2.), Melinda’s ‘discrected scene’ is completely in ‘Hungarian style’ (Third act, Scene 1.). Source: Bónis Erkel, *Bánk bán*, p. 64.

³²¹ Quotation from Bence Szabolcsi, in ‘Szikrát’ Erkel, p. 374.

August Beer (the most appreciated 'Hungarian' [Bohemian] music-critique of 1890's) explained this new phenomenon in the following manner:³²²

[...] the national component sounds so strong in his work that it not only appears as a charming local color, but makes up the spirit and content of his music. [...]³²³

[...] whereof the grand cosmopolitan component is missing. [...]³²⁴

This is the reason, why the operas of Erkel may not be nationalized in foreign countries. [...] They are colorful, luscious flowers, growing only in air of a particular savor. [...]³²⁵

From the aforementioned sources written about *Bánk bán* it seems almost inevitable, that the 'Hungarianisation' appeared in a new incarnation around 1861, when the national consciousness strengthened, and a kind of special feelings, that bound 'Hungarians' to the genre of opera — especially to Hungarian national opera — became more and more noticeable. In spite of all the aforementioned music historical and historical context, the 'Wagner-resistance' eased a bit compared to the previous decades, and it is also obvious that it did not stem thoroughly and only from Ferenc Erkel. Although Erkel's path as a composer was different from Richard Wagner's especially at the time of the composition of *Bánk bán* and *Sarolta*,³²⁶ he probably was not as afraid of Wagner's influence around 1862 as it has been reported e.g. by Géza Staud

³²² Erkel's necrology written by August Beer in issue of *Pesther Lloyd* on 16 June 1893. Source: Mesterházi, p. 191.

³²³ '(...) das nationale Element ist in seinen Werken so stark betont, daß es nicht blos als interessantes Lokalkolorit auftritt, sondern Seele und Inhalt seiner Musik bildet. (...)'

³²⁴ '(...) Es fehlt ihr der große kosmopolitische Zug. (...)'

³²⁵ '(...) Dies ist der Grund, daß Erkel's Opern im Auslande sich nicht einzubürgern vermochten. (...) Sie sind farbenprächtige, üppig entfaltete Blumen, Gewächse von ganz eigenem würzigen Duft, (...)'

³²⁶ According to *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, on 28 June 1862), *Sarolta* was Erkel's experiment to compose a completely 'clear' Hungarian opera (by using only verbunkos music), but it seemed that Erkel did not feel at home in a world of opera 'buffa'. The fail of *Sarolta* was caused also by the shortage of dramatical Hungarian content. Source: Legány, p. 80.

(BudOp100. p. 42.), or András Batta³²⁷ (Batta, p. 23.).³²⁸ It is also possible that Erkel was most likely aware that the time to perform a Wagner-opera at the National Theatre had not yet come.

2.3.3. The First *Tannhäuser-parody*, Its Reception and News About Wagner in Pest in 1862

Although the Hungarian press (even the 'Wagnerian' *Zenészetű Lapok*, *The Musical Journal*) held back almost all information concerning the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Hungary, a *Tannhäuser-parody* did appear in Pest just a few weeks following the premiere of the original. The *Zenészetű Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) wrote about the *Tannhäuser-parody* in a very reproachful tone in the issue published on 3 April 1862. It seems clear from the article that the news about the *Tannhäuser-parody* was published approximately one month after *Tannhäuser* was performed in the 'Pester Stadttheater' in Hungary. (The Hungarian premiere of *Tannhäuser* was on 6 March 1862).³²⁹

Zenészetű Lapok (*The Musical Journal*), issue 27/II, 3 April 1862:

a. [Kornél Ábrányi's pseudonym]. In the Budai Népszínház (The Folktheatre of Buda) the *parody of Tannhäuser* (by Wagner) was performed once or twice. We have not seen it, but we have it from an authentic source that it was the quintessence of flummoxes and jack-puddings. — We are truly amazed by the taste of a gentleman by the name of Molnár (the director of the theatre at that time) that he had the audacity to infect the theatre with such objectionable pieces. He would have done better to leave it to the German theatres and the suburban German and Viennese 'harlequin-theatres'. If the Germans have the courage to criticized their greatest musician, the genius of

³²⁷ András Batta, *Richard Wagner und Ungarn in Wagner Weltweit*, in: *Zeitschrift des International Richard Wagner Verbandes* e. V, Nr. 30/10, July 1999, pp. 21-29.

³²⁸ I have to confess that I used to have the same opinion as Staud and Batta had, but after several years of research I had to realise that I was probably wrong.

³²⁹ Haraszti (p. 238, footnote 3.), made a mistake when he identified it as issue 28 of the *Zenészetű Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*).

their time and to deride him: — We do not wish to share in their glory. We have been informed that the audience is scanty, which is a clear sign that Mr. Molnár did not have his finger on the artistic pulse of the nation.³³⁰

Referring to the lines above, the *Tannhäuser-parody* was not genuinely successful in Pest, so it seems that the musical historical and political circumstances did not succeed in fully ruining the taste of the Hungarians. It seems that the campaign to prepare the way for Wagner in Hungary of Hungarian 'Wagnerists' had started to achieve positive results.

The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) continued its work connected to Wagner in the 31st issue of the paper,³³¹ on 1 May 1862 and published a short article about the prospective performance of the *Flying Dutchman's* (*Der Fliegende Holländer*).

a. [One of Kornél Ábrányi's pseudonym]. Richard Wagner is going to visit the Hungarian capital this year to stage his '*flying dutchman*' while Beck³³² is on tour. We do not doubt that Wagner is going to visit us once, as his masterly and inquisitive mind would be deeply interested in our public music life, our unique music and our artistic campaigns, — but that the aforementioned opera will be performed so quickly can only be believed by the most sanguine admirers.

³³⁰ 'a. A budai népszínházban már egy nehányszor adták Wagner R. „Tannhäuser” dalművének parodiáját. Részünkről nem láttuk, de illetékes helyről úgy értesültünk, hogy az, a sületlenségek s paprikajancsiságok netovábbja. — Valóban csodáljuk Molnár úr izlését, hogy az efélékkel nem átalja ez intézet jó hírnevét bemocskolni. Az eféléket jobban tenné ha átengedné a német színháznak s átaljában a bécsi s német külvárosok bohóc-színpadainak. Ha már a németek nem átalják Wagnert, ez időbeli legnagyobb zenészeti lángezüket pellengérre s gúnytárgyává tenni: — ne kívánjunk osztolni az ő (...) dicsőségükben (...) Mint halljuk az előadásokra mind gyérebül gyül a közönség, mi világos jele annak, hogy ez által Molnár úr nem igen tapintott a magyar közönség műérzéki üterére.'

³³¹ Haraszi wrote that the newspaper reported fake-news in its 32nd issue, yet the correct issue number was 31. Source: Haraszi, p. 238, footnote 4.

³³² Johann (János) Beck (1828-1884) was a baritone, who was born in Pest and sang mostly in Vienna. Source: *A Pallas Nagylexikona*, Art. 'Beck'/7. B, <http://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00060/html/011/pc001153.html>. Downloaded: 12 Sept. 2014.

Those who think that to prepare, to understand, to conceive and to explain Wagner's music costs the same amount of effort as it does to sing a newly-written Hungarian operetta, have strange notions of Wagner's music. Wagner is not the kind of character who enjoys hearing artists extemporise when performing his music. Does the proper and faithful translation of the text mean nothing? [...]³³³

[...] — There is nobody who would wish more ardently than we do that this news may be true, and since the new theatre ('Újvásártér' — The 'second' German Theatre of Pest, the 'Pester Stadttheater' or 'Nottheater') has already performed [the Wagner opera], we are obliged to take up the challenge. But who will be our champion?³³⁴

The aforementioned lines refer to the fact that the Hungarian 'Wagnerists' made efforts to place pressure on Hungarian public opinion and the author of the report also hinted that it was time for the National Theatre to follow 'Nottheater's' ('Second' German Theatre) example and perform an 'entire' Wagner opera at last. This was probably the only time when a few words appeared in the Hungarian press in connection with the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Hungary. The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) continued putting more effort in the reception of Wagner later too, so a short news connected to him was published in the 16 October 1862 and in the 4 December 1862 issues.

The article in the latter issue shows that Ábrányi as the editor of the *Zenészeti Lapok* always tried to be extremely well informed about the most recent news

³³³ 'a. (Az 'a' betű id. Ábrányi Kornél egyik írói 'álneve'). A napi sajtó művészeti hírei közé sorozható még az is, hogy Wagner Richárd ez év folytán meglátogatja a magyar fővárost „bolygó hollandi”-ját színre hozandó nálunk Beck vendégszereplései alkalmával. Nem vonjuk kétségbe, hogy Wagner hozánk is eljövend, az oly kutató lángészt mint az övé csak nagy mérvben érdekelheti nemzeti közéletünk, zenénk sajátsága s művészi mozgalmaink; — de hogy nevezett dalműve oly rövid kiszabott idő alatt színre kerülhet; ezt csak a legvérmesebb reményű rajongók hihetik el. Különös fogalommal bírhatnak Wagner zenéjéről s dalműveiről azok, kik azt hiszik, hogy arra elkészülni, azt megérteni, felfogni s magyarázni csak annyi erőbe kerül, mint egy ujdon termett magyar operettét ledanolni. Wagner nem az az egyéniség, ki rögtönöztetni szereti műveit. Hát a szöveg hú, s szabályszerű fordítása semmi? (...)'

³³⁴ '(...) — Senki nálunknál jobban nem óhajtáná e hír valósultát, s midőn e téren az ujtéri színház már megelőzött bennünket, talán erkölcsi kötelességgé is vált már a vállalat. De kérjük ki fogja mind ezt végrehajtani?!'

connected to Richard Wagner. The short item, which appeared in *Zenészeti Lapok* about Wagner's trip to Vienna can confirm this fact.³³⁵ At these concerts (which were conducted by Wagner) *The Ride of the Valkyries* and parts of *Das Rheingold* (*The Rhine Gold*) were heard for the first time.³³⁶

Zenészeti Lapok (*The Musical Journal*) on 4 December 1862 (10/III):³³⁷

a. [The letter 'a' indicated one of Ábrányi's pseudonym]. Richard Wagner has arrived in Vienna, where he is going to have two concerts this month, in which he will present a few parts of his latest opera.

Although the short article contains mistakes as well — e.g. according to Stanley Sadie Wagner conducted only one concert in Vienna in December (on 26th) — it still shows that Kornél Ábrányi Sr. did not allow Hungarians to forget about Richard Wagner.³³⁸ Based on the aforementioned sources it is easy to conclude that Ábrányi and the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) played a significant role in the improvement of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism', which brought Wagner's art closer to Hungarian intelligentsia.

³³⁵ Stanley Sadie, Art. 'Wagner (1) Richard Wagner: Works', in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 26, pp. 959-60.

³³⁶ According to Stanley Sadie's article in GROVE sec. ed. there were a few parts from the '*Meistersinger*' as well. (*Versammlung der Meistersängerzunft* and *Walter's Trial Song* from Act 1.). Source: Stanley Sadie, Art. 'Wagner (1) Richard Wagner: Works', in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 26, p. 960.

³³⁷ 'a. (id. Ábrányi Kornél egyik írói álneve). Wágner Richard Bécsbe megérkezett, hol e hó folytán két hangversenyt szándékozik tartani, melyben legújabb dalműve egyes részleteivel fogja megismertetni a bécsieket.'

³³⁸ Stanley Sadie, Art. 'Wagner (1) Richard Wagner: Works', in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 26, pp. 957-60.

III. Richard Wagner in Hungary in 1863

3.1. Richard Wagner's Concert-Tour in Vienna, Prague, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Pest in 1862-63

3.1.1. Wagner as a Travelling Conductor in Vienna, Prague, St. Petersburg and Moscow (1862-63)

Richard Wagner gave his concerts in Vienna from the beginning of December 1862 until the middle of January 1863, — where he conducted fragments of his own operas, out of which the excerpts of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*), *Das Rheingold* (*The Rhine Gold*) and *The Ride of the Valkyries* were first performed over the course of three concerts in the Theater an der Wien —.³³⁹

According to the essay of Jarmila Gabrielová — a Czech musicologist — Wagner, after he left Vienna, most likely traveled to Prague and conducted a concert there. In her essay³⁴⁰ Gabrielová explained that the concert conducted by Wagner took place on 8 February 1863 and she was also certain that the orchestra of the Provisional (Czech) Theatre and Cecilia Society performed on this occasion³⁴¹ in Žofín Island.³⁴² Richard Wagner also wrote about this Prague concert in his autobiographical book *Mein Leben* (*My Life*).³⁴³ According to Wagner the compositions performed were one symphony by Beethoven and short orchestral arrangements from Wagner's recent compositions in the salon of 'Sophieninsel'. Gabrielová's statement about the exact date of the aforementioned concert could be true, because according to Salmi,³⁴⁴ Wagner

³³⁹ The dates of the concerts were 26 December 1862, 1 January 1863, 11 January 1863. Source: GROVE *Monographs*, p. 45.

³⁴⁰ Gabrielová, pp. 305-316.

³⁴¹ Gabrielová, p. 308.

³⁴² Gabrielová, p. 307.

³⁴³ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, pp. 421-22.

³⁴⁴ Salmi, p. 106.

arrived in St. Petersburg on 12 February,³⁴⁵ where he gave three concerts: on 19 and 26 February and 3 (sic)³⁴⁶ March 1863, according to the Julian calendar.³⁴⁷ Salmi's book is not the only source for Wagner's Russian travels in 1863. Based on the information which appeared in his and Bartlett's³⁴⁸ work the program and other events can be confirmed.

By virtue of the aforementioned sources it is safe to conclude that Wagner conducted three performances in St. Petersburg on 19 and 26 of February and on 3 or 6 March 1863. According to Bartlett, after the first performances in St. Petersburg Wagner travelled to Moscow and conducted his own and others' compositions there on 13, 15 and 17 March, before travelling back to St. Petersburg where he conducted another three concerts on 21 March, 2 and 5 April 1863.³⁴⁹

Salmi was convinced that every concert performed in St. Petersburg enjoyed a particularly warm reception, but the Russian press was not entirely enthusiastic. In the *Severnaya pchela* paper Feofil Tolstoy 'sharply criticized Wagner's style of conducting', but Mavriki Rapaport (the critique of *Syn otechestva*) and Serov (*Yakor and Sankt-Petersburgskie vedemost*) thought that Wagner's music was a victory not only for the composer but for Russian culture as well. The German language Russian newspaper, the *St. Petersburger Zeitung* (*St. Petersburg Journal*) wrote that Wagner's Russian concerts were 'a splendid demonstration against French taste.'³⁵⁰

It might be intriguing to mention that Wagner's 'German-music' meant something quite different to Germans and Russians in Russia as it did to Hungarians in 1863. As Salmi wrote:

³⁴⁵ According to *Mein Leben*, Volume II, pp. 422-425, Wagner travelled back to Vienna, visited Bülow in Berlin and spent a half day and one night in Königsberg before he continued his trip to St. Petersburg.

³⁴⁶ According to Bartlett (p. 299) the third St. Petersburg-concert was presented on 6 March 1863.

³⁴⁷ Salmi, p. 107.

³⁴⁸ Bartlett, Rosamund, *Wagner and Russia* (*Cambridge Studies in Russian Literature*), Cambridge, (Cambridge University Press), 1995.

³⁴⁹ Bartlett, pp. 299-301.

³⁵⁰ Salmi, p. 110.

Wagner's victory seems to have been a national-political matter: through Wagner's music, the Germans could enhance their national identity, which was under pressure from the Russian Slavophiles and the French-oriented Russian identity.³⁵¹

So although Wagner's Russian triumph did not depend absolutely on historical and historical-political context of Russia, it seems that questions of national identity were important for the part of Russian society as well, but from a totally different perspective. The music and the personal attendance of Richard Wagner meant something similar to what Erkel and Hungarian, Italian or French music meant for Hungarians, and it is obvious to conclude that the aforementioned political conditions in Russia were partly responsible for the warm reception of Wagner's Russian concerts. But though the Moscow concerts, which were arranged in the Bolshoi Theatre were financially successful, Wagner's welcome in Moscow was much more reserved than it was in St. Petersburg.

Bartlett wrote a detailed chronicle of the Russian concerts of Richard Wagner, where Beethoven symphonies (Symphonies 3, 5, 6, 7, 8)³⁵² were performed beside Wagner's compositions. At the first three concerts in St. Petersburg³⁵³ the following Wagner-compositions were performed:

1. *Der fliegende Holländer (Flying Dutchman)*: the 'Matrosenchor' (Sailor's Choir), *Ballade der Senta mit Chor (The Ballad of Senta with Choir)*, *Ouvertüre (Overture)*.
2. *Lohengrin: Vorspiel (Overture)*, *Elsas Gesang an die Lüfte (Elsa's Singing on the Breezes)*.
3. *Tannhäuser: Marsch und Chor (March and Choir)*, *Lied an den Abendstern (Song to the Evening Star)*, *Overture*, *Aria of Elisabeth*, *Duet (Tannhäuser and Elisabeth)*.
4. *Tristan and Isolde: Overture*, 'Verklärung' (Apotheosis).

³⁵¹ Salmi, p. 110.

³⁵² Bartlett, pp. 298-301.

³⁵³ The dates were 19 and 26 February, 6 (sic) March 1863.

5. *Die Walküre (The Valkyrie): The Love Song of Sigmund, The Ride of the Valkyries, Wotans Abschied und Feuerzauber (The Farewell of Wotan and the Fire-Magic).*

6. *'Die Meistersinger' (The Mastersingers of Nuremberg):
Versammlung der Meistersingerzunft (The Assembly of the Master-Guild), Pogners Anrede (The Invocation of Master Pagner), Overture.*

Besides the compositions mentioned before only the following compositions of Wagner were different on the program of the concerts in Moscow:³⁵⁴

The Love Song of Eva from the *'Meistersinger'*, the *'Schmelzlied'* (*The Bloomery-Song*) and the *'Hammer-Song'* from *Siegfried*, the Introduction to the third act of the *Lohengrin* and *Ritt der Walküren (The Ride of the Valkyries)* from *Die Walküre (The Valkyrie)*. On two of the last three concerts,³⁵⁵ Richard Wagner's *Eine Faust-Ouvertüre (A Faust-Overture)*³⁵⁶ was performed and only on 2 April the Overture from *'Tristan'* was presented.³⁵⁷

In sum, Wagner conducted nine concerts in Russia, out of which the first three were the most successful, but it seems that the whole 'Russian-adventure' brought financial and (partly) artistic victory for him. His last concert was on 5 April 1863 in St. Petersburg and after that Wagner moved on to the next station of his concert-tour, to Pest.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ 13, 15 and 17 March 1863.

³⁵⁵ 21 March, 2 and 5 April 1863.

³⁵⁶ In St. Petersburg on 21 March and on 2 April 1863.

³⁵⁷ According to Bartlett, pp. 299-301. the soloists of the concerts were (in order of their appearance) Valentina Bianchi, Sobolev, Setov, Radkovsky (at the first three concerts in St. Petersburg), Irina Onore, Mikhail Vladislavlev, Finocchi (in Moscow), Bianchi, Setov, Radkovsky (at the last three shows in St. Petersburg).

³⁵⁸ It is also important to note that Richard Wagner kept on propagating his operas and dramatic music parts in the concerts he conducted after the one in Pest. The venues after Pest were the following: 5 Nov. 1863 Prague, 14 Nov. 1863 and 19 Nov. 1863 Karlsruhe. In both of the cities mentioned above Wagner only conducted fragments of his own operas and music dramas. Breslau 7 Dec. 1863 — the *VII. Symphony* of Beethoven was performed here as well. Vienna 27 Dec. 1863 — the *Freischütz-overture* and two concertos of Liszt were performed on the

3.1.2. The Events Connected to Wagner and the Stations of His Concert-tour as Recorded by the Hungarian Press.

The Further Activities of Hungarian 'Wagnerists'.

Before Richard Wagner arrived in Pest, he conducted concerts in Vienna, Prague, St. Petersburg and in Moscow. It is no wonder that *Zenészet* (*The Musical Journal*) as a hotbed of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' wrote about Wagner as a travelling conductor in Europe, but information about the tour appeared in another Hungarian newspaper as well. The *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) discussed Wagner's journey in its 8th issue published on 13 April 1863. The first issue of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*)³⁵⁹ was presented on 6 April 1863, so it can be shown that this newspaper followed all events connected to Wagner almost from the beginning of its establishment. This is interesting considering the fact that the first publisher of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) was the National Theatre, a bastion of Hungarian-language opera-playing in Pest. The *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) was a daily paper that informed Hungarian citizens and votaries of art about the theatrical events of the capital and the country as a whole and recorded the main episodes of European and Hungarian cultural life.³⁶⁰ Although this daily newspaper may be considered as a semi-official medium, it published the news with considerable effort and precision in most cases. The first Wagner-event which was presented in the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) reported on Wagner's concerts in St. Petersburg.

Színházi Látcső (*The Opera Glasses*), issue 8/I, published on 13 April 1863:

piano by Carl Tausig. 11 Dec. 1864 and 12 July 1865 Munich — only with compositions of Wagner. Source: Kolland, pp. 92-93.

³⁵⁹ Kálmán Szerdahelyi was the editor of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*); its publisher was the National Theatre between 6 April 1863 and 19 March 1864. Source: É. Lakatos, p. 190.

³⁶⁰ The titles of the columns in the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) are Foreign Art (Külföldi művészet), Theatre-news (Színházi hírek), Theatre in the Countryside (Vidéki színpad), What Is Happening on the Stage? (Mi történik a színpadon?), The Program of the National Theatre (A nemzeti színház játékrendje), Novelties (Tarkaságok), Messages from the Editor (Szerkesztői üzenetek), Advertisements (Hirdetések), and there were programs and casts from other theatres as well. Source: É. Lakatos, p. 191.

Richard Wagner in St. Petersburg

The music-poet and genius, who is known in Pest only because of the *Overture to Lohengrin* and the *Tannhäuser* went north to continue his conquests.³⁶¹

Based on the beginning of the short article it can be shown that the *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)* started its Wagner report with false data. Though it is true that the *Overtures to Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser* were previously performed in Pest — the *Overture to Tannhäuser* was premiered with the help of Erkel and the Philharmonic Society of Pest in the salon of National Museum on 8 December 1853 and the *Overture to Lohengrin* on 28 February 1858 under the same circumstances — it is strange that the author of the short article ‘forgot’ that the ‘entire’ *Tannhäuser* was performed in the Pester Stadtheater on 6 March 1862. (See section 2.3.2.). Considering the fact that the publisher of the aforementioned daily newspaper was the National Theatre (the bastion of Hungarian language opera-playing, one of the protagonists of the new Hungarian consciousness and a prominent locus of Hungarian passive resistance) the behaviour of the reporter seems more logical.

In spite of the partly inaccurate beginning the continuation of the brief article includes a few accurate information.³⁶²

He is giving concerts in St. Petersburg. [...] At the first concert *Eroica* was performed as well as parts of the *Flying Dutchman*, *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*.

(According to Bartlett the program as described in the article conforms to reality).³⁶³

³⁶¹ ‘Wagner Richárd Szentpétervárott. E lángelméjű zeneköltő, kit Pesten még csak a „*Lohengrin*” és „*Tannhäuser*” nyitányai után ismerünk, most északra ment hódítani.’

³⁶² ‘Szentpétervárott hangversenyeket ad, (...) Az első hangversenyben Beethoven, „*Eroica szonfóniáján*” kívül különböző darabokat adtak elő a „*Röpülő hollandiból*”, „*Lohengrin*” és „*Tannhäuserből*”.’

³⁶³ According to Bartlett (p. 299.), the program of the first concert in St. Petersburg on 19 February 1863 was the following: 1. Beethoven: *Symphony No. 3*, 2. Wagner: *Der fliegende Holländer* (the *Flying Dutchman*) – *Ballade der Senta mit Chor* (*The Ballad of Senta with choir*),

The *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* as the leading musical weekly journal of Hungary reported on the aforementioned concert tour of Richard Wagner, but its first article connected to Wagner appeared in the 18th issue of its third year, which was published on 29 January 1863. With this column a kind of ‘Wagner-campaign’ had started. In spite of the fact that the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* was considered the most trustworthy source for Hungarian music culture it can be demonstrated that the newspaper sometimes published fake news about Wagner. Artifacts can be found in the following lines of the weekly journal which reported Wagner’s upcoming visit as if stated for February 1863.

Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal), issue 18/III, 29 Jan. 1863:

Novelties

We can not even start our ‘Novelty’ column with news more joyful than the prospective arrival of the world famous musical reformer Richard Wagner who will be visiting our capital to give a few concerts of parts of his newest compositions next month. We believe that this is the most exciting musical moment to ever take place in our capital. We will be sure to keep our readers up-to-date.³⁶⁴

The author’s statement proved to be erroneous as Wagner came to Hungary in July, but according to the following item it can be shown that the value of the news connected to Richard Wagner in Hungary improved gradually. This statement can be backed up by the fact that the fake news about Wagner’s Hungarian visit appeared in the *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)*.³⁶⁵

Matrosenchor (Sailor’s Choir), Ouvertüre, 3. Lohengrin – Vorspiel (Overture), 4. Tannhäuser: Marsch und Chor (March and Choir), Lied an den Abendstern (Song to the Evening Star), Ouvertüre (Overture).

³⁶⁴ ‘Ujdonságok. Érdekesebbel nem kezdhethénk ujdonsági rovatunkat, mint azon örömdetes hírrel, hogy a világhírű zenereformator Wagner Richárd a jövő hóban meglátogatja fővárosunkat s egy pár hangversenyt rendezend nálunk is legújabb művei részleteiből. Azt hisszük ennél érdekesebb zenészeti mozzanat alig volt még városunkban. Annak idejében részletesebb tudósításokkal szolgálándunk t. olvasóinknak.’

³⁶⁵ A daily paper mostly focused on the economy.

Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest), issue 26-3891/14, 1 Feb. 1863:

The world-famous Richard Wagner — as it authentically was (sic) published in the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* — is going to visit our capital next month to perform parts of his newest compositions.³⁶⁶

It seems that the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* — as a whopping ‘Wagnerian megaphone’ — achieved such a strong position in Hungary that the *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)* complemented its own report with the comment that the information (which was false) must be correct. Perhaps the point in *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)* also met the expectations of Hungarian intelligentsia, who came to respect high-quality contemporary music and were excited to have such a well-known celebrity as Richard Wagner in Hungary. It can also be possible, that the negotiations between Richard Wagner and the National Theatre started in February 1863, but this presumption can not be proved today.

The *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* was so involved in its ‘campaign’ that it published another short article in the previously mentioned issue (number 18, 29 January/III 1863) concerning the invitation of Richard Wagner by director Rubinstein from St. Petersburg.³⁶⁷ The author seemed remarkably well informed about this topic, because according to Tarr³⁶⁸ and Salmi³⁶⁹ the aforementioned fact seems to be confirmed. Richard Wagner wrote about this in *Mein Leben (My Life)*³⁷⁰ as well, so based on the above sources it seems incredible how well-informed the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* — a small but seriously ambitious Hungarian newspaper — was.

³⁶⁶ ‘A világhírű Wagner Richárd a jövő hó folytán — mint a „Zenészeti Lapok” hitelesen értesül — meg fogja látogatni fővárosunkat, a legujabb műveinek részleteiből egy pár hangversenyt rendezend.’

³⁶⁷ ‘Wagner Richárd két hangverseny megtartására kapott meghívást Szentpétervárról, az ottani — Rubinstein Antal igazgatósága alatt álló — zenetársulattól.’

‘Richard Wagner has received an invitation from the musical society of St. Petersburg under the direction of Rubinstein to give two concerts.’

³⁶⁸ Tarr, p. 80.

³⁶⁹ Salmi, p. 106.

³⁷⁰ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 431.

In the 20th issue of the aforementioned newspaper (12 February/III 1863) two pieces of news connected to Wagner were presented. The first one was quite a long article by Gyula Beliczay (Julius von Beliczay, 1835-1893)³⁷¹ who may be termed a member of the second wave of ‘Wagnerists’ in Hungary. The leader of the new generation of Hungarian ‘Wagnerism’ was Ödön Mihalovich (1842-1929),³⁷² who took over Ábrányi’s work appr. from the 70s-80s. In Beliczay’s essay there is some information about Vienna as a station of Wagner’s concert-tour.³⁷³ (For more details see section 2.3.3.).

Beliczay wrote a critique in the aforementioned issue of *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*) in which he seized the opportunity to glorify Wagner’s music. Though Beliczay was a bit harsh on the *Overture of ‘Meistersinger’* and on the fragments of *The Rhine Gold* — he was dissatisfied only with the performance (more precisely with the orchestra), not with Wagner’s music. He reported the enthusiastic behaviour of the public,³⁷⁴ and he also informed Hungarians about

³⁷¹ Gyula Beliczay (Julius von Beliczi) was a journalist and musician. (10 August 1835-30 April 1893). Studied music in Vienna. As a music critic he wrote for the *Blätter für Musik* and *Theater und Kunst* beside the *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*). Source: MagySzínművlex, Volume I, p. 158.

³⁷² Ödön Mihalovich, or Michalovich (13 September 1842-22 April 1929) composer, secret councillor, the director of National Hungarian College of Music (Országos Magyar Zeneművészeti Főiskola). He lived in Germany for a long time. From 1865 he studied musicology in Leipzig with Hauptmann and from 1866 to 1869 in München with Hans Bülow. Mihalovich proudly claimed that he was the only student of Richard Wagner. He wrote songs; e.g. *Hét dal Mathilde Wesendonck verseire-Sieben Gedichte von Mathilde Wesendonck*, compositions for orchestra; e.g. symphonic ballads like *Sellő (Die Nixe-The Mermaid)*, *Boszorkányszombat (La Ronde du Sabbat-Witch-Sabbath)*, *Pán halála (Pan's Tod- Pan's death)*, and operas like *Hagbarth és Signe, Toldi szerelme (Toldi's Sweetheart)* and *Elia*. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume III, pp. 249-50.

³⁷³ It could be an interesting new detail that Beliczay mentioned the musicians who played and sang at the concerts by name. According to Beliczay the first violinist was Hellmesberger, the singers were Hrabanek and Mayerhofer. (All of them were members of the ‘Hoftheater’).

³⁷⁴ ‘(...) Az előadott részek közt különösen a „Wodan’s Abschied und Feuerzauber” című részlet, „Die Walküren” (A „Ring der Nibelungen” első főrésze) dalműből elragadó szépségű, genialis mű. A ki ebben dallamot nem talál, az az erdőt nem akarja látni a fáktól. A „Feuerzauber” hangszerelése leirhatatlan hatása, azt hallani kell, hogy fogalmunk lenne róla. — „Die Meistersänger von Nürnberg” előjátéka egy víg dalműhöz mégis talán kissé nehézkesen van kidolgozva. — Leggyengébbek voltak a „Rheingold”-ból előadott részletek sat. (...)’

‘a little speech at the end in which he (Wagner) feelingly thanked the audience for its warm welcome.’³⁷⁵

There was another article in the same issue of the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), in which the author reported the upcoming performance of *Tristan and Isolde* at the theatre of Prague. The journalist used this opportunity to complain that the ‘Hungarian Theatre’ (the National Theatre) had still not put any efforts into performing a Wagner opera, which lines were considered an attack against the Hungarian ‘anti-Wagnerians’.

Richard Wagner’s *Tristan and Isolde* will be performed in Prague³⁷⁶
as well with Mr. and Mrs. Schnorr-Carolsfeld³⁷⁷ in the leading role.

‘(...) There were performed *Wotan’s Abschied* and the ‘*Feuerzauber*’ from *Die Walküren* (The first part of the *Ring der Nibelungen*) which are enchanting and beautiful pieces. Those who can not find a melody in it are simply refusing to see the forest for the trees. The orchestration of the ‘*Feuerzauber*’ (*The Fire-Magic*) has an inexpressible effect; it must be heard in order to form an idea of it. The elaboration of the overture to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*The Mastersinger of Nuremberg*) may be termed a bit ‘heavy’ considering it is the introduction to a light piece. The weakest links were the parts of *Das Rheingold* (*The Rhine Gold*). (...)’

³⁷⁵ ‘(...) végre egy harmadikat is rendezett, melyben új művei töredékein kívül 2 ismeretes művét adatta elő, t. i.: „Faust” és „Tannhäuser” nyitányait; (...) Wagner annyiszor kihivatott, hogy végre egy rövid beszédet tartott, melyben megilletődött hangon köszönt a közönségnek irányában tanúsított meleg részvétét. Beliczay Gy.’

‘(...) and he arranged a third concert, on whose program there were two known pieces: the *Faust-overture* and the *Overture to Tannhäuser*; (...) Wagner was ‘called back’ so many times that he gave a little speech in the end in which he feelingly thanked the audience for its warm welcome. Gy. Belicay (Gyula or Julius von Beliczay).’

³⁷⁶ The overture of ‘*Tristan*’ was premiered in Prague on 12 March 1859. Conductor: Bülow. Source: GROVE *Monographs*, p. 149.

³⁷⁷ Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld (2 July 1836-21 July 1865) was a celebrated German tenor. He made his debut in *Norma* in 1855. He was outstanding in the roles of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* and probably met Richard Wagner in Biebrich in 1862, when he sang parts of ‘*Tristan*’ to him. His last public appearance was in ‘*Holländer*’ in Munich on 9 July 1865, though he sang a few parts from the ‘*Ring*’ and ‘*Meistersinger*’ before Ludwig II on 12 July 1865. His wife, Malvina, née Garrigues (7 December 1825-8 February 1904) was praised for her colorful, sonorous soprano and fluent technique. She wrote songs and published a volume of poems by her husband and herself. After her husband’s death she was unable to continue her career.

Will a Wagner opera ever be performed at the 'Hungarian Theatre'?³⁷⁸

The data concerning the upcoming performance of 1863 is doubtful,³⁷⁹ but it is true that Wagner rehearsed *'Tristan'* in Vienna. (According to *Mein Leben*, Wagner traveled back from Berlin to Vienna and had a few rehearsals before he continued his trip to St. Petersburg).³⁸⁰

A few lines of the article in the newspaper suggest that the purpose of the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* was to inform the Hungarian public about Richard Wagner tenaciously, though the writers of the newspaper sometimes reported fraudulent news perhaps in an attempt to retain the attention of the Hungarian public.

The 23/III issue on 5 March (1863)³⁸¹ of the newspaper reported about Prague as a station of his concert-tour and featured a short column of the subsequent performance of *Tristan* in Vienna.

Novelties.

* Richard Wagner arranged concerts from the parts of his recent compositions in Prague as well and achieved consistent success and honors wherever he went. But the first performance of his new opera (*Tristan and Isolde*) was delayed again because of the sickness of conductor Esser.³⁸²

Source: John Warrack, Art. 'Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Ludwig' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 22, pp. 570-571.

³⁷⁸ 'Wagner Richárd „Tristán és Isold” című legújabb dalművét Prágában is elő fogja adatni. A címszerepben Schnorr-Carolsfeld úr s asszony fog szerepelni. Hát a magyar színházban ugyan mikor fognak már egyszer egy Wagner operára gondolni?!'

³⁷⁹ According to Gabrielová, p. 310. on 2 February 1890 still only the prelude and the final scene of *'Tristan'* were presented in Prague.

³⁸⁰ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 422.

³⁸¹ Since the concert of Wagner was arranged in Prague in February 1863 (see the beginning of this chapter), *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* moved fast.

³⁸² 'Ujdonságok. * Wagner Richárd, legújabb dalművei részleteiből Prágában is rendezett hangversenyeket s ott is mint Bécsben osztatlan tetszés s kitüntetésben részesült. A bécsi dalszínházban azonban új dalműve („Tristán és Isold”) előadása ismét elhalasztatott egy időre Esser karnagy közbejött betegsége miatt.'

Although the sources did not include a single line about the illness of Esser (Heinrich Esser, 1818-1872), the scheduled performance of *'Tristan'* in Vienna did not take place. It seems that it was delayed because of the difficulties of the staging and not because of the sickness of Esser, but it is also obvious that the 'Wagnerian' *Zenészetí Lapok (The Musical Journal)* would not 'advertise' that *'Tristan'* was considered 'unperformable' in Vienna.

The following short article which was presented by this newspaper (9 April/III 1863) was about Wagner's travels to St. Petersburg:

* Richard Wagner is conducting parts of his compositions in front of a sizeable audience and with great honors in St. Petersburg. He will receive 1000 roubles for each concert.³⁸³ He gave the first performance on 3 (March, sic!) with 130 members of the association of the Imperial Orchestra in attendance.³⁸⁴

Based on the lines above it seems that *Zenészetí Lapok* continued its 'Wagnerian' campaign and tried to attract the attention of Hungarians, but it is strange that the 'Wagnerists' did not have information about Verdi's welcome (Verdi visited St. Petersburg) which had taken place a few month earlier (in November 1862) especially because — according to Tarr — Verdi had a much cooler reception than Wagner.³⁸⁵ This aforementioned 'Verdi-episode' can also highlight the differences between the historical, music historical and music

³⁸³ The payment Wagner received was identified as 1000 roubles (per each concert) by the author. This information can not be proven by the sources that were written about Wagner's concerts in Russia, although the data about the sum could be found in E. H. Tarr's book. According to page 80 of the aforementioned book, and Salmi (page 111), it seems possible that the Grand Duchess Yelena Pavlovna wanted to donate this sum annually until Wagner's financial situation got improved. The data about the orchestra and about the 130 musicians seem to be correct.

³⁸⁴ 'Wagner Richard, Szentpétervárt nagy részvét a kitüntetés mellett tart hangversenyi előadásokat művei részleteiből. Az előadásokat maga igazgatja s mindenikért 1000 rubel tiszteletdíjat kap. Mult hó 3-án tartotta az első, s a császári színház 130 tagból álló zenekara működött közre.'

³⁸⁵ Tarr, p. 80.

political conditions of Russia and Hungary that partly generated the 'Wagner resistance' in Hungary.

The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) continued to publish articles about Wagner's concerts in St. Petersburg. (Issue 32/III on 7 May 1863). This critique was written about the third concert which was arranged to benefit the composer in St. Petersburg. (On 3 or 6 March 1863.)

[...] The theatre was full; W. (Wagner) was received with a few minutes of stormy applause, and he was deeply touched by the scene. The program of the concerts was a few of the best parts of W.'s operas. Wagner was called out several times was given two laurel wreaths of which he gave one to the orchestra. [...]

[...] the members of the orchestra announced that they would perform at the concert in benefit of Wagner. [...]³⁸⁶

The author of the news item could not stop complaining and sent a message to the National Theatre again:

The operas of Wagner will end up being staged earlier in Crimea (Russia) than in the Hungarian National Theatre!³⁸⁷

The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) continued its 'Wagner-campaign'. It published a short article about Richard Wagner on 14 May 1863. Referring to the previously quoted articles it can be shown that the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) was the most active 'Wagner activist' in Hungary at the time. This can be seen in yet another example. In issue 33/III of the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, on 14 May 1863) further information about Wagner came

³⁸⁶ '(...) A színház fulladásig tömve volt; W. több percig tartó tapsviharral fogadtatott s egészen elérzékenyült a jelenet meg hatása alatt. A hangverseny programját W. dalműveinek egyes kiválóbb részei képezték. Feltűnő volt azon két babérkoszorú, melyet W. ez alkalommal kapott s melyek egyikét nyilvánosan a zenekarnak nyújtotta. (...)'

'(...) a zenekar tagjai azt nyilváníták, hogy mindnyájan ingyen kívánnak közreműködni W. javára. (...)'

³⁸⁷ 'Wagner dalművei utóljára még Krímiában is hamarább színre kerülnek, mint a magyar nemzeti színházban!'

to light. The news was extremely up-to-date since Wagner traveled back to Berlin after St. Petersburg,³⁸⁸ so the information appearing in the report was partly true.³⁸⁹ (This was the second time Wagner visited Bülow in Berlin).

Based on the previously mentioned events it can be shown that the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) was extraordinarily consistent in its reports on Wagner, and this undoubtedly helped various layers of the Hungarian nation to take off their anti-Wagnerian sentiments at last.

3.1.2.1. The Second Premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Pest and the Second *Tannhäuser-Parody* in the 'Pester Stadttheater' and in the 'Budai Színkör' (The Theatre-Club of Buda) in 1863

The anti-German and anti-Wagnerian sentiment had eased by 1863 but did not disappear entirely in Hungary. This seems to be the reason that *Tannhäuser* was performed in the 'Pester Stadttheater' in Pest for the second time probably on 21 May 1863. It is very likely that the Hungarian National Theatre still did not show any inclination to perform one of Wagner's operas, although the Hungarian 'Wagnerists' especially in the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Journal of Music*) did their best to pave the way for a Wagner premiere in a Hungarian Theatre. The Pester Stadttheater outstepped the National Theatre again by presenting *Tannhäuser* in May 1863.

Pester Stadttheater.

With the performance of Mrs. Kapp-Young as a guest artist and with the penultimate appearance of Mr. Ellinger.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 437.

³⁸⁹ '* Wagner Richárd nemrég Berlinben időzött látogatási cím alatt. 1849 óta, midőn a politikai viszonyok a nagy zeneköltőt is száműzték Németországból, ez az első eset, hogy Poroszországot meglátogatta.'

* Richard Wagner recently spent time in Berlin as a visitor. This was his first visit to Prussia since 1849, when the political circumstances banished the great music-poet from Germany.'

³⁹⁰ József (Joseph) Ellinger, the singer of Royal Opera House of Pest. (3 December 1820-30 April 1891). He had his debut in Pozsony in little roles either in *Norma* (Flavius) or in *Belizár* (Eutropius). He played in Buda in 1846, in Pest in 1847, later in the Theater an der Wien, in Regensburg, in Augsburg, Bregenz, Lindau, Feldkirch, Innsbruck, Graz, Dresden, and in

Haraszti was sure that the opera was premiered with a new cast on 19 May 1863³⁹² and the 'grand finale' of the opera was played also on 22 December 1863 to the benefit of 'Suppen-Anstalt', which was established by the Chief Rabbi of Pest, Rabbi Meisel.³⁹³ There are not very many details appeared about the reception of these performances. In fact, there was probably only one in May in which Haraszti alluded to Kornél Ábrányi Sr.—the editor of *Zenészet* *Lapok*, who believed that the reason for the failure of *Tannhäuser* was undoubtedly the financial deficit, which in turn was the result of languid attention of the audience.³⁹⁴

On 25 May another article appeared in the 49th issue of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) about a *Tannhäuser-parody* which may be considered the second such mockery in Hungary. As written in section 2.3.3. of the present study, the first *Tannhäuser-parody* was performed in Hungary at the 'Budai Népszínház' (The Folk-theatre of Buda) in 1862. Considering the fact that the 'Pester Stadttheater' was the main supporter of the presentation of the German operas in Hungary, it seems strange that the following *Tannhäuser-parody* was performed there in May 1863. There must have been a presentation on 25 May because the advertisement of the parody was published that day.

München where he was honored by Ludwig II. His first appearance at the National Theatre was on 14 April 1855. His main roles were: László Hunyadi (in '*Hunyadi*'), Tannhäuser, Eleázár, Don Alvarez (*La forza del destino*), Masaniello (*A portici néma*, *La muette de Portici*), Rienzi, and Faust among others. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume I, pp. 402-403.

³⁹¹ 'Pest-Városi Színház. Kapp-Young asszony vendégszereplésével és Ellinger úr utolsó fellépésével. '*Tannhäuser és a wartburgi énekesek vetélkedése.*' It is quite possible that the short news was not written about the first show, because the guest-singer, Ellinger performed for the penultimate time, which means that there must have been another performance in the theatre before. Source: 46th issue of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) on 21 May 1863.

³⁹² According to Haraszti, p. 237. the cast of *Tannhäuser* on 19 May 1863 was: Hermann: (Rezső?) Schmidt, Tannhäuser: (József or Joseph) Ellinger, Wolfram: Robinson, Wather: Adami, Biterolf: Jager, Heinrich: Knoller, Reimar: Hausmann, Elisabeth: Frau (Mrs.) Kapp-Young, Venus: Frau Braun, The Shepperd: Fr. (Miss) Alsdorf.

³⁹³ Haraszti, p. 237.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

Pester Stadttheater: *Tannhäuser*

Parody of the opera with the same title. The joke of the future with the music of the past and with current groupings in three acts by Johann Nestroy.³⁹⁵ Music: C. Binder. Beginning: Half past seven. The cash office opens at half past six.³⁹⁶

It seems that the performances was staged based on a former work of Nestroy which can be proven by the evidence, that Nestroy's parody with the same title and with the music of Carl Binder³⁹⁷ was first played at the Carltheater (formerly the Theater in Leopoldstadt) in Vienna in 1857. Before his satire was performed, Nestroy had worked at the 'Pester Stadttheater' (German Theatre of Pest) as a guest artist at this theatre for a few summers.³⁹⁸

In June of the same year another parody was presented from the same opera by the 'Budai Színkör' (The Theatre-Club of Buda). News of the parody appeared in issue 64 of the *Színházi Látcső (The Musical Journal)* which was published on 10 June 1863 (issue 64):

³⁹⁵ Johann Nepomuk (Eduard Ambrosius) Nestroy (7 December 1801-25 May 1862), Austrian playwright, actor, director and singer. One of the last and greatest Viennese popular actor-dramatists. He helped to introduce Offenbach's operettas in Austria, wrote over 80 plays, played over 880 different parts, and was a brilliant satirist. His most famous and most successful parodies were: *Nagerl und Handschuh* from 1832 (the parody of *Cenerentola* by Rossini), *Robert le diable* from 1833 (the parody of Meyerbeer's *Robert der Teufel*), *Tannhäuser-parody* (1857, music: Karl (Carl) Binder), and *Lohengrin-parody* (1859, music: Karl Binder). Source: Peter Branscombe, Art. 'Nestroy, Johann Nepomuk (Eduard Ambrosius)' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 17, pp. 772-73.

³⁹⁶ 'Pestvárosi Színház. Tannhäuser. (Parodie der gleichnamigen Oper.) Zukunftsposse mit vergangener Musik und gegenwärtigen Gruppierungen in 3 Aufzügen von Johann Nestroy. Musik von C. Binder. Anfang halb 8. Kassa-Eröffnung halb 7 Uhr.'

³⁹⁷ Carl Binder (29 November 1816-5 November 1860) Austrian composer and conductor. He composed numerous scores for Viennese suburban theatres, including several for Nestroy plays, a large number of scores for Possen (farces), Singspiele and also orchestrated operettas by Offenbach. His *Tannhäuser-parody* (1857) enjoyed 75 performances between 1857 and 1860 and has been revived successfully (and recorded) in modern times. Source: Peter Branscombe, Art. 'Binder, Carl' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 3, p. 593.

³⁹⁸ MagySzíntört, *Megőrzés vagy továbblépés (1849-1873), A nemzetiségek színjátszása*, 4/V/I, p. 418.

The Theatre-Club of Buda.

Tannhäuser.

(Parody of the opera with the same title).

Beginning at 6. The ticket office opens at 4:30.³⁹⁹

This *Tannhäuser-parody* was played at the same theatre — ‘Budai Színkör’ (The Theatre-Club of Buda), which was known as Budai Népszínház (The Folktheatre of Buda) — in which the first *Tannhäuser-parody* had been performed.⁴⁰⁰ The ‘Wagnerian’ press, in Hungary, did not like the parodies based on Wagner’s operas at first, but it did not respond to the *Tannhäuser-parody* this time.

3.2. Richard Wagner in Pest in 1863

3.2.1. The Circumstances of Richard Wagner’s Travel as Recorded by the Hungarian Press and Richard Wagner

In the previous chapters I had set out to describe and to elucidate the circumstances that possibly made it difficult to accept and to accommodate Richard Wagner’s art in Hungary. The road, which led from rampant anti-German and anti-Wagnerian feeling to the more positive reception of Wagner’s art, was arduous. This ‘journey’ can be traced from the castle-theatre-area — when the roots of the nineteenth-century opera-playing traditions were laid down — through centralized opera-playing, and from the German theatres to Hungarian-language opera-playing. It continued through the ‘Hungarianisation’ and the establishment of the Hungarian National Theatre, Ferenc Erkel, the Philharmonic Society of Pest, the Hungarian national opera, and the new ‘Hungarian consciousness’. This journey was fueled by the unique nationalistic sentiments linking Hungarians to the opera genre and was ‘peppered’ with antagonists like Brassai and supporters like the Hungarian ‘Wagnerists’:

³⁹⁹ ‘Budai színkör. *Tannhäuser.* (Parodie der gleichnamigen Oper). Anfang halb 6. Cassa-Eröffnung halb 5 Uhr.’

⁴⁰⁰ It was probably the *Burlesque-Intermezzo* (Kalisch) and not Nestroy’s but Kalisch’s parody.

Ábrányi, Reményi, Mosonyi, Rosti, Bertha, Vajda, Beliczay and, naturally, Liszt. Importantly, the journey led through a few waves of anti-German and anti-Wagnerian sentiment until the Hungarian public got to the point in, or around 1863 that it no longer identified Wagner and his music with the historical problems concerning the German language and German (Austrian) authority. There has been a tendency to blame Ferenc Erkel for the resistance facing Richard Wagner and the performance of his operas and music dramas in Hungary, but it is necessary to remember that it was at the Erkel-led concerts of the Philharmonic Society of Pest that Wagner's compositions first appeared.

The reception of Wagner's music progressed with a contribution of Erkel's around 1863, when Ferenc Erkel — serving as the chief music director of the Hungarian National Theatre at the time — probably started negotiations with Richard Wagner concerning Wagner's concerts that were to be held at the National Theatre in Pest. The *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, 41/III) and the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*, same day, issue 93) published a short article on 9 July 1863 in which the editor shared a few bits of information about Wagner's letter (or letters) to Erkel.

It can be also possible that it was not Erkel, but Reményi who had done his utmost to convince the National Theatre to invite Richard Wagner.⁴⁰¹ Haraszti was of the same opinion, and in an attempt to prove his theory, challenged Kornél Ábrányi, Sr.'s views as presented in his biography of Ferenc Erkel. According to Ábrányi, it was Richard Wagner himself who offered Ferenc Erkel that he would give a couple of concerts in Pest. Erkel is supposed to have been pleased with the offer, and mediated between Wagner and the directorial board of the National Theatre.⁴⁰² Ábrányi's statement can be supported by the fact that the lost letter of Richard Wagner was mentioned in the *Addenda 1998-2009 to Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis (WBV)*, which was edited by Werner Breig, Martin Dürrer, and Andreas Mielke. The editors note suggest that the provenance of the original letter is unknown and that it was most likely written by Wagner in Penzing in June.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 443.

⁴⁰² Ábrányi, *Erkel*, p. 79.

⁴⁰³ *Addenda 1998-2009, WBV*, p. 7.

The editors of '*WBV Addenda*'⁴⁰⁴ forgot to mention that the short report about the negotiation between the Board (Management) of the National Theatre and Wagner was published on the same day in the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*).⁴⁰⁵ The editors did not number the short report of the *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*) yet, but both articles got new numbers in the systematization I have made about the selection of Wagner's letters connected to Hungary. (Ildikó Rita Anna Varga, Wagner's Hungarian Letters-Selection; *Zenészet*i Lapok (WHL-S/8/A), *Színházi Látcső* (WHL-S/8/B. See Appendix IX. and X. The photocopy of both reports can be found in the Addendum under number 10.).

*Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*), 9 July 1863 (issue 41, year III):

* We have been informed that Richard Wagner himself wrote a letter to the conductor Ferenc Erkel just a few days ago, in which he expressed an interest in giving a handful of concerts at the Hungarian Theatre (National Theatre). We hope that the management will accept the proposal of the very famous music-poet and that Mr. F. Erkel will do his utmost to honor the wishes of the famous music-poet and the audience.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ *Addenda 1998–2009* zu Werner Breig, Martin Dürrer, Andreas Mielke, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Briefe von Richard Wagner, Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis (WBV)*, erstellt in Zusammenarbeit mit der Richard Wagner-Gesamtausgabe, Redaktionelle Mitarbeit: Birgit Goede, Wiesbaden, Leipzig, Paris, (Breitkopf & Härtel), [1998], 2009.

⁴⁰⁵ According to the WBV, the document was not only mentioned in Hammerstein, but also in a volume of the *Sämtliche Briefe*, which contained letters from 1863. Sources: Elisabeth Hammerstein, *Richard Wagners persönliche Beziehungen zu Ungarn*. Diss. 1946, Richard Wagner: *Sämtliche Briefe, Bd. 15, Briefe des Jahres 1863*, hrsg. von Andreas Mielke, redaktionelle Mitarbeit: Isabel Kraft, Wiesbaden, u.a. 2005.

⁴⁰⁶ * Mint értesültünk, Wagner Richárd a múlt napokban egy sajátkezűleg írt levelet intézett Erkel Ferenc karnagyhoz, melyben hajlandónak nyilatkozik fővárosunkat meglátogatni a jövő hóban s egy pár hangversenyt rendezni a magyar színházban. Reményljük, hogy az igazgatóság a legnagyobb készséggel elfogadja a nagy hírű zeneköltő ajánlatát s Erkel F. úr is mindent elkövetend a maga részéről, hogy a nagy hírű zeneköltő s a közönség ohajtása teljesüljön.'

As it was mentioned before, the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) also published an article on the same day, in which the author reported about the negotiation between the Management of the National Theatre and Richard Wagner. According to the short report, the negotiations were likely to start around 6 April 1863, when the first issue of *Színházi Látcső* was released.

Színházi Látcső (*The Opera Glasses*), issue 93, 9 July 1863:

Theatre-news

— We wrote in the very first issue of our newspaper that the management of our theatre [the publisher of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*); the National Theatre] have begun to exchange letters with the master-mind, with the champion of the ‘Music of the Future’, Richard Wagner concerning a few concerts on the National Stage. He did not come immediately, first because of his duties and later, his illness. In a recent letter he wrote that he would come to Pest this month. He will be assembling the program of his concerts real soon.⁴⁰⁷

According to the aforementioned lines of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) it seems that Wagner and the Management of the National Theatre exchanged at least two letters in which they negotiated about a few — according to Wagner, two — concerts *Mein Leben* (Volume II, p. 443.). In Richard Wagner’s other letter, written to his ‘Kind’, Mathilde Maier,⁴⁰⁸ the same information about the negotiations and two concerts can be found. There is no other evidence of

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Színházi hírek.

— Lapunk megindulásakor azonnal írtuk, hogy színházunk igazgatósága Wagner Rikhárd dal, a „Jövő zenéje” lángeszű bajnokával levelezésbe ereszkedett, néhány hangverseny végett a nemzeti színpadon. Hogy eddigelő nem jött: oka másfelé való lekötöttségéi és később betegeskedése valának. Ujabban levelet írt, hogy még e hóban Pestre fog jőni. Hangversenyeinek programját a napokban fogja megírni.’

⁴⁰⁸ Wagner’s letter to Mathilde Maier. Written in Pest sent into Mainz, 20 July 1863, WBV 3625, WHL-S/12. In the letter Wagner wrote about the circumstances of the invitation and about his experiences he had during the first rehearsal of his concert in Pest, on 20th July 1863. Source: München BStB (Bayerische Stadtsbibliothek), Cgm. 8839, Nr. 60, with its envelop. Further details see in Appendix IX. and X.

Richard Wagner's letter, written to Ferenc Erkel in 1863,⁴⁰⁹ but there is another letter, however, in which Wagner wrote to Mathilde Wesendonck⁴¹⁰ on 3 August 1863 in Penzing, in which Wagner wrote about the invitation as well. As can be seen in the excerpt below, Wagner placed the word 'concert' in quotation marks in his letter marked 138.

Penzing. 3 August 1863.

Dear Mistress! (In this context, Mistress has at least three meanings. The first is: wife of the master (Wagner), the second is: a champion who is a woman and the third: lover).

After recently receiving your dear lines, I waited to hear some news of 'developments' from Schwalbach. In the meantime I travelled to Pest, whither I had been invited by the Hungarians to give two 'concerts'.⁴¹¹

Based on these lines Wagner probably did not have a high opinion of either his concerts in Pest or the Hungarians. This is an issue that in my opinion deserves

⁴⁰⁹ Elisabeth Hammerstein also wrote about the aforementioned Erkel-Wagner letter, and there are information about that in *Sämtliche Briefe* as well. Sources: Elisabeth Hammerstein, *Richard Wagners persönliche Beziehungen zu Ungarn*. Diss. 1946, Kap. 2, pp. 1-2, 13-14, and Richard Wagner: *Sämtliche Briefe, Bd. 15, Briefe des Jahres 1863*, hrsg. von Andreas Mielke, redaktionelle Mitarbeit: Isabel Kraft, Wiesbaden, 2005, Nr. 171, p. 209.

⁴¹⁰ (Agnes) Mathilde Wesendonck (23 December 1828-31 August 1902). German poet and writer. Mathilde enjoyed an intimate friendship with Richard Wagner, who lived in her husband's house ('Asyl'). Wagner set five of her poems to music, thereby producing the *Wesendonck Lieder* (*Wesendonck Songs*). The relationship ended in 1858 with Wagner's enforced removal from 'Asyl'. Mathilde wrote not only poems but dramas as well. Her poetic works include: the five-act drama entitled *Gudrun* (1868), the five-act tragedy: *Edith oder die Schlacht bei Hastings* (*Edith or the Fight at Hastings*, 1872) and the dramatic poem: *Odysseus* (1878). Source: Barry Millington, Art. 'Wesendonck [Wesendonk; née Luckemeyer] Mathilde [Agnes]' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 27, p. 302.

⁴¹¹ Richard Wagner's letter to Mathilde Wesendonck. 3 August 1863, Penzing. WBV 3630, WHL-S/15.

The part of the letter in German:

Liebe Meisterin!

Nach ihren letzten lieben Zeilen hätte ich eigentlich noch auf „ausführliches“ aus Schwalbach zu warten gehabt. Ich reiste drüber nach Pest, wohin ich von den Ungarn eingeladen worden war, um zwei „Konzerte“ zu geben. Source: Wesendonck-letters, p. 419.

further clarification. I have attempted to determine whether the scornful tone Wagner uses concerning his Pest concerts⁴¹² in his 3 August 1863 letter to Mathilde Wesendonck was aimed at giving concerts in general or at Pest specifically. The reason this question caught my eye is because Wagner seemed to bear a great love towards Hungarians, Hungarian culture and his Hungarian friends. Emil Haraszti (Haraszti, p. 273.) claims that Wagner had nothing against Pest, rather he was not terribly fond of giving concerts. Haraszti was not able to prove his theory, neither did he seek out viable reasons why Richard Wagner had an antipathy towards concerts. Richard Wagner's letter to Ödön Mihalovich (the exact date of which is unknown and to which I have assigned the tentative date of January 1875) gave me insight into the reasons for Wagner's antipathy towards concertizing, of which there are at least three. First, it was only his constant financial difficulties that drove Wagner to become a conductor and to perform his magnificent works in shorter 'installments' in front of European audiences. Second, he looked upon concerts merely as opportunities to draw the attention of the audience to his operas and ideas. Third, he felt that his concert tours held him back from his most momentous undertaking, the planning and realization of Bayreuth. (For a more detailed exposition of my theory, see sections 3.2.1. and 3.5.3.).

The same letter, written in Penzing after his Pest concerts, contains an interesting paradox. The paradox is that despite Wagner's success in Hungary — i.e. Hungarian 'Wagnerism' was already in full bloom and Hungarians had heard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* a few times and had listened to the *Overtures to Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* several times, and despite the fact that Wagner had close contacts with Reményi, Liszt and others — he (Wagner) seems not to have had any idea about the life of his compositions in Hungary, to which he referred in the previously mentioned letter.⁴¹³

⁴¹² Richard Wagner used the aforementioned scornful tone in his other letter, that was written to Heinrich Porges. 27 Sept. 1863, Penzing-Vienna, WBV 3661, WHL-S/17. (See Appendix IX. and X.). In this letter Wagner called Pest 'die unmusikalischste Stadt'. Source: Br Freunde, Nr. 173, (pp. 363-65.)

⁴¹³ Wesendonck-letters, 138, p. 419.

The Hungarians who had no notion of my music and lived on nothing, but Verdi etc. at their National Theatre took in every single number from my *Nibelungen*, *Tristan* and *Meistersinger* with absolutely incredible alacrity — this was only to be expected, manifestly because it was I who presented (performed) the pieces and ‘seduced’ them.⁴¹⁴

It truly seems that Wagner had no idea about the musical life of Hungary. He also thought that he had conquered the unsuspecting Hungarians, who had known nothing of him prior to his arrival, with his music. He also forgot that the score of *Tannhäuser* had been requested of him, although he had written about this himself to his wife Minna, Wilhelm Fischer, the Breitkopf and Härtel Company, Liszt and Bülow. It is evident that Richard Wagner’s personal presence made a strong impression on the Hungarians, but if Erkel, the Hungarian ‘Wagnerists’ and his friend Franz Liszt had not made heroic efforts, Wagner himself could not have changed public opinion so easily at one blow. It is manifestly improper to state that Hungarian public opinion changed only because Wagner conducted his own music. At the same time it is true that Wagner’s physical appearance made a profound mark on the history of music in Hungary.

3.3. Richard Wagner’s Concerts in Pest in 1863

3.3.1. The Circumstances of the First Concert in Pest on 23 July 1863

After all of the adventures mentioned in the previous sections, Richard Wagner finally arrived at Pest before, or on the 18th, perhaps on 19th July. The date of Wagner’s message, dated 18 July 1863, see the facsimile in Addendum 11, can certify the fact:

⁴¹⁴ ‘Die Ungarn, die keinen Begriff von meiner Musik hatten, und auf ihrem Nationaltheater einzig von Verdi u. s. w. leben, erfassten jedes meiner Stücke aus *Nibelungen*, *Tristan*, *Meistersinger*, ganz unglaublich lebhaft, — wie es deutlich war, weil ich sie ihnen auf — und verführte.’

Letters addressed to me and arriving before 24 July are to be sent to me in Pest, poste restante. Penzing, 18 July 1863.⁴¹⁵

The exact day of Wagner's arrival is not known nowadays, but getting closer to the truth I must mention a little more 'crumbs' of information. Haraszti wrote that Wagner became acquainted with Ferenc Erkel and Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy) on a Sunday. Since the 12th, the 19th, and 26th were Sundays in July 1863, and if the information is correct, the aforementioned date could be 19 July 1863.⁴¹⁶ Before Wagner had a meeting with Erkel and Radnótfáy, however, he must have gone to his accommodation at the Angol Királynő Hotel (Hotel of the English Queen).

The excitement of the Hungarian press grew, and they began to publicize news connected to Richard Wagner's upcoming concerts right from on of the date of Wagner's presumable arrival. The first article appeared in the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) which published a short article about the upcoming concerts in its issue 102 (18 July 1863).

— Richard Wagner — to the best of our knowledge, is going to give his concerts on the stage of the National Theatre on 25 and 27 of this month (July).⁴¹⁷

Despite the statement above, Richard Wagner's and the National Theatre's plans must have changed since Wagner's first concert was presented on 23 July 1863 at the National Theatre. The article in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*), issue 104, 20 July 1863 was wrong only in connection with the date, but it gave a precise program of the upcoming concerts.

According to Haraszti, the rehearsals to Wagner's Hungarian concerts probably began on 16 July 1863 when Ferenc Erkel rehearsed Wagner's compositions

⁴¹⁵ 'Briefe an mich sind, wenn sie bis zum 24 Juli ankommen, nach Pest, poste restante mir nachzusenden. Penzing, 18 July 1863.' WBV A 214. WHL-S/9. This short letter was transferred from the Manuscript Archive-Collection of the Hungarian National Museum to the Manuscript Collection of the Széchenyi National Library. Reference number: Fond 1356/XII.

⁴¹⁶ Haraszti (pp. 245-46).

⁴¹⁷ '— Wagner Rikárd — a jelenlegi megállapítás szerint, f. hó 25- és 27-kén fogja adni nemzeti színpadi hangversenyeit.'

with the orchestra of the National Theatre⁴¹⁸ accompanied by guest-musicians and 'stars'.⁴¹⁹ One of the 'stars' was Péter Dubez, a well-known harp-player of the period. It was most likely within the framework of this concert that Dubez's acquaintance with Richard Wagner was made, and this relationship was to extend far beyond the concert in Pest. Wagner asked Dubez to revise the harp parts of *Das Rheingold* (*The Rhine Gold*) and *Die Walküre* (*The Valkyrie*) as described in Wagner's letter from Bayreuth composed on 8 December 1874. (WBV 6925, WHL-S/29). In the same letter, Wagner also asked the brilliant Hungarian musician to rework the harp parts of *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Gods*). Richard Wagner's and Péter Dubez's relationship continued in 1875, when the exceptional composer invited the talented musician to play in the orchestra on the opening night of Bayreuth. (The information about the invitation can be found in the letter which was written in Bayreuth on 28 May 1875. WBV 7061, WHL-S/39).

The program assembled for the Hungarian audiences in Pest featured the same parts of the Wagner operas as did the program of the concerts which were arranged for Wagner's concert-tour to Vienna, Prague, St. Petersburg and Moscow. There was one exception, one of *Elsa's* 'arias' (*Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud*),⁴²⁰ which was sung by Miss Mari Rabatinszky. This 'aria' was only performed in Pest. The concert program did not change compared to the source mentioned previously and to the poster of the first concert⁴²¹ so it can be stated that Wagner's following compositions were played at the first concert in Pest:

Note to the reader: the titles' translations followed the poster's text.

First part:

1. Overture to *Tannhäuser*. (With the supplemented orchestra of the National Theatre).

⁴¹⁸ The orchestra had 45 members. Source: Haraszti, p. 243.

⁴¹⁹ According to Haraszti, some of the celebrated artists of the 45 member orchestra were: Sándor Erkel (timpanist), Péter Dubez (harp-player, very famous at the time), Elek Erkel (bass drummer), Alajos Gobbi (first violinist). Source: Haraszti, p. 243.

⁴²⁰ *Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud*, from Act II, Scene 2.

⁴²¹ The poster can be found in Addendum, 12.

2. a. *Elsa's Singing with the Breezes. (Elsas Gesang an die Lüfte)* from *Lohengrin* sang by Miss Mari Rabatinszky.⁴²²

2. b. *Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud (Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud)* from *Lohengrin* sang by Miss Mari Rabatinszky).

This 'aria' was performed only in Pest.

3. *Overture to 'St. Gral'.*

(This is *The Overture to Lohengrin*).

4. *Wedding March.* Introduction to the third act (of *Lohengrin*). The last two compositions of *Lohengrin* with the supplemented orchestra of the National Theatre.

Second part:

5. *Overture and end (the destiny) of the last act: 'Verklärung'.*

(*Isolde's Love song and Apotheosis*), from the opera; *Tristan and Isolde* played by the supplemented orchestra of the National Theatre.

6. a. *The Assembly of the Master-Guild (Versammlung der Meistersingerzunft)* 'through' the orchestra. (From *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*).

6. b. *The Invocation of Master Pogner (Pogners Anrede)* sung by Károly Kőszeghi.⁴²³ (From *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*).

7. *The Love Song of Sigmund*, sung by 'Simon'. (Gusztáv Simon).

8. *The Ride of the Valkyries in the Air.* Numbers seven and eight are from the opera called *The Valkyrie* played by the whole orchestra.

⁴²² Mari Rabatinszky, Hungarian opera singer (coloratura-soprano, 1842-?) and member of the National Theatre. She most likely debuted at the National Theatre in September 1862, where she worked until 1866, in which year she played her last role in *Rigoletto* on 24 March. She was employed by the Viennese Opera for four years. She left the stage right after her marriage. (25 March 1873). Richard Wagner wrote about her in the previously mentioned 'Mathilde Wesendonck-letter', composed on 3 August 1863, as well. Sources: *MagySzínművLex*, Volume IV, p. 3. and *Wesendonck/Ellis*, p. 319.

⁴²³ Károly Kőszeghy (Kőszeghi-Purth) opera singer, baritone, born 17 November 1820, died 9 March 1891. His debut was in the role of Rudolf in *Az alvajáró (The Sleepwalker, La sonnambula)* at the National Theatre on 7 March 1843. His main roles were Mephisto (*Faust*), Fernando (*A trubadúr, The Troubadour, Il trovatore*), Plumkett (*Martha*), Pietro (*A portici néma, The Dumb Girl of Portici, La mutte de Portici*), Rocco (*Fidelio*), Gáspár (*A bűvös vadász, Freischütz*), Walter (*Wilhelm Tell*), Gil Perez (*A fekete dominó, Black Domino, Le domino noire*), Főpap-Prelate (*Sába királynője, The Queen of Sheba*). Source: *MagySzínművLex*, Volume III, p. 44.

9. 'Hammer-smith' songs from the opera; *Siegfried*;

a. Bloomery-Song ('*Schmelzlied*').

b. 'Hammer-Song'. ('*Hoho! Hoho! Hohei!*'). The last two arias sung by Ferencz Stéger.⁴²⁴

All of the above pieces are the compositions of Richard Wagner.

(This text stands at the end of the poster of the first concert).

Although Wagner's first concert was arranged on 23 July 1863 at the National Theatre in Pest, the program in question was one hundred percent correct since the same order of the Wagner-compositions appeared in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*, Issue 105, 21 July 1863) and in *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, issue 43 of the third year of the newspaper; this issue came out on 23 July 1863).⁴²⁵

Compared to the article which appeared in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) on 20 July, a few new events appeared in the articles published on the 23rd. It seems likely that the National Theatre believed in the success of Wagner and his compositions — or simply hoped that Wagner's name would be enough to fill up the theatre — because the management of the National Theatre

⁴²⁴ Ferencz (Xavér) Stéger was one of the best tenors of his day. (Hungarian, born 2 December 1824, died in December 1916). He began his career as an apothecary, but after his first performance at the concert of Meszárics (*Fleisch*), he was hired in Zagreb under the name of Stazics. Soon after that he became a member of Wiener Staatsoper. He sang in '*Hunyadi*' in the autumn of 1848, before he played in '*Bátori*', *A kunok* (*The Cumans*), *Ernani* and in *Lucia di Lammermoor*. He sang in *Tannhäuser* in Darmstadt in 1858. Over the course of his career he also sang in Prague, Brünn, Bucharest, Kolozsvár (Cluj), Arad, London, Barcelona, Madrid, Torino, and at the La Scala in Milano. His main roles were: Ernani, Zampa, Lionel (*Martha*), Arnold (*Wilhelm Tell*), Masaniello (*A porticii néma*, *The Dumb Girl of Portici*, *La muette de Portici*), Manrico (*Il trovatore*), Edgardo (*Lucia di Lammermoor*), Raoul (*Huguenots*), Leydeni János (*The Prophet*), Elvino (*La Sonnambula*), The Duke of Mantua (*Rigoletto*), Severo (*Norma*), Tannhäuser in *Tannhäuser*, Bánk in *Bánk bán*, and the king in '*Hunyadi*' among others. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume IV, pp. 134-135.

⁴²⁵ The article in *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, 23 July) contains one new item as well. The last lines state that the orchestra was to be conducted by Richard Wagner and that the last (i.e. second) concert would be held on Tuesday, 28 July.

increased the prices of tickets and boxes. Thus, everybody who wanted to show up at this momentous occasion had to pay an additional fee.⁴²⁶

The National Theatre sold new theatre brochures, too, which aided people's perception of the aforementioned compositions. Ferenc(z) Stéger, the lead tenor of the Hoftheater in Vienna, sang for free in honor of Wagner. This information appeared only on the poster of the first concert and the first page of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) on 23 July. The transformation in public opinion and the change in the reception of Richard Wagner's art can be evidenced by a particularly interesting short article which was published in the earlier issue of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*, issue 106, 22 July 1863) as well. According to the quoted lines, it seems that Richard Wagner was welcomed in Hungary as a 'star', and the anti-German or anti-Austrian sentiment, which characterised most of Hungarian society before, metamorphosed into curiosity about him and his music.

— Richard Wagner's portraits are on exhibit in antique stores. The newspaper, the *Ország tükre* (*The Mirror of the Country*), is going to reveal one of Wagner's best pictures soon.⁴²⁷

In the same issue of the aforementioned newspaper (*Színházi Látcső*, *The Opera Glasses*, issue 106, 22 July 1863) was not only the program of Wagner's first concert and a report concerning his portraits published, but so was news about two other occasions connected to Richard Wagner. The first news item covered a supper held in Buda.⁴²⁸ The Military Commander-in-chief, Count

⁴²⁶ According to *Mein Leben* (Volume II, p. 443.) Wagner was suppose to receive 500 ft, Gulden for each concert. The information was recorded by Haraszti (p. 254.) as well, who published the precise list of Wagner's salary and the income of the shows. According to Haraszti the whole income of the first concert was 1496 forint (Gulden) and 20 krajcár (coins), out of which the theatre spent 208 forints for lighting, 31 forint 50 krajcár for the payment of guards, and 1 forint 70 krajcár for other expenses. Although Wagner's royalties were less compared to his income for his Russian concerts, they counted as a significant amount of money in Hungary in 1863.

⁴²⁷ '— Wagner Rikárd arcképei kívannak téve a műárusi boltokban. Közelebb az „Ország tükre” is fogja közölni egyik legjobb arc képét.'

⁴²⁸ Wagner commemorated about that in *Mein Leben* as well. (*Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 445).

Coronini, invited the composer via General Neuwirth. According the aforementioned article, the supper was held on 22 July. Later Coronini gave orders to seven military bands to play fragments of Wagner's compositions under the window of Coronini's residence in the Sándor Palace of the Castle District in Buda.⁴²⁹

What is Happening on the Big Stage?

— Richard Wagner will be receiving great honors in our capital as well. Yesterday evening Coronini invited him through General Neuwirth to supper in Buda tonight (22 July 1863). Seven military bands were ordered by the commanding general to play for Wagner today at half past five, which (bands) are going to play in honor of Richard Wagner — singly and together — a selection of the compositions of the great musical-poet.

There was another article published in the political, academic, and musical periodic journal: *Sürgöny (Telegraph)*⁴³⁰ issue 168, published on 25 July, in which more information about the evening and the compositions performed by the military orchestras for Richard Wagner can be found.

On 22, this month at the Sándor Palace (in front of Count Coronini's residence) seven military bands played four or five compositions by Richard Wagner in front of a large audience which covered the whole square. The selections from the 'Tannhäuser' and the overture to 'Rienzi' were performed superbly. The outstanding composer was in the company of a few distinguished military individuals, several

⁴²⁹ 'Mi történik a nagy színpadon?

— Wagner Rikárd fővárosunkban is sok kitüntetésben részesül. Tegnap d. u. gróf Coronini, Magyarország katonai főparancsnoka hívá meg Neuwirth tábornok által másnapra, Budára — vendégeül. Ennek folytán ma d. u. hatodfél órakor a parancsnokoló főtábornok hét katonai zenekart rendelt várbeli szállása elé, melyek a kitűnő zeneköltő tiszteletére — egyenkint és egyesülve — nagy zenerészeket fognak előadni, a költő műveiből.'

⁴³⁰ After *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest)* was dissolved on 30 November 1860 a new journal; *Sürgöny (Telegraph)* was born from its ashes. Source: *A Budapesti Hírlap helyzetének megszilárdítása bürokratikus alapon (1856-1860)* in *A Magyar Sajtó Története*, Ed. by Miklós Szabolcsi, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1985, Volume II/1, p. 345.

elegant ladies and could be seen on the balcony with the leader of our theatre.⁴³¹

Compared to the previously mentioned article there are several additional bits of information about the event, including the titles of two compositions which were played there and the fact of Ferenc Erkel's participation in the episode (...‘the director of our theatre..’).

Based on the text which appeared in the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*, issue 109, 25 July 1863), after the ‘official’ supper Wagner and the distinguished company attended a ball at a place called ‘Császárfürdő’.⁴³²

Richard Wagner appeared in the company of Reményi at this pleasant ball. Miss Mari Mizsei, a charming young singer,⁴³³ and members of our art-world were also in attendance. There were foreigners there as well, both French- and Englishmen. Ladies who were present include Katinka Kászonyi, Vilma and Mariska Pellet, Ida Matyók, Miss Zsömböry, etc.⁴³⁴

There is another column published in the 106th issue of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) on 22 July 1863, which is even more exciting. The lines below are probably Wagner's own words spoken by the composer after he had

⁴³¹ “* F. hó 22-én d. u. hat órakor a budai várban Sándor palota, (mint gróf Coronini lakása előtt) nagy közönség gyűlt össze, mely az egész tért ellepte. Hét katonai zenekar játszá Wagner R. négy öt művét. A „Tannhäuser” töredék és „Rienzi”-nyitány kiválólag sikerültek. A kitűnő zeneszerző, néhány előkelő katonai egyén s több díszes hölgy társaságában, a főparancsnok erkélyén volt látható, színházunk igazgatójával együtt.’

⁴³² ‘— A szerdai császárfürdői bálról egy kis tudósítást kaptunk.’

‘— We had a little report about the ball which was held in ‘Császárfürdő’ on Wednesday (Wednesday was on 22 July in 1863).’

⁴³³ Mari Mizsei, Hungarian opera singer. (?-19 December 1911). She debuted at the National Theatre and was later hired by the Opera House of Saluzzo (under the name Merina). She went on to sing in Paris and in Genoa. Source: *MagySzínművLex*, Volume III. p. 267.

⁴³⁴ ‘Wagner Rikárd Reményi társaságában jelent meg e szép mulatságon. A művészvilágból jelen volt még Mizsei Mari k. a. kedves fiatal énekesnő. Külföldiek is voltak: franciák és angolok. Tudósítónk a nőkoszorúból néhány nevet említ, Kászonyi Katinka, Pellet Vilma és Mariska, Matyók Ida, Zsömböry k. a. sat.’

conducted a rehearsal on 21 July. (The rehearsals may have started on 16 July under the direction of Ferenc Erkel). Haraszti was convinced that the first rehearsal was held on 20 July, with the contribution of Wagner, so Richard Wagner most likely spoke these words at the second rehearsal he conducted.

— Yesterday, at the rehearsal of the National Theatre which was conducted by R. Wagner, all seven conductors of all the seven military orchestra were in attendance. At the end of this rehearsal the musical-poet declared that ‘any theatre might well be happy and satisfied with an orchestra that can play with so much expression and confidence. I have hardly found other musicians who were able to understand and perform my ideas and intentions with such accuracy and with so much emotion.’⁴³⁵

In spite of Wagner’s laudatory words the orchestra probably had problems with playing *The Ride of the Valkyries* accurately, because according to a ‘saga’ Erkel said the following: ‘we have been studying *The Ride of the Valkyries*... but we cannot claim to know it yet.’ It seems, that this was the only part that proved problematic to the orchestra, but after Wagner provided a few directions, the musicians managed to play *The Ride of the Valkyries* perfectly. Wagner seemed to be very impressed by János Gayer, the first trumpet-player of the orchestra of the National Theatre on the first rehearsal (20 July)⁴³⁶ and wrote the following words about him on the score: ‘Dem glänzendsten Trompeter, den ich je gehört habe.’ (To the most brilliant trumpet-player I have ever heard). The Mastermind seemed to be very satisfied with the first clarinetist, Albin Reindel (Reinel, Reinl) as well, since he wrote the following lines on his score: ‘Dem unvergleichlichen Klarinetist.’ (To the matchless clarinet player). Alajos Gobbi

⁴³⁵ ‘— A tegnapi nemzeti színházi próbán, melyet Wagner R. vezetett, a helyben levő katonai zenekarok, mind a hét karmestere megjelent. E próba végén a zeneköltő így nyilatkozott: „büszke lehet a színház, hogy ily zenekara van, mely ennyi kifejezéssel és biztonsággal játszik, s még alig találtam zenekart, mely rövid idő alatt így megértette, ily szabatosan és érzelemmel vitte volna ki eszméimet és intencióimat.’

⁴³⁶ On 20th July 1863 Wagner composed a letter to Mathilde Maier. In this letter Wagner wrote it: ‘[...] the musicians play superbly, the first rehearsal went quiet well today...’ Source: Br Maier, Nr. 57, pp.114-16.

was praised by Wagner, too, because he discovered a mistake in the part of the second horn.⁴³⁷ Based on Wagner's enthusiastic words, it seems that the composer was probably satisfied with the skill and cooperation of the Hungarian musicians of the orchestra of the National Theatre.

In the WBV (*Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis*) the information appeared, that the 'letters' (short notes) Wagner had written to János Gayer and Albin Reinel (Reinl, sometimes Reindl) were in the Remembrance Collection (Museum and Archive) of the Hungarian State Opera until 1998. According to WBV and also to Haraszti, the notes were in the first clarinet and the first trumpet parts. On the basis of the WBV's last information, the mentioned music parts (scores) were moved to the Music History Collection of SzNL (OSZK), but unfortunately they are not there currently (in 2014). On the basis of the catalogue created by WBV and me, the scores of the aforementioned letters are: to János Gayer: WBV A 215, WHL-S/10, and to Albin Reinel (Reinl, Reindl): WBV A 216, WHL-S/11.

There were some articles published on the day of Richard Wagner's first concert in Pest in Hungary. The *Pester Lloyd* introduced Wagner in a long essay,⁴³⁸ *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* presented the translation of a few parts of Wagner's academic work; *Oper und Drama (Opera and Drama)*⁴³⁹ and the program of the first concert again. *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)*⁴⁴⁰ wrote explanatory notes about the compositions which were to be performed that night. Since *Tannhäuser*, its overture and the 'Pilgrim-chorus' had already been played a few times in Hungary and the Hungarian audience knew the overture to *Lohengrin* as well, it was natural that *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)* published a guide only to the relevant parts of 'Tristan', *Die Walküre (The Valkyrie)*, and *Siegfried*.

From the aforementioned events it seems, that the Hungarian press did everything in its power to help the reception of Richard Wagner's compositions, and there were only a few words in Hungarian newspapers written against Richard Wagner.

⁴³⁷ Haraszti, p. 247.

⁴³⁸ *Pester Lloyd*, issue 166, 23 July 1863. Title: *Richard Wagner*.

⁴³⁹ Wagner, *Oper und Drama* in the *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, issue 43/III, published on 23 July 1863.

⁴⁴⁰ *Színházi Látcső (The Musical Journal)*, issue 107, 23 July 1863.

3.3.2. The Reception of Richard Wagner's First Concert by the Hungarian and the German Press.

Wagner, the Hungarians, and the 'Gesamtkunstwerk'.

The Hungarian press wrote enthusiastically about Richard Wagner's first concert, thereby comforting the representatives of the Wagner-resistance. A few Hungarian and German sources, quoted in the order of their appearance, are still available.⁴⁴¹ The first report was presented in the *Pesti Hírnök* (*The Pest Herald*, a political daily paper, issue 187/IV) on 24 July.⁴⁴²

Richard Wagner gave his first concert at the National Theatre yesterday evening, with the triumph which his epoch-marking activity deserves. When he appeared the audience welcomed him with applause lasting several minutes and after the *Tannhäuser-overture* Ferenc Erkel gave him a laurel-wreath with these words:

'The orchestra of the National Theatre renders you their homage with this laurel-wreath.'

Wagner then kissed Erkel, which gesture was welcomed by the audience with the most clamorous acclamation that was repeated for several times during the concert.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ It might be interesting to mention that Wagner wrote a poem in Pest on 24 July. The aforementioned poem: *An Tichatschek* can be found among the Addenda (Addendum, 13. It's score according to WBV and WHL-S: WBV A 217, WHL-S/13). The other poem by Richard Wagner, entitled *Des Deutschen Vaterland*, was also written in Pest. (Addendum, 14.). The first poem: *An Tichatschek* can be found in WBV, p. 705, and both were published in *Gedichte von Richard Wagner* (Berlin, G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung) in 1905, on p. 34. and 35.

⁴⁴² The first issue of the *Pesti Hírnök* (*The Pest Herald*) was published on 18 February 1860. The newspaper appeared twice a week and was in existence until 15 December 1868. Sources: *A magyar sajtó története 1705-1892*, *Pesti Hírnök*, mek.oszk.hu/04700/04727/html/369.html. 1 Oct. 2014. *Pesti Hírnök* - Lexikon, www.kislexikon.hu/pesti_hirnok.html, downloaded: 8 Sept. 2014.

⁴⁴³ *Wágner Richárd tegnap adta a nemzeti színházban első hangversenyét és pedig oly diadallal, minőt epochális működése megérdemel. Kiléptekor a közönség néhány percig tartó tapssal fogadta, a „Tannhäuser” nyitánya után pedig Erkel Ferencz e szavakkal nyújtott neki koszorut: „A nemzeti színház zenekara e babérkoszoruban adja át neked hódolatát!” Wágner megcsókolta Erkelt, mire a közönség a legzajosabb tetszés-nyilatkozatokban tört ki, melyek az előadás folytán többször megújultak.'

Of the performed compositions the '*Wedding-music*', the '*The Ride of the Valkyries*', and the *Love Song of Sigmund* were repeated.⁴⁴⁴

Deep poesy shows itself in the fragment of *Tristan and Isolde*, and in the *Overture to 'St. Gral'* (*The Overture to Lohengrin*) there is an example of superb orchestration which brought about an exceptional effect through the artistic development of a motif. All the compositions were received great pleasure, and based on the success, we (Hungarians) have given the 'Music of the Future' a warm welcome. The theatre was full, but not completely; some boxes were empty.⁴⁴⁵

According to the article of *Pesti Hírnök* (*The Pest Herald*) it seems that the reception of Wagner's first concert was an overwhelming success; this statement may also be proved by excerpts from another article published in *Magyar Sajtó* (*The Hungarian Press*).⁴⁴⁶ The aforementioned newspaper's can be considered strongly oppositionist politically, which makes its critique of Wagner's concert even more valuable.⁴⁴⁷

Issue 169/9, 25 July 1863:

[...] Sigmund sings a Love Song. And what a song it is! It was stolen from an amorous bird by Wagner! [...]⁴⁴⁸

But the highlight of the performance was *The Valkyrie*. It is a 'sound-painting' the likes of which we have never heard before. Only Berlioz's '*Rákóczy*' awakened similar feelings in us. *The Ride of the*

⁴⁴⁴ 'Az előadott számokból a „menyegzői zene” „A Walkürek lovaglása”, a „Zsigmond szerelmi dala” (szintén a „Walkür” operából) közkívánatra ismételtettek.'

⁴⁴⁵ 'A „Tristan és Isolde”-ból vett töredékben mély költészet nyilvánul, a „szent Gráálban” csodálhattuk a nagyszerű instrumentációt, mely egy motívum művészi kifejtése által oly rendkívüli hatást eredményezett. Minden egyes szám sok tetszést aratott, s e sikerből ítélve a „jövő zenéje” nálunk kedvező földre talált. A színház egészen megtelt, de nem szorongásig; több páholy is üres volt.'

⁴⁴⁶ The *Magyar Sajtó* (*The Hungarian Press*) was published between 1855 and 1865 in Hungary. It was first presented in Vienna. Source: Géza Buzinkay, *Kis magyar sajtótörténet*, mek.oszk.hu/03100/03157/03157.htm. Downloaded: 23 Oct. 2010.

⁴⁴⁷ The *Magyar Sajtó* (*The Hungarian Press*) published a long biography about Richard Wagner in its number which was published one day earlier. Number 168/9, 24 July 1863.

⁴⁴⁸ '(...) Zsigmond szerelmi dalt énekel. Soha ilyen dalt! Ezt Wagner valamely szerelmes madártól leshette el. (...)'

Valkyries is the musical manifestation of the *Hunok csatája* (*The Battle of the Huns, Hunnenschlacht*)⁴⁴⁹ by Kaulbach.⁴⁵⁰

The writer of the aforementioned lines must have sought to express his intense admiration for *The Ride of the Valkyries* by comparing it to Kaulbach's painting, but — according to Klára Hamburger — the painting was no masterpiece. Wilhelm Kaulbach was Liszt's friend and knew Wagner as well,⁴⁵¹ and made illustrations to the art-publication: *Richard Wagner Gallerie* (in the 1870th), which processed the scenes of Richard Wagner's operas.⁴⁵²

The analogy seems a bit strange, but it seem to reflect the enthusiasm of the author, who continued to praise the concert in the following lines as well:

— Amidst the storm of this indescribable, fantastic music, Wagner stands, making signals with his little baton to the left and to the right. [...] Our musicians were the heroic soldiers of this great general. They did their best and this concert far surpassed the same concert we attended in Vienna. Wagner was called back on stage over and over again and he received the honors of the audience with great feeling.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ The *Battle of the Huns* (*Hunnenschlacht* or *Geisterschlacht*, 1834) is Wilhelm von Kaulbach's (1805-1874) painting from 1850. Kaulbach's reproduction of this aforementioned picture was given by Carolyn von Wittgenstein to Ferenc (Franz) Liszt. Liszt composed a symphonic-poem inspired by Kaulbach's painting in 1857 which was very popular at that time. The topic of the picture is the battle between Attila and Theodorik in 451. For source see List of Abbreviations, Hamburger.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Az est fénypontja azonban a „Walkürök” voltak. Ez oly hangfestmény, melyhez foghatót mi legalább még sohasem hallottunk. Csak Berlioz Rákóczy-jánál éreztünk hasonlót. Kaulbach hunok csatája megzenésülve – ez a „Walkürök lovaglása”.'

⁴⁵¹ Liszt and Wagner met Kaulbach in Munich in 1864. Source: *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends*, The booklet of Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, 2014, p. 48.

⁴⁵² With the contribution of Theodor Pixis.

⁴⁵³ '— Leírhatatlan zene, melynek egetrázó viharában Wagner nyugodtan áll s kis pálcájával hol jobbra, hol balra int. (...) Zenészeink hős katonái voltak e nagy hadvezérnek. Önmagukat mulák fölül s ezen előadás erélyben fölötte állt annak, melynek Bécsben voltunk tanúi. — Wagnert számtalanszor előtapsolták, ki meghatottan köszöné meg a fellelkesült közönség kitüntetéseit.'

Although the critique seems a bit exaggerated it might be interesting that the Pest concert proved superior to the one in Vienna, since according to the author the first concert in Pest had a better artistic and musical quality than did the same concert in Vienna at which the author (the journalist of this critique) had also been present.

The Theatre news-column of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Musical Journal*, issue 109) which appeared on the same day (25 July) continued to laud Wagner's first concert:

The glorious success of the first concert generates even greater interest in the second one.⁴⁵⁴

Based on the article which appeared in *Sürgöny* (*Telegraph*, issue 168/III) also on 25 July, the positive changes can be shown in the reception of 'German music' and in Wagner's music in Hungary around 1863 as well. In the column called 'Német zene' (*German music*) in the rubric 'Tárcza' (*Feuilleton*) Wagner's concert was termed a part of a 'fortunate turn in time' in which 'the art finally achieved the deserved respect and was no longer the object of hate and persecution, though it is still referred to as: 'German music'.⁴⁵⁵

The positive changes in Wagner's reception can be certified by the very zealous critique of Wagner's first concert in the *Hon* (*Homeland*, left of centre political and economic newspaper, issue 169/I),⁴⁵⁶ which was published on 26 July. There are a few pieces of information in this column which are slightly different from the data given in the first source. The lines in the beginning of this article stated that there was a full house that night but the *Pesti Hírnök* (*The Pest Herald*) wrote that:

The theatre was full, but not completely; some boxes were empty.

⁴⁵⁴ 'Az első hangverseny fényes eredménye még nagyobb érdekeltséget költ a második iránt.'

⁴⁵⁵ '(...) a művészet immár eléri az őt megillető tiszteletet és nem gyűlölet vagy üldözés tárgya többé, ha mindjárt úgy nevezné is magát: „német zene”.'

⁴⁵⁶ The *Hon* (*Homeland*) was published between 1863 and 1867. Its editor and establisher was Mór Jókai (1825-1904), the famous Hungarian novelist. Source: *A Hon* (1863–1867) in MEK.

The author of the article in the *Hon (Homeland)* puts it thus:

Every little corner of the theatre was full on 23 July. [...]

Another difference is that the *Hon (Homeland)* reported an acclamation which was almost fifteen minutes long:

[...] Wagner was received with applause lasting almost fifteen minutes. [...]

The *Pesti Hírnök (The Pest Herald)* wrote about applause of a few minutes:

The audience welcomed him with applause lasting a few minutes...

The reason for the differences can be the fact that the lines in the *Hon (Homeland)* mentioned above can be called slightly 'Wagnerist'. The writer of these lines asked Reményi (who was a very important member of the Hungarian 'Wagnerists') to describe his impressions of Richard Wagner in a few lines which started from the middle of this quoted article. In this two-part essay — the second part was published on 28 July 1863 — Reményi used the opportunity to glorify Wagner and his art and to praise him to the skies by mentioning his personal experiences⁴⁵⁷ and part of Wagner's scholarly work *Oper und Drama (Opera and Drama)*.

Only two of the aforementioned articles explained their opinions about the singers' performance at the first Wagner-concert in Pest. Issue 109 of the *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)*, which was published on 24 July, wrote very kindly about the singers' efforts; Gusztáv Simon ('Simon'), Ferenc(z) (Xavér) Stéger, Károly Kőszeghy (Purth), and Mária (Mari) Rabatinszky, but the *Pesti Hírnök (The Pest Herald)* wrote a charitable critique only of Gusztáv Simon ('Simon') and Károly Kőszeghy. (The aforementioned column of the *Pesti Hírnök (The Pest Herald)* appeared on 24 July).

⁴⁵⁷ As it was mentioned before (e.g. in chapter 2.2.1.), Ede Reményi was one of the most significant Hungarian 'Wagnerist'.

There were three other articles published about Richard Wagner's concert in Pest and in Berlin in the beginning of August. The first is in issue 31 of the *Vasárnapi Újság*⁴⁵⁸ (*The Sunday Journal*, 31/10, 2 August 1863), the second is a three part essay in *Koszorú (Wreath*, issues 5 on 2 August, 6 on 9 August, 7 on 16 August) and the third is in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung (The New Musical Journal of Berlin*, issue 32, 5 August 1863). There are very interesting lines in the first Hungarian source:

National Theatre

Wednesday, 23 July. Richard Wagner's concert in two chapters. The master of the: 'Music of the Future' has given us extraordinary artistic joy. The entire repertoire was comprised of his compositions and listening to these beautiful compositions generated the demand to finally hear not only select parts of Wagner's compositions, but a whole Wagner opera on our stage the likes of which we have not yet experienced.⁴⁵⁹

This was the first time that a national, exceedingly high quality,⁴⁶⁰ very popular but truly 'non-Wagnerian' newspaper expressed the desire for the presentation of the 'whole' Wagner-opera, so this short news surely can be called important from the aspect of the reception of Richard Wagner's art in Hungary.

István Bartalus' article, published in *Koszorú (Wreath*, issue 5. 6. 7. of the second term, on 2, 9 and 16 August 1863), may be of interest at this point. Bartalus was possibly the most appreciated musicologist of nineteenth-century

⁴⁵⁸ A *Vasárnapi Újság (The Sunday Journal)* was published between 1854 and 1922. It was an informative weekly journal. Sources: József Szinnyi, *A Vasárnapi Újság bibliográfiája 1854—1879. Vasárnapi Újság*, 11/1879, Albert Pákh, *Az év végén 1866. (Áttekintés az újság elmúlt 13 évéről). Vasárnapi Újság*, 52/1866.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Nemzeti Színház

Csütörtök, jul. 23. Wagner Richárd hangversenye 2 szakaszban. A „jövő zenéjének” nagy mestere ritka műélvezetben részelteté zenekedvelő közönségünket. Az előadott (its 'eloldott' in the text) darabok egész sorozata mind az ő műveiből volt összeállítva, s e szép részletek azon óhajást keltették bennünk, vajha nagyszerű darabjaival, melyekkel színpadunkon még eddig nem találkozánk, egészben is megismerkedni alkalmunk lehetne.'

⁴⁶⁰ Mihály Tompa (1827-1868), the Hungarian poet wrote a poem about the *Vasárnapi Újság (The Sunday Journal)* in 1863.

Hungary. In his essay Bartalus came to the conclusion that Wagner's victory was the consequence of enthusiasm generated by surprise. Bartalus also believed that all who sought to understand and apprehend Wagner's art should study music and progress step by step. Bartalus was a bit harsh on Hungarians, feeling that they had become Wagner-enthusiasts overnight just because he had become a celebrity throughout Europe. Although his opinion was not one hundred percent correct, he seems to have had profound knowledge of Wagner's art and reforms and of the history of opera to the extent that he even engaged in polemic with the great 'anti-Wagnerist', Julian Schmidt. Bartalus wrote about Wagner's *Opera and Drama* in the first part, about Wagner's philosophy in the second part and about the idea of '*Absolute Music*' in the last part of his rigorous and very pro-Wagner scholarly work. In the end of the Bartalus-study the editor of *Koszorú (Wreath)*, the famous Hungarian poet, János Arany wrote the following lines:

But we can not promise [...] a great future for the opera of the future,
because it wants to compete with poetical-drama, which is
impossible. [...]⁴⁶¹

The *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* answered Arany in *Koszorú*⁴⁶² (*Wreath*) in its issue appearing on 16 August,⁴⁶³ wherein it berated Arany and also Bartalus, though Bartalus had not written so much as a line against Wagner in his essay. Thus the argument ended.

While the Hungarian press may be called very busy in publishing articles about Richard Wagner's first Hungarian concert, the international press barely touched on the topic. As far as we know, there is only one exception, an article that appeared in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung (The New Musical Journal of*

⁴⁶¹ Haraszti, pp. 278-79.

⁴⁶² *Koszorú (Wreath)* was a high-quality literary weekly journal published between January 1863 and 25 June 1865 by János Arany, the great nineteenth-century Hungarian poet who was *Koszorú's* editor as well. Source: Kornél Turányi, Art. 'A Szépirodalmi Koszorú programja' in http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00001/00249/pdf/itk_EPA00001_1967_01_078.pdf. (6 Aug. 2012).

⁴⁶³ Haraszti, pp. 279-83.

Berlin, issue 32/17, 5 August 1863).⁴⁶⁴ Since the events which were published in the article completely agree with the previously quoted lines on the reception of the first Wagner-concert (23 July) it can be shown that Wagner and all of his compositions were very well and enthusiastically received in Pest.

Pesth.

Richard Wagner's 'Musical Performance' earned the highest acclaim to which a great celebrity may attain. A refined audience filled the halls of the house, and greeted the composer with hearty celebration. Wagner's success was so obvious over the course of the evening, that there could be no doubt that his music had penetrated all breasts. As it is difficult to judge complex musical compositions after a single hearing, it behoves us rather to make note of the loud ovation which followed each piece. Immediately after the last strains of the *Tannhäuser* Overture had died down, thunderous applause broke out, culminating in a rare event. The conductor, Mr. Erkel, placed a laurel-wreath in the hands of the celebrated composer (Wagner), and the addressee (Wagner) embraced Mr. Erkel and kissed him twice. Each succeeding composition was received (by the audience) with the same enthusiasm, and they often asked for encores, which were granted them. The introduction to the third act of *Lohengrin*, 'Siegfried's Love Song' and 'The Ride of the Valkyries' were the favorites of the evening.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁴ *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* (*The New Musical Journal of Berlin*) was a musical periodical. Its competitor, *Berliner musikalische Zeitung* — whose first editor; Carl Gaillard was an early partisan of Richard Wagner — merged with the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* in 1847. Sources: *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, herausgegeben von Gustav Bock, unter Mitwirkung theoretischer und praktischer Musiker, Berlin, (Verlag von Ed. Bote&Bock) p. 255, Anette Vosteen, Art. 'Berliner musikalische Zeitung' in RIPM, 1994. Downloaded: 6 June 2012.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Pesth. Richard Wagner's „Musikaußführung“ gestaltete sich zu einer der glänzendsten Huldigungen, die einem gefeierten Mann nur dargebracht werden können. Ein distinguirtes Publikum füllte die Räume des Hauses und empfing den Componisten mit lange anhaltendem Beifall. Der Erfolg während des ganzen Abends war ein so allgemeiner, dass es keinem Zweifel unterliegt, Wagner habe vollständig durchbegriffen. Die zu Gehör gebrachten Musikstücke lassen sich nach einmaligem Anhören schwer beurtheilen, und so bleibt nur der Beifall zu constatieren, den jedes der einzelnen Musikstücke erhielt. Gleich nach der „Tannhäuser“-Ouverture bracht der Sturm los und steigerte sich zu einem selten dagewesenen, als Kapellmeister Erkel dem gefeierten Componisten einen Lorbeerkrantz überreichte und den

Since the aforementioned information in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* (*The New Musical Journal of Berlin*) coincided precisely with what appeared in the Hungarian press, it seems that Richard Wagner's first concert, held at the National Theatre on 23 July, enjoyed enormous success.

As an interesting note, I would like to mention that Haraszti described a party hosted in celebration of Richard Wagner on 24 July at the Boat Club of Pest-Buda (Pestbudai Csónakda). The party was not mentioned by any of the contemporary newspapers, thus we must rely on Haraszti (Haraszti, pp. 260-263.), a letter written by Wagner in Penzing to Mathilde Wesendonck on 3 August 1863 (Wesendonck/1904, pp. 318-19.), and from appropriate passages in *Mein Leben* (Volume II, p. 444.). It must also be noted that even Count Miklós Konkoly Thege — whom Haraszti interviewed in 1916 as the last living eyewitness of the party — had hazy memories of the events of 24 July. I must forego any attempt to precisely reconstruct the evening. According to Haraszti, Ferenc Erkel and Pál Rosti were both attending the party. Wagner also mentioned Countess Bethlen as having been present at the party, and most likely means the wife of Count Pál Bethlen and not Gábor Bethlen (Haraszti, p. 262. footnote 1.). Wagner also mentions a young lawyer he met at the party and describes the huge storm that broke out that evening and how all the guests were able to find cover in time. But only Haraszti informs us that the name of the boat upon which they crossed the Danube was Ellida and it was Pál Rosti's boat. (Haraszti, p. 261.).

The second concert was scheduled for just a few days later, for 28 July, which shows what a long road the 'non-Wagnerian' Hungarians and Hungarian audiences had taken from their initial anti-German and anti-Wagnerian sentiments to an almost complete acceptance of Richard Wagner's 'very German' music. Although Wagner did not seem satisfied with the income of his Hungarian debut,⁴⁶⁶ according to Haraszti the evening was both an artistic and a financial success.

Empfänger Ueberreicher umarmte und zweimal küsste. Jede folgende Nummer wurde in gleich beifälliger Weise aufgenommen und von denselben zur Wiederholung verlangt und gebracht. Besonders gefielen die Introduction zum dritten Acte von „Lohengrin“, „Siegfried's Liebeslied“ und der „Walküren Ritt“.

⁴⁶⁶ As he wrote in his book *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 443.

It was probably the positive reception of his compositions and of his person that motivated Wagner to make a kind gesture to recompense the 'love' of the Hungarians. Since Wagner seemed to be very satisfied with Erkel's work — Erkel prepared the orchestra of the National Theatre for the Wagner-concerts (Wagner's kind words concerning the orchestra can be seen earlier in this chapter) — he (Wagner) decided to participate in the performance of Erkel's opera, '*Hunyadi*'.⁴⁶⁷ *László Hunyadi* was performed with Ferenc Stéger in the main role on 25 July, two days after Wagner's first concert was arranged. The *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) wrote about this event in its issue 108 published on 24 July.⁴⁶⁸

There was another short article published in the same issue of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) about '*Hunyadi*', in which some new data appeared. The first is that the writer of the short article was convinced that '*Hunyadi*'⁴⁶⁹ was performed only as a result of Wagner's request.⁴⁷⁰ It seems that the performance of Ferenc Erkel's opera was significant for the Hungarians but there is one reference which makes us conclude that Richard Wagner was not

⁴⁶⁷ According to Mesterházy, (see List of Abbr. Mesterházy), pp. 193-196. '*Hunyadi*' was premiered in Vienna by the Szabó Theatre-company of Arad in August 1856.

⁴⁶⁸ 'Holnap, szombaton, július 25-én, bérletfolyamban: Stéger Ferenc urnak, a bécsi cs. k. operaház első tenoristájának, s a németalföldi hangművészeti akadémia tiszteletbeli tagjának vendégjátékául: Kaiser Ernstné asszony szíves közreműködésével. Hunyady László. Eredeti nagyopera 4 szakaszban. Zenéjét szerzette. Erkel Ferenc.'

'Tomorrow, on Saturday 25 July as part of the 'subscription concerts' *László Hunyady* will be performed with the guest-performance of Ferenc Stéger, the first tenor of 'Hoftheater' and honorary member of the Dutch Singing Academy and with the collaboration of Mrs. Ernst Kaiser. *Hunyady László*. Original grand-opera in four acts. Music composed by Ferencz Erkel.'

⁴⁶⁹ According to the article, the cast consisted of: Ida Huber in the role of 'Mária Gara', Mari Rabatinszky as 'Mátyás' (Mathias; 'pants-role'), Ferenc (Xavér) Stéger as 'László Hunyadi'. Haraszti, p. 263. wrote it in his book that the role of 'Gara' was sung by 'Bodorfi' (Henrik Bodorfi).

⁴⁷⁰ 'Színházi hírek. — Holnap Wagner Rikhárd ohajtására, a nemzeti színházban Erkel „Hunyadi László”-ját fogják adni. (...) hogy magyar operáink egyik legjelesebbikét Wagner Rikhárdnak bemutathassuk (...)'

'Theatre news. Tomorrow, as '*László Hunyadi*' will be performed at the National Theatre upon Richard Wagner's request, (...) we have the opportunity to introduce one of our most valuable operas to Richard Wagner (...)'

as enthusiastic as were the Hungarians. This is just an anecdote, so it cannot be used as proof, only as an illustration, but according to Haraszti⁴⁷¹ Wagner said the following, when he was asked whether he had enjoyed the '*Hunyadi*':

One comes, one goes, one sings, one plays. (Man kommt, man geht, man singt, man spielt).

Although it is hard to believe that Wagner actually said this, the anecdote circulated widely in Pest in 1863.

The following sentences published about the same episode may be somewhat more credible. The short critique of '*Hunyadi*' that appeared in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) in its issue 111 on 27 July 1863 contains information which contradicts the aforementioned anecdote. A completely relevant story appears upon a close examination of the article. In this 'second version' of the story Wagner listened enthusiastically to '*Hunyadi*' and went onstage to salute and congratulate Ferenc Erkel.

— Theater news

László Hunyadi was performed in front of a large audience the day before yesterday. — Richard Wagner went onstage after the second act and lavished generous compliments on our Erkel, who was summoned by the applause of the audience after both the first and the second act.⁴⁷²

If we wish to come closer to the truth, we must remember that both Erkel and Wagner were diplomatic and highly intelligent people. They really knew what kind of behaviour would further the cause of their respective careers and art. Wagner probably had his own opinion about Erkel's music, but he also knew that Erkel was a beloved and highly respected member of society. Wagner

⁴⁷¹ Haraszti, p. 263.

⁴⁷² '— Színházi hírek. „Hunyadi László” tegnapelőtti előadása nagy közönség előtt ment végbe. — Wagner Rikárd a 2-ik felvonás után a színpadra ment, s Erkelünket, — kit a közönség az első és második felvonás után kitapsolt, — elismerő bókokkal halmozá el.'

needed him as he needed the sympathy of the Hungarians. According to the aforementioned sources and stories, it can be concluded that Richard Wagner (just as he had always been) was very consistent in his inconsistency.

3.3.3. Richard Wagner's Second Hungarian Concert in Pest in 1863

3.3.3.1. The Program of the Second Concert in the Hungarian Press

After '*Hunyadi*' was performed at the National Theatre on 25 July 1863, *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) reported on his second concert as soon as 26 and 27 July. The newspaper published two short articles about this second occasion. Since their contents are exactly the same, only the second source is quoted with another few lines in which the new compositions of the upcoming show were presented.

Színházi Látcső (*The Opera Glasses*), issue 111 on 27 July:

Tomorrow, on Tuesday (28th) with no subscription seats and raised ticket prices for the IXth performance: Mr. Richard Wagner's second concert in two parts, with the contribution of the guest singer, Ferenc Stéger. The music, selected from the compositions of Richard Wagner, will be conducted by the composer himself. [...]

— Richard Wagner's next and last concert will take place tomorrow. There will be two new compositions by Wagner in the program. One will feature the Faust-overture. There is going to be a detailed explanatory program in our next issue.⁴⁷³

The Faust-overture (Eine Faust-overtüre) of Richard Wagner was performed in St. Petersburg (at one of the last three concerts given during Wagner's tour in

⁴⁷³ 'Holnap kedden, július hó 28-án, általános bérletszünettel és fölemelt helyárrakkal IX-ik rendkívüli előadásul: Wagner Richárd ur második HANGVERSENYE. Stéger Ferenc urnak szíves közreműködésével. E hangversenyben Wagner Richárd ur vezérlete mellett, a tetemesen megerősített zenekar által csupán az ő saját szerzeményei adatnak elő. Fölemelt helyárrakkal.'

'— Wagner Rikhard második és utolsó hangversenye holnap leend. A műsorzatot Wagner két új szerzeménye fogja érdekesíteni. Ezek egyike a „Faust” nyitánya leend. Holnapi számunkban bővebben magyarázó műsorozatot közlünk.'

Russia) as well.⁴⁷⁴ As the column of the *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)* stated, Wagner decided to put two of his compositions — of which only the *Faust-overture* was new to Hungarians — on the program of the second concert. According to what was published in the next issue of the aforementioned newspaper, the other composition, presented on the day of the second concert on 28 July, was *the Overture to The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*.⁴⁷⁵

According to the column in *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)* issue 112, 28 July 1863 and the poster of the second performance the program of the second concert was:

First part:

1. *Overture to The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*.

This composition was presented instead of the *Overture to Tannhäuser* that was on the program on 23 July.

2. a. *Elsa's Singing with the Breezes (Elsas Gesang an die Lüfte)*.

2. b. *Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud (Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud)*.

This 'aria' was performed only in Pest. (Miss Mari Rabatinszky).

3. *The Faust-overture (Eine Faust-Overtüre)*.

This composition was played instead of the *Overture to St. Gral. (Overture to Lohengrin)* which was on the program of the first concert.

4. *Wedding Marsch*. Introduction to the third act (of *Lohengrin*).

Second part:

5. *Overture and the end* (the destiny) of the last act; *Verklärung* from the 'opera',⁴⁷⁶ *Tristan and Isolde* for orchestra.

6. a. *The Assembly of the Master-Guild (Versammlung der Meistersingerzunft)* for orchestra.

6. b. *The Invocation of Master Pogner (Pogners Anrede)* for singing.

The compositions are from *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*. (Károly Köszeghy).

7. *The Love Song of Sigmund*. For voice. ('Simon').

⁴⁷⁴ See chapter 3.1.1.

⁴⁷⁵ This opus was played in Vienna and in Russia too.

⁴⁷⁶ They were indicated on the Hungarian program as 'operas'.

8. *The Ride of the Valkyries in the Air*. Numbers seven and eight are from the opera, *The Walküre*.

9. 'Hammer-smith' Songs from the *Siegfried*;

a. *Bloomery-Song (Schmelzlied)*,

b. 'Hammer-Song'. (Hoho! Hoho! Hohei!) (Ferencz Stéger).

Ferenc Stéger appeared as a guest singer again and the other singers, who were to sing on 28 July, were the same as those who had sung at the first occasion. (Mari Rabatinszky, Károly Kőszeghy, and Gusztáv Simon, alias 'Simon'.⁴⁷⁷

Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses) published a short article about the episode between Ede Reményi and Richard Wagner. According to the story, Reményi offered Wagner his collaboration for the first concert. Reményi wanted to play in the orchestra, but Wagner initially refused his offer. When Reményi repeated it before the second concert, Wagner finally accepted the proposal.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁷ See chapter 3.3.1. Since the other available source, the poster of the concert, — see Addendum, 15. — presented the same order of the compositions, we can be sure that the information is correct.

⁴⁷⁸ A few lines also were published in *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, issue 44/III, 30 July 1863) reflecting on this incident.

'Reményi Ede, mindjárt Wagner Richárd megérkezte után elment hozzá mint régi jó ismerőséhez s felajánlá közreműködését hangversenyeiben. Ezen igazi művészi szolgálatkésztséget Wagner először el nem fogadta, kijelentvén, hogy barátjait a közönség soraiban szereti látni. A második hangverseny előtt ismét felajánlá közreműködését, s ekkor már Wagner szívesen elfogadván, Reményi ott hegedült a zenekari hegedűsök utolsó sorában; (!) miért is neki a művészet érdekében csak köszönetet szavazhatunk. — Ilyekor látszik meg leginkább, hogy ki hordja szíven a valódi művészetet!'

'Ede Reményi approached Richard Wagner immediately upon arrival, calling him a dear old acquaintance and offering his contribution to Wagner's concerts. Wagner first refused the offer because, as he said, he wanted to see his friends in the ranks of the audience. Reményi repeated his offer before the second concert and Wagner accepted. Thus Reményi played the violin in the last row of the orchestra (!) — It can be seen who is solicitous about true art!'

3.3.3.2. The Reception of Richard Wagner's Second Concert by the Hungarian Press.

The Hungarians and the 'Gesamtkunstwerk'

Richard Wagner's second Hungarian concert was an enormous success. According to Haraszti, there were some sarcastic lines in the press which could be called 'anti-Wagnerian' but their overall tone was rather gentle.⁴⁷⁹

Yet certain sources remain with the help of which we may trace the reception of the second concert. Three newspapers were published on 30 July, out of which issue 114 of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) will be mentioned. This paper presented a short article containing a very charitable critique.

Issue 114, 30 July 1863:

Theatre News

— Richard Wagner's second concert filled the auditorium of the National Theatre again. There was much applause, 'calling out', and enthusiasm. There were two new compositions on the program. One of the compositions was the *Overture to the Mastersingers of Nuremberg* which is a beautiful picturesque piece with the surprising joviality of profound comedy. The other was the enormous *Faust-overture* wherein Wagner was able to artistically illustrate metaphysical cogitation. [...] the *Wedding-March of the Lohengrin*, *The Ride of the Valkyries* (magical picturesque music), and the *Love Song of Sigmund* (artistically performed by 'Simon') were repeated. Reményi and his student, Plotényi played in the orchestra as well. Wagner's two concerts gave exceptional joy to the audience and will surely make up some of the nicest memories of the National Theatre.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ According to Haraszti, the newspapers were: *Új nemzedék* (*New Generation*) (lost), *Gombostű* (*The Pin*) (lost), *Budai Lapok* (*Buda Pages*) (lost), *Képes Újság* (*The Illustrated Paper*) (lost), *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion Hall*-still available, but it does not contain the joke mentioned by Haraszti). Source: Haraszti, pp. 266-67.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Színházi hírek. — Wagner Rikárd második hangversenye tegnapelőtt ismét egészen megtöltte a nemzeti színház nézőterét. Volt megint sok taps, kihívás és lelkesedés. A műsorban két új zenemű volt. Az egyik a „Norimbergai mesterdalnokok” előzenéje, mely gyönyörű festői zene, néhol a mély komikum meglepő derűjével. Másik hatalmas „Faust”-nyitány, melyben

In agreement with the lines above, it can be shown that the second concert was welcomed just as enthusiastically as was the first and the critic (who was probably the editor, Szerdahelyi) wrote enthusiastically about the singers as well. The 'Wagnerian' journal, *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*) published an almost four-page article in its issue 44/3. Kornél Ábrányi Sr. (the author of the article) did not write at length about the concerts, but he used the opportunity to announce the complete victory of Wagner and the 'Wagnerists' in Hungary.

In the article of *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*), 44/III, 30 July 1863 Ábrányi announced that 'Richard Wagner was the hero of the day in the capital and was certain that '(...) the public opinion placed an enormous muzzle on the 'anti-Wagnerian' wolves (...) and did not miss the opportunity to send a message to the 'non-Wagnerians'. In his message, he made mentioning of the past events in connection with anti-German sentiment in Hungary. He addressed his words to those Germans as well who had not given Wagner a warm welcome in Germany:

We all remember very well that only a few years ago we received ironical smiles and ardent attacks [...] in this country, which was considered to be barbaric and mentally delayed and whose people were depicted as cold and selfish by other nations, in this country, he (Wagner) enjoyed greater success than in his homeland. [...]

In the issue 45 of the same newspaper, published on 6 August, Kornél Ábrányi Sr. continued his essay about Wagner and the Hungarians. In this second part, which was presented on 27 August (issue 48/III) Ábrányi sent a message to Ferenc Erkel. Ábrányi urged the presentation of a Wagner-opera (or a music-

Wagner még a metaphysikai töprengéseket is művészileg bírta kifejezni. Ennél többre már a zene alig lehet képes. (...) A „Lohengrin” menyegzői zenéjét, a „Wallkürök lovaglását” (e bűvös zeneképet) és „Zsigmond dalát” (melyet Simon oly művészileg adott elő) ezuttal is ismételtették. A zenekarban Reményi is hegedült, növendéke Plotényival együtt. Wagner két hangversenye rendkívüli élvezet nyújtott a közönségnek, s egyszersmind a nemzeti színház legszebb emlékei közé fog tartozni.'

drama) in this column and he was also sure that the presentation of it depended only on Ferenc Erkel. In his message, which was published in an article, Ábrányi's opinion is made clear.

At the first concert F. Erkel presented Wagner with a laurel-wreath in the name of the entire orchestra and later kissed him twice kindly to thank him.

— But Erkel will have to prove he deserves those kisses with his actions [...] it depends only on him (Erkel) whether the audience finally encounters Wagner's compositions.

— Now is the time for it to happen, and we expect it from him for the sake of the art and the institution (National Theatre).

Kornél Ábrányi.⁴⁸¹

Considering Kornél Ábrányi's (Sr.) 'position' it is no wonder that he wanted to help stage an opera of Wagner at the National Theatre. He probably felt that the atmosphere and opinion of the Hungarian public had never been as 'Wagnerian' as it was after Richard Wagner's personal presence in the country.

The changes that happened in the opinion of the Hungarians can also be seen in the article published in *Pester Lloyd* in its issue 172 on 30 July. In this one-page article, the journalist, indicated only by the initial 'C' (Julius, or Sándor Czeke), wrote an essay not only about Richard Wagner's second concert in Hungary but about Wagner's theoretical work, *Oper und Drama* (*Opera and Drama*) as well. The title of the article: *Das Operndrama Richard Wagners und dessen zweites Konzert im Nationaltheater* (*Richard Wagner's Opera-Drama and his Second Concert at the National Theatre*).

⁴⁸¹ 'Az első hangverseny alkalmával, Erkel F. borostyán-koszorút nyújtott át Wagnernek a zenekar nevében, ki őt érte szívélyesen megcsókolta. — De Erkel ez ünnepélyes csókra csak akkor fogja igazán érdemessé tenné magát, ha tettekkkel is igyekezend bebizonyítani (...) Csak ő tőle függ, hogy Wagner egyetemes műveivel végre a magyar közönség is meismekedhessék. — Az ideje bizony már itt volna s ezt meg is várjuk tőle, az intézet s művészet érdekében. Ábrányi Kornél'.

The repetition of Wagner's compositions was intensively demanded. Wagner was 'called out' several times [...] and every single person in the hall liked him. [...]

After Richard Wagner's Hungarian victory (on 28 July 1863) his Hungarian friends decided to arrange a banquet in the building of the 'Lövölde' (a shooting range for civilians). The banquet most likely took place on 29 July. Two newspapers reported the event; the article in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) is presented first. In issue 115 of the newspaper (published on 31 July) many pieces of information can be found about the event that was arranged in honor of Richard Wagner so the happenings of this occasion can be followed very precisely. According to the data in the article, 80 or 90 people, primarily the representatives of Hungarian 'musical-life' were there, including almost everybody from the National Theatre (along with the director), as well as 'many writers and patrons'.

It seems that the musicians who contributed to Wagner's two Hungarian concerts felt motivated to celebrate Richard Wagner, but the only lady to appear at the banquet and then leave with Wagner was Miss Mari Rabatinszky.⁴⁸² After the whole distinguished company arrived, Hungarian guests started to give toasts. The first was given by Pál Rosti, the Hungarian 'Wagnerist'. Richard Wagner answered Rosti with a poetical toast of his own:

And Richard Wagner answered. If we admired him as composer, we will admire him twice as much as a speaker. Everybody left their places and gathered around the hero of the festivity because they did not want to miss a word from his really important speech which was mostly about the advance and conquest of music. He ended his

⁴⁸² 'Hölgykoszorúról nem szólhatunk, mert ez csak egy szál virágból állt, s ez Rabatinszky Mari k. a. (kisasszony) volt, ki Wagner Richard karján jött közénk, s távozott körünkéből. E kitüntetés valószínűleg azért érte a kisasszonyt, mert a művésznők közül egyedül neki jutott a szerencse: a költő hangversenyeiben résztvehetni.'

'We can not talk about 'bouquet' of ladies this time, since only one 'flower' was there, Miss Mari Rabatinszky, who came with Richard Wagner to the banquet and left with him as well. The reason Miss Rabatinszky was honored by him might possibly be that only she had the good fortune to participate in Richard Wagner's concerts.'

speech with 'Es lebe die Göttliche Ton-Kunst! (Long live the divine art of music!)⁴⁸³

The next toast was given by a young attorney, Antal Rózsaági (Rózsa),⁴⁸⁴ who broke the silence after Wagner's words. It seems interesting that Richard Wagner did not record this banquet in his memoir,⁴⁸⁵ but he did mention another celebration (i.e. the 24 July party at the Boat Club of Pest-Buda). According to this article, there were other speakers that evening. Mihály Mosonyi, the Hungarian 'Wagnerist' read the poem on *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*; Gábor Egressy,⁴⁸⁶ the well-known actor emphasized the national (German) style of Wagner's compositions and celebrated him as the hero of the music of national German Romanticism. Richard Wagner answered the 'hurrahs' by

⁴⁸³ 'Erre Wagner Rikárd felelt. Ha bámultuk eddig, mint nagy zeneszerzőt, kétszeresen csudálhattuk benne a kitűnő szónokot. Mindenki elhagyá helyét, s az ünnep hőse köré sereglett, nehogy egy szócskát is elhalaszszon valóban jeles beszédéből, melynek főrészét a zene haladásának s hódításának fejtegetése képezé. Szavait evvel rekeszté be: „Es lebe die Göttliche Ton-Kunst!”

⁴⁸⁴ According to Haraszi (p. 269), Rózsaági, (Rózsa) lived between 1829 and 1886. He was an editor, writer, civil servant, and teacher. He worked for *Divatcsarnok (The Fashion Hall)* in the 1860s. His novels were very popular at that time.

⁴⁸⁵ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 444.

⁴⁸⁶ Gábor Egressy (Egresi, Galambos Egressy) was the brother of Benjámin Egressy who wrote a few librettos of the Erkel operas. Gábor lived between 1808 and 1866, and was a friend of Sándor Petőfi's (a famous Hungarian poet) as well. He was a professional, celebrated, very intelligent and highly educated actor — one the best-known at the time —, but wrote articles (e.g. for *Honderű (Home-Joy)* and *Pesti Divatlap (Fashion-Journal of Pest)*, books: *A színészet könyve (The Book of Acting)* and established the Színi Tanoda (School of Actors) in 1865. He played a significant role in the story of 'Hungarian-consciousness' with his acting, but also with his actions in real life. (He fought in the Revolution in 1848). His best roles were Shakespeare-roles; he played *Hamlet*, *Otello* and *Lear*, but the critics and the audience celebrated him for his acting in *Bánk bán* as well. He died right after the performance of *Brankovics György* wherein he played the main role. Source: Lajos Kéky, Art. 'Egressy Gábor' in *MagySzínművLex*, Volume I, pp. 390-92.

expressing his gratitude for the reception and thanking the musicians of the National Theatre.⁴⁸⁷

Spiler, one of the first violinists lauded Wagner thus: 'I interpret the wish of all of us when I say: May God grant us, that this first visit of Richard Wagner not be the last!'

Wagner's second answer came after that, in which the composer explained his vision of the power of music: '— In this second speech he answered Egressy and said that music encourages men of all nations to be friends.'⁴⁸⁸

Not only *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) but also *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) reported the aforementioned event. The article appeared in issue 45 of the third year, on 6 August. Since both newspapers wrote nearly the same things, the citation below does not add much novelty to this discussion. One new fact is that the banquet was arranged by Erkel, Radnótfáy, and Rosti, and that some people did not like the venue.

A large number of the people did not like that the gentlemen, Radnótfáy, Erkel, and Rosti held the supper at a public place under the open sky without removing their hats.⁴⁸⁹

Another of the author's problems was that the organizers ordered a Gypsy band to play for Richard Wagner. 'We could have done without the gypsy band.' The objection of the writer is partly understandable, since he wanted to show the best face of Hungarians, Hungarian culture and Hungary to Richard Wagner and probably did not like the fact that 'gypsy-music' — or better to say: 'verbunkos' and 'folklike songs' — were important elements of Hungarian

⁴⁸⁷ 'Wagner Rikhard közben még kétszer szólt. Az elsőben megköszönte, hogy ittléte alatt reménységén fülüli fogadtatásban részesült, s megköszönte a művészeknek, kik hangversenyében részt vettek (...)'

'Richard Wagner spoke twice more and gave thanks for the reception which he said had far exceeded his expectations and expressed his gratitude to the musicians who took part in his concerts (...)'

⁴⁸⁸ '— A másodikban Egressynek felelt, azt fejtegetvén, hogy főkép a zene az, mely minden nemzetiséget testvérekké lenni ösztönzi.'

⁴⁸⁹ 'Sokan nem jó néven vették a rendező uraktól, (Radnótfáy, Erkel s Rosti Pál urak) hogy a lakomát közhelyen, szabad ég alatt, feltett kalappal tartották.'

culture at the time. Though the ‘verbunkos’ and ‘folklike song’ were considered ‘real’, or authentic Hungarian ‘folk-music’ in nineteenth-century Hungary, these compositions were only ‘folk-style’, but they constitute an important part of the entertainment at banquets and parties. Therefore, it was not a shame for even educated, cultured Hungarians to listen such music.

Although ‘German (Austrian)-oppression’ had a strong effect on Hungarian society, it brought about some positive results as well. For example, as German was the official language in Hungary, it was easy for the guests to make wonderful speeches to Wagner and to converse with him in fluent German. It seems that Wagner knew something about anti-German sentiment in Hungary because he wrote in his *Mein Leben (My Life)* that he had a reason to be pleased both with his success and the great interest the audience showed in the city where the ‘Magyar opposition to Austria’⁴⁹⁰ (anti-German or anti-Austrian sentiment) was still at its strongest. After his great victory the Mastermind probably left Hungary on 31 July⁴⁹¹ — the data can be found in *Sürgöny (Telegraph)*,⁴⁹² Issue 174/3, 1 Aug. 1863) — two days after the last banquet arranged in his honor.

The importance of Wagner’s personal attendance and the performances of his compositions which made an enormous impression on Hungarian public life and society can be confirmed with another article, which appeared on 1 August.

⁴⁹⁰ *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 443.

⁴⁹¹ ‘*Wagner Richard tegnap már eltávozott körünkéből. Hogy Wagner szerzeményein kívül is solid művész, azt ittléte alatt többszörösen bebizonyította.’

* Richard Wagner left us yesterday (on 31 July). During his stay Wagner proved in person and not only through his compositions, that he is a decent artist; he gave evidence of this many times during his stay.’

⁴⁹² *Sürgöny (Telegraph)* was political, scientific and artistic journal. It was published with its appendix: *Literaturai csarnok (Literary Hall)* from 2 January 1840. From 1 December 1860 started to be spread again after *Budapesti Hírlap (The News-sheet of Budapest)* was dissolved on 30 November 1860 and *Sürgöny (Telegraph)* was born from its ashes. Editors were Aurél Kecskeméthy, Gyula Bulyovszky. The newspaper exists nowadays under the title *Budapesti Közlöny (Bulletin of Budapest)*. Sources: *A Budapesti Hírlap helyzetének megszilárdítása bürokratikus alapon (1856-1860)* in *A Magyar Sajtó Története*, Ed. by Miklós Szabolcsi, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1985, Volume II/1, p. 345, *A Pallas nagylexikona*, Art. ‘Sürgöny’ <http://www.mek.oszk.hu/00000/00060/html/094/pc009470.html#2>, downloaded: 27 Sept. 2014.

Baron Károly Fechtig wrote a long essay about Wagner's life and about his theoretical works in *Ország Tükre (The Mirror of the Country)*.⁴⁹³ This article starts on the main page of this illustrated bulletin wherein Wagner's lithography⁴⁹⁴ can be seen. (*Ország Tükre-The Mirror of the Country*, issue 22/2, on 1 August).

Baron Károly Fechtig⁴⁹⁵ wrote about the ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’ (‘Total Work of Art’ or ‘Ideal Work of Art’) on the main page (!) of *Ország Tükre* (*The Mirror of the Country*) thereby becoming probably the first to bring it to the attention of Hungarians. This was probably the first time that the name of this genre appeared in the Hungarian press.

In his essay Baron Fechtig mentioned a few very important questions about nineteenth-century music history:

Our century has often been called the age of music, and not without reason, considering the feverish musical activity we are witnessing in the daily life of our nation. Yet until now, we have lacked a guiding principle and ample knowledge of our conditions and possibilities, a kind of knowledge which might serve as a bright torch to lead the way. We needed a determined and powerful voice to tell the age of its responsibilities and to put an end to all misconceptions and errors. And lo, an exceptional genius was born, who was ready not only to

⁴⁹³ *Ország Tükre (The Mirror of the Country)* was an illustrated bulletin published between 1 January 1862 and 6 July 1865. Its editors were Sándor Balázs, Viktor Szokoly, Ferenc Gyárfás among others. Usually Marastoni and Barabás made the lithographs. Source: *Ország Tükre* - Lexikon: www.kislexikon.hu/orszag_tukre.html. 9 Dec. 2011.

⁴⁹⁴ It was either Barabás (Miklós) or Marastoni (Jakab or his son: József) who made the lithography based on Wagner's photo, which was taken in St. Petersburg, because only those two gentlemen made lithographs for the newspaper around 1863. Source: *Ország Tükre* - Lexikon: www.kislexikon.hu/orszag_tukre.html.

⁴⁹⁵ Baron Károly Fechtig most likely came from a family which was granted the baronetcy in 1813. The name of the family was Fechtenberg before. Baron Fechtig wrote regularly under the pseudonym: 'F...g' to the *Zenészeti Közlöny* (*The Musical Bulletin*, published from 10 January 1882) which was the descendent of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) and according to Haraszti he was a writer of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) in 1860/61 as well. Sources: Szerző, *Zenészeti Lapok 1860-1876*, p. 21, Haraszti. p. 278, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Elektronikus könyvtár/Fechtig.

utter a courageous word, but to prove himself in his actions. And this genius is Richard Wagner, the creator of a new age of art, whose motto is: music drama, in other words, Gesamtkunstwerk.⁴⁹⁶

In the continuation of his essay Baron Fechtig called the attention of educated Hungarians to Wagner's theoretical works, such as the *Kunst und Revolution*, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* and *Oper und Drama*⁴⁹⁷ and also satisfied the curiosity of those who wanted to know more about Wagner's life. (Fechtig mentioned the Autobiography in the Foreword to *Drei Operndichtungen*).⁴⁹⁸

Baron Fechtig closed his essay with an important message, addressed to the Hungarians:

⁴⁹⁶ 'Századunkat nem egyszer nevezték el a zene korszakának, és ha a lázas tevékenységet tekintjük, melynek e terén tanúi lehetünk, nem ok nélkül: csakhogymind ekkoráig hiányzott egy vezérgondolat, az idevágó állapotok és viszonyok kellő megismerése, felfogása, mi az őszinte törekvéseket irányadó szövétnekként, útba igazíthatta volna: egy elszánt hatalmasszózatra volt szükség, mely a kort tájékoztatja teendői iránt, végetvetve számtalan balhiedelem és tévelynek. És íme támadt egy kiváló lángelme, ki nemcsak a merész szó kimondására vállalkozott, hanem tettel be is bizonyította, hogy szavának bír állani: ez Wagner Richard, a művészetek pályafutásában egy új korszak alkotója, melynek jelszava: a zenedráma, más szóval az összművészeti műforma.'

⁴⁹⁷ *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (1849, Hungarian translation: Kornél Ábrányi, Budapest, 1886), *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1849), *Oper und Drama* (1851, rev.: 1868, the Hungarian translation of the third volume by Sándor Fischer, Budapest, 1983). Source: GROVE *Monographs*, pp. 167-68.

⁴⁹⁸ '— Irodalmi dolgozatainak elsejében, a „Kunst und Revolution”-ban viszonyát az ujjkor fejlődési irányához fejtegeti, a második „Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft” eljárásának kimerítő elméletét adja, míg a kivitel gyakorlati oldalát „Oper und Drama” terjedelmes három kötetre menő munkájában tárgyalja. Azoknak, kik Wagner személye és nagy tehetsége iránt érdeklődnek, ajánljuk, a „Drei Operndichtungen”-hez „Előszó” képen csatolt, jeles önéletiratát, melyben a nagy művész saját külső és belső fejlődését a legnagyobb őszinteség hangján tolmácsolja.'

'In his first literary essay, *Kunst und Revolution*, he describes his opinions of the most recent musical developments, while in the essay, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, Wagner presents the theory behind his practice. The practical aspects of his art are explicated in his sizeable three-volume work entitled *Oper und Drama*. To those who are interested in Wagner's person and immeasurable talent, we recommend his illustrated autobiography in the Foreword of his *Drei Operndichtungen*, in which the great composer traces his interior and outer development with profound honesty.'

— Whatever his enemies say Wagner has demonstrated that the ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’ (the ‘Total Work of Art’ or ‘Ideal Work of Art’)⁴⁹⁹ is not a phantasm. [...] Wagner is the embodiment of progress in action; we cannot help but admire him, our criticism is muffled (stifled).
Baron Károly Fechtig.⁵⁰⁰

After 1 August the Hungarian press continued to publish laudatory essays and other writings about Richard Wagner. Because of its unique ideas and conceptions, László Maszlagi’s⁵⁰¹ article can be considered as one of the most important documents written in this vein. His essay appeared in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*, issue 124) on 6 August, in the same issue in which a short article was published about the ‘*Tannhäuser-parody*’ which was supposed to be performed at the ‘Pester Stadttheater’ (the ‘second’ German Theatre of Pest).

Wagner did not surpass his ancestors because his music is different from theirs; Wagner surpassed his future descendants. His creative soul lifted the secret veil of the future and his genius lights the way to a new, unknown realm.

⁴⁹⁹ According to Dahlhaus, the concept of ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’ was first coined by Richard Wagner in 1846 and not by Eduard Hanslick, who used the genre in his book *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (*From the Beautiful in Music*) in 1854. In his book *The Idea of Absolut Music* Dahlhaus wrote, that there was a paradigm-shift observable in the end of eighteenth century, which can be described with one question: Does music have a goal other than affection? According to Tieck, ‘the music is certainly the eventual secret of belief’ and this is how the ‘Bach-cult’ started. Dahlhaus also mentioned Mendelssohn, who was probably one of the firsts who tried to find the path to the ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’. Sources: Carl Dahlhaus, *Az abszolút zene eszméje* (*The Idea of ‘Absolut-Music’*), translated by Dénes Zoltai, Budapest, (Typotex), 2004, Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolut Music*, translated by Roger Lustig, (Originally published as *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* in 1978), Chicago, (The University of Chicago Press), 1991.

⁵⁰⁰ ‘— Bár mit mondjanak ellenei, Wagner bebizonyította, hogy az összművészet nem agyrém. (...) Wagner maga az életbe lépett haladás rajta már csak gyönyörködhetünk, ítészkedésünk fenakad.’

⁵⁰¹ Based on the ideas appearing in his article, László Maszlagi was probably a highly educated member of Hungarian society in the nineteenth century. Two of his scholarly works are still available: *Az olasz iskola és Bellini (Vincenzo)*, *Tárgy és jellemrajz*, and *Haydn József életéből, 19sz. második fele*. They can be found in the Manuscript Collection of SzNL in Budapest.

Wagner's music is not German, Italian or French in the way we have understood these terms until now. His music does not contain German rigor or heaviness, Italian mawkishness, or craving, French gentleness, empty lightness or fashionability. There is one idea in Wagner's music and it is the sublimeness of nature.

[...] and if an adventurous bard steps forward and sings in the name of despised and forgotten ancestors, we find him foreign and do not understand him. Richard Wagner is such a foreigner in musical life, who is not yet and no longer understood.

Wagner's music is of the most poetical nature and the most natural poetry. Wagner is the music of the old world that is not understood by the spirit of the age.

[...] this is the music of the past. The music of the past whereon the greatness of the future will be built;⁵⁰²

It might be interesting to note that not only Baron Fechtig, but also László Maszlagi felt and tried to point out something deeper about the reception of Richard Wagner's music in Hungary. Perhaps both of those gentlemen noticed the encouraging change in the opinion of Hungarians and thought that it might be a great opportunity to 'dig deeper' and to bring not only Richard Wagner's music, but also aesthetic principles and directions closer to Hungarians.

While the Hungarian press seemed to completely accept Wagner's music and glorified him even further, the management of the 'Pester Stadttheater' (the

⁵⁰² 'Wagner nem multa felül elődjeit, mert zenéje más, mint elődeié; Wagner fölülmulhatta jövő utódait; teremő lelke a nem sejtett jövő titkos fátyolát emelte föl, s a nagy lángelme fénye egy új, ismeretlen honba világít.'

'Wagner zenéje se német, se olasz, se francia az eddigi értelemben. Nincs benne a német merevség, nehézség; nincs olasz olvadékonyság, epedés; nincs francia kedves, de többnyire üres könnyűség, divatszerűség. Wagner zenéjében egy eszme él, léleklizik, s ez a természet fönsége.'

'(...) s ha egy-egy merészebb dalnok előlép, hogy a megvetett, elfeledett ősök zengzetes hangján szöljon, idegennek tartjuk őt s nem értjük szavát. Ily idegen sokakra nézve a zenevilágban Wagner Rikhard, kit nem még, de már nem értenek.'

'Mert Wagner zenéje a legköltőibb természetesség, s a legtermészetesb költőiség. Wagner az ő világ zenéje, kit korszellemmel előrefutó kor már nem ért meg.'

'(...) ez az ősi, tiszta mult zenéje. A mult zenéje, melyre a jövő nagysága építve van;'

‘second’ German Theatre of Pest) decided to perform a *Tannhäuser-parody*. The short article about the next presentation of the occasion appeared in the same issue of *Színházi Látcsó (The Opera Glasses)* in which Maszlagi’s essay was presented. This was most likely one of the first time that the management of the ‘second’ German Theatre of Pest misunderstood the expectations of the people of Pest and Buda.⁵⁰³

According to the information mentioned earlier, Wagner’s second concert was even more successful than the first. Wagner and his music captivated the educated Hungarian musicians and writers and the ‘anti-Wagnerians’ were silenced by his great success, and Wagner’s — perhaps ostensible — personable and politically correct behaviour. Richard Wagner spent some very pleasant days in Hungary which inspired him to compose two letters.

3.4. Richard Wagner’s two ‘Hungarian Letters’ in the Hungarian and German Press

Richard Wagner’s sent one of his ‘Hungarian Letters’ to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy), the manager of the National Theatre on 1 August 1863. (WBV 3626, WHL-S/14. The facsimile of the original document is in the Addendum, 16). The letter, which was written in Penzing and sent to Pest, is still in Budapest in the Remembrance Collection of Museum and Archive in Hungarian State Opera (score: 72. 47. 45). The editors of WBV forgot to mention the score of the manuscript and the fact that the text of this letter was published in Hungarian in *Színházi Látcsó (The Opera Glasses)* and *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* in 1863, in German in *Pester Lloyd* in 1899, and in Hungarian translation in Haraszti, pp. 274-75.

The date of the letter — 1 Aug. — indicates that Wagner’s recent experiences inspired him to write a letter immediately upon his arrival in Penzing. Wagner

⁵⁰³ ‘Pester Stadttheater. *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg. Burleskes Intermezzo mit Gesang von Dr. Kalisch.*’

‘Pester Stadttheater. (The German Theatre of Pest). *Tannhäuser and the Singing Competition of Wartburg, Burlesque-Intermezzo with dr. Kalisch’s song.*’

wrote in *Mein Leben*⁵⁰⁴ that he almost regretted having to leave the rejuvenating atmosphere of Buda-Pest(h) and return to his 'dull' and musty Viennese home. Evidence that Wagner's stay was pleasant and uplifting can be seen in Glasenapp's book as well. Wagner writes, 'The incredible success I had in Budapest shows me the path I must follow for the sake of my future, even I have to make huge sacrifices.'⁵⁰⁵

Wagner's aforementioned 'Hungarian-letter'⁵⁰⁶ was first published in Hungarian in *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)* issue 120. on August 5 1863 and in

⁵⁰⁴ 'Der Eindruck von diesem allen erfrischte mich sehr, so daß es mir fast leid tat, aus dem jugendlich belebenden Elemente, in welchem sich Pest gezeigt hatte, mich in mein stummes, muffiges Wiener Asyl wiederbegeben zu müssen.'

'The impression of all these refreshed me to such an extent that I almost regretted leaving those youthful and rejuvenating elements which Pest showed me and exchange them for that silent and musty Asyl in Vienna.' Source: *Mein Leben*, Volume II, p. 445.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Az a hihetetlen tetszés, melyet Pesten arattam, mutatja nekem az utat, a melyen jövőm érdekében a legnagyobb áldozatok árán is haladnom kell.' Source: Haraszi (p. 274. footnote 1.) alluded to Glasenapp II, Abteilung, 435.

⁵⁰⁶ Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian-letter' in German. 1 Aug. 1863, written in Penzing (Vienna), sent to Pest. WBV 3626, WHL-S/14. For the facsimile see Add. 16, for more details see Appendix IX. and X:

Geehrtester Herr Hofrath!

Kaum fand ich mir Zeit bei meiner Abreise vom Pest zum Abschied mich Ihnen zu empfehlen, und ich fühle mich daher veranlaßt, Ihnen aus der Ferne noch den Ausbruch meines aufrichtigen und warmen Dankes für alles Freundliche, was Sie mir erwiesen haben, nachzusenden.

Hatte mich bereits Ihre Einladung angenehm überrascht und Ihre Versicherung, daß es Ihnen zur Freude gereiche, mit der Unterstützung der Kräfte des Nationaltheaters mich dem Publikum der Hauptstadt Ungarn vorzuführen, mir wohlthätig geschmeichelt, so dass der Erfolg Ihrer freundlichen Bemühungen durch erleichterndes und förderndes Entgegenkommen in jeder Beziehung meine angenehmen Erwartungen nur noch übertreffen können. Die Vorzüglichen Ihres Orchesters, der kollegialische Eifer feines allseitig verehrten Chefs, die ausgezeichnete Mitwirkung eines rühmenswerthen Gesangpersonals, sowie die energische Unterstützung der technischen Behörden ihres Theaters machten es mir mit weniger Mühe möglich, sogar den freundlich besorgten Zweifel mancher Pester Musikfreunde an der Empfänglichkeit des Ungarischen Publikums für eine Musik, die bisher keinen Geschmacksneigungen sich fern gehalten hatte auf das überraschendste zu besiegen. Wenn daher heute Musikstücke meiner Kompositionen welche (mit einziger Ausnahme Wiens) dem deutschen Publikum noch gänzlich fremd geblieben, dem ungarischen Publikum bereits wohlbekannt und mit Lebhaftigkeit von ihm

Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal), issue 46/3, 13 August 1863. It was later published in German in *Pester Lloyd*, issue 39,⁵⁰⁷ 12 February 1899. (The press cuttings of the articles are in Addendum, 17).

Richard Wagner's letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy).

WBV 3626, WHL-S/14.

Penzing, 1 August 1863.

Venerated King's Councillor,

I was unable to find any time to bid you a proper farewell.. I therefore feel obliged to send from a distance my honest and hearty proclamation of gratitude for all the kindness that you have shown me. Your invitation was already pleasant surprise to me, and I took your assurance that you are glad to introduce me to the audience of the Hungarian capital with the support of the national theatre, as a compliment, but the success of your kind efforts, your helpfulness and affability have truly exceeded my expectations.

Your outstanding orchestra, the enthusiasm of your honorable and very fine conductor for his fellow-artist, the excellent cooperation of the

aufgesaugt worden sind: wenn ich daher zu der eigenthümlichen Erscheinung, daß mit Kompositionen deutscher Art, wie denen meiner „Nibelungen“, „Meistersinger“ u. s. w., das Publikum der Hauptstädte Böhmens und Rußlands wohin ich zu eigens hierzu eingeladen war, sich vertraut gemacht hat, jetzt noch die Erfahrung von der willigsten Aufnahme meiner neueren Arbeiten auch Seitens der Künstler und des Publikums der Hauptstadt Ungarns fügen darf, – da kann ich meinen Dank für diese mir so tröstliche wie ermuthigende Erfahrung nur der thatsächlichen Initiative Ihrer Einladung vorbringen, in welchen ich gern meine volle Anerkennung der Bemühungen aller derjenigen Künstler und Kunstfreunde einschließe, welche veranlassend und unterstützend zu Ihrer nicht ganz ungewachten Entwicklung mitwirkten.

Glauben Sie, daß auch das Publikum es nicht verschmähen dürfte, von den Empfindungen meines Dankes und meiner Anerkennung, wie ich sie in diesen Zeilen niederlegte, Kenntniss zu nehmen, so autorisire ich zu dieser Veröffentlichung ebenso gern, als es wahrhaft mir zur Ehre gereichen würde, wann sie Ihnen der Veröffentlichung werth erscheinen sollten.

Mit größter Hochachtung bin ich Ihr ergebenster: Richard Wagner. Penzing bei Wien, 1 August 1863.

⁵⁰⁷ Haraszi (p. 274. footnote 2) was wrong, since he wrote that it was issue 38. Haraszi does not mention that the letter was also published in *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*.

praiseworthy singing staff and the significant technical support from the theatre made it possible, with light efforts on my part, to dispel even those scandalous worries and doubts of certain music lovers in Pest concerning the openness of the Hungarian audience to music that is so little in line with contemporary taste. Therefore, even those parts of my compositions, which (with the exception of Vienna) are still unfamiliar to the German audience, were already well known by the Hungarian audience and were quite enthusiastically received.

Furthermore, to that special phenomenon that my most German pieces, such as the Ring of the Nibelungen and The Mastersingers of Nuremberg were liked in the capitals of Bohemia and Russia, where I was invited personally for that purpose, I can now add the experience that my more recent compositions met with the most positive reception from the audience and artists of the Hungarian capital as well. For this comforting and encouraging experience, the fruit of your courageous and active initiative in inviting me, I have only you to thank. I am glad to enfold those artists and art lovers who lent their supportive and committed cooperation to your efforts in the circle of my gratitude. If you believe that the audience would not mind being informed about my appreciation and gratitude, I am only too glad to authorise you to convey it to them, since it would be a real honor for me, if you would consider it worthy of being made public.

Yours faithfully with the highest respect, Richard Wagner.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁸ Richard Wagner's forthcoming 'Hungarian-letter'. 1 Aug. 1863, Penzing-Pest. WBV 3626, WHL-S/14. The translation of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*). For this and the other Hungarian press-cuttings see Add. 17, for more details see Appendix IX. and X. *In Hungarian*. The translation of the *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*). Issue 120, 5 Aug. 1863.

'Nagyra becsült udv. tanácsos úr!

Alig találván időt, hogy Pestről való elutazásom alkalmával öntől kellőleg elbúcsúzzam: kötelezve érzem magamat innen a távolból küldeni meg őszinte és meleg köszönetem nyilvánítását mindazon szívességért, melyet irántam tanúsított. Ha már meghívása is kellemetesen lepett meg, s azon biztosítása, hogy öröme válik a nemzeti színház erőinek támogatásával engem Magyarország fővárosa közönségének bemutatni, jólesőleg hizelgő volt rám nézve: szíves fáradozásainak sikere s minden tekintetben könnyítő és segítő előzékenysége, csak fölülmúlhatá kellemes várakozásaimat.

Based on Wagner's words it becomes evident that he was aware of the 'anti-German sentiment' in Hungary, though he did not know about its deep roots which were at least a century old, or about the 'Hungarian-consciousness', the feelings which bound Hungarian society to the genre of opera, and of the process of 'Hungarianisation'. He did, however, most assuredly have information about the tradition of Italian, French and Hungarian opera-repertoire which determined the culture of nineteenth-century Hungary, a backdrop against which Wagner's victory proves to be even more significant. His first concert tour encouraged him to continue his work and not to give up fighting for acceptance.

The following important lines appeared in the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*). Ede Reményi visited Wagner in Penzing, which may have inspired the composer to address another letter to the Hungarians. As it can be seen in the article, Reményi went to Austria with his student, Nándor Plotényi (he had been playing the violin-part with him in the orchestra of the National Theatre in the

Zenekarának jelessége, mindenkitől tisztelt karnagyának pályatársi buzgalma, a dicséretre méltó énekszemélyzet kitűnő közreműködése, s a színház technikai erőinek erélyes támogatása, nekem egy kis fáradsággal lehetővé tették a legmeglepőbb módon győzni le még némely pesti zenebarát azon botránnyosan aggódó kétségeit is, melyet a magyar közönség fogékonyságára nézve éreztek oly zenével szemközt, mely eddigi izlés hajlamaitól nagyon távol van tartva.

Ha tehát szerzeményeimnek oly zenerészei is, melyek (az egyetlen Bécs kivételével) még a német közönségre nézve is egészen idegenek maradtak, s a magyar közönség előtt már jól ismervék, s általa egész élénkséggel fölfogattak, s ha továbbá azon sajátos jelenséghez, hogy legnémetesebb alkotásaimmal, minők a „Niebelungok” és „Mesterdalnokok” stb. Cseh- és Oroszország fővárosai, hová én sajátlag ezért hivatám, megbarátkoztanak, még azon tapasztalatot is kapcsolhatom, hogy újabb műveim Magyarország fővárosa közönségének és művészeinek részéről a legszívesebb fogadtatásban részesültek: úgy e vigasztaló és bátorító tapasztalásomért csakis az ön meghívási tevékeny kezdeményezésének kell köszönetet mondanom, melybe egyszersemind örömet befoglalom minazon művészek és műbarátok fáradozásait is, kik önnek, nem egészen vakmerőtlen elhatározásánál odaadólag és támogatólag közreműködtek.

Ha ön azon hitben van, hogy a közönségnek nem lesz ellenére tudomást venni elismerésem és köszönetem érzésvivénységéről: annyiival örömetebb hatalmazom föl annak közzétételére, mivel valóban megtisztelés lesz rám nézve, ha ön azt közlésre méltónak találja. A legnagyobb tisztelettel lekötözöttje, Wagner Rikárd.'

second concert, on 28 July) and took a sampling of pieces of contemporary Hungarian music to his 'friend', Richard Wagner.

*Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*), issue 45/3, 6 August 1863:

* Ede Reményi went to Pencing (Penzing) at Richard Wagner's invitation (...) in the summer he spent there, Wagner finished his tetralogy and opera, *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*. According to Pester Lloyd Reményi was accompanied by his student Nándor Plotényi whom Wagner liked very much. Reményi took the most excellent pieces of our music with him in order to introduce them to Richard Wagner, who showed great interest in our national musical ambitions.⁵⁰⁹

An article of four pages concerning Reményi's journey was published in *Zenészet*i Lapok on 20 August. This was the same issue in which Richard Wagner's aforementioned letter appeared.

In a footnote on page 238 of his book, Haraszti writes that the next 'Hungarian-letter' was first published in German in the *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung für Musikfreunde und Künstler* (*Music Journal of the Lower Rhine for Music Lovers and Artists*, issue 35/XI)⁵¹⁰ on 29 August 1863. After studying a number of articles, it has become clear to me that Haraszti was wrong on several counts. The first time the letter in question was published in German was in fact 19 August, 1863 in issue 188 of the *Pester Lloyd*. (The title of the article is *Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik*). The *Niederrheinische Zeitung* indicates quite clearly in a footnote that the letter was a reprint of what had appeared earlier in the *Pester Lloyd*. The second time the letter appeared was in Hungarian translation in *Zenészet*i Lapok (*The Musical Journal*), issue 47/III, on 20 August

⁵⁰⁹ ** Reményi Ede, Wagner Richárd egyenes meghívása folytán pár napra a nagy zeneköltő látogatására utazott Pencingbe Bécs mellett, hol Wagner a nyarat tölti, bevégezendő Tetralógiájának utolsó részét s „norimbergi mester-dalnokok” című dalművét. Reményi magával vitte nagy reményű tanítványát a kis Plotényi Nándort is, kihez Wagner kiváló rokonszenv s szeretettel viseltetik. A hazai zeneirodalom kiválóbb műtermékei sem hiányoznak, melyekkel Wagnert meg fogja ismertetni, ki nemzeti mozgalmaink iránt nagy érdekeltséggel viseltetik.'

⁵¹⁰ *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler*, Volume 11, 35/XI, 29 Aug. 1863, pp. 279-80.

1863. The third printing, also in Hungarian, occurred in issue 137 of *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*) 23 August. The letter appeared for the fourth time in German in the *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung für Musikfreunde und Künstler*. It must also be noted that Haraszti's footnote fails to mention the version in *Színházi Látcső* (*The Opera Glasses*), neither does Haraszti seem aware that the letter in question appeared in both German and Hungarian on 26 November, 1871 on the first page of issue 9/12 of *Zenészet* *Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*). The editors of WBV also forgot to mention a few data, such as the appearance of the letter in *Színházi Látcső*, the first publication in *Zenészet* *Lapok* in 1863, and the Haraszti publication. According to WBV, Richard Wagner's letter was also published by Altmann (Altmann, 1684) and Bónis (Bónis *Mosonyi II*,⁵¹¹ pp. 55-60).

Richard Wagner's aforementioned 'Hungarian-letter' was written to Kornél Ábrányi Sr. (All the printings can be found in Addendum, 18). As the aforementioned five sources are identical in content, the letter will be presented as printed in *Pester Lloyd*.⁵¹²

⁵¹¹ Bónis, *Mosonyi II*, in Abbreviations in WBV. See Appendix.

⁵¹² Richard Wagner's subsequent 'Hungarian-letter'. 8 Aug. 1863, Penzing-Pest. WBV A 218, WHL-S/16. The text of the *Pester Lloyd*. For the press-cutting see Add. 18, for more details see Appendix IX. and X.

In German. The text of the *Pester Lloyd*, issue 188, 19 Aug. 1863:

Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik.

Herrn Kornél Ábrányi, Redakteur der „Zenészet

Lapok“ in Pest.

Geehrter Herr Redakteur!

Mir ist während meines Aufenthaltes in Pest von unserem Freunde Reményi Ede, mit der Empfehlung — es seien ungarische Studien — eine größere Anzahl von Kompositionen mitgetheilt worden, die ich jetzt erst Gelegenheit finde näher kennen zu lernen und über die ich Ihnen gern meine besondere Freude mittheilen möchte. Das Thema, welches hierdurch zu erweiteren Reflexionen in mir angeregt wurde, ist zu umfassend, als daß ich ernstlich es bei dieser kurzen Mittheilung berühren möchte. Mit Anknüpfung an Dasjenige, was ich am letzten Abende unseres Zusammenseins vor einem größeren Kreise von Freunden über das „Nationale“ in der Musik andeutete, erlaube ich mir jedoch das, was mir beim Eingeben auf die in Rede stehenden Kompositionen kulturgeschichtlich von Bedeutung scheint, in Kürze mit folgenden zu bezeichnen.

Mir scheinen diese Bestrebungen, das ungarische Nationallied in der Weise künstlerisch auszubilden, daß es in unmittelbare Beziehung zu unserer entwickelten Kunstmusik tritt, zu

dem günstigsten Erfolge für die Entwicklung und Hebung der Musik in Ungarn überhaupt bestimmt. So lange ein solcher Erfolg nicht eintritt, wird bei Ihnen immer ein bedenklicher, ja verderblicher Abstand zwischen dem nationalen Elemente und der, nur die Oberfläche desselben berührenden Kunstmusik bestehen, und zwar in der Weise, daß die nationale Musik, d. h. die volkstümliche Tanz- und Liedweise, einem um so degradirenderen Naturalismus preisgegeben wird, als die Kunstmusik eben bloß nach ihren oberflächlicheren Produkten begriffen, fast nur verwildernd wiederum auf jene einwirken kann. Was ich hier meine, wird Ihnen leicht klar werden, wenn ich Sie auf den harmonischen und rhythmischen Reichtum, welcher in der ungarischen Nationalweise wie in einem verdeckten Schachte verborgen liegt, aufmerksam mache und ihn mit der großen Armuth, welche die italienische neuere Opernmusik dem wirklich Musikgebildeten unserer Zeit soweit abstellt, vergleiche. Nichts traurigeres nun, als wenn dieße Armuth den naturalistischen Trägern der Volksmusik sich der Art mittheilt das sie von ihnen auch die Nationalmusik entstellend eingeprägt wird! Wir würden hier denselben üblen Erfolg jeder von außen eingeführten Zivilisation, welcher nicht ein selbstständig gepflegtes und entwickelten sein nationales Element zugleich entgegentritt, ersehen, welches auf anderen Gebieten des Lebens und der Gesittung der Völker so widerliche Erscheinungen zu Tage fördert.

Wie mannigfaltig und für den Ausbruch bedeutend dagegen jener ursprüngliche Reichtum in der kunstgerechten Behandlung der Volksmusik nicht nur wiedergewonnen, sondern veredelt und weiter geführt werden kann, davon eben geben mir jene mitgetheilten „Ungarischen Studien“ überraschend erfreuliche Belege. Ja, wie nahe eine wirklich charakteristische künstlerische Verhandlung das noch vollständig nationale Motiv an die Produkte der vollendeten Kunstmusik heranbringen kann, davon gibt mir z. B. Nr. XIII: im 2. Hefte der „Ungarischen Studien“ von Mosonyi ein Beispiel: Wer erkennt in diesem Stücke, daß andererseits auffallend den Typus des ungarischen „Lassu“ trägt, nicht den Geist eines der phantastischen Präludien Sebastian Bach's? In Wahrheit bietet ein Eingehen auf die harmonischen und rhythmischen Eigenthümlichkeiten gerade der ungarischen Volksmusik auffallende Natürlichkeitsbeweise für die Richtigkeit von Harmonisationen und Rhythmisirungen in der Kunstmusik, welche den, nur auf diesem Gebiete wiederum möglichen „Zöpfen“ der Theorie unbegreiflich und unzulänglich erscheinen.

Betrachte ich nur die Stagnation, welche gegenwärtig unleugbar in der Entwicklung der eigentlichen Kunstmusik eingetreten ist, so werde ich fast zu dem kühnen Schlusse verleitet, daß Tönen, bei fortgesetzt glücklicher Entwicklung Ihrer Nationalmusik, es möglicherweise vorbehalten sein dürfte, einen erfrischenden Einfluß wiederum auf jene Entwicklung zu gewinnen. Jedenfalls, aber läßt sich voraussehen, daß die mir vorliegenden Bestrebungen, wenn sie den nöthigen fördernden Eingang bei dem ungarischen Publikum gewinnen, eine höchste glückliche, ja wohl die einzige wahrhaft erspießliche Grundlage für die Entwicklung der Musik überhaupt (derjenigen Musik, welche ich die rein menschliche nennen möchte) bei Ihrem Volke bilden muß und wird. Penzing bei Wien, 8 August 1863, Richard Wagner.

Richard Wagner's letter to Kornél Ábrányi Sr.

WBV A 218, WHL-S/16.

Penzing by Vienna, 8 August 1863.

Dear Editor,

During my stay in Pest our friend, Ede Reményi, informed me of and recommended to me a fairly large number of musical compositions entitled *Magyar Zenészeti Tanulmányok s Kísérletek*,⁵¹³ with which I have only recently had the opportunity to familiarize myself closely, and concerning which I wish to share with you my profound delight. The overarching idea, however, which has arisen in my thoughts on the basis of these wider investigations, is too broad and therefore exceeds the scope of this short publication.

Nonetheless, please let me continue with the thoughts I expressed about the 'national' character of music the last time we were surrounded by a fairly large circle of friends. I wish to briefly outline what is evident to me by going deeper into the substance of the above-mentioned compositions, which are important achievements in the history of art.

Concerning your aim to polish Hungarian national songs artistically in order to bring them into direct contact with our advanced written music, I believe that in general this is the most certain way to improve and refine music in Hungary.

If this does take place, a dangerous, moreover, harmful difference will subsist between national and composed music; the latter will be linked to the former solely on the surface just as national music (i.e. folk song and dance music) and will gradually fall prey to declining and retrograde naturalism. If we interpret national music solely on the basis of superficial pieces, composed music will only exert a degenerating and aversive influence upon it.

What I aim to point out will become clear to you as soon as we draw a parallel between the rhythmic and harmonic richness of Hungarian folk songs — which resemble sealed shafts — and the great poverty of contemporary Italian opera that so strikingly displeases all refined

⁵¹³ *Hungarian Studies and Experiments in Musicology.*

musicians of our time. Nothing would be more distressing than if the same poverty were to captivate the naturalist representatives of folk music as well and to such an extent that not only would the former succeed in deforming the latter, but it would also present itself as characteristic of the latter.

In this case we have to reckon with an effect that is as pernicious as in the case of civilisations which are of external origin and are forced upon a nation so that the independently cultivated and developed national element is not able to resist them – this has already lead to many displeasing and loathsome manifestations in the fields both of private life and in various phases of the rise of the middle class.

To my surprise and delight 'Zenészeti Tanulmányok'⁵¹⁴ has provided me with evidence of variability and significance of expression and has shown me how free artistic treatment is able to elevate the ancestral, original richness that is intrinsic to folk music. Furthermore, the journal has described the way in which truly characteristic adaptation turns the still perfect national element into products of composed music, which are almost absolutely perfect: an example of this phenomenon is the second composition in Booklet II of Mosonyi M.'s work entitled 'Tanulmányok'.⁵¹⁵ Who does not see therein reflected with remarkable originality the prototype of the Hungarian 'Lassúk' permeated by the spirit that is also present in Sebestyén Bach's⁵¹⁶ preludes? Thorough investigations of the rhythmic and harmonic features of Hungarian folk music prove markedly and naturally the rightness of the rhythmic pattern and harmonization used in composed music; these turn out to be unfathomable and intolerable only when compared with music written before theoretical bureaucracy.

Considering the stagnation and languishment that is currently the hallmark of composed music I am almost willing to draw the daring conclusion that if you continue to improve and refine national music,

⁵¹⁴ *Studies in Musicology*.

⁵¹⁵ Tanulmányok; Studies. Mosonyi's composition was the thirteenth composition in the second volume of *Tanulmányok zongorára, a magyar zene előadása képzésére (Studies for the Piano, for the Improvement of Hungarian Music's Performance)*. The copy of the score is in Addendum. (19.). Sources: The score in LFZF, Budapest. RGY(Z) 1622/2, pp. 9-11.

⁵¹⁶ It often happened in the nineteenth century that foreigners' names were translated into Hungarian. Sebestyén is the Hungarian version of Sebastian (i.e. Johann Sebastian Bach).

you will also be able to exert a refreshing influence on the further development of composed music. One thing is certain, if your efforts — which I myself recognize — find the necessary and beneficial response on the behalf of the Hungarian audience, this must and surely will constitute the most fortunate, in fact the only successful basis for your nation in the development of the musical art (which I must call purely human) in general.

Richard Wagner.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁷ Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian-letter' in Hungarian translation as it was published in *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*). 8 Aug. 1863, Penzing-Pest. WBV A 218, WHL-S/16. For the press-cuttings see Add. 18, for more details see Appendix IX. and X.

In Hungarian. The translation of the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, 47/III, 20 Aug. 1863):

'Tisztelt szerkesztő úr!

Pesten való tartózkodásom ideje alatt Reményi Ede barátunk nagybővmenyiségű zeneszerzeményeket közölt velem „magyar zenészeti tanulmányok s kísérletek” címen s ajánlat mellett, melyekkel csak most van alkalmam közelebbről megismerkedni s melyek felett szeretném önnel kiváló örömet közölni. De azon gondolati főtétel, mely ezáltal mintegy szélesebb észlelődés nyomán keletkezett bennem, sokkal nagyobb mérvű, semhogy e rövid közlemény folytán annak komoly megvitatását célozhatnám.

Mindazonáltal kapcsolatban azzal, mit együttlétünk utolsó estéjén a zene „nemzeties” volta felett egy nagyobb számú baráti kör előtt nyilvánítottam, szabadjon ez úttal azt, mi a szóban forgó zeneszerzemények szellemébe való mélyebb behatolás mellett műtörténelmi tekintetben előttem jelentékeny vívmányként tűnik fel, röviden a következőkben kijelölni.

Én azt hiszem, hogy önök abeli törekvése, miszerint a magyar nemzeti dalt oly módon akarják művészileg kimívelni, hogy aztán a mi kifejlett műzenénkkel közvetlen érintkezésben állhasson: legbiztosabb sikert nyújt általában Magyarországon a zeneművészet emelése és kifejlesztésére.

Míg ez ha nem következik, mindaddig az önök hazájában veszedelmes, sőt ártalmas különbség fog uralkodni a nemzeties elem és annak csak felületével érintkező műzene közt elannyira, hogy a nemzeti zene, vagyis a népdal s tánczene mindinkább a süllyedő s hátramenő naturalismus zsákmányául fog esni, annál is inkább, mert maga a műzene is pusztán csak fölületes termékei után értelmeztetvén, méltányoltatván, viszont csak is elkorcsosító és elvadító hatást gyakorolhatna amazokra.

Hogy mit értek ez alatt, az könnyen tisztán fog állani ön előtt, ha a magyar népdalokban — mintegy elzárt aknában — rejlő rhythmusi és harmoniai gazdagságot azon nagy szegénységgel hasonlítjuk össze, mely az újabb olasz operazene terén annyira visszatetszik minden korunkbeli mivelt zenésznek. Nem lehet valami szomorítóbb, mint ha e szegénység a népzene nek naturalista kezelőit is megragadja, elannyira, hogy azt a nemzeti zene elferdítésével még annak jelleméül is feltünteti!

Kornél Ábrányi's (Sr.) used Wagner's letter to prove that all the efforts he and other Hungarian musicians had made for the improvement of Hungarian classical music had at last achieved much-deserved success. His statement can be seen on the first page of the article in *Zenészet* *Lapok* (47/III, 20 August), in Hungarian.⁵¹⁸

Ez esetben épp oly káros eredménye számolhatunk, mint minden oly kívülről jövő s felerőszakolt civilisationál, melynek az önállóság ápolta és kifejlesztett nemzeti elem nem képes ellentánni s mely úgy a magányélet, mint a népek polgárisultságának különböző fázisaiban annyi vissza s undorító jelenséget eredményezett.

Hogy minő változatosságot s kifejezési jelentékenységet lehet eredményezni, továbbá hogy a népzében rejlő őseredeti gazdagságot szabatos művészi kezelés által mennyire lehet belbecsében emelni, nemesbíteni s sokszorozni: éppen erről meglepőleg örömdetes bizonyosságot nyújtottak nekem a velem közlött „magyar zenészet tanulmányok”. Sőt, hogy a valóban jellemző művészi feldolgozás miként képes a még tökéletes nemzeti elemről csaknem bevégezett tökélyű műzenészet termékeit alakítani: erre példa Mosonyi M. „Tanulmányok” című műve II. füzetének XIII. számú darabja.

Ki ne ismerné fel ebben — mely másrészt feltűnő híven tükrözi vissza a magyar „Lassúk” eredeti típusát — azon szellemet, mely Bach Sebestyén phantasztikus előjátékait átlenget? Valóban, éppen a magyar népzene ritmikai s harmoniai sajátjaiba való mély behatolás feltűnő természetesen bizonyítékokat nyújt a műzenében használni szokott ritmikai képletek s öszhangzatosítások helyességére nézve, melyek csak is az e téren lehetséges elméleti copfok előtt válnak megfoghatatlanná s megengedhetlenné.

Ha tekintetbe veszem azon pangást, tespedést, mely jelenleg a tulajdonképpeni műzene fejlődése terén félreismerhetetlenül bekövetkezett: csaknem hajlandó vagyok azon merész következtetésre, hogy a nemzeti zenészet terén tovább folytatott szerencsés fejlesztés s kimivelés folytán lehetőleg önöknek van feltartva, amannak további fejlesztésére is viszont felfrissítő befolyást gyakorolni. Annyi bizonyos, hogy ha önök általam is felismert törekvései szükséges s jótékony hatású visszhangra találандnak a magyar közönség előtt; azok önök nemzeténél az általános zeneművészet fejlődésének (melyet tisztán emberinek szeretnék nevezni) felette szerencsés, sőt mondhatni: egyedüli igazán sikerdús alapját kell, hogy képezzék, s valóban képezni is fogják. Péczingben, Bécs mellett 8-ik aug. 1863. Wagner Richárd.'

⁵¹⁸ * Midőn a nagy zeneköltőnek hozzánk intézett nagy horderejű sorait a nyilvánosság elé bocsátjuk: nemcsak az ő ebeli kívánságának teszünk eleget, hanem egyszersmind erkölcsi elégtételt is vélünk ez által szolgálati ama nemzeti zenészetünk terén felmerült ernyedetlen törekvéseknek, melyek évek óta annyi gyanúsítások, ellenséges torzsalkodások s idegen elemek által eléjük gördített akadályok közepette is, végre talán még sem egészen üres légvárak, melyeket mint minden biztos alap nélküli szemkáprázatokat, halomra dönthet tetszése

It can also be stated, that the study of Mosonyi's composition and other musical examples presented to Wagner strengthened his opinion that Hungarian composers should further develop Hungarian classical music by using the folkmusic as a part of its musical language. Although Wagner did not seem to recognize the differences between 'real folk music' and 'verbunkos' or 'folklike songs', his brilliant mind appreciated the necessity of the fusion of classical and national music and also recognized the importance and greatness of Mihály Mosonyi as a composer. After Richard Wagner's visit and two 'Hungarian Letters', 'Wagnerians' and 'non-Wagnerians' alike seemed to have a high opinion of him and his music thereby confirming the fond memories Hungarians shared of Richard Wagner.

IV. The Reception of Richard Wagner's Music in Hungary after 1863

4.5. The Presentation of Richard Wagner's Operas in the National Theatre and Wagner's subsequent 'Hungarian Letters'

4.5.1. Richard Wagner, the Hungarians, *Tristan and Isolde*, and *Lohengrin*

Richard Wagner's personal visit and his 'Hungarian Letters' had an remarkable effect on the reception of Wagnerian music in Hungary, which resulted in many people advocating the presentation of a Wagner opera in the National Theatre. This could be the historical moment when Ferenc Erkel, who seemed to support the staging of Wagner's music until 1863, suddenly began to oppose the final domestication of Wagnerian music. It is possible that Erkel only feared that the then established independent Hungarian music culture would be exposed to German influence, which Hungary had been fighting against heroically for

szerint a nyegleség, mulékony hatásvadászat, önérdék s az álnimbusz konoksága vagy tudatlansága. Szerk.'

'As we showed the magnificent composer's lines of great consequence to the public, not only was his wish realized, but we also wanted to give moral recompense and render our thanks for those unremitting efforts made for our national music, which efforts are not some empty castle in the air, illusions without solid foundations, which can be easily destroyed by nonchalance, sensationalism, selfishness, the stubbornness of a fake nimbus and ignorance.'

decades or even centuries, but it is also possible that he has heard about Wagner's settlement-plans, which did not make him very happy. Ferenc Erkel's Wagner-resistance seems provable from the year 1864, when the feuilleton titled *Színházi bajok kútfejei* (*The Wellheads of Troubles of the Theatre*) of *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, 40-4203/15, 19 February 1864)⁵¹⁹ reported, that Ferenc Erkel, '(...) is threatening us with retiring as soon as the idea of rehearsing a Wagnerian opera presents itself (...)'⁵²⁰ and the journalist added, that the renowned composer (Erkel) cannot demarcate his duties as a composer and a director. There were possibly other reasons behind Erkel's anti-Wagnerism, but it is clear that protecting Hungarian music and culture was necessary for Ferenc Erkel, and from this point of view his actions can be considered quite consequential.

As I mentioned earlier, Richard Wagner probably seriously considered the possibility of settling in Pest in July 1863, which Ferenc Erkel surely did not find appropriate. It seems likely that Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter', this time written to Mihály Mosonyi⁵²¹ tells about his desire to settle.⁵²² Reményi probably tried to assure Wagner that he would do everything in order to help the composer settle in Pest and obtain permanent funding, but Reményi's efforts were unsuccessful. This has been the cause of Reményi's silence mentioned in

⁵¹⁹ Haraszti mistakenly dates the article of *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*) to 23 February 1864 on p. 303. in his book. The article appeared on 19 February.

⁵²⁰ '(...) mindjárt nyugdíjba lépéssel fenyegetőzik, ha egy Wagner-féle dalmű betanítása jó szóba. (...)'

⁵²¹ Richard Wagner's letter, written on 12 October 1863 in Penzing, WBV 3669, WHL-S/18. It could be interesting to mention that the WBV was wrong about the score of the letter, which is correctly Fond 1192/XII in SzNL (its OSZK in WBV), Manuscript Collection. Haraszti included the Hungarian translation of the aforementioned document in his book (pp. 288-89). Péterfi also presented the letter in German in *Hungarian Artistic Almanac* (*Magyar Művészeti Almanach*) ed. Henrik Incze, year VII, pp. 42-43, 1907, about which the editors of WBV forgot about. (Thought the WBV mentioned the Hungarian translation in *Hungarian Artistic Almanac*). For the facsimile of the letter and its envelope see Addendum 20, the publication in *Hungarian Artistic Almanac* (*Magyar Művészeti Almanach*, press-cutting) see Addendum 21. For more details see the catalogue WBV/WHL-S (X.) and WHL-S (IX.) summary in Appendix.

⁵²² Tibor Tallián had the same opinion about Wagner's plans. Source: Tibor Tallián, „Mi pedig magyarok, buzdulunk fel az ő példáján...”, *Wagner Richárd Pesten*, in *Muzsika* (*Music*), 6/56, June 2013, 2nd part, pp. 7-11.

Wagner's letter. Richard Wagner wrote about Reményi's promises in *Mein Leben* as well,⁵²³ but it is also necessary to add that Jenő Péterfi, who published the letter in German in his article in *Hungarian Artistic Almanac*, (*Magyar Művészeti Almanach* 1907, year VII, pp. 42-43.), stated that the presentation of only one opera of Wagner was mentioned in the forthcoming 'Hungarian Wagner-letter'.⁵²⁴

⁵²³ *Mein Leben*, p. 741.

⁵²⁴ Richard Wagner's letter.

In German:

Penzing, bei Wien. 12 Oktober.

Werthester Freund!

Mein for 8 Tagen telegraphisch Ihnen angekündigter Besuch in Pest hatte lediglich den Zweck, von unserem Freunde Reményi dasjenige zu erhalten, um was ich ihn auf jede Weise wiederholt schriftlich gebeten hatte, eine klare und bestimmte Antwort und Auskunft wie sie in einer Briefseite zu geben waren. Einmal mündlich, als ich ihn zufällig in einer Aufführung des *Lohengrin* in Wien traf, und zweimal in telegraphischen Rückantworten, hat er mir einen ausführlichen Brief in unmittelbare Aussicht gestellt, dass letztemal heut vor 8 Tagen. Auf keine Weise ist es mir möglich gewesen, die Erfüllung dieser Verheissung von ihm zu erlangen. Fern ist es mir, deshalb einen Zweifel an unsres Freundes Charakter aufkommen zu lassen; nur dies Eine muss ich bekennen, dass nie etwas mich mehr gemartert hat, als dieses **mir durchaus unbegreifliche Schweigen**. Wäre es ein absolutes Schweigen, so müsste ich endlich zur Resignation gelangt sein; aber so ist es durch kurze Andeutungen unterbrochen, die mich zu einem nun vielleicht höchst verderblich werdenden Ausharren und Hoffen ermuthigten. Nun beschwöre ich sie, werther Freund, mir von sich aus sofort brieflich mitzutheilen, was Sie etwa durch Reményi über den Erfolg seiner jedenfalls grossherzigen Bemühungen für mich, erfahren haben mögen. Ich nehme hierbei gewiss mit Recht, an, dass ich zu Ihnen als einem mit dem Gegenstande jener Bemühungen Vertrauten sprechen kann. Erfüllen Sie mir diese Bitte? Ich hoffe es, und grüsse Sie mit wahrer Hochachtung und Freundschaft! Ihr Richard Wagner.

In Hungarian. Jenő Péterfi's translation:

Penzing, Bécs mellett, okt. 12.

Kedves Barátom!

Nyolcz nap előtt táviratilag önnek bejelentett Pestre való utazásom tulajdonképpen célja az lett volna, hogy Reményi barátunktól megkapjam azt, a mire mindenképpen, többszörösen írásban kértem, világos és határozott feleletet és felvilágosítást, a mi egy levéloldalon elfér. Egyszer szóval, a mikor véletlenségből Bécsben egy *Lohengrin* előadáson találkoztunk és kétszer táviratban kilátásba helyezte, hogy körülményes választ ad, levélben éspedig legutóbb 8 nap előtt. Semmiképpen sem sikerült őt ígéretének teljesítésére bírnom. Távol legyen tőlem, hogy barátunk jellemében ezért kételkedjem, de meg kell vallanom, hogy alig gyötört valami

Richard Wagner's letter to Mihály Mosonyi.

WBV 3669, WHL-S/18.

Penzing, near Vienna, 12 October 1863.

My dear Friend,

Regarding the visit to Pest which I notified you about eight days ago, the purpose of it was, what I had asked from our friend Reményi several times: a clear and earnest answer. When we met by chance on a performance of my Lohengrin in Vienna, Reményi promised personally to provide a detailed response within eight days. This promise was subsequently renewed in two telegrams. I have not managed to make him act upon his word until today. I do not intend to question our friend's character in any way; nevertheless I must confess to you that his inexplicable silence hurt me no end. Had he been totally silent, it would have hurt less. However, since his silence was broken by several shorter notices, I felt encouraged to harbor hopes that might have turned out to be inappropriate. Let me ask you my honorable friend to notify me instantly by mail in case you hear anything from Reményi regarding the result of the generous efforts he exerted on my behalf. I feel authorized to share this with you since you are fully aware of our vast undertaking. Would you please kindly do this favor for me? I genuinely hope so.

Greeting you with true respect and friendship, Richard Wagner.

Wagnerian music continued to spread in Hungary despite Erkel's resistance. At Carl Tausig's⁵²⁵ concerts the *Overture to Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin's Wedding-*

annyira, mint ez a **megmagyarázhatatlan hallgatás**. Hogyha abszolút hallgatott volna, akkor még beletörődnék, de így rövidebb jelzésekkel megszakítva, talán káros reményekre és kitartásra bátorít. Nagyon kérem Önt tisztelt barátom, értesítsen levélben azonnal, hogyha Reményitől megtud valamit arra vonatkozólag, milyen eredménnyel jártak, mindenesetre nagylelkű fáradozásai, érdekemben. Jogosítva érzem magam, hogy úgy beszéljek önnel, mint a ki a fáradozások témájában beavatott. Teljesíti kérésemet? Remélem és igaz tisztelettel és barátsággal üdvözli önt híve: Wagner Richárd.

⁵²⁵ Carl Tausig (1841-1871). Polish pianist and composer. When Tausig was 14 years old, his father took him to Weimar, to visit Franz Liszt, where he quickly became Liszt's favourite. Liszt

march, *Summ und brumm, du gutes Rädchen* ('Spinning Chorus' from 'Holländer', second act), and *The Ride of the Valkyries* were performed in March and April 1864.⁵²⁶ According to Haraszti, Gyula Erkel and Károly Huber conducted the *Overture to Tannhäuser* in the National Theatre,⁵²⁷ and Filharmóniai Társaság (Philharmonic Society) played the *Overture to Lohengrin* and *The Valkyrie* in Pest.⁵²⁸

Meanwhile, the rehearsal for *Tristan and Isolde* was going on in Germany, and Wagner invited Mihály Mosonyi and Pál Rosty personally to the premiere. Mihály Mosonyi gave an account of his experiences in Munich, in a series of long articles, which were published in *Zenészetí Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, issue 35-36, 1 and 8 July 1865). Neither Mihály Mosonyi, nor Pál Rosty saw the premiere, due to delay.⁵²⁹

taught him counterpoint, composition and instrumentation. In 1858 Carl Tausig made his debut on a concert, which was conducted by Hans von Bülow and got acquainted with Richard Wagner. Tausig — as a prophet of Wagner — founded the system of Bayreuther Patronatsverein to finance the Bayreuth Festival (Bayreuther Festspiele). Tausig also was one of the most talented from the first generation of Liszt pupils, his technical feats was extraordinary. Liszt said he had 'fingers of steel'. Continued tours weakened his health, which had been never robust, and he died of typhoid at 29. Source: Edward Dannreuther/R, Art. 'Tausig, Carl [Karol]', in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 25, pp. 125-126.

⁵²⁶ Carl Tausig's first concert took part in National Theatre on 15 March 1864, where the *Overture to Tannhäuser* and the *Wedding March from Lohengrin* were on the program. On the second concert (18 March) *Summ und brumm, du gutes Rädchen* ('Holländer', second act), on the third concert which was arranged in Hotel Europe on 28 March and on the last on 3 April (on the same place) *The Ride of the Valkyries* were performed. Sources: *Zenészetí Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), 25/IV on 17 March, 26/IV on 24 March, 27/IV on 31 March, 28/IV on 7 April 1864. Haraszti was wrong about date of the sources and also about the program. H, p. 304.

⁵²⁷ Haraszti, p. 305.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ The premiere was postponed due to Mrs. Schnorr's illness, who played Isolde. There is a photo in Addendum (8.), which was taken either on 16 or 17 May in Munich. On the photo Mosonyi and Rosti can be seen. According to Ervin Major, the aforementioned document was published in *Zenészetí Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) on 27 July 1865. The information appeared in Haraszti's book, which was in the possession of Ervin Major. (P. 312, in The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology.)

Richard Wagner sent two letters to Mihály Mosonyi in connection with the premiere of *Tristan and Isolde*; the first was written on 24 May,⁵³⁰ and the second on 14 June 1865.⁵³¹ In the first one Wagner tried to convince Mosonyi to

⁵³⁰ Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter', sent to Mihály Mosonyi. WBV 4187, WHL-S/19. Its current location is unknown, but according to Haraszti, the original was in the possession of Lady Augusztá Wéber, the niece of Mihály Mosonyi's widow. (H, p. 324). The letter appeared in Hungarian and in German as well in Haraszti's book. The WBV only mentioned the publication of the German version in 'Haraszti' (H, p. 471. and Bónis, *Mosonyi II* — Abbreviations in WBV — p. 64) and forgot about the presentation of the Hungarian translation (Haraszti, p. 324).

In German:

Lieber Mosonyi!

Ich kann es nicht über das Herz bringen, Sie so fortgehen zu lassen. Samstag ist *gewiss* eine grosse, seriouse Generalprobe *mit* Frau Schnorr. Montag Aufführung. Freitag Abend wünsche ich Sie mit allen Gästen bei mir zu empfangen. Bis dahin hoffe ich mich genügend erholt zu haben. Bleiben Sie! Von Herzen Ihr Richard Wagner. München, 24. Mai 1865.

In Hungarian. Ildikó Rita Anna Varga's translation:

Kedves Mosonyi!

Nem tudom lelkemre venni, hogy Önöket csak így elbocsássam. Szombaton *biztosan* lesz egy nagy és jelentős főpróba *Schnorr asszonnyal*. Hétfőn előadás. Pénteken este fogadni szeretném Önt nálam, a többi vendéggel együtt. Addig, remélem eléggé össze tudom szedni magam. Maradjon! Szívből az Ön: Wagner Richardja. München, 1865 május 24.

⁵³¹ Wagner's next letter to Mihály Mosonyi. WBV 4215, WHL-S/20. It was first published in *Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)*, ed. by Henrik Incze, 1907, year VII, pp. 43-45. and later in Hungarian translation in Haraszti, pp. 323-324. The last location of the original: Catalogue Rendell [1988], p. 26. According to Haraszti, the original was in the possession of Lady Augusztá Wéber, the niece of Mihály Mosonyi's widow before 1916. (H, p. 323.). A certified copy of the aforementioned letter is in Manuscript Collection of SzNL, score: Fond 1193/XII. (See Addendum, 22.). The WBV did not mention the certified copy and the publication in Haraszti. (H, pp. 323-324.).

In German:

Werther Freund!

Ich kann es noch nicht verwinden, dass ich Sie ohne Abschied — in so übler Stimmung — und so gänzlich ohne welche Entschuldigung für den verfehlten Zweck, von hier scheiden liess. Das beiliegende Billet bewahre ich Ihnen auf: es war am Abend Ihrer Anreise geschrieben; ich hoffte Sie noch aufhalten zu können: doch traf Sie mein Diener bereits nicht mehr an. Es hat mir diess sehr weh' getan! Kann es sie nun einiger Maassen freuen, wenn ich Ihnen berichte, dass am 10. u. 13. d. M. zwei vortreffliche Aufführungen des *Tristan* nun wirklich stattgefunden haben? Nächsten Sonntag geben wir ihm zum dritten und letzten Mal. Der Erfolg steigerte sich namentlich in der zweiten Vorstellung — bis zur völligen Furore, — was immerhin bei **diesem**

stay; the second one was about the successful presentation of *Tristan and Isolde* in Munich and Wagner's regret caused by Mosonyi's departure. It is intriguing to note that Mosonyi received both letters in the envelope of the second. (14 June 1865).

Richard Wagner's other letter to Mihály Mosonyi.

WBV 4187, WHL-S/19.

Munich, 24 May 1865.

Dear Mosonyi,

I do not have the heart to release you without a word. There is going to be a dress rehearsal *with* Frau Schnorr on Saturday *for sure*. Monday is the premiere. I would like to welcome you among my guests on Friday.

I hope to have a sufficient amount of rest till then.

Please do stay. Yours, Richard Wagner.

Werke, einem gewöhnlichen Theaterpublikum gegenüber, wirklich zum verwundern ist. Alles ging vortrefflich: gewiss würden auf Sie zufrieden sein. **Wie aber** hätte ich es Ihnen gegönnt, es erleben zu können! Bitte theilen Sie diese Nachrichten, mit meinen herzlichsten Grüßen und Danksagungen, den lieben Pesther Freunden mit, die hier es so übel trafen, mir aber dadurch für immer werth und theuer geworden sind. Leben Sie wohl, und behalten Sie mich stets in gutem Angedenken. Ihr ergebenster Richard Wagner. München, 14 Juny 1865.

In Hungarian. Ildikó Rita Anna Varga's translation :

Nagyrabecsült barátom!

Még mindig nem tudom kiheverni, hogy Önt búcsúzás nélkül, — olyan rossz hangulatban — és a cél teljesülése híján minden mentegetőzés nélkül, innen távozni engedtem. A mellékelt jegyzetet megőriztem Önnek: elutazása estéjén íródott; azt reméltem, hogy még feltartóztathatom: de sajnos a komornyikom már nem találta Önt otthon. Ez nagyon fáj nekem! Szerzek egy kis örömet Önnek, hogyha arról értesítem, hogy e hónap 10-én és 13-án Tristan két kitűnő előadásban került színre? Jövő vasárnap harmadszor és utoljára adjuk. A siker, különösen a második előadáson, egészen a teljes, tomboló elragadtatásig fokozódott, ami különösen **ennél** a műnél, egy szokványos színházi közönség részéről, valóban bámulatos. Minden kiválóan ment: Ön is biztosan meg lett volna elégedve. **Mennyire** kívántam volna, hogy átélhesse ezt velem! Kérem, közölje legszívesebb üdvözetemmel és köszönetemmel együtt ezt a hírt kedves pesti barátaimmal, a kik itt olyan rosszul jártak és ezért nekem még drágábbak és becsesebbek. Isten Önnel, tartson meg jó emlékezetében. Legőszintébb híve: Wagner Richard. München, 1865 junius 14-én.

Richard Wagner's subsequent letter to Mosonyi.

WBV 4215, WHL-S/20.

Munich, 14 June 1865.

My dear Friend,

I still cannot bear the thought of letting you go so discouraged and without a proper goodbye or any reasonable explanation for the failure.

I have enclosed the lines I wrote on the night of your departure. I hoped to make you stay, but by the time my servant delivered the letter to your apartment, you had already left. I felt genuine pain learning this. I can only hope that the news of having two sensational performances of *Tristan* on the 10 and 13 might delight you to some extent. The third and ultimate performance is going to take place on next Sunday. Applause, especially on the second performance escalated almost into ecstasy, which is an admirable reaction from an audience of ordinary theatergoers, especially in the case **of this very piece**. Everything went marvelously; I am sure you would also have been quite pleased with it. I wished **so deeply** you had been with us. Please pass this news together with my regards and thanks to all my dear friends in Pest, whom I honor and appreciate even more after their unfortunate journey in Munich.

May God bless you. Keep me in your best memories,
your faithful friend, Richard Wagner.

While the premiere of *Tristan* created a sensation in Munich, Károly Huber⁵³² and Ferenc Liszt made attempts in order to introduce an opera of Wagner to the

⁵³² Károly Huber (1 July 1828-20 December 1885) composer, conductor of the National Theatre. He studied music in Arad in the Institute of János Heidl. He had his debut as a violinist at age 16, and became the first violinist of the National Theatre in 1844. Huber worked in the Opera House of Vienna, but made concert tours as well. The premiere of his first opera: *Székely leány* (*Transylvanian Girl*) was on 27 November 1828 in National Theatre, but his other opera: *Víg cimborák* (*Happy Fellows*), which was performed first on 3 Dec. 1863 was successful too. Huber conducted the premiere of *Lohengrin* first in Hungary and composed a few other operas and operettas as *A király csókja* (*The Kiss of The King*, operetta), *Udvari bál* (*Ball in The Court*, opera buffa), *Ármányos borbély* (*Insidious Barber*, operetta). His son: Jenő Hubay became a famous violinist and teacher. Source: *MagySzínművLex*, Volume II, pp. 278-79.

National Theatre in Pest. Liszt arrived at Pest in August 1865. The main purpose of his visit was to participate in the celebration organised because of the 25th anniversary of National Conservatories (Nemzeti Zenei), but during his visit he also wanted to take the opportunity to advocate the presentation of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in the National Theatre in Pest.⁵³³

4.5.2. The Premieres and the Reception of *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser* in the National Theatre. Events About Wagner's Following 'Hungarian Letters'.

According to Haraszti, Richard Wagner's letter, in which he accepts 500 Forints for the royalty of the presentation of *Lohengrin*, was dated to 24 April in the 14th issue of the directorial record of 1865-66 of the National Theatre. This information cannot be verified since the directorial evidence is lost. The 23rd entry of the same source proves that the figures (costumes) and the set of the first two acts were ordered from Wien by Károly Doppler.⁵³⁴ The opera, translated by Gusztáv Böhm and Ferencz Ormay, was directed by Gusztáv Böhm, and Károly Huber rehearsed it with singers he chose carefully.⁵³⁵ Richard Wagner was also invited to the premiere, but instead of coming, he only sent a sophisticated and extraordinarily kind letter, which appeared first in *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) on 4 December 1866. The letter was published in the beginning of the column 'Fővárosi hírek' (News from the Capital), then in the beginning of the column 'Művészeti ujdonságok' (Artistic Novelties) in issue 10/7 of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) on 9

⁵³³ Haraszti, pp. 325-26.

⁵³⁴ Haraszti, pp. 327-28.

⁵³⁵ The cast of *Lohengrin* according to the poster of the premiere: Henrik I, German King: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Ortrud, his wife: Ern. (Ernesztina) Mátyik, Lohengrin: (József) Ellinger, Elsa von Brabant: Anna Carina, Prince Gottfried (Its Gottfréd in the poster): I. Muskovszky, Friedrich von Telramund: Gusztáv Simon, alias 'Simon', The King's Messenger: (Henrik) Bodorfi. It is interesting to note that actors' second names were written on the front page, while married actresses were usually listed under their husbands' names. Part of the orchestra of Baron Gerstner's 8th imperial and royal infantry regiment also took part in the performance besides male and female students of the acting school. The poster of *Lohengrin* can be seen in Addendum, 25. Sources: Collected Posters in Széchenyi National Library, Theatre Historical Section, Budapest, Haraszti, between pp. 332-33.

December 1866.⁵³⁶ The original letter with its envelope is currently in Budapest, in SzNL Manuscript Collection under the score Fond 1194/XII.

⁵³⁶ Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter', WBV 4607, WHL-S/21. The original with its envelope is in SzNL, Manuscript Collection, score: Fond 1194/XII. See the facsimile of the letter and its envelope in Addendum 23. and the photocopy of the articles, in which the letter appeared in Addendum 24. The WBV was wrong about the score of the original, forgot to mention the first publication and the presentation in Haraszi, pp. 330-31, but mentioned the publication in Hammerstein (Elisabeth Hammerstein, *Richard Wagners persönliche Beziehungen zu Ungarn*, Diss., 1946, Chap. 4, p. 1. and 26.).

In German:

Hochgeehrter Herr Hofrath!

Nehmen Sie meinen aufrichtigsten und herzlichsten Dank für Ihre freundliche und ehrende Einladung zu der von Ihnen beabsichtigten ersten Aufführung meines Lohengrins auf dem Nationaltheater in Pesth. Sie wissen, wie hoch ich die warme Aufnahme, welche mir früher das Pesther Publikum zu theil werden liess, schätze, und wie sehr mich Ihre, mit so generöser Beachtung meiner Autorenrechte eingeleitete Absicht, meinen Lohengrin auf den Ungarischen Nationalbühne heimisch zu machen, erfreute und zur Anerkennung stimmte. Wenn ich daher heute Ihrer geneigten Einladung eine abschlägige Antwort ertheile, so bitte ich Sie gewiss anzunehmen, dass ich mir eine grosse Freude entsage, und nur Rücksichten auf die Erhaltung einer mir so nöthigen, wie nur mühselig gewonnenen Ruhe und Arbeitmusse mich zu dem Opfer bestimmen, welches ich bringe, indem ich mir Enthaltung auferlege. Es bleibt mir demnach nur, Ihnen, und Ihrem vorzüglichen Künstlerpersonale den besten Erfolg gemeinschaftlicher Anstrengungen zu wünschen, und Allen zum voraus meinen herzlichsten Dank für die meinem Werke erwiesenen Bemühungen zu sagen. Ihnen fernerer Geneigtheit mich bestens anempfehlend verbleibe ich mit ausgezeichneter Hochachtung. Richard Wagner. Luzern, 26 Nov. 1866.

In Hungarian. The translation of Fővárosi Lapok (The Journals of the Capital):

Mélyen tisztelt Udvari Tanácsos Úr!

Fogadja legőszintébb és legszívélyesebb köszönetemet nyájás és megtisztelő meghívásáért „Lohengrinemnek” a pesti Nemzeti Színházban leendő első előadására. Kegyed tudja, mily magasra becsülöm én azon meleg fogadtatást, melyben engemet a pesti közönség már előbb részesítette s mennyire örültem és mily elismerésre hangolt kegyednek azon eltökélt szándéka, hogy, — szerzői jog bőkezű figyelembevételével — „Lohengrinemet” a nemzeti színpadon meghonosítsa. Ennélfogva ha én kegyednek ma vett meghívására mégis tagadólag válaszolok, kérem, legyen bizonyos benne, hogy magamat ez által nagy örömtől fosztom meg s csupán azon tekinteteknek engedek, melyek épp oly szükségesek, mint fáradságosan megszerzett nyugalom és munkaszünetem fenntartását és áldozathozatalt és önmehtagadást követelik tőlem. Nem marad tehát egyéb hátra, minthogy a legjobb sikert kívánjam kegyed és kitűnő művészi személyzete közös törekvéseinek s előre is a legszívélyesebben megköszönjem

Richard Wagner's letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy).

WBW 4607, WHL-S/21.

Luzern, 26 November 1866.

Venerated King's Councillor,

Please do accept my most sincere thanks for your kind and honorable invitation to the premiere of *Lohengrin* at the National Theatre of Pest. As you are well aware, I have a high respect for the audience in Pest since they have welcomed me so warmly several times, and I also highly appreciate your intention to have my *Lohengrin* performed — with an extraordinary generosity regarding my copyright — on the Hungarian national stage. Therefore, if I am still obliged to offer a negative response to your invitation I received earlier today. You can be sure that thereby I deprive myself of immense joy, giving in to considerations quite as essential, like the need to preserve my rest and days off, which is also sacrificed requiring a considerable amount of self-denial. Let me finally wish you all possible success to this joint venture of yours and your illustrious company of artists and let me also thank you all in advance for your efforts regarding my work. Recommending myself to Your Excellency's further favor, faithfully I remain your humble servant, Richard Wagner.

The performance was truly much looked forward to, which was also underlined by the fact that even the dress-rehearsal, held on 30 November, was sold out. (This was reported by *Sürgöny-Telegraph*, on 1 December). The premiere on 1 December 1866⁵³⁷ was an enormous success.

Contemporary press welcomed the event with absolute delight. *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) dealt with the premiere of *Lohengrin* in two articles. An explanation of the opera lyrics appeared on 1 December while on 4 Dec. an extensive and thorough criticism was published. In the critique, the

mindenkinek a művem iránt tanusított fáradaimaikat. További hajlamaiba is melegen ajánlva magamat, maradok sat. (this part was translated by me: igaz nagyra becsüléssel híve), Wagner Richard. Luzern, 1866 november 26.

⁵³⁷ The poster of the premiere can be found in Addendum, 25.

performance was described as a significant turning point, and it was concluded that the Hungarian audience, who was used to Italian and French operas, would certainly take a liking for *Lohengrin* after listening to it few more times. The 277th issue of year six of *Sürgöny (Telegraph)*, which appeared on 4 December, also made positive comments. The critic wrote: '(...) The music of *Lohengrin* is so excellent that some of its movements can disarm even the greatest opponents of the music of the future. (...)'.⁵³⁸ In *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)*, year 17, issue 4989-279), published on 5 December, a journalist, who named himself 'E', called Wagner's opera a masterpiece and did not forget to praise the National Theatre either, which did a lot for the worthy presentation of the opera. The critique of issue 296 of year 13 of *Pester Lloyd*, put out on 5 Dec., is not less positive either, it writes that the performance was made in the best possible way compared to the circumstances. The article published on 9 Dec. in *Vasárnapi Újság (The Sunday Journal)*, 49/13, which Haraszti mistakenly dates to 1 Dec.), praises the opera and calls it a music-drama since '(...) music, together with the lyrics, create a whole, well-rounded, and harmonious work (...)'.⁵³⁹ The critic also noted that one needs practice in order to understand Wagner's operas entirely. *Zenészetí Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, as a Wagnerist medium, obviously could not miss the prominent event; it printed a two part essay in two issues (issue 10 of year 7, 9 December and issue 11 of year 7, 16 Dec.) about the outstanding performance⁵⁴⁰ in words of the greatest appreciation. The critic — Kornél Ábrányi Sr. (under the pseudonym, á.k.) — also did not forget to add right in the beginning of the first article that Hungarian Wagnerians made persistent efforts in order to make the audience acknowledge Richard Wagner's works. Haraszti also mentions the article of *Hazánk és a Külföld (Our Home and the Foreign Countries)* in his book, but unfortunately the newspaper cannot be

⁵³⁸ 'A „Lohengrin” zenéje oly nagyszerű, hogy annak egyes tételeit a jövő zenéje legnagyobb ellenét is képesek lefegyverezni.'

⁵³⁹ '(...) benne a a szöveg a zenével együtt egész, kikerekített és öszhangzatos művet képez (...).'

⁵⁴⁰ Haraszti only mentions one issue of *Zenészetí Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, which appeared on 9 Dec., on p. 330. of his book.

found in Hungary. As a summary, it can be said that both the audience and critics received the premiere of *Lohengrin* well.⁵⁴¹

Richard Wagner was informed about the great success of the performance by Károly Huber since Wagner's letter, sent on 14 Dec. 1866 from Luzern, begins with the following: '(...) the precious letter You wrote to me was to my greatest delight (...)'. Besides expressing his gratitude, the great composer also took the opportunity to recommend his opera *Rienzi* to Károly Huber and the directorate of the National Theatre.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ According to Haraszi, *Lohengrin* was performed on 4 Dec. and 14 Jan.; he refers to the Control Record of the National Theatre on p. 336. in his book. The Control Record is now lost.

⁵⁴² Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter'. Written to Károly Huber. WBV 4619, WHL-S/22. Published in issue 12 of year 7 of *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* on 23 Dec. See the article of *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* in Addendum 27, and facsimile of the letter in Add. 26. The facsimile was published in Emil Haraszi, *Hubay Jenő élete és munkái (The Life and Work of Jenő Hubay)*, Budapest, 1913, between p. 12. and 13. The location of the original letter is unknown. The WBV mentioned partly wrong data of the first press-publication and did not write about the appearing in Haraszi, pp. 337-38.

In German:

Geehrtester Herr Kapellmeister!

Ihr werther Brief hat mich mit grosser Freude erfüllt. Durch ihn erfahre ich zuerst mit Bestimmtheit, wem ich den schönen Erfolg der musikalischen Leitung meines „Lohengrins“ in Pesth zu verdanken habe. Nehmen Sie meinen innigsten Dank für alles, was Sie thaten und mir nun berichten. Grüßen Sie auch bestens die mir so lieb gewordenen Mitglieder Ihres Orchesters, und namentlich noch die von Ihnen genannten werthen Künstler, denen ich Sie gleichfalls herzlichen Dank zu sagen bitte. Gewiss erkenne ich mit Ihnen den Erfolg meines „Lohengrins“ in Pesth für ermuthigend und bedeutungsvoll an. Wenn die geehrte Intendanz des National theaters fortfährt, meine Werke dem ungarischen Publikum vorzuführen, so glaube ich den praktischsten Rath damit zu ertheilen, wenn ich ihr zunächst „Rienzi“ vorschlage, von dem wenigstens was auch den äusseren Erfolg betrifft jedenfalls das sicherste Resultat vorauszusehen ist. Schliesslich bitte ich Sie noch, meinem Freunde Mosónyi, der nahe jedenfalls Ihnen zugänglich sein wird, meine herzlichsten Grüsse zu melden, und vorläufig mein Schweigen auf seinen freundschaftlichen Brief damit die Versicherung entschuldigen zu wollen, dass ich mir die Umstände lagen, und wie sie ihm seitdem bekannt geworden sein werden, eine geschäftliche Beantwortung für ... hiebt, ausserdem aber Briefe mir ... ungemein beschwerlich fallen. Mit dem nochmaligen Ausdruck meines wärmsten Dankes verbleibe ich hochachtungsvoll Ihr sehr verdankender Richard Wagner. 14 dez. 1866.

In Hungarian. The version that was published in *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*:

Legmélyebben tisztelt karmester úr! (Only this sentence is my translation.)

Richard Wagner's letter to Károly Huber.

WBV 4619, WHL-S/22.

Luzern, 14 December 1866.

Dear Mr. Conductor,

the precious letter You wrote to me was to my greatest delight. Reading it, I realized for the first time with complete certainty that the success of the musical conduction of my *Lohengrin* is highly due to the performance in Pest. Please do accept my warmest thanks for all the efforts and news you have notified me of. Please also pass my regards to your musicians, especially the ones you mentioned by name, all of whom I hold in my dearest memories; I send my heartfelt greetings to all of them.

I highly agree with you in regarding the success of my *Lohengrin* in Pest a tremendous result.

In case the most honorable board of directors of the National Theatre wish to acquaint the Hungarian audience with some of my other works, let me provide a practical advice by recommending my opera

Hozzám intézett becses levele a legnagyobb örömmel töltött el. Abból értesültem legelőször egész bizonyossággal, hogy „Lohengrin”-em zenészetű vezényletének szép sikerét Pestnek köszönhetem. Fogadja legforróbb köszönetemet mind azért, a mit értem tenni s a miről engemet értesíteni sziveskedett; kérem, üdvözölje nevemben az előttem annyira kedves emléké zenekar tagjait s különösen az ön által fölemlített s közreműködött művészeket, kiknek ez alkalommal szintén legszívélyesebb köszönetemet küldöm. Önnel egyetemben „Lohengrin”-emnek pesti sikerét én is nagy horderejű dolognak tartom. Ha a nemzeti színház tisztelt igazgatóságának továbbra szándékában van többi műveimmel is megismertetni a magyar közönséget: gyakorlati becsü tanácscsal vélek neki szolgálhatni akkor, midőn e végből legközelebb „Rienzi” dalművemet ajánlom szíves figyelmébe, melytől — legalább a külsikert tekintve — bizonyára a legbiztosabb eredmény várható. Végül kérem Önt, legyen szíves Mosonyi barátomnak — kívül bizonyára érintkezésben áll — legszívélyesebb üdvözlőmet kinyilvánítani s egyszersmind az ő baráti megkereső levelére hallgatásomat ama biztosítással kimenteni, miszerint a körülmények folytán — melyek eddig előtte is bizonyára ismereteseek — arra bővebb választ küldeni fölöslegesnek tartottam, s mert e mellett jelenben nagyon terhesek rám nézve a levelezések. Legmelegebb köszönetem ismételt nyilvánítása mellett megkülönböztetett tisztelettel maradok önnek lekötelezettje, Wagner Richárd. Lucern, december 14-én 1866.

Rienzi which — as far as its popularity is concerned — carries great promises.

Let me finally ask you to pass my kindest regards to my dear friend Mosonyi — with whom I reckon you are in touch — and please do apologize on my behalf for failing to respond to his friendly letter, beside ensuring him that regarding conditions which are most possibly not unknown to him either, I considered a detailed answer quite unnecessary, as correspondence has been a rather demanding task for me lately.

Expressing my warmest thanks, I remain your most respectful servant, Richard Wagner.

Richard Wagner's popularity continued to grow in Hungary after the successful reception of *Lohengrin*.⁵⁴³ A few other agents of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' had sent birthday greetings to Wagner, whereon the Mastermind answered. (On 23 May 1869, from Luzern to Pest).⁵⁴⁴ The addressees were Friedrich Altschul,

⁵⁴³ Richard Wagner's book, *Art and Revolution (Die Kunst und die Revolution)* appeared in 1866 in Hungary, translated by Kornél Ábrányi Sr., published by Khór and Wein, and the Song Association of the Universtiy performed the 'Pilgrim-chorus' from *Tannhäuser* on 2 July 1867, reported *Zenészet* *Lapok (The Musical Journal)* in its 40th issue of year 1866-67. Source: Haraszi, p. 339.

⁵⁴⁴ Richard Wagner's letter. WBV 5304, WHL-S/23. The letter can be found in LFZF, score ML 1285. For the facsimile see Addendum 29. First Hungarian publication.

In German:

Herren Altschul, Ellinger, Mosonyi, Rózsavölgyi, Schweida, Szoupper, Bellovits und Dunkel!
Meine hochgeehrten, lieben Freunde! Von ganzem Herzen danke ich Ihnen für Ihren freundlichen Geburtstagsgruss! Es war der Erste, der mir aus der Ferne zukam; von Neuem belebte er mir die herrliche Erinnerung an das unvergleichlich herzliche und erhebende Pest, welches Sie mir an jenem schönen Abende in Pest bereiteten. Somit belebten Sie auch mich selbst wieder, denn nur von so schönen Erinnerungen näht sich der ewig neue Lebensfaden der Künstler Seele! Brüderlichsten Gruss dagegen! Ihr dankbarer Richard Wagner. Luzern, 23 Mai 1869.

In Hungarian. First publication of the Hungarian translation by Ildikó Rita Anna Varga:

Altschul, Ellinger, Mosonyi, Rózsavölgyi, Schweida, Szoupper, Bellovits és Dunkel Uraknak!
Mélyen tisztelt, kedves Barátaim! Teljes szívemből köszönöm Önöknek szívélyes születésnap üdvözlétüket! Az első volt, ami a távolból elért; újból életre keltette azokat az összehasonlíthatatlanul szívélyes és felemelő Pesten átélt élményeim, amelyeket Önök

Imre Bellovics, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, József (Josef) Ellinger, Mihály Mosonyi, Gyula Rózsavölgyi, Rudolf Schweida and (Jenő) 'Szoupper' (he used his name as Szupper, or Soupper as well). The name of Mosonyi and Ellinger had been mentioned in this Ph. D. Thesis before, but the rest of the addressees were also well-known associates of that era in Hungary and beyond it. Friedrich, (Rudolf, or Rezső), Altschul (1842-1911) the pianist, pedagogue and composer, was student of Ferenc Liszt,⁵⁴⁵ Imre Bellovics (1847-1921), conductor, had benefited the Hungarian chorus-culture with the huge merits he earned for it to improve, and had been a significant participant of the Hungarian capital's musical life. Gyula Rózsavölgyi (1822-1861) — the founder of the Rózsavölgyi and Co. Music-publisher and Concert-organiser Company — was the son of the composer Márk Rózsavölgyi. Johann Nepomuk Dunkl was the friend and unofficial pupil of Ferenc Liszt, and became the leader of the Rózsavölgyi Music Publisher Company after the death of its establisher. Rudolf, (Rezső), Schweida have become famous as composer, and conductor. Between 1877-78 Schweida was the director of the Music Academy in Buda (Budai Zenakadémia) — which is the Járdányi Pál Music School today in Budapest —, while the singer Jenő Szupper (Szoupper, or Soupper) taught in the opera department of the Academy of Actors (Színészeti Tanoda) only for one year sometime between 1870-1875 in Budapest.

Richard Wagner's letter to Altschul, Ellinger, Mosonyi,
Rózsavölgyi, Schweida, Szoupper, Bellovits and Dunkel.

WBV 5304, WHL-S/23.

Luzern, 23 May 1869.

nekem azokon a szép estéken Pesten szereztek. Ezáltal Önök is életre keltettek engem újra, mert csak az ilyen szép emlékek ölhetik össze a művész lelkének örökké megújuló életfonalát! Testvéri üdvözlét ezért! Az Önök hálás Richard Wagnere. Lucern, 1869. május 23.

⁵⁴⁵ Ludwig Nohl, *Die Hauptschüler Liszts*, pp. 112. The Nohl catalogue mentions though the name of Ilon(k)a Ravasz and Antal Siposs, but it doesn't pay tribute to Aladár Juhász and Károly Aggházy. Nohl, as a writer, had written about Wagner's artistic ideas as well. (*Richard Wagner's musikalischer Stil*, 1878).

Dear Mr. Altschul, Ellinger, Mosonyi, Rózsavölgyi, Schweida,
Szoupper, Bellovits and Dunkel,
Venerated, beloved Friends of mine,

With all my soul, I would like to thank You for the cordial birthday wishes! It was the first thing reaching me from the way; it revived those peerlessly amicable and elevating treats in Pest which You pleased me with in those beautiful evenings. Throughout this, You reanimated me, because only these pleasurable memories have the ability to sew up the eternally renewing walk of life of the artist's soul! With kind regards from Your grateful Richard Wagner.

23 May 1869, Luzern.

A quite interesting document, a photo, that I have found in the Archives of Kalocsa Archbishopric,⁵⁴⁶ and in which Ferenc Liszt, Hans Richter, Ödön Mihalovich, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, Count (Baron) Albert Apponyi, Count Guido Karátsonyi, Imre Huszár, and Cardinal Lajos Haynald and other devotees of both Richard Wagner and Ferenc Liszt can be seen, added intriguing details to the history of 19th centuries Hungarian music history and also to the given era of the Wagner-reception in Hungary.

Cardinal Lajos Haynald was not only a close friend and supporter of Ferenc (Franz) Liszt, but also knew Cosima Wagner, who sent a letter to him on 19 November 1873 from Bayreuth.⁵⁴⁷ Liszt also can be thankful for Count Albert Apponyi for supporting his career in Hungary, but the count was an admirer of Wagner at the same time. Apponyi had been participating in the opening ceremony of the Bayreuth Festival Theatre (from 13 August 1876) and in other important premieres of Wagner (e.g.: *Parsifal*, 26 July 1882, Bayreuth). He can

⁵⁴⁶ The photo can be found in Addendum. (Score: 28.). Source: *Liszt Ferenc és Haynald Lajos - egy 19. századi barátság emlékei Kalocsán, Liszt és Haynald a Főszékesegyházban - az Angster-orgona építése* in Archives of Kalocsa Archbishopric, Archivum Archidioecesis Colocensis - Erzdözesanarchiv Kalocsa, <http://archivum.asztrik.hu/?q=oldal/6-liszt-es-haynald-a-foszekesegyhazban-az-angster-orgona-epitese>, on 9 Sept. 2013.

⁵⁴⁷ According to Cosima Wagner, Cosima introduced Haynald to Wagner on 15 March 1875, during Wagner's second Hungarian visit. Source: Cosima Wagner, *Napló, 1875, March-April*, p. 166.

be connected to the foundation of the The Richard Wagner Society in Hungary together with Ödön Mihalovich. The name of János (Hans) Richter is not unfamiliar for the admirers of Wagner; his name will turn up many times more in this Ph. D. Thesis. Imre Huszár, who had been a friend of Liszt, knew Wagner personally as well, which can be certified by the fact that Huszár had been waiting for the prominent celebrities — Richard Wagner and his wife complemented with Liszt in Esztergom — as a member of the reception-committee on 6 March 1875, Budapest Western railway station.⁵⁴⁸ According to Cosima Liszt-Wagner, with other significant members of the Hungarian society, e.g. Mihalovich and two Count Apponyi's (one of them was definitely Albert Apponyi), Huszár also took part in the dinner which was held in 'Kaszinó' (Casino) on 8 March 1875.⁵⁴⁹

Previously published issues, books, essays and articles, in which the aforementioned 'Haynald-Liszt-photo' was published before, identified Count Imre Széchenyi (1858-1905) as the person sitting on Haynald's right side.⁵⁵⁰

The issue is that the man sitting on the right of Haynald cannot be the younger count, because in 1873 the younger Imre Széchenyi was only about 15 and that man definitely looks older than that. That person could not be the older Imre Széchenyi either, because he was pretty near to 50 when the photo was taken... Imre Széchenyi Sr. (15 Feb. 1825-11 March 1898) was an amateur composer, the uncle of the aforementioned count (also called Imre Széchenyi) and he and his wife, Countess Alexandra Sztáray-Szirmai (12 Jan. 1843-30 Dec. 1914), were Wagner's close friends as well. The proof of their close relationship can be verified by the fact, that Wagner wrote a poem to the

⁵⁴⁸ Haraszti, p. 388.

⁵⁴⁹ Cosima Wagner, *Napló, March-April*, p. 166.

⁵⁵⁰ E.g. Etelka Baji – László Csorba, *Kastélyok és mágnások. Az arisztokrácia világa a századvégi Magyarországon. Válogatás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Fényképtára anyagából*, Bp., (HG és Társa Kiadó), 1994, p. 109, *Fejezetek a Zeneakadémia történetéből*, Ed.: János Kárpáti, *Acta Academiae Artis Musicae de Francisco Liszt Nominatae. A Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola Tudományos Közleményei*, 4, Budapest, (Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola), 1992, Anna Fábri, *Eszmesúrlódások, A 19. századi közirodalom a pesti társaséletről*, a Budapesti Főváros Levéltára, http://bfl.archivportal.hu/id-852-fabri_anna_quot_eszmesurlodasok_quot.html, on 1 Sept. 2014.

countess with the title, *An Gräfin Széchenyi*, around 1876. (The poem can be seen in Add. 36.).

Further investigations make clear that the man who can be seen in the picture rather resembles Antal Siposs⁵⁵¹ who was 34 when the photo was taken. The aforementioned theory can be proven by the fact that Antal Siposs — pianist and composer — was a really close friend of Liszt. They got acquainted in a public concert in 1858, after which Liszt invited Siposs to Weimar, where Siposs became Liszt's student. It might be interesting to mention that Antal Siposs took part in the opening nights of Bayreuth as well. On the basis of the aforementioned data the director of the Kalocsa Archbishopric, dr. Andor Lakatos, replaced the name of Count Imre Széchenyi with Antal Siposs on the website of the Archives on 9 September 2013. He also noted the amendment of this mistake could be done thanks to my research.⁵⁵² I have the honor to tell that the aforementioned achievements and other data — relying on my research — have been used by Zsuzsanna Domonkos — the director of Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre — for the material of the exhibition *Wagner and his Hungarian friends* (17 May 2013 — 15 May 2014, LFZF, Budapest).⁵⁵³

After Sámuel Radnótfáy's death, who was the intendant of the National Theatre (one of those who opposed the presentation of Wagner operas in the theatre), the new leaders⁵⁵⁴ reinforced the public opinion supporting Richard Wagner.

⁵⁵¹ After the blooming career as a concert-pianist, Antal Siposs (17 January 1839, Ipolyság – 18 June 1923, Révfülöp) repatriated and founded his private conservatoire. He had written piano pieces just as melodies which made him quite successful, popular and famous in the contemporary Hungary. In 1873 Siposs was 34 which can approximately correspond with the probable age of the person in the picture. On the basis of the aforesaid information I am convinced that the person in the photo is not Imre Széchenyi, but Antal Siposs.

⁵⁵² See <http://archivum.asztrik.hu/?q=oldal/6-liszt-es-haynald-a-foszekesegyhazi-ban-az-angster-orgona-epitese>, 9 Sept. 2013.

⁵⁵³ *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends*, booklet which contains the results and events of the same titled temporary exhibition in the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum. Budapest, (Liszt Academy, Liszt Museum), 26 Feb. 2014. The aforementioned result of mine appeared on p. 21. and p. 64, Endnotes 20. The scores were the same in the Hungarian and English booklet.

⁵⁵⁴ Baron Simon Révay followed Count Gedeon Ráday (from 15 Oct.-30 Dec. 1869), later Baron Frigyes Podmaniczky and Antal Zichy came quickly one another. Antal Zichy constituted an

Even gossip started spreading according to which the new leaders wanted to appoint János (Hans) Richter⁵⁵⁵ instead of Ferenc Erkel, which encouraged Wagner to send a letter in which he recommended Richter to the directorate. But the letter, written on 31 March 1870,⁵⁵⁶ could not have been addressed to

Opera-board, wherein the members were Ferenc Csepreghy, Ede Szigligeti and Mihály Mosonyi. Ferenc Erkel became the leader of the opera-department. Source: Haraszti, p. 340.

⁵⁵⁵ János (Hans, Baptist, Isidor) Richter (4 April 1843-5 December 1916) Austro-Hungarian conductor. His father Anton Richter (1802-54) was an organist and choirmaster, his mother Josefine Czasensky (1822-92) an opera singer and singing teacher. Hans Richter studied at the Conservatory in Vienna (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde). He graduated in 1862 and worked as horn player in the Kärntnertheater, before he was sent to Tribschen to copy the score of *'Meistersinger'*, and in 1868 assisted at the premiere of the aforementioned opera. After conducting a few operas of Wagner he went to Pest, where he became the conductor of the National Theatre. He remained there until 1875 when he joined Vienna Hofoper. He was not only a 'Wagner-conductor' since he also conducted *Brahms' Second and Third symphonies* and *Tragic Overture* first, so as Bruckner's compositions, and introduced and promoted Antonin Dvorák's compositions as well. In a career lasting 44 years he gave 2263 opera performances (899 of them were Wagner operas) and 2088 concerts. Source: Christopher Fifield, Art. 'János, Hans [Johann] (Baptist, Isidor) Richter', in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 21, pp. 341-42.

⁵⁵⁶ Wagner's subsequent 'Hungarian Letter'. WBV 5543, WHL-S/24. The original is in SZNL (OSZK), score: 'Levelestár, Richard Wagner's letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy'. Published only in Haraszti's book (in Hungarian on pp. 341-342. in German on pp. 474-475). The WBV did not mention the presentation in Hungarian. For the facsimile see Addendum 30.

In German:

Hochgeehrter Herr Hofrath!

Ich ergreife die Gelegenheit, mich in Ihr geneigtes Gedächtniss zurückzurufen, um Ihnen im Betreff der Neubesetzung der Kapellmeisterstelle am königlichen Hof- und Nationaltheater in Pest meinen sehr ernstlich gemeinten Wunsch auszudrücken. Wie ich durch Herrn Musikdirector Hanns Richter (gebürtig aus Raab) selbst so eben erfahre, haben einige Zeitungen bereits das, anderseits nicht widersprochene, Gerücht gebracht, eben er sei für die durch Herrn Km. Erkel's Ausscheiden leer gewordene Stelle in Aussicht genommen. Erlauben Sie mir nun Ihnen zu sagen, dass, falls dem wirklich so wäre, Sie ganz unmöglich eine bessere Acquisition machen könnten. Seine ungemeine Tüchtigkeit hat sich mir in jeder Hinsicht bewährt. Neuerlich konnte ich ihm ganz allein die Aufführung des *Lohengrin* (zum ersten Mal in französischer Sprache), zu welcher er von dem dortigen königlichen Theater nach Brüssel eingeladen worden war, überlassen; er hat dort, unter den allerschwierigsten Verhältnissen so vortrefflich bestanden, dass er dafür allgemein hochgeehrt wurde. Ich gestehe, dass es mir, den ich diesem ausgezeichneten jungen Manns durchaus nur eine sehr ehrenvolle Stellung wünsche, ungemein erfreulich war, gerade von dieser Intention der Hoftheater-Intendanz in

Radnótfáy, since Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy) died on 9 Oct. 1869. Probably Wagner himself felt that his position had been strengthened in Hungary because he wrote the following in his letter: '(...) to express my greatest wish in connection with the conductor position of the National Royal Court Theatre of Pest (...)’.

Richard Wagner’ letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy).

WBV 5543, WHL-S/24.

Luzern, 31 March 1870.

Venerated King’s Councillor,

Pest zu hören, weil ich Pest selbst sehr liebe und die vortheilhaftesten Ansichten davon hege, was ein feuriger, tüchtiger Mann mit der grossherzigen Unterstützung des von mir angetroffenen Kunstsinnens dort zu leisten im Stande sein kann. Sie würden mich sehr verbinden, wenn Sie über den Stand dieser Angelegenheit mir alsbald eine freundliche Notiz zukommen lassen wollten. Mit grösster Hochachtung Ihr ergebenster Richard Wagner. Luzern, 31 März 1870.

In Hungarian. The translation by Emil Haraszti, with the supplements of Ildikó Rita Anna Varga:
Mélyen tisztelt udvari tanácsos úr!

Megragadom az alkalmat, hogy szíves emlékezetébe juttassam magamat, hogy kifejezzem leghőbb óhajtásomat a Pesti Királyi és Udvari Nemzeti Színház karmesteri székének betöltésére vonatkozóan. Mint magától Richter János zeneigazgató úrtól — a ki győri születésű — értesültem, némely lap azt a meg nem czáfolt hírt közölte, hogy éppen ő (Richter) van kiszemelve az Erkel Ferencz távozása folytán megüresedett karmesteri állásra. Engedje meg kijelentenem, hogy abban az esetben, ha valóban így áll a dolog, Önök nem tehetnének szert értékesebb aqisitióra. (szerzeményre). Ritka rátermettsége előttem minden tekintetben igazolódott. Újabban reá bízhattam egyedül a *Lohengrin* előadását (francia nyelven először), melynek elvégzésével a Brüsszeli Királyi Színház megbízta. És Richter úr a legnehezebb viszonyok közepette oly derekasan állotta meg helyét, hogy mindenki a legnagyobb dicsérettel halmazta el. És megvallom, — minthogy e kitűnő fiatal ember számára csak egészen elsőrangú állást óhajtok — nekem igen nagy örömömre szolgált, hogy a Pesti Nemzeti Színház intendatúrájának ez irányú szándékáról hallottam, mert Pestet nagyon szeretem és mert a legbiztatóbb reménységet táplálom az iránt, a mit egy derék, lángoló buzgalmú férfi ott elérhet az általam is tapasztalt műérzék nagylelkű támogatásával. Rendkívül lekötelezne, ha az ügy állásáról néhány barátságos sorban tájékoztatna. Legmélyebb tisztelettel híve: Wagner Richard. Luzern, 31. márczius 1870.

I dare to take the chance to address you again, in order to express my dearest wish regarding the appointment of the new conductor at the Royal and Imperial National Theater of Pest. As I was notified by artistic director Hanns Richter, native of the town of Győr, certain papers have published the heretofore not invalidated news of him going to be appointed as Ferencz Erkel's successor to the conductor's position.

Please allow me to say that if this is indeed the case, you could not have obtained a more precious acquisition. Mr. Richter's talent has been proven to me in all respects. Lately, I have been able to completely entrust him with the first French-language performance of my *Lohengrin*, with the conducting of which he was commissioned by the Royal Theater of Brussels. Even in challenging circumstances, Mr. Richter stood his ground excellently, receiving an extensive amount of praises from all. Let me confide in you that — since I wish only the best of positions for this outstanding young man — I was particularly glad to learn that the intendancy of the National Theater of Pest has such intentions with Mr. Richter, since I love Pest dearly and also firmly believe that with a worthy and conscientious man, assisted by the Theater, the outstanding artistic level of which has been proven to me several times, is capable of achieving the most wonderful results.

I would be honored if your Excellency provided me with a few lines of information regarding the present standing of the case.

Your most respectful servant, Richard Wagner.

Richter was not appointed for now though; and Ferenc Erkel — maybe only to disarm his opponents — ordered *Tannhäuser*⁵⁵⁷ for the National Theatre for 500

⁵⁵⁷ The cast of *Tannhäuser* according to the poster of the premiere: Herman, marquis of Thüringen: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Elisabeth, her niece: Mrs. Pauli, née Ilka Markovics, Tannhäuser: (József) Ellinger, Wolfram: (Fülöp) Láng, Wather: (Zsigmond) Hajós, Biterolf: (Henrik) Bodorfi, Henrik: Korbay, Reinmar: (János) Tallián, Venus: (Miss) Irma Kotsis, Shepherd: Alexa Human. Costumes were made by Gábor Gerő based on Ferencz Gaul's designs, the set was Mór Lehmann's work, and women's costumes were designed by Jakab Pantoffel. Part of the orchestra of Czezarevics's 8th imperial and royal regiment also took part in the performance. Source: Haraszi between pp. 346-47. Addendum 31.

Forints, and this time he himself started rehearsing the opera. Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter', written to Erkel on 28 June 1870, points out that although Erkel would have gladly presented the new, reworked version of *Tannhäuser*, Wagner — for the time being — withheld that from all European opera houses.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁸ Richard Wagner's subsequent 'Hungarian Letter'. WBV 5611, WHL-S/25. The original with its envelope was available in the archives of the National Museum until 1904, from it was transferred to SzNL, Manuscript Collection. Score: Fond 1190/XII. The WBV published wrong score, and forgot about the Hungarian translation (H, pp. 343-44.). Haraszi published wrong date (27 June 1870). For more details see Appendix IX. and X, for the facsimile see Add. 32.

In German:

Geehrtester Herr und Freund!

Beiliegend übersende ich Ihnen die nöthige Quittung über das empfangene Honorar für Tannhäuser, mit dem Ersuchen, dieselbe der geehrten Direktion mit meinem Danke zustellen zu wollen. Die neu komponierten Szenen zu Tannhäuser habe ich noch jedem Theater (so neuerdings dem Wiener Hofopertheater) vorenthalten müssen, weil ich mir selbst vorbehalten muss diese Neuerungen auf einem solchen Theater einzuführen, wo ich diese Szenen persönlich einstudieren kann. Sie enthalten ein Wagnis, für dessen Gelingen ich doch nur selbst gutstehen kann. Erlauben es später meine Verhältnisse, so komme ich gern einmal nach Pest, und führe gelegentlich auch diese Neuerung ein; für jetzt währe mir diese jedoch nicht möglich. Seien Sie aber versichert, dass weder Berlin, noch Wien, noch irgendein anderes Theater diese Szenen besitzt, und nur in München selbst unter ausserordentlichen Umständen einen Versuch damit machte, welcher einmal vollständig glückte. Mit den herzlichsten Empfehlung bin ich Ihr sehr ergebener, Richard Wagner. Luzern, 28. Juni 1870.

In Hungarian. Ildikó Rita Anna Varga's translation:

Mélyen Tisztelt Uram és Barátom!

Mellékelve küldöm a szükséges nyugtát a *Tannhäuser* tiszteletdíjáért azzal a kéréssel, hogy adja át köszönetemet a nagyrabecsült igazgatóságnak. A *Tannhäuserhez* újonnan írt jeleneteket valamennyi színháztól meg kellett tagadnom (legújabbán a Bécsi Udvari Operától), mivel saját magamnak kell fenntartanom ezeknek az újításoknak az előadását, egy oly színházban, hol személyesen végezhetem a jelenetek betanításának munkáját. Olyan kockázatot jelentenek, amelyeknek a sikeréért nekem magamnak kell kezkeskednem. Ha később körülményeim megengedik, örömet jövök egyszer Pestre és vezetem alkalomadtán ezeknek az új jeleneteknek a betanítását; de jelenleg ez nem lenne lehetséges. Biztosítom azonban, hogy sem Berlin, sem Bécs, sem semmiféle színház sem rendelkezik e jelenetekkel s csak Münchenben, egészen rendkívüli körülmények között tettem velük egy kísérletet, ami egyszer teljes egészében sikerült. A legszívélyesebb üdvözléssel maradok híve: Wagner Richard. Lucern, 1870 június 28.

Richard Wagner's letter to Ferenc Erkel.

WBV 5611, WHL-S/25.

Luzern, 28 June 1870.

Dear Sir, my dear Friend,

Enclosed I send the receipt for the payment I received for my *Tannhäuser* and kindly ask you to express my greatest gratitude to the honored members of the directory board.

Regarding the new scenes recently written for *Tannhäuser*, I denied the right of performance from all theaters including the Royal Opera House, since I think it necessary to reserve the right of performance to a theater where rehearsals can go on under my personal supervision. These revisions are so bold that I need to see to their success myself. If future circumstances allow me to come to Pest, I would gladly rehearse the new parts with the company of the National Theater. However this is not possible right now. Yet I can ensure you that neither Berlin and Vienna, nor any other theaters possesses the script or music for these scenes. The one place where I attempted performance under extraordinary circumstances was Munich. Attempts there resulted in one completely successful night.

Wishing you well my most sincerely, I remain your humble servant,

Richard Wagner.

Meanwhile, Bódog Orczy⁵⁵⁹ was appointed to become the intendant of the National Theatre, which — since Orczy himself was a composer and, according to criticism, he very much wrote in Wagner's manner⁵⁶⁰ — gave a new push to the positive reception of Richard Wagner's works in Hungary,⁵⁶¹ and the theatre

⁵⁵⁹ Orczy Bódog Félix (8 June 1835-21 January 1892) baron, composer, and supervisor of the National Theatre. His operas: *Pandora*, *Sisiphus*, and *Renegát* (*Runagate*). *Renegát* was performed in London around 1880. Source: MagySzínművLex, Volume III, pp. 410-11.

⁵⁶⁰ Haraszti, p. 344.

⁵⁶¹ The positive reception of Richard Wagner's art was also enhanced by the poet and publicist Ludwig Eckhardt's presentation; he held two readings about Wagner's art and works in 1870 in Pest. Sources: Haraszti, p. 345, Kurt Vancsa, Art. 'Eckhardt Louis' in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Volume 4, (Duncker & Humblot), Berlin, 1959, pp. 282-83.

scheduled the premiere of *Tannhäuser*, translated by Kornél Ábrányi Sr., to 11 March 1871.⁵⁶² The dress-rehearsal was held on 9 March in the presence of Ferenc Liszt. The event was described by *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) on 10 March (issue 57, year 8), which reported a rather big crowd, and added that it was always Liszt who started clapping after the singing parts.

Despite a lot of dedicated work and the public sentiment, which was generally supportive toward Wagner, the premiere of *Tannhäuser* was received rather controversially. A critique appeared in *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*), which was written by Sándor Berta, who was considered a Wagnerist prior to the 1870s; he praised the presentation of the opera and Ferenc Erkel for the rehearsals, but strongly criticised Wagner's music. According to Bertha, Wagner's thoughts are stronger than the talent they were expressed with, they lack moderation, and *Elisabeth's Prayer* (*Allmächt'ge Jungfrau, hör mein Flehen*, from the third movement) was the weakest part of the opera. Sándor Bertha Jr. was also convinced that *Tannhäuser* was a flaring initiation, childish, but sublime and innovative too, which is dangerous, since it enhances superficiality that is quite widespread in the world. (Before the mentioned critique Bertha dealt with the story of *Tannhäuser* in detail in the 58th issue of year 22 of *Pesti Napló*, which was published on 11 March). Compared to the previous medium, the critique of *Reform* (*Reform*), published on 12 March, 71/2, writes somewhat more kindly about the opera, that the audience enjoyed it despite that it was not outstandingly performed. According to the author, 'the overture was energetic and ravishing'⁵⁶³ and 'the theatre was crowded despite the rather high price of seats'.⁵⁶⁴ The critic also praised the work of the choir,

⁵⁶² The *Tannhäuser* was premiered on 13th Jan. 1866 in Timișoara (Temesvár), in the Ferencz József (Franz-Josef) Theatre and on 18th May 1873 August Pummer (1837-1893), the well-known bass-bariton performed *Hymne an den Abendstern* from *Tannhäuser* with the contribution of the Philharmonic Society of Temesvár and Orawitzaer Music- and Singing Association in the Orawitzaer Theatre also in Timișoara (Temesvár).

Source: Dr. Franz Metz, *Die Musik Richard Wagners im Banat, Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte zum 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, in *Edition Musik Südost*, <http://www.edition-musik-suedost.de/html/wagner.html>. (Checked out for the last time on 20 Sept. 2014.).

⁵⁶³ 'A nyitány erélyes és elragadó, (...)'.
⁵⁶⁴ 'A ház a roppant helyárak dacára zsúfolva volt.'

Károly Köszeghy's and Alexa Humann's (written as Human as well) singing and Ferenc Erkel's conducting.

In its 178th issue of year 3 published on 12 March, *Ellenőr (Controller)*⁵⁶⁵ published the following: '(...) I generally liked the opera although it has bleak and boring parts, (...) but it has exceptional and affective parts as well, such as most of the second act. (...)'.⁵⁶⁶ The writer did not forget to praise Erkel's conducting, the singing of the choir, the orchestra, the staging, the scenery, and to mention the glorious performance Mrs. Pauli, Láng, and Károly Köszeghy's singing. The critic continued like this: '(...) On the whole, Wagner's *Lohengrin* had a greater effect than *Tannhäuser* after the first performance.'⁵⁶⁷ This latter sentence can highlight the fact that it was a mistake to present *Lohengrin* before *Tannhäuser* from the aspect of program policy. The most important sentence of the fairly lengthy article in *Pester Lloyd*, might have been that 'the Wagnerian muse has already gained ground in Pest (...)'. (*Pester Lloyd*, year 18, issue 60, 14 March 1870). The criticism of *Ungarischer Lloyd*⁵⁶⁸ on the same day was jotted down by a really enthusiastic admirer of Wagner, Ödön Mihalovich. He dealt with the performance in detail, found it 'satisfactory' and was also content with the performance of the choir and the orchestra just like with the scenery. On the contrary, he was not smitten with the performance of the singers: József Ellinger and Mrs. Pauli, née Ilka Markovits.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ellenőr (Controller)*. Daily political paper in Budapest. Lajos Csernátorny founded it in 1869; it ceased publication on 31 Aug. 1882, when it merged with *Hon (Home)* under the title *Nemzet (Nation)*. Another newspaper existed under the same name in Kolozsvár, which was also a political paper; it was published between 2 May 1848 and 14 Nov. 1848. Source: Art. 'Ellenőr' in *Révai Nagy Lexikona (Révai Great Lexicon)*, Volume VI, (Révai Testvérek [Révai Brothers]), Budapest, 1913, p. 399.

⁵⁶⁶ 'Az opera általában véve tetszett, noha vannak sivár, unalmas helyei, (...) de vannak kitűnő és hatásos helyei is, mint például a 2-ik felvonás legnagyobb része.'

⁵⁶⁷ 'Egészében véve Wagnertől „Lohengrin” nagyobb hatást idézett elő első adatása után, mint a Tannhäuser.'

⁵⁶⁸ *Ungarischer Lloyd* was established by Sámuel Rothfeld (1821–1883) and Károly Weizskircher (1830–1896) in 1867. The high-quality economic daily paper was released twice a day. Source: János Mátyás Balogh, *Napilapok és pénzintézetek kapcsolata a dualizmus korában, Journalok és Lloydok a dualizmus első éveiben, Médiakutató, Summer 2007*, http://www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2007_02_nyar/05_napilapok_penzintezetek_kapcsolata. (3 Jan. 2012).

The most professional critique was written by Kornél Ábrányi Sr. His article appeared in two parts in the 60th and 61st issues of year 8 of *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) on 14 and 15 March. The following excerpt demonstrates his enthusiasm and professionalism: 'This opera is a great and ravishing musical drama, (...) this is such an appearance of elemental and creative power; its internal values are imperishable. Compared to Wagner's latter works, it does not approach their ideal entirely yet, but (...) it constitutes one of the fundamental pieces of musical compositions of the world'.⁵⁶⁹

4.5.3. Cosmopolitans against Hungarian Culture. The Foundation of the Hungarian Richard Wagner Society, Wagner's Further 'Hungarian Letters'.

The Reception of the *Flying Dutchman* and *Rienzi* in Pest.

Bódog Orczy, the supervisor of the National Theatre, was absolutely cosmopolitan, and he began to rework the program policy of the theatre according to his taste. His goal was to remove Ferenc Erkel and Károly Huber, outplace the Hungarian music repertoire from the National Theatre and to exclude the presentation of Hungarian dramas there as well. In order to reach his goals, he hired János (Hans) Richter due to Wagner's influence after Károly Huber had 'willingly' given in his notice to quit and Ferenc Erkel had almost entirely refrained from the public eye. Richter, as one of Wagner's main followers and one of the best conductors of his works, increased the number of musicians in the orchestra to 60 and began to work on the new presentation of *Lohengrin*.⁵⁷⁰ The premiere, held in the presence of the Emperor of Brazil on 7

⁵⁶⁹ 'Hatalmas és megragadó zenei dráma e dalmű, (...) a teremtő erőnek oly őserővel való nyilatkozata ez, melynek belbecse elévülhetetlen. Wagner utóbbi műveihez hasonlítva még egészen nem közelíti meg annak ideálját, de (...) egyik megrendíthetetlen gránit követ képezi a világ zeneirodalmának.'

It could be interesting to mention that with varying audience attendance *Tannhäuser* was played on 18, 25, and 30 March.

⁵⁷⁰ The cast of *Lohengrin* on 7 Oct. 1871: Lohengrin: (Zsigmond) Hajós, Elsa: Anna Nesz(r)veda, Telramund: (Fülöp) Láng, Ortrud: Irma Kotsis, King: (Károly) Kőszeghy. Source: *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*), 232/8, 10 Oct.

Oct. 1871,⁵⁷¹ excited great interest, as written by issue 232 of year 8 of *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*), published on 10 Oct. The new presentation of *Lohengrin* was János (Hans) Richter's debut in the National Theatre, which went superbly and was 'quite intriguing' according to the journalist, who did not forget to mention that 'the hiring of Richter was beyond price'.⁵⁷² The performance also made clear that Richter is one of the best who can present Richard Wagner's art. The critic also wrote about the enormous success and the crowded theatre. Motivated by success, Richter started to revitalize the Philharmonic Concerts too; the orchestra he conducted played certain parts from Wagner operas at all concerts.⁵⁷³

Hungarians did not favour Germanising efforts, which is understandable when taking historical facts into consideration. One of the main figures and founders of Hungarian 'Wagnerism' raised his objections to the spreading influence as well. In issue 9 of year 12 of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), put out on 26 Nov., Kornél Ábrányi Sr. published Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter' about Hungarian music in German for the first time and in Hungarian again, in order to prove that Wagner did not intend to germanise Hungarian music at all. On the contrary. The great composer saw the bright future of the development of Hungarian classical music in the cultivation and conflation of native Hungarian and contemporary classical genres.

This is why Ábrányi explains in his almost three-page-long article titled *Egy pár szó a fentebbi levélhez* (*Some Words Concerning the Aforementioned Letter*)

⁵⁷¹ The company of Csernitz and Bauer performed *Lohengrin* on 19 May 1871 in the 'countryside' of Hungary, in Bratislava. The cast of *Lohengrin* in Bratislava: Lohengrin: Becker, Elsa: Bauer, Ortrud: Erl, Henrik: Baumann, Telramund: Gusztáv Simon, alias 'Simon', Herald: Bednars. It was performed on 20 and 21 May as well. Source: Haraszti, p. 359.

⁵⁷² 'Richter szerződtetése jelentékeny horderejű nyereség.'

⁵⁷³ According to Haraszti (p. 358.), the following compositions were performed in 'Vigadó' (Redout): the *Overture to 'Holländer'* (*Der fliegende Holländer*) on 8 Nov. 1871, the *Overture to Tristan and Isolde* and *Isolde's Love Death* on 22, and the *Overture to Tristan* and *Overture to The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* on 13 Dec. Haraszti is probably mistaken when dating the third concert to 16 Dec. on p. 358. in his book since 13 Dec. is written in issue 12 of year 12 of *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) published on 17 Dec. 1871. Sources: *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), 12/12, 17 Dec. 1871. All the aforementioned concerts were conducted by János (Hans) Richter.

that one should be proud of Hungarian music culture, which Hungarians developed immensely in such a short time, because even '(...) Wagner believed that it is the key to a brighter future. (...).'⁵⁷⁴

Neither Orczy, nor Richter was willing to realise the change in Hungarian public opinion though, and they continued to go in the direction they considered right. The historical moment when a new wave of anti-Wagnerian sentiment developed in Pest happened around the time Ábrányi's aforementioned article was written.

Meanwhile, Wagner was conducting fragments of his opuses on concerts, collecting money to reach his greatest intention, his supporters and friends were trying to establish Patronatsvereins (Supporting Associations) which should help to build the Festival House in Bayreuth. Richter sent a letter to Wagner in order to express his intention to establish a similar association in Pest too. The letter Richard Wagner wrote to Theodor Kafka (dr.), on 2 Jan. 1872 in Luzern tells about Richter's intentions and a concert organised to popularise the Richard Wagner Society of Wien.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ '(...) Wagner szerint is egy későbbi nagyobb jövőnek is zálogául szolgál. (...).'

⁵⁷⁵ Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter' written to Theodor Kafka. WBV 6000, WHL-S/26. The original is in SzNL, Manuscript Collection. Score: Fond 1191/XII. Facsimile: Add. 33. According to Haraszti, the letter was in the possession of the National Theatre until 1916, but it was earlier published in *Die Musik-The Music* (booklet 19 in year VI, published in 1906-07, pp. 9-10.) by Wilhelm Kienzl. The WBV forgot to mention the first Hungarian publication. (Haraszti, pp. 360-362). Sources: *Die Musik, Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift, Herausgegeben bei Kappelmeister Bernhard Schuster*, Year Six, Volume XXIV, Schuster and Loeffler, Berlin, Leipzig, 1906-1907, pp. 9-10, Haraszti, pp. 360-62. and Haraszti pp. 472-473.

In German:

Hochgeehrter Herr und Freund!

Ihren sehr freundlichen Brief empfing ich während meiner letzten Winterreise, und komme jetzt erst dazu, ihn zu beantworten. Mir scheint es so, als ob ich Ihnen eigentlich bloss im Betreff des in Wien zu gebenden Konzertes Auskunft zu geben hätte, da im Uebrigen Ihre geneigten Mittheilungen über die Wirksamkeit des von Ihnen gegründeten Vereines sich auf die kurze, aber allerdings sehr ermuthigende Notiz: „der Verein florire“ beschränken. Ueber das Konzert lassen Sie uns sogleich einig werden. Als ich kürzlich wieder in Mannheim die Erfahrung von den ganz unverhältnissmässigen Anstrengungen machte, welche mich unter den unvermeidlichen aufregenden Umständen bei solchen Extra-Unternehmungen das persönliche Dirigiren kostet, frage ich mich von Neuem, ob es nicht unsinnig wäre, in dieser Weise — für die

Aufbringung ganz ungenügender Mittel — meine Kräfte zu vergeuden, und ward von Neuem dazu getrieben, den Entschluss zu fassen, ähnliche Exzesse fortan gänzlich zu vermeiden. Schon war ich im Begriff, in diesem Sinne Ihnen mich mitzutheilen. Heute empfangen Sie einen Brief meines jungen Freundes Hans Richter aus Pest, in welchem mir gemeldet wird, dass dort, „sobald der Wiener Verein in das Leben getreten sein werde“, ein Zweigverein gegründet werden solle. In Pest weiss man demnach noch nichts davon, dass der Wiener Verein bereits in Thätigen sei. Ich gestehe, dass mich dies etwas nachdenklich gemacht hat. Mir ist der Gedanke angekommen, dass Sie in Wien der Meinung sein könnten, erst auf den Effekt eines von mir zu dirigierenden Konzertes warten zu wollen, um den Verein dann in eine rechte Thätigkeit treten zu lassen. Dies würde nun, da ich mir mehrere Monate volle Ruhe unter allen Umständen ausbedingen muss, eine Hinausschiebung des Beginnes dieser Action bis etwa Ende April zu bedeuten haben. Vor der Erwägung der Umstände dieser Annahme stehe ich nun. Der Gedanke, durch ein von mir zu dirigirendes Konzert die energische Theilnahme meiner Freunde für meine, über alle diese Betrachtungen hinausgehende, grosse Unternehmung erst anregen zu sollen, befremdet mich ausserordentlich, und könnte mich fast bestimmen, eine noch so ehrende Einladung zu solch einem Konzert geradeweges abzulehnen, da ich nicht begreifen könnte, woher ich die Kräfte nehmen sollte, um auf diese Weise die für mein Unternehmen nöthige Summe zusammenzubringen. Ich glaube nun, es werde an meinen Wiener Freunden sein, mich darüber zu belehren, dass ich sie missverstehe. Dies können sie nur dadurch, dass sie für mein Unternehmen, ganz als solches, mir ihre energische Unterstützung durch wirkliche Erfolge ihrer Bemühungen ankündigen. Gelingt es ihnen, im Laufe dieser nächsten Wintermonate mir diese beruhigende Zusicherung durch Thatsachen zu verschaffen, so kann ich hierin die beste Beruhigung für meine peinliche Befürchtung ansehen, und ich habe dann in der Annahme der Einladung zu einem Konzerte etwas Anderes zu erkennen, als was ich unter den gegenwärtigen Umständen annehmen zu müssen glaube. Einer ausgezeichneten Betheiligung der Wiener Freunde meiner Kunst an den Zeichnungen für meine Unternehmung, glaube ich gern mit einer noch so grossen Anstrengung meiner für andere Zwecke zu ersparenden Kräfte entsprechen zu müssen. In diesem Falle mögen Sie Ende April — oder lieber noch erste Hälfte des Mai — für unser Konzert bestimmen: aber — dieses Konzert bilde nicht die Einladung zu Zeichnungen, sondern — meinen Dank für eine bedeutende Betheiligung an ihnen! Verzeihen Sie mir, hochgeehrter Herr und Freund, diese Schwere, mit welcher ich Ihnen vielleicht entgentrete. Eine Mittheilung an die „Wagner-Vereine“, welche Ihnen diese Tage zukommen wird, unterrichtet Sie besser noch über den Standpunkt, welchen ich einzunehmen mich gedrungen fühle, und — Hoffentlich! — stimmen Sie mir bei! Mit hochachtungsvollem Grusse Ihr ergebener, Richard Wagner. Luzern, 2. Jan. 1872.

The letter in Hungarian according to Haraszi. With the supplements of Ildikó Rita Anna Varga:
Mélyen tisztelt uram és barátom!

Szíves levelét utolsó téli utazásom alatt vettem kézhez és csak most jutok hozzá, hogy válaszoljak reá. Nekem úgy tetszik, hogy Önnek tulajdonképpen csak a Bécsben rendezendő hangversenyt illetően kell felvilágosítást adnom, mert különben szíves közlés az Ön által

alapított egyesület tevékenységéről mindössze erre a rövid, de mindenesetre igen bátorító megjegyzésre szorítkozik: az egyesület virágzik. A hangversenyre vonatkozóan állapodjunk is meg mindjárt magunk között. Minthogy nemrég Mannheimban ismét azt tapasztaltam, hogy teljesen aránytalan erőfeszítésbe kerül nekem a személyes dirigálás, az ilyen külön vállalkozásnál elkerülhetetlen felizgató körülmények következtében, újból azon töprenkedem, vajjon nem volna dőreség ily módon — teljesen elégtelen eszközök előteremtésére — pazarolni el erőmet és megint arra az elhatározásra kényszerültem jutni, hogy hasonló excessusokat (túlkapásokat) ezentúl egészen elkerülök. Már készültem ilyen irányban értesíteni Önt. Ma levelet kaptam ifjú barátomtól, Richter Jánostól Pestről, a melyben jelenti, hogy mihelyt életbe lép a bécsi egyesület, ott is alapítanak egy fiókegyesületet. E szerint Pesten még semmit sem tudnak arról, hogy a bécsi egyesület máris működik. Megvallom, ez engem kissé elgondolkodóba ejtett. Az a gondolatom támadt ugyanis, hátha Ön talán Bécsben úgy vélekedik, hogy először egy általam vezénylendő hangversenynek a hatására vár, hogy azután az egyesület a tulajdonképeni tevékenységet kellően megindítsa. Ez reám nézve, minthogy minden körülmények között fenn kell tartanom magamnak több hónapi teljes pihenést, e pihenés megkezdésének körülbelül április végére való elhalasztását jelentené. Most tehát az elfogadás körülményeinek mérlegelése előtt állok. Az a gondolat, hogy először egy általam vezetett hangversenynek kelljen felébresztenie barátaim hathatós érdeklődését, az én, minden ilyen tekinteten felülemelkedő nagyszerű vállalkozásom iránt, rendkívül visszariasztóan hat reám és majdnem arra az elhatározásra készítené, hogy egy még annyira megtisztelő meghívást is ilyen hangversenyre, kereken utasítsak vissza, mert nem tudnám belátni, mint volna számomra lehetséges, hogy ily módon a vállalkozásom számára szükséges összeget előteremtsem. Nos, azt hiszem, most bécsi barátaimon a sor, hogy felvilágosítsanak, hogy félreértettem őket. Ezt csak úgy tehetik meg, ha Önök fáradozásaik által már elért tényleges sikerektől és vállalatomnak mint ilyennek e sikerek által való hathatós támogatásáról értesíthetnek engem. Ha Önöknek sikerül a legközelebbi téli hónapok folyamán tények segítségével nekem ezt a megnyugtató biztosítást nyújtaniok, úgy ebből gyötrő aggodalmamra a legjobb megnyugtatót meríthetem és akkor egy hangversenyre való meghívás elfogadásában valami egyebet fogok találni, mint a mit a jelenlegi körülmények között kénytelen volnék látni. Ha művészetem bécsi barátai oly kiváló támogatást fejtenek ki vállalatom érdekében, úgy készséggel vallom magam arra kötelezettnek, hogy ezt a támogatást máskülönben egyéb célra fenntartandó erőmnek még oly nagy megfeszítésével viszonzom. Ebben az esetben április végére, vagy még inkább május első felére tűzhetnők ki hangversenyünk idejét, de ez a concert ne az újságoknak szóló buzdító felhívás legyen, (I think the translation is wrong inhear. The correction would be: Úgy vélem, ez a fordítás hibás. Így lenne helyes: „de ez a koncert ne egy jegyzésre való felhívás legyen.”) hanem az én hálám jelentős támogatásukért. Bocsásson meg, igen tisztelt uram és barátom, ezért a nehézségért, a mikkel talán Önnek kellemetlenséget okozok. Egy közlés a Wagner-egyesülethez, a mely Önhöz a napokban fog érkezni, jobban fogja majd tájékoztatni az álláspontról, melyet kénytelen

Richard Wagner's letter to Theodor Kafka.

WBV 6000, WHL-S/26.

Luzern, 2 January 1872.

Dear Sir, my dear and respected Friend,

I finally have the chance to reply to the kind letter you sent me during my last winter trip. I gather the only information I need to provide is related to the future concert in Vienna, since your hearty notice about the activity of the association resolves to a single and short yet promising piece of information telling that the association is in fact flourishing. Regarding the concert, let us make certain issues clear right at the beginning. Recently in Mannheim, I was forced again to experience that conducting takes an irrational amount of effort on my part. Therefore, I feel obliged to consider whether it is a wise decision to waste my energy on such activities — which are anyway not sufficient for raising the desired funds for my artistic ventures — and came to the decision that I am going to avoid such challenges in the future.

I have already meant to notify you of this decision. Today I received a letter from Hans Richter, a young friend of mine in Pest who tells me that they also plan to establish a branch association as soon as the Vienna association starts to function. This led me to the conclusion that artists in Pest do not know that the association in Vienna is already functioning. In fact, I find it a rather peculiar occurrence. I was wondering whether you in Vienna reason that a concert conducted by me would be needed as an impetus for the association's work to start seriously. Since I must reserve several months of complete rest for myself under all circumstances, such an assumption on your side would mean the postponement of my resting period at least until the end of April.

Right now, I am facing the challenge of considering the circumstances under which I might or might not accept your invitation. The thought of raising my friends' attention toward my grand venture

voltam elfoglalni és reményem, hogy osztozik véleményemben. Tiszteletteljes üdvözlettel alázatos szolgálja, Wagner Richárd. Luzern, 1872 január 2-án.

by conducting a concert seems appalling to me in all respects and almost forces me to directly reject your invitation no matter what an honor it is otherwise, since I do not see how it might be possible to raise the sufficient amount of funds in such a way.

Thus I believe it is now my friends' turn in Vienna to tell me that I am mistaken. I can only be proven wrong if my friends notify me of real success and a real funding you have obtained for my venture. Should you manage to provide me with a reassuring set of facts during the winter, the instant disappearance of my menacing doubts would enable me to see such a concert in a different and more promising light. If my friends in Vienna made such a great effort in support of my artistic venture, I would obviously return this favor by making a sacrifice of similar measures. In this case, the concert might take place in late April or, more preferably, in early May. Therefore, it would not be a call for subscription but much rather an expression of my gratitude for your generous support.

Dear Sir and respected Friend of mine, please do forgive me for this complication which may cause you inconvenience. An address to the Wagner association sent to you in the following days is going to explain in detail why I was forced to make this decision. I do hope for your generous understanding.

Greeting you with sincere respect your humble servant, Richard Wagner.

János (Hans) Richter's words — mentioned also in the aforementioned letter of Kafka — were followed by actions; and the first meeting of Wagner's supporters of Pest was held on 25 Feb. 1872 in Hotel Hungária. The main goals of the Richard Wagner Society of Pest was — similarly to others in Europe — to support the staging of '*Ring*' in Bayreuth. The association planned to function only until the presentation of '*Ring*' (*Der Ring des Nibelungen*, *The Ring of the Nibelung*). Ödön Mihalovich became its director, Count Albert Apponyi its secretary, and the journalist János Mende its notary (stenotype reporter). In creating the draft of the statutes Kornél Ábrányi Sr., Viktor Langer and János Frecskay also took part. The initiation of the association caused many

Hungarians', such as Kornél Ábrányi's (Sr.) aversion.⁵⁷⁶ Richter was not content with the foundation of the association though; he organised a concert⁵⁷⁷ in favour of Bayreuth in the National Theatre on 28 Feb., against which Ábrányi strongly protested in *Zenészetű Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*). According to Haraszti, the income of the concert was 1500 Forints,⁵⁷⁸ and Richter sent 1000 Forints to Wagner, which he thanked for in a letter he sent on 12 March 1872 from Luzern. (The Association which supported the musicians in Hungary got 500 Ft from the income). The Hungarian translation of Richter's letter appeared in the column 'Fővárosi Hírek' (News from the Capital) of issue 63 of year 9 of *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) on 17 March 1872.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁶ He wrote about his and the Hungarians' aversion in his article titled *A Wagner-egylet kérdéséhez* (*About the Issue of the Wagner Association*). Source: *Zenészetű Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*), issue 23, year 12, 8 March 1872.

⁵⁷⁷ The *Overture to the Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, the *Quintett* (*Selig, wie die Sonne meines Glückes lacht*, third movement), and *Huldigungsmarsch* were played at the concert. (Haraszti, p. 366.). In 1872 Richter also conducted *The Feast of Pentecost* (*Das Liebesmahl der Apostel*) in the translation of Ábrányi in Pest. (H, p. 461.).

⁵⁷⁸ Richter offered 500 Forints from the income of the concert to support Hungarian musicians but Ábrányi was offended by that Richter wanted to give the money to the cash-keeper of the association instead of its leader. Source: *Zenészetű Lapok*, 24/12, 10 March 1872.

⁵⁷⁹ Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter'. WBV 6075, WHL-S/27. The original is in Memory Collection of Hungarian State Opera, Budapest, 72. 48. 46. Facsimile: Addendum 34. The version of letter published in the column 'Fővárosi Hírek' (News from the Capital) of *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) in Addendum 35.

In German:

Lieber Freund!

Den vortrefflichen Musikern und liebenswürdigen Künstlern, welche mich kürzlich mit einer so werthvollen Zuschrift beehrten, nachdem sie zuvor mit schönem Eifer zur praktischen Verwirklichung meiner ungewöhnlichen künstlerischen Pläne förderlich sich bemüht hatten, glaube ich meinen herzlichen Dank hierfür nicht besser ausdrücken zu können, als wenn ich Sie bitte, mit lauter Stimme meinen geehrten Freunden diesen übermitteln zu wollen. Meine vorjährige Aufforderung war eine Anfrage, ein Ruf in die Weite: auf seine Beantwortung hatte ich ruhig zu warten, um daraus, woher sie mir zukommen würde, zu entnehmen, mit welchen Sympathien ich zu rechnen hätte. Von je ferner her mir die Antwort zukam, desto bedeutender und ermuthigender musste sie auf mich wirken. Eine liebere Antwort ist mir bis jetzt noch nicht zugekommen, als aus Pest von Ihren braven Musikern, welche selbst mir noch in so lebensvollem gutem Angedenken stehen. Grüßen Sie jeden von Ihnen herzlich von mir, und

Richard Wagner's letter to János (Hans) Richter.

WBV 6075, WHL-S/27.

Luzern, 12 March 1872.

My dear Friend,

I gather that the most proper way of expressing my sincere gratitude to your outstanding musicians and amiable artists, who supported my unusual artistic ventures so wholeheartedly and granted me with a notice so dear, is by asking you to convey it in person. The request I sent last year was a call from a great distance, and I was most patiently waiting to learn what extent of participation I might expect. The greater the distance the answer comes from, the more encouraged I am supposed to feel about it. I have not yet received an answer more hearty than the one sent by your wonderful musicians in Pest, all of whom live in my memories so vividly. Please pass my most sincere greetings to all, and tell that I am thinking of all of them with the most genuine goodwill.

Your truthful friend, Richard Wagner.

The aversion of Kornél Ábrányi Sr. and the anti-German intellectuals was constantly strengthening. *Zenészetí Lapok (The Musical Journal)* was almost

sagen Sie ihnen, dass ich gutes Muthes sei! Freundschaftlichst der Ihrige, Richard Wagner.
Luzern, 12. März 1872.

In Hungarian. The text which appeared in *Fővárosi Lapok (The Journals of the Capital)*:

Kedves Barátom!

A kitűnő zenészeknek és szeretetreméltó művészeknek, kik, miután az én szokatlan művészi terveim megvalósítására elősegítőleg fáradoztak, engem oly becses irattal tiszteltek meg: szívélyes köszönetemet nem hiszem másként jobban kifejezni, mintha Önt kérem fel, hogy azt e tisztelt barátainak előszóval adja át. Tavalyi felhívásom egy kérdés, egy távolba felhangzott szózat volt, melyre a választ nyugodtan vártam, hogy belőle megtudjam: mily részvétre számíthatok. Minél távolabbról jó a válasz, annál jelentékenyebben és bátorítóbban kell annak reám hatni. S kedvesebb válasz ezideig még nem érkezett, mit Pestről az Ön derék zenészeimtől, kik még oly élénken élnek az én jó emlékemben. Üdvözölje nevemben szívélyesen mindnyájukat s mondja meg nekem (Wrong translation, it would better like: „nekik”). Úgy vélem a helyes kifejezés itt inkább: „nekik.”), hogy a legjobb szívvel vagyok irántok. Barátilag az önöké, Luzern, 1872. márc. 12. Wagner Rikárd.

entirely⁵⁸⁰ made up of articles set against Bódog Orczy, János (Hans) Richter and supporting Hungarian culture on 7 April 1872 (issue 28, year 12). Some of the reasons for the conflicts were, in Ábrányi's opinion, that Orczy unpatriotically declined his chairman position of Mosonyi Association and cancelled his complimentary tickets to the National Theatre of *Zenészet* *Lapok*. The other reason was that the orchestra of the National Theatre refused to play at the concert organised by Ödön Mihalovich, the income of which would have been offered for the Hungarian association supporting musicians. Ábrányi expressed the intellectuals' opinion in this manner: '(...) In connection with Richter (...) one can say what *Lohengrin* tells *Telramund*. Until there are Hungarians in this country, they will never win with such principles.'⁵⁸¹ Ábrányi said the following to Orczy concerning the complimentary tickets he refused: 'The National Theatre, dear Baron, is not yours, but the country's (or Hungarians)!'⁵⁸² Refusing the complimentary tickets can also be important data since Ábrányi probably considered the incident a threat to the National Theatre as intellectual and cultural centre of Hungarians and also thought it to be the expansion of German authority.

The aforementioned happenings increased the anti-German sentiment which made the presentation of another Wagner opera impossible. Regardless of this, the National Theatre bought the royalty of the *Flying Dutchman* (*Der fliegende Holländer*) for 1000 Forints through Richter, still in 1872.⁵⁸³ Meanwhile, the foundation-stone of the theatre in Bayreuth was laid on 22 May 1872. There were Hungarian musicians sitting in the orchestra on this festive occasion, Károly Trautsch (double bass player), Albert Kühner (trompet player), József Sabathiel (violinist), Imre Bellovics (tambourine and triangle) and Albin Reinel

⁵⁸⁰ The mentioned issue included only one article about a different topic (Rossini).

⁵⁸¹ '(...) Richterre (...) elmondhatjuk azt, amit *Lohengrin* mond *Telramundnak*. Míg magyar lesz e hazában itt ily elvekkkel nem fognak győzni soha.'

⁵⁸² 'A nemzeti színház tisztelt báró uram nem az öné, hanem a nemzeté!'

⁵⁸³ Richter's receipt can be seen on the exhibition; *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends* in Liszt Museum in Pest.

(Reinl or Reindl, the clarinet player, who was mentioned in connection with Richard Wagner's Hungarian concerts in 1863).⁵⁸⁴

The aforementioned data are from *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends*, Wagner-Exhibition in LFZF, which took part between 17 May 2013 and 15 May 2014. I was honored to work with Zsuzsanna Domonkos as an academic assistant on the aforementioned Wagner-Exhibition in LFZF-Budapest from July 2013, and tried to complete the information — appeared in the exhibition — about Richard Wagner and his Hungarian reception and connections.

Giving way to public pressure, Orczy, was replaced from his position by Ede Szigeti, Ferenc Erkel,⁵⁸⁵ and the ministerial commissioner József Ribáry before the premiere of the *Flying Dutchman*. Before '*Holländer*' was premiered, *Tannhäuser* was performed in Pozsony on 27 March 1873.⁵⁸⁶

The *Flying Dutchman* was presented on 10 May 1873.⁵⁸⁷ The Current media received the '*Dutchman*' ambivalently. The first critique, published in the 19th issue of year 1 of *Atheneum*⁵⁸⁸ on 8 May 1873, only wrote a critique in few lines,

⁵⁸⁴ *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends*, Wagner-Exhibition in LFZF, between 17 May 2013 and 15 May 2014 in Budapest.

⁵⁸⁵ Ferenc Erkel became the music director of the National Theatre for life but Richter was appointed for the conductor's position. Source: Dezső Legány, Art. 'Ferenc Erkel', in *GROVE Opera*, Volume Two, p. 64.

⁵⁸⁶ *Tannhäuser* was performed by Bauer's and Csernitz's company in Bratislava. The cast: Tannhäuser: Auegg, Hermann: Bendt, Wolfram: König, Elisabeth: Frl. Johnson, Venus: Frl. Pikol. Conductor: Kiehaupt. Source: Haraszti, p. 369.

⁵⁸⁷ Mór Lehmann made the set of the *Flying Dutchman*, Károly Dreich made the ships, Gerő Gábor designed the new men's costumes, and Jakab Policzer designed women's costumes. Director: Károly Böhm. The cast of the premiere: Dutchman: (Sándor) Angyalfi, Senta: Mrs. Tanner, née Róza Szabó, Daland: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Erik: Richárd Pauly(i), Mary: Mrs. Kvassay, née Emma Saxlehner, Natigator: (Károly) Verbőczy. Translated by Kornél Ábrányi Jr. Source: the poster of the *Flying Dutchman* between p. 370. and 371. of Haraszti's book.

⁵⁸⁸ *Atheneum*, a paper of literature, appeared first between 1837-43, established by Mihály Vörösmarty, József Bajza and Ferencz Schedel and between 1873-74 existed as a weekly paper of social policy, politics, art, and literature, edited by Zsolt Beöthy (1848-1922). It gained reputation as an oppositionist, nationalist journal. From 1882 *Atheneum* became a philosophical paper. Sources: *Pallas Nagy Lexikona*, Budapest, (Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt.), 1911, 1998, Volume II, p. 396, Sándor Lukács, *Egy fejezet az Atheneum történetéből*, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, Year 68, Budapest, (1964), pp. 598-602.

according to which the performance of the *Flying Dutchman* was not as impressive as *Lohengrin* or *Tannhäuser* earlier, but music history will surely give duly respect to this music drama. The journalist of *Atheneum* did not forget to mention Richter either, and praised him for presenting Wagner's art superbly and also made clear that '*Holländer*' is Wagner's first born child, which reflects his brilliant reformer intentions. The critic of *Reform* praised the work of the orchestra in a rather lengthy article, which appeared on 10 May 1873 (128/IV), criticized Böhm's work, Angyalfi's and Mrs. Tanner's singing, but was satisfied with the structure of the music drama, which — according to the writer — was not entirely a music drama yet. The *Hon* (*Homeland*, 109/XI, 11 May 1873) wrote positively about the premiere in the beginning of the article, which mentions both the crowded theatre and Richter: '(...) Only Richter's genial conducting made us fully understand Wagner's idea (...).'⁵⁸⁹ *Ellenőr* (*Controller*, 109/V) appeared the same day, just like the article of *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*); *Ellenőr* wrote that the orchestration of this opera signalled Wagner's strong and genial talent and the composer's revolutionary thoughts showed in this work at first, while *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*) admired Richter's work, who rehearsed the piece. On the whole it can be said that, seeing Richter's excellent work, the aversion of the Hungarian audience lessened.

Not only Hungarians appreciated János (Hans) Richter's excellent musical knowledge; Richard Wagner trusted his opinion quite much since he considered Richter one of his best and most loyal friends. He introduced Wagner to the Hungarian harpist, Péter Dubez,⁵⁹⁰ who helped him rework the harp parts of *The Rhine Gold* (*Das Rheingold*) and *The Valkyrie* (*Die Walküre*).⁵⁹¹ When Dubez visited Wagner in Bayreuth in 1874, the composer told him that he wanted to plant fox grape in his garden in Wahnfried. Péter Dubez promised to help and

⁵⁸⁹ 'Egyedül Richter genális vezénylese értette meg velünk teljesen Wagner eszméit.'

⁵⁹⁰ Péter Dubez (1838-1889) famous harp virtuoso. He settled in Pest around 1850 and became the first harpist of the National Theatre and later of the Opera House of Budapest. Source: *Pallas Nagy Lexikona*, Budapest, (Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt.), 1911, 1998, Volume V, p. 777.

⁵⁹¹ The harp parts of *The Rhine Gold* and *The Ride of the Valkyries* proved impossible to play before Péter Dubez's help since Wagner did not know the peculiarities of the instrument.

contacted Károly Weber, a gardener from Békásmegyer, who was Mihály Mosonyi's godson. Weber, for whom the request must have been a great honor, satisfied Wagner's and Dubez's request immediately. Richard Wagner wrote a short letter to Károly Weber in order to express his gratitude. The letter,⁵⁹² written on 22 Oct. 1874 from Bayreuth, appeared first in German in *Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)* in 1907, then later in Hungarian in Haraszti's book in 1916 and in 1946 in Hammerstein's dissertation as well.

⁵⁹² Richard Wagner's forthcoming 'Hungarian Letter'. To Károly Weber, into Békásmegyer. 22 Oct. 1874. Bayreuth. WVB 6897, WHL-S/28. The locality of the original is unknown. The copy of the letter was possessed by the Hungarian National Museum, but it is not there anymore. There had been several letters of Wagner which were transferred from the Museum to the OSZK-SzNL, but the aforementioned document was not included. According to Haraszti, the letter was owned by Lady Augusztá Weber yet in 1906. In the book of Haraszti, the letter was published on p. 376, in Hungarian translation, by Jenő Péterfi in *Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)*, in 1907, VII, pp. 40-41, in German and also by Elisabeth Hammerstein, in *Richard Wagners persönliche Beziehungen zu Ungarn*, Diss., 1946, Ch. 5, p. 8. and 40. For more details see the appendix, Comparison (X.) and Addendum 38. A.

In German, based on Jenő Péterfi's article:

Hochgeehrter Herr!

Nach der schönen Übersendung, welche Sie mir diesen Frühjahr durch eine Sendung wilder Weinreben bereiteten, könnten Sie Ihre Liebenswürdigkeit nur noch dadurch überbieten, dass Sie in möglichst reichem Maasse verdoppelnd, ja verdreifachend, für die Herbstpflanzung nochmals senden wollten. Jeder Preis steht Ihnen augenblicklich zur Verfügung. Aber mein Weinlaubgang ist so enorm gross, und die hiesigen wilden Weinreben so unproductiv, dass ich schon zu Excessen schreiten muss. Für heute begrüsse ich Sie mit meinem Portrait, das nächstmal jedoch mit der Abbildung des Hauses mit dem Laubengang. Hochachtungsvoll Ihr dankbarer Richard Wagner. Bayreuth, 22. Okt. 1874.

In Hungarian. Haraszti's translation:

Igen Tisztelt Uram,

A szép vadszőlővenyige-küldemény után, melylyel tavaszkor megörvendeztetett, szeretetreméltóságát csak azzal mulhatná felül, hogy a lehető leggazdagabban megkészszerelve, sőt megháromszorozva küldene még nekem az őszi ültetésre. Minden ár azonnal rendelkezésére áll. De az én vadszőlőlugasom oly rendkívül nagy és az idevaló vadszőlő olyan szaporátlan, hogy kénytelen vagyok akármilyen összeget megfizetni. Ezúttal arcképemmel köszöntöm, legközelebb pedig a ház és a lugas képével. Tisztelettel az ön hálás Wagner Richárdja. Bayreuth, 1874 október 22.

Richard Wagner's letter to Károly Weber.

WBV 6897, WHL-S/28.

Bayreuth, 22 October 1874.

Dear Sir,

After delighting me by sending a bunch of beautiful woodbine shoots in the spring, you could further increase my joy by sending twice or even thrice as many for the fall planting season. Any sum will be paid instantly. Since my arbor is quite large and native species of woodbine tend to grow extremely slowly, I am forced to pay any price for good quality shoots.

I have enclosed a portrait of myself as a souvenir. Next time I am going to send you a picture of my house and arbor.

Sincerely, your most grateful Richard Wagner.

Around the time Wagner received his package of woodbine woods from Békásmegyer, a new presentation of a Wagner opera was about to be performed in the Hungarian capital, Budapest (Buda-Pest). *Rienzi*, which Wagner had already recommended to the board of National Theatre earlier, was premiered there on 24 Nov. 1874.⁵⁹³ Richter's intention was obviously to appeal to the Hungarian audience with a composition which included 'noticeably Italian-like' and traditional operatic music parts (aria, etc.), but he failed. *Rienzi* — as written by contemporary press — turned out to be a great failure.

The first report of the failure appeared in an article of the *Hon (Homeland)* on 25 Nov. 1874 (271/12, evening edition), which writes the following about *Rienzi*: '(...) I wish it would not be put on stage again in our National Theatre'.⁵⁹⁴ Later he explained that mostly the 'forced Italian-style' in the combination with the low

⁵⁹³ *Rienzi* was first staged in Hungary in Hungarian in Gusztáv Böhm's translation, with Mór Lehmann's scenery and Gaul's costumes. The cast of the premiere: Cola Rienzi, Papaé Greffier: (József) Ellinger, Iren, her younger sister: Mrs. Nagy née Ida Benza, Stefano Colonna: (Lehel) Odry, Adriano, his son: Mrs. Tanner, Paolo Orsini: (Fülöp) Láng, Raimondo: (János) Tallián, Ceco del Vechio: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Peace Messenger: (Alexa) Human. Source: the poster of the premiere of *Rienzi*, Haraszti, between pp. 378-79, which can be seen in Add. 39.

⁵⁹⁴ '(...) bárcsak ne kerülne a nemzeti színpadra többé. (...)'

musical quality of the premiere caused the failure and there was no critic who would acknowledge *Rienzi* as a well-written composition. The journalist of *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, 271/25, 25. Nov.) observed in a harsh manner that in *Rienzi* nothing refers to what an important reformist Wagner later would become. The author considered the Wagnerian way daring and colossal but thought that Wagner's genius could not create anything monumental in *Rienzi*'s case. The critique of *Egyetértés* (*Accordance*, 198/1),⁵⁹⁵ published on 26 Nov., did not forget to dismiss *Rienzi*, '(...) being enthusiastic about Wagner's present music creation would be equal to lying. (...)',⁵⁹⁶ but mentioned the significance of the opera as well. *Pester Lloyd* (26 Nov., 273/21) wrote kindly about the role that the aforementioned opera played in Wagner's artistic life, but *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) was not that nice. Having predicted the failure of *Rienzi*, the journalist pointed out again that the premiere was a failed attempt from the material, the intellectual and artistic aspects as well, and it did truly 'hurt' the current state of 'Wagnerism'. The author, Kornél Ábrányi Sr., would have expected Richter to present Wagner's works in the proper order. The issue stirred up such a storm that *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*) dealt with it even in the next issue (10/30, 6 Dec. 1874) although it also discussed other questions in connection with *Rienzi* — such as the case of the National Theatre. The failure embittered Richter very much, which Wagner got to know as well; at the end of his letter written to Péter Dubez,⁵⁹⁷ in which he thanked for his work as an orchestrator, he asked Dubez to comfort the conductor.

⁵⁹⁵ *Egyetértés* (*Accordance*), published from 1874 until 1913, was the daily paper of the oppositionist Hungarian Independence Party. Lajos Csávolszky founded it when merging two newspapers: *Baloldal* (*Left-Wing*) and *Magyar Újság* (*Hungarian Newspaper*). Source: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, Chief Ed. Sándor Rostás, Tamás Szlávik, Volume VII, Budapest, Magyar Nagylexikon Kiadó Zrt., 1998, p. 82.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Lelkesedni Wagner muzsikájának e szülöttje iránt annyit tenne, mint hazudni. (...)'

⁵⁹⁷ Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter'. 8 Dec. 1874, Bayreuth. WBV 6925, WHL-S/29. It was written to Péter Dubez and appeared first in issue 25 of year 3 of *Zenelap* (*The Journal of Music*) on 20 Nov. 1888 in Hungarian. The WBV does not mention that the letter's first publication was in the Hungarian press in Hungarian translation, which's copy can be found in Addendum, 40. It could be interesting to note that the postscript, in which Wagner tried to comfort Richter, is not included in Erich Kloss's book (*Richard Wagner an seine Künstler: Zweiter Band der 'Bayreuther Briefe' (1872-1883)*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1908.). Kloss also

published a wrong date – 1875 – of the letter. The postscript can't be found by Altmann either. (Wilhelm Altmann, *Briefe Wagners nach Zeitfolge und Inhalt: Ein Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte des Meisters*, Leipzig, (Breitkopf und Härtel), 1905, 2603.).

In German:

An den kgl. Kammervirtuosen Peter Dubez.

Allergeehrtester Herr Dubez!

Ich kam erst heute dazu Ihr ganz vortreffliches Harfen-Arrangement durchzusehen; dieses hatte ich mir für eine von Arbeit und Beschäftigung freie Stunde aufgespart. So sehr ich Ihnen für die Arbeit verbunden bin, so lebhaft bedaure ich, nicht früher bereits mit einem Künstler Ihres Gleichen hierüber mich in das Benehmen gesetzt zu haben. Jetzt müssen wir sehen, wie das nachzuholen ist. Sehen Sie sich doch gütigst bei Freund Richter die Partitur der „Walküre“ an: kann man darin die Harfen so lassen, wie Sie von mir geschrieben find, so wäre mir's lieb; ist's nicht möglich, so müßte auch zu dieser Partitur ein Nachtrag gestochen werden. Vom letzten Akt des „Siegfried“ in welchem wiederum die Harfen reich angewendet sind, will ich Ihnen jedoch, ehe es gestochen wird, die Partitur zuschicken, damit Sie die Harfenstimmen gleich so einrichten, wie Sie in der Partitur selbst gestochen werden können. Ich gebe dann auch Schott in Mainz den Auftrag, diesen Theil der Partitur im Manuskript an Sie — oder (um sicherer zu gehen, weil ich Ihre Adresse nicht kenne) an Herrn Richter — für Sie — abzuschicken. Den letzten Akt der „Götterdämmerung“ in welchem die Harfen ebenfalls am Schlusse sehr reich angewendet sind, erhalten Sie von mir zu gleicher Bearbeitung selbst zugeschickt. Ich sage Ihnen denn nochmals meinen besten Dank und versichere Sie der freundschaftlichsten Hochachtung, mit welcher ich bin Ihr ergebenster Richard Wagner. Bayreuth, 8. Dezember 1874.

In Hungarian. As it was published in Zenelap (The Journal of Music, 20 Nov. 1888.):

(A királyi kamaraművész-virtuóz: Dubez Péter Úrnak. My translation. The previous sentence was not translated to Hungarian in *Zenelap*).

Igen tisztelt Dubez úr!

Csak ma jutottam hozzá, hogy az Ön kitűnő hárfaberendezését átnézzem. Ezt minden munkától és foglalkozástól mentes órára tartottam fenn magamnak. A mennyire le vagyok kötelezve Önnek ezért a munkáért, épp oly élenken sajnálom, hogy e célból már korábban nem léptem Önhöz hasonló művésszel érintkezésbe. Majd meglátjuk, hogyan lehet ezt pótolni. Legyen szíves Richter barátommal megnézni a »Walküre« partitúráját; ha úgy lehet hagyni a hárfaszólamot, a mint írtam, nagy örömöm volna, ha nem lehet, akkor ehhez a partitúrához is pótfüzetet kellene metszeni. Azonban a »Siegfried« utolsó felvonását, melyben ismét sűrűn alkalmazom a hárfákat, mielőtt kinyomtatnám, el fogom Önnek küldeni partitúrában, hogy a hárfaszólamokat mindjárt úgy rendezze be, a mint azokat a vezérkönyvben magában ki lehet nyomtatni. Ezért Schottnak Mainzban azt az utasítást adom, hogy a partitúrának ezt a részét kéziratban Önnek, vagy (hogy biztosabbak legyünk, mert nem tudom az Ön címét) Richter úrnak, az Ön számára elküldje. A »Götterdämmerung« utolsó felvonását, melyben a zárójelenetben szintén bőven alkalmazom a hárfákat, hasonló átdolgozás céljából tőlem

Richard Wagner's letter to Péter Dubez.

WBV 6925, WHL-S/29.

Bayreuth, 8 December 1874.

To the royal chamber-virtuoso Peter Dubez.

Dear Mr. Dubez,

I only recently had enough time to study your excellent harp part more thoroughly. I reserved this examination to a peaceful hour free of all kinds of work or other duties. I am genuinely indebted to you for this brilliant work, and deeply regret not having contacted you or other artists of your level of mastery earlier. We will see how I can make up for it. Please be so kind to go through the full score of *Die Walküre* with my friend Mr. Richter, and see if the harp part needs any modification. It would delight me no end if it did not, nevertheless, if modifications are necessary, a supplement needs to be printed for the full score. Regarding the last act of *Siegfried*, in which I also applied harps quite generously, I am going to send its full score to you to arrange the harps before it goes into print. To this end, I asked Mr. Schott in Mainz to mail this part of the manuscript to you or Mr. Richter (just to be on the safe side, since I do not know your address). I would also most kindly ask if you could examine the last act of my *Götterdämmerung* in a similar manner, since it is also rather abundant in harps. I am going to send you a copy of the full score directly. Let me thank you again for all your efforts.

Sending my most friendly regards, I remain greatly indebted to you,
Richard Wagner.

Richter grew utterly desperate due to the failure though. He might have thought that Hungarians were not yet ready to understand Wagner's art, to which I have

közvetlenül kapja meg. Még egyszer szíves köszönetet mondok Önnek és biztosítom baráti nagyrabecsüléséről, melylyel vagyok lekötelezettje: Wagner Richard. Bayreuth ('Bayreuth' was wrongly written in the text), 1874 decz. 8.

U. i.: Legyen oly szíves Richterünknek a fölött való mély sajnálatomat kifejezni, hogy a szerencsétlen Rienzi neki bajt, bosszúságot és haragot okozott; remélhetőleg mindez nem érinti őt nagyon mélyen és most könnyen talál vigasztalást boldog vőlegény-állapotában. W. R.

to say: he was very much mistaken. Hungarians graduated with outstanding results from schools which taught them to value Richard Wagner's art, as opposed to Richter, who clearly did not recognise what Hungarians demanded and what their intellectualism and character were like.

4.5.4. Richard Wagner's second visit to Hungary. Hungarians in Bayreuth, *Ring* and '*Mastersingers*' in Budapest

The failure of *Rienzi* in Hungary only embittered Richter for a while, as most probably he was giving himself up the organisation of Wagner's second visit to Hungary in the end of November (1875) and also to arranging the concert which Wagner was about to give with Ferenc Liszt in Budapest. The letters which Richard Wagner had written to Richter — who considered Wagner as role model — as a reply on 9 December 1874, 29 December 1874 and on 27 January 1875 can be considered as a sign of his activity. In the first letter mentioned above — 9 December 1874, Bayreuth — there are only a few words about the upcoming concert in Budapest,⁵⁹⁸ while the letter written on 29 December 1874 mentions concrete details about it. This letter is supposed to mention for the first time that Ferenc Liszt will be personally be conducting his latest composition, the *The Bells of Strasbourg Cathedral (Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters—Longfellow; 1874)* in Budapest, and also which parts of *Ring* Wagner wants to be on the repertoire of the concert.⁵⁹⁹ In the longer letter written on 27 January 1875⁶⁰⁰ Wagner goes into details about his requirements

⁵⁹⁸ 9 Dec. 1874. From Richard Wagner to János (Hans) Richter, WBV 6928, WHL-S/30. Telegramme. Among others, the letter also mentions the concert in Budapest, given in favour of Bayreuth. For more details see the Comparison (X.) in Appendix.

⁵⁹⁹ 29 Dec. 1874. From Richard Wagner to János (Hans) Richter, WBV 6955, WHL-S/31. For more details see the Comparison (X.) in Appendix.

⁶⁰⁰ 27 Jan. 1875. From Richard Wagner to János (Hans) Richter, WBV 7008, WHL-S/32. For more details see the Comparison (X.) in Appendix.

for the concert and in another letter, which was written by him on the same day, took the chance to write a poem to Richter as a wedding congratulation.⁶⁰¹

There is a letter also written in 1875 — the exact date of formation is unknown — which was written by Richard Wagner to Ödön Mihalovich. Regrettably, only a part of this document remained for posterity, but this ‘fragment’ is currently possessed by the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest. To the best of my belief, the facsimile of the aforementioned letter — with the permission of the Library of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music and the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre — is going to be published in this Ph. D. Thesis for the first time.⁶⁰²

The aforementioned ‘Wagnerian-letter’ was possibly written in January 1875 and refers to the fact that Wagner was reluctant to yield his consent to conduct the concert — given for the good of Bayreuth Festspielhaus in Budapest — during his second visit to Hungary.⁶⁰³ Wagner — as I have already mentioned in the 3.3. chapter of my Ph. D. Thesis — was not enthusiastic about conducting the concert on 10 March 1875 in Budapest, and it is quite probable that he only gave his consent as János (Hans) Richter and Liszt asked him to do so, and also because of his constant financial problems — as it can be seen in the letter he wrote to Ödön Mihalovich:

Richard Wagner’s letter to Ödön Mihalovich.

WBV 8896, WHL-S/34.

Bayreuth, January 1875.

⁶⁰¹ 27 Jan. 1875. Richard Wagner to János (Hans) Richter, WBV A 437, WHL-S/33. For more details see the Comparison (X.) in Appendix. There are many other ‘Richter-letters’ written to Richard Wagner of course, but I have found it important only to publish information about those, which played an important role in Hungarian ‘Wagner-reception’. The letters in connection with Richard Wagner’s second visit to Hungary are: 20 Feb. 1875, Bayreuth-Budapest (WBV 7055, WHL-S/35.) and 23 Feb. 1875, Bayreuth-Budapest (WBV 7058, WHL-S/36). For more details see the Comparison (X.) in Appendix.

⁶⁰² The original and the complete version of the letter — the best of our knowledge — was in Ödön Mihalovich’s possession in 1916.

⁶⁰³ It was also mentioned by Cosima Wagner in her Diary. Source: Cosima Wagner, *Napló*, 1875, p. 166.

Dear Sir,

I am sincerely sorry for making you discuss issues that might have been uncomfortable to you and also giving you a bad impression of me. The truth of the matter is the following: Whenever you happen to hear that I give *concerts*, you can be absolutely sure that I was only coerced into a highly odious situation by some offer of an extraordinary sum of payment and I did not have the heart to deprive our Bayreuth venture from such an amount of possible funding. I hoped so much to have been over those times when I was obliged to bother with performing mere fragments of my operas in order to attract some public attention toward my music. I thought it would be the best answer to the question my wife's dear father asked me by asking whether I would need to face a similar necessity in Pest. I was by no means expressing any kind of demand. It would be a false assumption to believe that I would not use the occasion of my visit to Pest — the realization of which I most dearly hope for — to direct the Hungarian audience's attention toward a 'national German endeavor', especially because the benevolence they have expressed so far would stop me from abusing their generosity in any ways. I am sincerely glad if the musicians in Pest are interested in my work to such an extent that they would maintain a Wagner association under your most honorable presidency. Please pass my heartfelt greetings to all of my friends. Let me ensure you again of my most sincere respect with which I remain your humble servant, Richard Wagner.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁴ Richard Wagner's forthcoming 'Hungarian Letter' composed to Ödön Mihalovich. The formation of the letter is unknown. It was probably written in the end of January 1875 in Bayreuth and sent to Budapest. WBV 8896, WHL-S/34. The incomplete original is in the possession of LFZF, in Budapest, score: ML 1287. FIRST PUBLICATION. See the facsimile in Addendum, 41.

In German:

Sehr geehrte Herr!

Es hat mir Pein gemacht, Ihnen die Nöthigung zu Erörterungen verursacht zu haben, die Ihnen so schwierig fallen mochten, als Sie mir ein übles Licht geben könnten. Die Sache ist diese: Wenn Sie hören, dass ich irgendwo ein „Concert“ gebe, so nehmen Sie an, dass nur die Garantie einer ganz ausserordentlichen Einnahme, welche ich schliesslich unserem Bayreuther Unternehmen zu entziehen nicht über das Herz bringen konnte, mich dazu bestimmte, das

On the basis of the facts mentioned above, we can conclude that János (Hans) Richter, Ödön Mihalovich and Ferenc (Franz) Liszt agreed with Wagner on the

Allerwiderwärtigste, was ich kenne, auszuführen. Ich hoffte, das die Zeit vorüber sei, wo ich mich genöthigt sehen musste, zu einer solchen Vorführung von Bruchstücken aus dem Ganzen meiner Werke zu schreiten, um das Publikum für mich zu interessieren. Den Wunsch des theuren Vaters meiner Frau glaubte ich in diesem Betreff nur durch eine Anfrage erwidern zu können, ob etwa in Pest, jene sonderbar zwingende Nöthigung für mich bestünde, keineswegs aber stellte ich sie als Forderung auf. Nur nehmen Sie auch an, dass ich, wenn ich – wie ich dies herzlich wünsche – einmal Pest besuche, dies gewiss nicht in der Absicht geschehen wird, den Enthusiasmus der Ungarn für ein “deutsch-patriotisches” Unternehmen anzuregen, da ausser anderen Gründen auch der, dass diese Sympathie für deutsche Musiker bereits genügend dort in Anspruch genommen wird, mich fern von jedem Missbrauch grossherziger Gefühle halten würde. Herzlich freut es mich, wenn unter den Musikern Pest’s das Interesse für meine Unternehmung genügend stark sich erhält, um einem “Wagner-Vereine”, als dessen Präsident ich Sie begrüßen darf, fortgesetztes Leben zu geben, Danken Sie diesen Freunden in meinem Namen bestens und bleiben Sie selbst der grössten Hockachtung versichert, mit welcher ich bin Ihr sehr ergebener Richard Wagner. Bayreuth, 1875.

In Hungarian. Haraszi's translation:

Igen tisztelt uram!

Igen sajnálom, hogy Önt olyan dolgok tárgyalásába vittem bele, melyek Önnek nehezére eshettek, engem pedig kedvezőtlen világításban tüntethetnek fel. A dolog a következőképpen áll: Ha Ön hallja, hogy én valahol *hangversenyt* adok, úgy biztos lehet benne, hogy csakis egy egészen rendkívüli bevételnek – a melytől, hogy a mi bayreuthi vállalkozásunkat megfosszam, nem vehettem lelkemre – a biztos kilátása bírt engem csak arra, a mi előttem leggyűlöletesebb a világon. Azt reméltem, hogy túl vagyok már azon az időn, a mikor kényszerítve voltam, hogy ilyen műveim egészéből kiszakított töredékek bemutatásával vesződjem, hogy felkeltsem a közönség érdeklődését magam iránt. Úgy véltem, hogy nőm drága atyjának óhajására nem felelhetek másképpen, mint kérdéssel, azzal, hogy vajjon Pesten is fennforog-e ez a reám nézve oly különösen parancsoló szükségszerűség? De korántsem állítottam követelés gyanánt oda. Téves arról is meggyőződve lenni, hogy ha – a mit szívemből óhajtok – egyszer meglátogathatom Pestet, ez bizonyára nem azzal a szándékkal fog történni, hogy felkeltsem a magyarok lelkesedését egy „német hazafias vállalat” iránt, mert egyebekről nem is szólva, már az az ok is, hogy az ő rokonérzésüket a német zenészek iránt eléggé igénybe vették, visszatartana attól, hogy bármilyen módon visszaéljek nagylelkűségükkel. Nagyon örvendek, ha az érdeklődés a pesti zenészek között vállalkozásom iránt eléggé erős arra, hogy egy Wagner-egyesületnek, melynek elnökéül Önt üdvözölhetem, tartós életet biztosíthasson. Adja át nevemben legszívesebb köszönetemet e barátaimnak és kérem, hogy a saját részéről legyen meggyőződve legőszintébb nagyrabecsülésemről, melylyel maradok Önnek tisztelő híve Wagner Richard. Bayreuth, 1875.

details of the second Hungarian concert;⁶⁰⁵ and it was *Nemzeti Hírlap* (*National Journal*) on 26 Feb. 1875 (57/1) which first reported about Wagner's concert in Vienna and that the composer was expected to come to Hungary.

The aforementioned article — which was published in the column of Literature and Arts ('Irodalom és művészet') — was not written in an enthusiastic tone at all. The journalist was mainly against that Hungary was the one (sic), which financially supported the construction of a German concert centre. Furthermore, it was also quite odd for him that there are people in Pest — the writer probably alluded to Richter, Liszt, Mihalovich and some other supporters of Wagner — who do not hesitate to participate in picking 6-8000 Ft⁶⁰⁶ from a poor country's pocket in such a mannerless way. In the end of the article, the journalist obliquely asked the Hungarian audience to boycott the concert. Despite the *Nemzeti Hírlap* (*National Journal*) being regarded as a maverick newspaper of the era it was considered quite up to par, although being extremist sometimes, it presented a sort of 'Hungarian opinion'.⁶⁰⁷

In spite of the negative wave of opinions, the audience seemed to be very excited about Richard Wagner's concert, so the composer, his wife and Liszt were greeted by a large reception committee on 6 March 1875⁶⁰⁸ at the Nyugati Pályaudvar (Western Railway Station).⁶⁰⁹ The members of the reception committee were: Ödön Mihalovich, Count Albert Apponyi, Imre Huszár, Kornél Ábrányi Sr., Alajos Gobbi, János (Hans) Richter, Ferenc Glatz (Gassi), and many more. Richard and Cosima Wagner went to the Hungaria Hotel from the

⁶⁰⁵ Richter and Wagner discussed about performing the same program both in Vienna and Budapest, but the plan had to be changed as Liszt did not want to make the premiere of his cantata: *The Bells of Strasbourg Chatedral* (*Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters—Longfellow*) in Vienna on 1 March 1875. Sources: *Ferenc Liszt's letters to Baron Antal Augusz*, Ed. by Antal Csapó, Budapest, 1911, Letter 99, and *GROVE Monographies*, p. 56.

⁶⁰⁶ Ticket prices: box: 50 Forints, seats (above the boxes, facing the stage): 15-20 Forints, parterre (above the boxes, upstairs, facing the stage): 5-10 Forints. In comparison: Count Lajos Gyulay wrote in his diary in 1865 that he is not willing to pay 8 Forints for a ticket to a Liszt Concert. Sources: The poster of Richard Wagner's concert and *Count Lajos Gyulai's diary and book* — Labik — 15 Aug. 1865 – 31 Aug.; S. a. r. Daniella Farkas, Szeged, 2011, p. 159.

⁶⁰⁷ *A magyar sajtó története, 2/II, 1867-1892, A politikai sajtó története 1867-1875, 4/VI*, p. 148.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ellenőr* (*Inspector*) published an article about the rehearsal on 9 March 1875.

⁶⁰⁹ *Reform* (*Reform*), 67/7, 8 March 1875.

train station — where Wagner had been staying during his first visit to Pest —, but the following day they moved to János (Hans) Richer's flat, which was in Úri street, called 'Szitányi-house'.⁶¹⁰ Wagner planned to watch the '*Volksstück*' by Ede Tóth titled *A falu rossza* (*The Wicked of the Village*) on 7 March — which was a Sunday — but this program was cancelled. The first rehearsal for the concert was on 8 March in the Hungarian National Theatre's rehearsal room on the first floor, where Wagner was greeted by an orchestra signal and vociferous cheers. Richter — who evidently also was there — was not only contributing to teach the musical parts to the orchestra, but also conducted Beethoven's *Fifth Piano-Concerto*, played the violin in '*Hammer-smith*' songs, and the timpani in *Siegfried's Death*. Wagner went for a walk to the esplanade at 13.00 then had lunch in Liszt's flat — located in Plébánia square — with Cosima and her father, and later he had dinner in the Casino with Count Albert Apponyi, Imre Huszár and Ödön Mihalovich. The dress rehearsal of the concert was on 9 March in the 'Vigadó' (Vigadó-Hall) with Wagner's conductorship and later in the evening the Mastermind also watched the performance of the '*Holländer*'. Cosima Wagner wrote about Wagner's second visit to Hungary in detail in her diary and also about the '*Holländer*' being a great disappointment for both her and her adored husband, because of Richter's abridgements. She also thought poorly of Hungary: 'it is [Hungary] on the perfect way of wrecking', 'it is forbidden to say a word in German, which is a delusion of grandeur', 'there is no citizenry only a puffed up and unframed nobility. The musical conditions are also quite rankling. My Father (...) [Liszt] is real stranger there while Richter lives like a fighting-cock.'⁶¹¹ She seemed to be kinder and more realistic in expressing her opinion about the concert: 'The auditorium is full, the enthusiasm is enormous.'⁶¹²

The program of the concert — which Cosima Wagner wrote about to be a great success — was the following:

⁶¹⁰ *Reform (Reform)*, 68/7, 9 March 1875.

⁶¹¹ '(Magyarország) a teljes megsemmisülés felé tart; nagyzási hóbot, (hogy) — németül tilos egyetlen szót is szólani; polgárság nincs, csupán felfuvalkodott és műveletlen nemesség. Apám, (...) voltaképpen egészen idegen ott. Richter azonban, (...) jól érzi magát. Source: Cosima, *Napló, 1875, March-April*, p. 167.

⁶¹² 'A terem zsúfolásig tele van, hatalmas a lelkesedés.' Source: Cosima, *Napló, 1875, March-April*, p. 167.

1. Liszt: *The Bells of Strasbourg Cathedral (Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters—Longfellow)*, cantata for mixed choir, orchestra, and baritone solo. (Sung by Mr. Fülöp Láng, the first baritone of the National Theatre). Choir: the choir of the Liszt Society of Budapest.
2. Beethoven: *Piano Concerto in E-flat Major*. Liszt Ferenc.
3. Wagner: 'Hammer-smith' songs from *Siegfried*. (Sir Ferenc Glatz-Gassi).
4. Wagner: *Siegfried's Death* from *Twilight of the Gods*. (Sir Ferenc Glatz-Gassi).
5. Wagner: *Wotan's Farewell* and 'Fire Magic' from *The Valkyrie*. (Sir Fülöp Láng).⁶¹³

The Hungarian press welcomed Richard Wagner's concert with steady enthusiasm.⁶¹⁴ According to the article of *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)* on 11 March 1875 (57/26), Wagner was popular at us [meaning: in Hungary] and was understood much earlier than in other countries. In the first, shorter criticism of *Fővárosi Lapok (The Journals of the Capital, 57/12, 11 March)* the publicist wrote about the magic, created by the two masterminds, and considered *Siegfried's Death* as the most brilliant part of the evening. The second, longer article in *Fővárosi Lapok (The Journals of the Capital, 58/12)*, published 12 March, considered the concert such a celebration of music which rarely occurs anywhere in the world, and he did not forget to mention that Liszt only honored us (meaning: Hungarians), and not Vienna, by playing the piano at Wagner's concert. As written by *Egyetértés (Accordance)* on 12 March (58/II), '(...) the concert was practically the muse's celebration of victory (...)'⁶¹⁵ and the writer praised the intelligence of the Hungarian audience, most of whom

⁶¹³ The program of the concert as it was published: 1. „*Die Glocken von Strassburg*”, Cantate für gemischten Chor, grossen Orchester und Barytonsolo. (Herr Láng I. Bariton des Nationaltheaters.) Chor: Budapester Liszt-Verein. 2. Beethoven: *Clavier-Concert in Es-dur*. Franz Liszt. 3. „*Schmiedelieder*” aus „*Siegfried*”. (Hr. F. Glatz.) 4. „*Siegfried's Tod*” aus „*Götterdämmerung*”. (Hr. F. Glatz.) 5. „*Wotan's Abschied*” und „*Feuerzauber*” aus „*Die Walküre*”. (Hr. Láng.) Source: The poster of the concert in Haraszi's book, between pp. 392-93, which's copy can be seen in Addendum 42.

⁶¹⁴ Glasenapp, Volume 5, pp. 160-186.

⁶¹⁵ 'E hangverseny a műsának valóságos diadalünnepe volt.'

behaved quite soberly and honestly. On 12 March 1875, the journalist of *Reform* (*Reform*, 71/VI) explained that anyone can think anything about Richard Wagner, but it is beyond dispute that he is a musical genius, a great talent as a composer, and an exceptional mind as a writer. In *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal*, 10/15, 14 March) Ábrányi reckons that the issue of Bayreuth is not national but international, thus it should be treated as such.

Either on the 10th or 11th Richard Wagner met Károly Weber — the gardener, who was the godson of Mihály Mosonyi — and wrote him a few lines. The short message was published first by Jenő Péterfi in *Magyar Művészeti Almanach* (*Hungarian Artistic Almanac*) with a wrong date (10 May 1875).⁶¹⁶ ‘Long live Weber & Fleischmann! I know why.’⁶¹⁷ In the aforementioned lines Wagner most likely expressed his gratitude, because Károly Weber sent him woodbine wands to Bayreuth. To sum up all of the items considering Richard Wagner’s second visit to Hungary it becomes obvious, that Wagner’s concert in 1875 was very succesful both financially and artistically, but it also can be stated that Wagner’s victory was much more loud and smashing in Hungary in 1863 compared to the 1875 visit.

Richard Wagner probably left the Hungarian capital on the 12th March⁶¹⁸ mostly with nice memories, and sent his subsequent, important ‘Hungarian Letter’ on 24 March to his greatest supporter and friend: Ferenc (Franz) Liszt.⁶¹⁹ In that

⁶¹⁶ WBV A 439, WHL-S/37, Péterfi, 1907, VII/pp. 40-41. The short message had been first released by Jenő Péterfi, before the publication by Elisabeth Hammerstein, Ch. 6, p. 5, p. 46, and Explanations 3. in German. For the Péterfi-publication see its press-cutting in Addendum 38. B.

⁶¹⁷ ‘Es lebe Weber & Fleischmann! Ich weiss warum.’

⁶¹⁸ According to Cosima Wagner, she and her husband left Budapest on 11th and not on 12th. Source: Cosima Wagner, *Napló, 1875, March-April*, p. 167.

⁶¹⁹ Richard Wagner’s next ‘Hungarian Letter’. It was written to Ferenc (Franz) Liszt. WBV 7072, WHL-S/38. The current location of the original is unknown. The WBV neither gives information about the Hungarian publication and nor presents the copy of the letter which was written by Ödön Mihalovich which is in the possession of LFZF in Budapest, with an envelope enclosed to it. Score: ML 1288. See the facsimile in Addendum 43.

In German:

Lieber einziger Freund!

Es ist mir als ob ich ein völliges und förmliches Dankschreiben an dich zu erlassen hätte, wo bei es mir vorkommt, als ob es mit der blossen „Selbstverständlichkeit“ des tief begründeten

freundschaftlichen Einvernehmens nicht abgethan sei. Unter gewissen Umständen könnte man annehmen, dass wenn wir beide etwas gemeinschaftlich zu Stande brächten, gegenüber dem Anderen keiner etwas Ausserordentliches gethan hätte. Diese Umstände müssten nun aber in Anbetracht unseres Pester Concertes jedenfalls nicht angenommen werden können, denn bei dieser Gelegenheit gerieth ich nothwendig in das Stümpfern, während Du auch diesmal gar nicht anders konntest, als in der zauberhaftesten Meisterschaft zu erscheinen. Ich erkläre dieses Concert für ein Geschenk, welches du mir machtest und danke dir aus vollem Herzen dafür. Ich danke auch Deinen liebenswürdigen Freunden, dem von mir ungekannten, hochgeschätzten Grafen Apponyi, sowie dem rührenden Mihalowich. Sie sind die einzige und wahre Ausbeute meines diesmaligen Petrus-Fischzuges in Ungarn. Seien sie auf das Herzlichste und Hochachtungsvollste von mir gegrüsst. Ich danke dir endlich für die grosse und edle Nachtricht, welche Du mir anwiesest, als du mich gütig stillschweigend von dem Banquet entbandest. Mich belastet bis heute der Vorwurf, deinem Wunsche mich nicht sofort willig gefügt zu haben; was mir diesen unfreundlichen Widerstandsmuth gab, war ein tieftrotziger Glaube daran, dass Deine Verwendung für dieses Banquet dir selbst nicht aus dem Grunde deines Herzens komme und mehr ein Zugeständnis an Verhältnisse und Umstände sei, denen Du selbst nur mit leidendem Widerwillen Dich zu fügen, Dir zu einem Lebensgesetz für das möglichst erträgliche Auskommen mit einer Welt gemacht hast, welcher wir Beide in Wahrheit stets fremd bleiben werden. Doch erkenne ich, Unrecht gehabt zu haben, gerade hierin mich Dir nicht verständnisvoll zu fügen. Entschuldige mich gütigst in Anbetracht der Einseitigkeiten und Mängel meiner Natur, für welche Du ja so oft mir schon Vergeben hast, zu Theil werden lassen. Dafür werde ich Dich stets mehr lieben, als Du mich lieben kannst und wirst Du stets gütiger bleiben, als ich so oft erscheinen muss, so werde ich doch in der Liebe Dich stets zu übertreffen, als das mir zugetheilte Loos, zum Ausgleich zwischen uns auszubeuten wissen. Vom ganzen Herzen mein treulicher Franz, grüsst dich Dein Richard. Bayreuth 24 März 1875.

In Hungarian. in Haraszi's translation:

Drága Egyetlen Barátom,

Úgy érzem, mintha kötelességem volna egy valóságos és formális köszönőiratot intézni Hozzád. Úgy vélem t. i. hogy azzal nincs minden elintézve, ha a szóbanlévő dolgot a mi mélységes baráti együttérzésünk mellett magától értetődőnek mondjuk. Bizonyos körülmények között még megnyugodhatnánk abban, hogy ha mi ketten, közösen végrehajtottunk valamit, úgy egyikünk sem cselekedett semmi rendkívülit a másikhöz viszonyítva. De szó sincs róla, hogy a mi pesti hangversenyünket illetően is ilyen körülmények forognának fönn, mert ez alkalommal nekem szükségképpen kontárkodnom kellett, míg Te ezúttal sem tehettél egyebet, minthogy a legelbűvölőbb mesteri művészetben remekelj. Ezt a hangversenyt valóságos ajándéknak kell tekintenem, melyet Te nekem nyújtottál, teljes szívemből mondok köszönetet. Szintúgy köszönet szeretetreméltó barátaidnak, az általam korábban nem ismert, de nagyrabecsült Apponyi grófnak és meghatóan lekötő Mihalovichnak. Ők az egyetlen és igazi zsákmányai ezúttal az én bibliabeli halfogásomnak Magyarországon. Fogadják legbensőbb hálámat és legőszintébb tiszteletemet. Neked viszont köszönöm azt a nagylelkű elnézést, melyet irántam

letter he wrote that the concert in Pest was like a gift for him, he expressed his gratitude to his loyal friend, Liszt, for everything, and he also apologised for not attending the closing banquet held in his honor. The aforementioned soirée, or supper was probably suppose to be held on 11 March, on the same day when Richard Wagner met with a few of his Hungarian friends: Ödön Mihalovich, Count Albert Apponyi, Péter Dubez, Károly Weber, and Kornél Ábrányi Sr.⁶²⁰ Wagner wanted to see Ferenc Erkel's new opera, *György Brankovics* (premiered: 20 May 1874) on the same day, but the performance was postponed because of József Ellinger's sickness. It is also possible, that Richard Wagner left the previously mentioned few lines written to Károly Weber on the 11th, when he met him and other Hungarian friends.

But before telling about the letter, which Richard Wagner wrote to his best friend: Ferenc Liszt, I feel the definite importance of touching upon the question on the apropos of the cancelled performance of *Brankovics György*, whether the artistic, aesthetic or musical intellectuality of Richard Wagner had an impact on the Hungarian composers, and through them on the Hungarian music history. And if it is so, in what way did it appear? The last time I wrote about Ferenc Erkel in detail was in connection with *Bánk bán*. After the above mentioned opera Erkel went on with his music-functional experimentation in the operas

azáltal tanusítottál, hogy jószágosan hallgatólag felmentettél a banketten való részvétel alól. Még mai napig is bánt a vád, a miért nem egyeztem bele azonnal és készségesen óhajtasod teljesítésébe. A mi engem ilyen barátságtalan ellenszegülésre késztetett, az az én erősen daczos meggyőződése volt, hogy a Te közbenjárásod e bankett ügyében nem eredt igazán szíved mélyéből, hanem inkább csak engedmény volt olyan viszonyoknak és körülményeknek, melyekhez, ha fájó ellenérzéssel bár, hozzátörödni, életemül tűztet ki Magadnak, hogy lehetőleg tűrhetően megférj egy olyan világgal, melytől mi mindketten igazában örökké idegenek fogunk maradni. De elismerem, hogy helytelenül cselekedtem, mikor éppen ebben a pontban nem alkalmazkodtam kívánságodhoz kellő megértéssel. Légy olyan jó és bocsáss meg érte, tekintetbevéve természetem egyoldalú túlzásait és fogatkozásait, melyeket Te már annyiszor meg tudtál nekem bocsátani. Ezért én mindig jobban foglak szeretni Téged, mint mennyire Te szerethetsz engem és ha Te mindig jószágosabbnak fogsz bizonyulni, mint a milyennek nekem gyakran mutatkoznom kell, úgy én mégis tudni fogom a módját annak, hogy mindig fölülmuljalak Téged a szeretetben és ezt nekem osztályrészül jutott előnyt ki fogom aknázni kettőnk között az egyensúly helyreállítására. Teljes szívből üdvözöl Téged, hű Ferenczem a Te *Richardod*. Bayreuth, 1875 márczius 24.

⁶²⁰ Haraszti, p. 394.

Dózsa György (1867), and Brankovics György (1874), and now his innovative synthetic composing techniques were supported by his sons Sándor Erkel, Gyula and Elek.⁶²¹ (For more details see Add. 1.). Though, in the opinion of Tibor Tallián, the genre of these two operas is most probably common to the Grand opera of Meyerbeer,⁶²² and according to Balázs Mikusi we also have to keep our attention on the national ‘music-drama experiment’, showing off in the aforementioned operas.⁶²³ The genre of Ferenc Erkel’s late opera, *István király* (*King Stephan*, written between 1874 and 84, first night in 1885), still cannot be considered as a music-drama, but quite a few music elements, such as the through-composing technique, the lack of enclosed musical parts, the issue of the returning melodies,⁶²⁴ the scoring/orchestration — particularly the use of the English horn —, the sounding of the orchestral interlude and the solo-scenes,⁶²⁵ or the motif of love-potion,⁶²⁶ appearing in the first textbook (libretto) resembles to Wagner.⁶²⁷ Nevertheless, we can still observe/detect the presence of Hungarian music in this opera, mostly in the choir-parts, in which Ferenc Erkel applied the Hungarian music of the 19th century. (Vide earlier in the

⁶²¹ According to Éva Gurmai not only Sándor Erkel and Gyula took part in the creation of *István király*. Gurmai Source: Éva Gurmai (Gábor Bóka’s interview), *István király - a kottától az előadásig*, in *Opera-Világ*, 13 Aug. 2013, <http://operavilag.net/interjuk/istvan-kiraly-a-kottatol-az-eloadasig/>. Downloaded: 13 Aug. 2013.

⁶²² Tibor Tallián, *Pest (Die unmusikalischste Stadt), Wagner Richárd Pesten*, in *Muzsika (Music)*, 7/56, July 2013, 3rd, final part, pp. 15-20.

⁶²³ *Erkel, the opera composer*, in *Erkel Honlap, Kutatószoba, A zeneszerző*, <http://erkel.oszk.hu/kut/zeneszerzo>. Downloaded: 20 Aug. 2013.

⁶²⁴ Resembles to the ‘leit-motive’ technique of Wagner.

⁶²⁵ E.g.: Crescimira’s *Revenge-scene* in act I., which has a starting orchestral theme that is quite similar to the beginning of the aria *Entweihte Götter* in Wagner’s *Lohengrin* (Ortrud, act II. scene II.) or to the duet after the aforementioned scene (in *István király*, Crescimira-Péter), which can remind us to the duet of Telramund and Ortrud (act II, scene I., *Lohengrin*).

⁶²⁶ In the first textbook of *István király* – written by György Molnár –, Crescimira believes that she gives a love-potion and not a poison to Peter. Tiny, but twisted *Tristan and Isolde* motif can be revealed.

⁶²⁷ Concerning the ‘Wagner-sound’, Éva Gurmai, the Hungarian music scholar, who spent fairly much time with creating the criticism of the opera’s libretto, was on the same opinion. As a fruit of her work, her version of the opera was performed on 20 August, 2013, in the Budapest Summer Festival. Source: Gurmai *István király*. See footnote 621.

subchapters 1.2.4., ‘verbunkos’, folklike-songs). As Éva Gurmai puts it in the interview made with her — *István király – kottától az előadásig (King Stephan, from the score until the performance)* —, ‘because of the mixture of various musical styles the language of the opera may sound eclectic’, which can be the reason of several factors.

Amongst the reasons, first of all, let me mention that the opera *István király (King Stephan)* remained to posterity with the handwriting of Gyula Erkel in many places, and also with an anonymous one, from which we may conclude that the composer of the opera could not only be Ferenc Erkel or not exclusively him, or also that he only accepted help/support in some parts of the process of composing, so that the opera still can reflect his concept. As the sources are quite scanty, we cannot be certain to what extent Ferenc Erkel was the composer of *István király (King Stephan)*. But if we accept that his concept can be revealed in the opera, then we would have to concede that the music of Richard Wagner had an effect at least on the last opera of Erkel — and if only throughout this —, on his work. It is an interesting coincidence, that is to say, ‘(...) everything relates to everything’ (Albert Einstein) that the second libretto of the *István király (King Stephan)* — which was used in the premiere night of the opera — was written by Antal Váradi (dr.), who we also can thank for the Hungarian translation of ‘*Mastersingers*’. (First performance: 8 September, 1883. Vide later.).

But let us turn back the problem of the musical language. The second reason of using an eclectic style in *István király (King Stephan)* can be the consistency that Ferenc Erkel applied from his first opera such as in *Bánk bán*. The third cause can be considered as research or seeking for an opera-style that has ‘Hungarian soul’, but world standard quality by one of the greatest Hungarians, but also a modern composer: Ferenc Erkel.⁶²⁸ (It can be called the latest Hungarianisation appearing this way transformed in a different form.).

In spite of the arguments above, Ferenc Erkel’s path as a composer cannot be called as a stereotype of ‘from the Italian opera to the Wagnerian’, in case if we consider the theory of Wagner-effect to be true. Several sources mention (See Add. 6) that Mihály Mosonyi was also interested in creating a ‘cosmopolitan-

⁶²⁸ About the question see Bence Szabolcsi’s idea in subchapter 2.3.2.

Hungarian' composition or music-style, and it also cannot be excluded — particularly after taking a look at his path — that Ferenc Erkel was contemplating similar plans as well. As it had been stated by August Beer and by others before (see e.g. subchapter 2.3.2.), the spirit of Erkel's music remained Hungarian rather than cosmopolitan.

Ferenc Liszt just like Erkel, tried to be faithful to Hungarian spirit, and his Hungarian 'motherland'.⁶²⁹ He received the following, quite sentimental letter from Wagner, whose facsimile can be found in Addendum, 41. (An incomplete copy of Ödön Mihalovich. First publication.)⁶³⁰

Richard Wagner's letter to Ferenc (Franz) Liszt.

WBV 7072, WHL-S/38.

Bayreuth, 24 March 1875.

My dear and only Friend,

I feel the need to send you a real and formal thank you letter. I believe that our deep and mutual friendship is no basis for taking the aforementioned matter for granted. Among certain circumstances, we could be satisfied by saying that by realizing a joint venture, neither of

⁶²⁹ 'Mint magyar hazámnak hű fia – Liszt Ferenc.' Source: Mária Eckhardt, *Liszt Ferenc 1811-1886*, in Liszt Ferenc Emlékmúzeum és Kutatóközpont, <http://www.lisztmuseum.hu/hu/liszt/>.

Downloaded: 20 Aug. 2013.

⁶³⁰ According to Ákos Windhager, one of the aims of Ödön Mihalovich could be to create an up to date Hungarian music-language following the work of his predecessors — Ferenc Erkel and Mihály Mosonyi —, and the principles of the New-German school (Richard Wagner, Ferenc Liszt). He made attempts for a long time composing a Hungarian music-drama. The compositions by him, which reflect the effect of Wagner in some way are the following: *Hagbarth and Signe*, *Wieland der Schmied*, *Eliana*. Nevertheless, Mihalovich was more than an epigone of Wagner, because as Katalin Szerző also wrote it: 'Before Bartók and Kodály, he became one of those few, who — in the middle of the swallowing cult of 'népszínmű' and 'czardas' — at least could maintain the European level in Hungarian music.' Sources: Ákos Windhager, *Mihalovich Ödön pályaképe*, Ph. D. Thesis, Literary Studies, Doctorial School, Budapest, 2010, p. 4, and Gábor Szirányi, *Mihalovich Ödön és a magyar felsőfokú zeneoktatás*, in *Parlando*, 7 Jan. 2010-27 Jan. 2014, footnote 3, http://www.parlando.hu/2010-1-07_Mihalovics.htm. Downloaded: 22 Aug. 2013.

us had done anything more special than the other. The circumstances of our concert in Pest were however very different: this time I was necessarily clumsy while you could not do anything but excel in highly professional art. I consider this concert to be your true gift to me and I am most genuinely grateful for it.

Let me also say thanks to your dear friends: the honorable Count Apponyi, and Mr. Mihalovich, who was so movingly generous.

They are the true and only results of my miraculous 'catch of fish' in Hungary. Please pass my most sincere respect and gratitude to them. And let me also thank you for the generous tolerance with which you benevolently exempted me from the obligation of attending the banquet. I am still disturbed by the thought of having not complied with your request. I was forced into such an unfriendly waywardness by my own defiant conviction, supposing that your efforts regarding the banquet were not heartfelt but rather the result of having yielded to certain circumstances to which you try to adapt in order to naturalize yourself in a world which is going to remain alien to both of us for ever. I admit to have acted wrongly by not responding to your request with due compassion. Please be so generous to forgive the exaggerations and failures of my personality you already forgave many times. In return, I promise to always love you more than you love me, and whenever you prove to be kinder than I have often appeared to be, I will always find the way to exceed you in love and will use this advantage of mine to keep the balance between the two of us. My faithful Ferencz, I greet you from the depth of my heart,
your Richard.

After Wagner's gala concert, then another concert on 23 April (where the *Overture to Faust – Faust-overture* was also played), and *Lohengrin* on 24 János (Hans) Richter took a leave of Hungary. Richter was undoubtedly an excellent musician, but it cannot be denied that, although he was probably driven by good intention, he made the acknowledgement of Wagner's works in Hungary more difficult with his inconsideration and complete lack of familiarity with the background.

Meanwhile, thanks to Richard Wagner's inexhaustive will, Bayreuth was ready in March 1875.⁶³¹ Richard Wagner invited Péter Dubez to play in the orchestra on the opening night and also to help the reworking of further harp parts. Richard Wagner's subsequent 'Hungarian Letter', written on 28 May 1875 in Bayreuth, describes the mentioned happenings.⁶³²

⁶³¹ Samu Horváth, *Wagner dalszínháza Bayreuthban (Wagner's Opera Theatre in Bayreuth)* (based on the publication of Brückenwald). Published in *Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet Közlönye (The Bulletin of Hungarian Architect Association)*, issue 12/1875.

⁶³² Richard Wagner's 37th 'Hungarian Letter'. 28 May 1875, Bayreuth. WBV 7061, WHL-S/39. The current location of the original is unknown. The WBV forgot to mention that the letter was published first in *Zenelap (The Journal of Music)* on 20th Nov. 1888, in Hungarian translation. The aforementioned source can be seen in Addendum 44.

In German:

An den kgl. Kammervirtuosen Peter Dubez.

Mein geehrtester Herr Dubez!

Ich erfahre zu meiner großen Freude, daß Sie fortgesetzt meinen Unternehmungen Ihre treue Mitwirkung zugesichert bewahren. So seien Sie denn auch auf diesem Wege nochmal herzlich eingeladen, bis spätestens 1. Aug. ds. Jrs. 1875 für zwei Wochen zu den vorbereitenden Orchesterproben sich in Bayreuth mit Ihrem Instrumente einzufinden, im nächsten Jahre (1876) aber vom 1. Juni bis 29. August zu allen Proben und Aufführungen mir Ihre hochschätzenswerthe Mitwirkung zu schenken. Haben Sie Betreff Ihres Unterkommens oder sonst irgendwie Wünsche, so teilen Sie diese nur unserem braven Seidl mit, der mir jetzt mit bestem Willen hilfreich ist. Leider bin ich jetzt so überbeschäftigt und übermüdet, daß ich an die Ordnung rein künstlerischer Angelegenheiten, wie der richtigen Normierung der Harfenstimmen durch Ihre Bearbeitung gar nicht denken kann. Ich hoffe dazu nach den vorbereitenden Proben, d. h. mit Ihrer Hilfe noch Zeit zu gewinnen. Einstweilen sind Ihre Umarbeitungen, für welche ich Ihnen noch so viel Dank schuldig bin, in die Stimmen eingetragen. Das weitere ersehen wir dann. Wollen Sie wohl die Güte haben, meinem freundlichen Wohlthäter, dem Frucht und Blumenhändler Herrn Weber noch meinen herzlichsten Dank für wiederum die letzte Sendung von wilden Weinreben für meinen großen Laubengang zu entbieten? Ich bedaure wahrlich, den vielen mir zugewendeten Freundschaftsbezeichnungen so wenig unmittelbar mich erkenntlich erweisen zu können, da ich eben beständig in Sorgen und Nöthen für meine große Unternehmung befangen bin. Hiemit aber grüße ich Sie auch schließlich allerbestens als Ihr sehr ergebener Richard Wagner. Bayreuth, 28. Mai 1875.

In Hungarian. Haraszi's translation:

(The first sentence of the letter was not translated by Haraszi. The first sentence sounds like that in Hungarian: „Dubez Péter királyi kamara-virtuóznak”.)

Igen tisztelt Dubez Uram!

Richard Wagner's letter to Péter Dubez.

WBV 7061, WHL-S/39.

Bayreuth, 28 May 1875.

To the royal chamber-virtuoso Peter Dubez.

Dear and respected Mr. Dubez,

I was very glad to learn that your devotion to assist my enterprise has not changed a bit. Therefore I'd like to repeat my cordial invitation to join our preparatory orchestra rehearsals in Bayreuth on 1 August 1875 the latest, and to also grant us your much honored assistance on all rehearsals and performances between 1 June and 29 August next year (1876).

Should you have any wishes regarding your accommodation or any other matters, please do not hesitate to address my faithful Seidl who is assisting me most devotedly.

Alas, I am presently so exhausted and overloaded with work that a thorough revision of the corrections you made to the harp parts is out of question for me. I do hope to make up for that loss with your most respected assistance during this year's preparatory rehearsals.

Nagy örömmel értesültem, hogy Ön változatlan hűséggel biztosította vállalatom számára közreműködését. Ezennel tehát ezen az úton is mégegyszer szívélyesen meghívom, hogy legkésőbb 1875. évi augusztus 1-ig Bayreuthban két hétre az előkészítő zenekari próbákra hangszerével megjelenjék, a jövő évben pedig (1876) június 1-től augusztus 29-ig engem valamennyi próbán és előadáson nagyrabecsült közreműködésével megajándékozzon. Ha elhelyezésre vonatkozóan vagy bármilyen más tekintetben valami kívánsága van, úgy közölje csak derék Seidl-emmel, ki nekem most legjobb akarattal segédkezik. Fájdalom, most annyira túl vagyok terhelve munkával és olyan fáradt vagyok, hogy tisztán művészi ügyek rendezésére, mint a hárfaszólamoknak az Ön átdolgozása alapján való helyesbítésére, nem is gondolhatok. Reménylem, hogy erre az Ön segítségével még időt szakíthatok az idei előkészítő próbák után. Addig is az Ön megjegyzéseit, melyekért még annyi köszönettel tartozom, bevezettem a szólamokba. A többit majd meglássuk azután. Lenne olyan jó, szíves jótevőmnnek, Weber mag és virágkereskedőnek legmélyebb köszönetemet átadni a nagy lugasom számára újabban küldött vadszőlő-venyigékért? Valóban sajnálom, hogy nekem tett számos szívességéért oly kevésbé mutathatom magamat hálásnak, mert folytonos gond és aggodalom közepette élek vállalatom miatt. Végül Önt is legmelegebben üdvözlő hálás *Wagner Richardja*. Bayreuth, 1875 máj. 28.

Your annotations, for which I am most grateful, have already been incorporated in the score. As for the rest, we will see.

Would you be so kind to pass my heartfelt thanks to my good benefactor, the florist and seed merchant Mr. Weber for sending another wonderful bunch of woodbine shoots for my arbor? I am sincerely sorry that the constant worries for the success of my enterprise prevent me from showing my gratitude for his favors in a more conspicuous way.

In conclusion, let me send my warmest greetings to you too,
your grateful Richard Wagner.

Péter Dubez unfortunately could not accept the invitation because — according to Haraszti — he did not get a three-month-long leave from the orchestra of the National Theatre, but there were other Hungarians who could be delighted by taking part on the opening ceremony of the Festspielhaus (Festival Hall) in Bayreuth,⁶³³ e.g. Ferenc Liszt and János (Hans) Richter of course, but also Count Albert Apponyi, Ödön Mihalovich, Kornél Ábrányi Sr., Antal Siposs, Count Gyula Andrássy, János Végh,⁶³⁴ probably Ferenc Erkel's son Sándor Erkel, and Count Imre Széchenyi and his wife⁶³⁵ attended.⁶³⁶ Hungarians were probably interested about the event, because *Vasárnapi Újság* (*The Sunday Journal*) published a long, illustrated article (20 Aug. 1876) about the opening night's happenings. The Hungarian Wagnerians often visited the premieres in Bayreuth. The *Pester Lloyd's* writer reported, that Kornél Ábrányi Sr., Ödön Mihalovich, and Count Albert Apponyi attended the premiere of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth on 26 July 1882.⁶³⁷

⁶³³ The Festspielhaus of Bayreuth was opened on 13 Aug. 1876. Richter conducted the parts of the *Ring* on 13 (*Das Rheingold-The Rhine Gold*), 14 (*Die Walküre-The Valkyrie*), 16 (*Siegfried*), 17 (*Götterdämmerung-Twilight of the Gods*). Heinrich Stolber, the hornist, the member of National Theatre played in the orchestra on the opening night. The information about Stolber appeared in *Wegweiser*, in the booklet of the Festival in 1876, which is now in the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, score VII.

⁶³⁴ János Végh was the director of Academy of Music in Budapest between 1884 and 1887.

⁶³⁵ See Richard Wagner's poem written to Alexandra Széchenyi in Addendum 36.

⁶³⁶ Haraszti, p. 402.

⁶³⁷ *Pester Lloyd*, 3 August 1882.

I have to mention a very important event in 1875, which had a great impact on the contemporary and posterior Hungarian music life. After a lengthy tug, the opening ceremony of the Liszt Academy⁶³⁸ took place on 14 November 1875. Ferenc Liszt was elected president, Erkel Ferenc as director, Kornél Ábrányi Sr. as chancellor, and besides them, Robert Volkmann and Sándor Nikolits became its teachers. Thanks to the international prestige of Ferenc Liszt and the unselfish work of Ferenc Erkel, there was soon an increase in students, and after 1879, the institution moved from its modest tenancy in Fish Square (Hal tér), to the palace in Ray Avenue (Sugár úti palota).⁶³⁹ Ferenc Liszt wrote a letter to Antal Augusz on 7 May 1873, which can be proof of his true commitment to revive the Hungarian music life: 'Let me be permitted, in spite of my regrettable crassitude of Hungarian language, to remain Hungarian from the cradle to the grave, both in my heart and in my feelings, and accordingly, let me revive the case of the Hungarian music culture.'⁶⁴⁰ In the upcoming happenings of the Liszt Academy, Ödön Mihalovich had an important part. He got into the presidential committee of the institution in 1880, and most probably played a determining part in employing Hans Koessler, Jenő Hubay and David Popper as well. Mihalovich tried to improve the level of the Academy in a thoughtful way, so he constituted the first preparatory classes, increased the number of string courses with the doublebass class, and between 1884 and 1888, he constituted the blower classes. The fact that Mihalovich hired several private teachers from Germany — who of course taught in German —, gave place to the anti-German

⁶³⁸ In 1840, Ferenc Liszt gave concerts for the good of constructing a National Conservatoire. Until the opening of the institution (1851), the interests of the income were mainly given to a school – teaching music –, which was constituted by the union of the Pestbudai Hangászegylet and the Zenede – constituted on the idea of András Bartay. Around 1840, the training of Hungarian opera-singers started here. In 1867, Zenede was renamed to National Zenede, which can be regarded as the 'predecessor' of Liszt Academy.

⁶³⁹ This building is the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre today, in the corner of Andrassy Avenue and Vörösmarty street, in the centre of Budapest.

⁶⁴⁰ 'Engedtessek meg nekem, hogy a magyar nyelvben való sajnálatos tudatlanságom ellenére születésemtől a sírig szívemben és érzéseimben magyar maradjak, és ennek megfelelően odaadóan elő kívánjam mozdítani a magyar zenekultúra ügyét.' Mária Eckhardt, *Liszt Ferenc 1811-1886*, in Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre, <http://www.lisztmuseum.hu/hu/liszt/>. Downloaded: 20 Aug. 2013.

feelings in connection with the Liszt Academy. Nevertheless, Mihalovich did not give up, and when he left the service on 16 February, 1919 on his own will, he left a really high-level institution to posterity.⁶⁴¹

There were a few 'small' Wagner-premieres happened in Hungary between 1876⁶⁴² and 1883. In 1876 e.g. the last scene of *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Gods*) was premiered by the Philharmonic Society of Budapest, and on 13 Nov. 1876 the first performance of *Grosser Festmarsch* (WWV110, for the 100th anniversary of the American War of Independence – 1876) happened with the contribution of the orchestra of the 'Zenekedvelők Egyesülete' (Society of Music-Lovers), conducted by Gyula Káldy also in Budapest. On 16 March 1877 *The Valkyrie's* entire first act was presented in the small room of the 'Vigadó' (Vigadó-Hall), by Félix Mottl and János Paumgartner dr. (Four-handed arrangements for piano). The singers were: Labatt (Siegmund), Berta Ehn (Sieglinde), Hablawetz (Hunding).

On 19 Dec. 1877 the *Lohengrin* was premiered in Timișoara (Temesvár), in the Ferencz József Theatre, and according to Haraszti, it was successful (Haraszti, p. 404), and in 1878 the Philharmonic Society of Budapest performed the *Siegfried Idyll* in Budapest. The *Overture of Parsifal*, and '*Dass mein Vater nicht ist*' from *Siegfried* was presented in 1882 by the Philharmonic Society of Budapest, and in the year of Richard Wagner's death and the visit of Angelo Neumann's travelling Wagner-theatre company in Budapest in 1883, a fragment: '*Wie dünkt mich doch die Aue heut so schön!*' was presented from *Parsifal*. (The Philharmonic Society of Budapest, in Budapest).

The last 'Hungarian Wagner-letter' in which Pest's (Budapest's) name appeared was written by Richard Wagner and sent to Angelo Neumann on 11

⁶⁴¹ Gábor Szirányi, *Mihalovich Ödön és a magyar felsőfokú zeneoktatás*, in *Parlando*, 7 Jan. 2010-27 Jan. 2014, http://www.parlando.hu/2010-1-07_Mihalovics.htm. Downloaded: 22 Aug. 2013.

⁶⁴² There was a Wagner-poem on the first page of Wagner's *Siegfried*, which was published in *A Zene* (*The Music*, year 1931/32, prism 1/64). The score, which was Wagner's gift to Liszt, was in the property of Ödön Mihalovich, after that in the property of the Liszt Academy, then located in the Széchenyi National Library. The facsimile and the text, which was corrected by Ildikó Rita Anna Varga can be seen in Addendum, 59. (For sources see Add. 59.).

February 1883 from Venice⁶⁴³ (WBV 8713, WHL-S/40), only two days before the Mastermind passed away. Richard Wagner's death overwhelmed the Hungarian general public. Almost all Hungarian newspapers wrote about the event, the members of the National Theatre sent a condolence letter and a laurel wreath tied with a mourning-band to Wagner's grave; the Philharmonic Society of Budapest organised a commemoration-concert at 7.30 p.m. on 28 Feb. in the 'Vigadó', where the orchestra played *Faust-overture*, the *Overture* and 'Wie dünkt mich doch die Aue heut so schön' from *Parsifal*, *Siegfried's Death* and one of Wagner's favourite Beethoven symphonies, the *Third Symphony*.⁶⁴⁴ Gyula Reviczky wrote a poem in honor of the composer which appeared in *Fővárosi Lapok (The Journals of the Capital)* on 14 Feb. 1883.⁶⁴⁵

The first most significant event after the composer's death was the premiere of *Ring* in Budapest, which was connected to Angelo Neumann's⁶⁴⁶ travelling Richard Wagner Theatre-company. The followings were performed in the German Theatre in Gyapjú Street (Báthory Street 24. today): *Das Rheingold (The Rhine Gold)* on 23 May, *Die Walküre (The Valkyrie)* on 24, a concert on 25 May,⁶⁴⁷ *Siegfried* on 26, then *Götterdämmerung (Twilight of the Gods)* on 27, *Die Walküre (The Valkyrie)* again⁶⁴⁸ on 28, and finally Beethoven: *Fidelio* on 29.

⁶⁴³ For more details see the Comparison (X.) in Appendix.

⁶⁴⁴ Wagner-Haraszti, p. 406.

⁶⁴⁵ See Gyula Reviczky's poem in Addendum 45. Haraszti says, that the poem was released on 3 Feb. but the correct date is: 14 Feb. 1883, 20/37, column: Cultural News ('Kulturális Hírek').

⁶⁴⁶ Angelo Neumann (1838-1910). Austrian impressario. He studied as a bariton with Teresa Stilke-Sessi, made his debut in 1859. He sang in Kraków, Bratislava, Prague, Vienna, Ödenburg (Sopron), Gdansk. He witnessed Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* in Vienna in 1875 before he had changed careers and became director under August Förster in Leipzig in 1876. Within six years he had staged all the Wagner operas including the *Ring* cycle outside Bayreuth in 1878. His company traveled throughout Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Austria, and Hungary. Source: Christofer Fifield, Art. 'Neumann, Angelo' in in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 17, p. 788.

⁶⁴⁷ Only Richard Wagner's compositions were performed.

⁶⁴⁸ Wagner's compositions were performed with the contribution of the following singers and conductors. Conductors: Antal Seidl, Pál Geisler. Singers: Marianne Brandt (Marie Bischof, alto), Hedvig Reicher-Kindermann (soprano), Amelie Materna (born Amalia, later Amelie Friedrich-Materna, soprano), Róza Bleiter, Elsa Freytag, Georgina Hellvig, Berta Hinrichsen, Katalin Klafszky, Augusta Kraus, Teréz Milár, Orlanda Riegler, Anna Stürmer, Elisabet

The travelling company of Angelo Neumann have had performances across nearly whole Europe, particularly playing Richard Wagner's *Ring*.⁶⁴⁹ Neumann had great talent in figuring out the potential need to get familiar with Wagner's musical, theatrical and dramatic innovations across Europe, and also noticed that there are quite a few theatres which could create the sufficient circumstances for performing the *Ring*. Though Wagner was reluctant to let his aforementioned composition out of Bayreuth at first, the great moral, artistic and financial success of the tour accounted for Neumann. Before the concert in Budapest — which was also mentioned in the book of Angelo Neumann — *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*⁶⁵⁰ — the company performed their repertoire from September 1882 to June 1883 in Breslau, Königsberg, Danzig, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Berlin, Brussels, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Strasburg, Basel, Venice, Bologna, Firenze, Rome, Torino, Milano, Trieste and Graz among others. Neumann won over well-known singers like the dramatic treble Amelie Materna (born Amalia, later Amelie Friedrich-Materna, 1844-1928), who became famous mostly by singing Wagner's operas and music dramas, but had also a nice career in New York just as the German dramatic tenor Anton Schott (1846-1913) or Hedwig Reicher-Kindermann (1853-1883), who got ill when the tour was staging in Trieste and died on 2 June. The staging of the *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Gods*) on 21 May in Trieste was Mrs. Kindermann's swan-song, who could have been suspected that in Brünnhilde's last scene — *The farewell of Brünnhilde* (*Brünnhilde's Immolation Scene*) — she herself will also say goodbye to life. After the performance on 21 May, Mrs. Kindermann's condition got worse, so the company had to travel to Budapest leaving her behind. In the rest of the performances (Budapest, Graz) the role of the primadonna was substituted by Amelie Materna.

Lindemann, Anton Schott, Róbert Biberti, Frigyes Caliga, József Chandon, Ferencz Krückl dr., Gyula Lieban, Ferencz Pischek, Ferencz Tomaschek, Ágoston Ulbrich, György Unger, Adolf Wallnöfer. Source: Haraszi, pp. 407-08.

⁶⁴⁹ The company also played *Fidelio* from Beethoven and also other fragments of Wagner operas — performed as a concert-version — as part of their repertoire.

⁶⁵⁰ Angelo Neumann, *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*, Leipzig, (Stackmann), 1907, pp. 250-322, 322-329.

The Hungarian members of the Neumann-company — which could also be seen in Budapest — were: Antal Seidl conductor (May 1850, Budapest-28 March 1898, New York), who started his career as a copyist of Wagner's music sheets and later conducted in Bayreuth, the New York Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonics. Seidl was initiated 'agent' of Wagner's operas and music dramas, so was József (Joseph) Juhász director, who worked in Berlin among others, and last but not least Katalin Klafszky (Katherine (Lohse Klafszky, 19 Sept. 1855, (Moson) Szent János, 22 Sept. 1896, Hamburg), who achieved huge success in Hamburg, the Covent Garden (London) and in New York as well as a Wagner-singer.

The *Ring*-performances met with a warm response in Budapest. The auditorium was full, and apart from the Hungarian followers of Wagner, in the performance of *The Rhine Gold* the 73 years old, silver-headed Ferenc Erkel was also present. Though the performances could not perfectly convey the ideas of Wagner, but it could at least give them a small adumbrate to a splendid and innovative system of concepts, for which the Hungarian audience was extremely grateful.⁶⁵¹

While the Wagner Stagione performed the tetralogy in Budapest, the National Theatre was preparing for the premiere of '*Mastersingers*' in Hungarian. The theatre might have made the daring step of presenting this rather difficult and critical Wagner opera, but they probably were hoping that the name of Richard Wagner and the professionalism of the conductor, Sándor Erkel⁶⁵² could guarantee success. The premiere of '*Mastersingers*' (8 Sept. 1883)⁶⁵³ did not

⁶⁵¹ H, p. 408.

⁶⁵² Sándor Erkel (2 Jan 1846, Buda-14 Oct. 1900, Békéscsaba) conductor and composer. He was probably the most talented son (4) of Ferenc Erkel, and started to study music with him and later with Mihály Mosonyi. He was timpanist of the National Theatre from 1861 and began to conduct operas there from 1868. He was the musical director of the opera section in National Theatre between 1876 and 1884, worked in the same position in Hungarian Royal Opera House until 1886 and was the director of Philharmonic Society of Pest as well (1875-90). His only opera *Csobánc* (1865) was not very succesful. Source: Dezső Legány, Art. 'Sándor Erkel' in GROVE sec. ed., Volume 8, pp. 299-300.

⁶⁵³ The '*Mastersingers*' was translated by Antal Váradi dr, conducted by Sándor Erkel. The scenery of the premiere was painted by Ágost Spanraft and Gyula Hirsch, costumes were designed by Árvay and Partners Co. The cast was the following. Hans Sachs, shoemaker:

verify the previous hopes, but a few newspapers wrote about the first performance nicely. *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, morning issue, 247/34, 8 Sept. and 248/34, 10 Sept. 1883) and *Egyetértés* (*Accordance*, 247/12, 8 Sept. 1883)⁶⁵⁴ published kind commentaries. The issue of *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*), put out on 8, was rather about the analysis of the opera, while in the other issue on 10 Sept. the critique of the performance was published. The critique concludes that although Wagner demanded a lot from everyday people since the dialogues and the opera itself were too long, the work was abound in outstanding, beautiful, and valuable parts, such as the overture. According to the writer, '*Mastersingers*' constitutes the unity of music and drama and the opera was a nice success in the National Theatre. The writer also added that '*Mastersingers*' could be the forerunner of a tetralogy presented in Hungary in the splendorous Opera House which would soon be completed. According to the journalist of *Egyetértés* (*Accordance*), '(...) there are neither Wagnerians nor anti-Wagnerians at our place (sic), so the opera would be adjudge by a judicial court. (...)'⁶⁵⁵ and the opera would increase the number of Wagner's admirers (Wagnerians). The opera was exhaustingly analysed by the article of *Pester Lloyd*, published on 20 Sept., but it wrote that the success of the opera in Budapest was rather due to the curiosity shown toward it. According to Haraszti (p, 411.) *Nemzet* (*Nation*) was not that satisfied with the premiere. The critic wrote that 'the opera is not cheerful, but boring, heavy, forced and ornate, (...)'

(Lehel) Odry, Veit Pogner, goldsmith: (János) Tallián, Kunz Vogelgesang, furrier: (Béni) Dalnoki, Konrad Nachtigall, tinsmith: (Ferenc) Fektér, Sixtus Beckmesser, city clerk: (Fülöp) Láng, Stolzingi Walther, young knight from Franconia: (Ferenc) Gassi (Glatz), Eva, Pogner's daughter: Mrs. Szigeti née Erzsi Human, David, Sachs's servant: (Richárd) Pauli (Paulikovics), Magdalena, Eva's nurse: (Emma) Saxlehner, Hans Schwarz: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Hans Foltz: (Lajos) Szendrői (born as Szabó), Fritz Kothner: Zsitvai, Balthasar Zorn: Vas, Ulrich Eisslinger: (Béla) Kiss, Augustin Moser: Bartoluzzi, Hermann Ortel: Ujvári, Night-watchman: Szekeres. Source: the poster of the performance in Haraszti's book, between pp. 410-11.

⁶⁵⁴ Haraszti also writes about the article of *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*), put out on 15 Sept., which the foresaid issue did not include, and he mentions the article of *Nemzet* (*Nation*), too, which cannot be found in Hungary anymore.

⁶⁵⁵ '(...) Nálunk nincsen sem antiwagnerizmus, sem Wagner-rajongás, tehát oly ítélőszék elé kerül ez az opera, mely teljesen pártatlan.'

we don't believe that it would stay on the repertoire.'⁶⁵⁶ *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*, 8 Sept.) and *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*, 15 Sept.) also wrote about the premiere, but only *Budapesti Hírlap* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*) tried to write nicely.⁶⁵⁷ Since the interest lessened the opera was played only on 15, 20 Sept., and also 4, 25 of Oct.

The year after the premiere of '*Mastersingers*', on 27 Sept. 1884, the Hungarian Royal Opera House (Hungarian State Opera today) was opened with a glorious celebration in the presence of the king and his attendants. The Home Secretary asked six architects to attend the building design project: Miklós Ybl, Antal Skalnitzky, Imre Steindl, István Linczbauer, Ferdinand Fellner, and Ludwig Bohnstedt. Miklós Ybl won the tender and designed ten frontage sketches until the work got started on 11 Oct. 1875. Ybl worked with the greatest and most well-known Hungarian painters at that time: Károly Lotz, Bertalan Székely, Árpád Feszty(i), Mór Than, György Vastagh, and Gyula Aggházy, who painted the frescos and landscapes of the building. Ferenc Erkel's and Ferenc (Franz) Liszt's sculptures can be seen next to the 'driveway', 16 other composers' sculptures (e.g. Lassus, Guido of Arezzo, Pergolesi) on the upper front-terrace, and the four muses' sculptures ornate the first floors' recesses.⁶⁵⁸ On the opening night a scandal exploded, because the crowd broke through the cordon, and pestered the foyer. It took a while to 'clean out' the building, so the opening ceremony has started in the midst of the 'storm'. The first act of *Bánk Bán*, the *Overture to László Hunyadi*, and the first movement of *Lohengrin* were played at the opening performance,⁶⁵⁹ where Ferenc Erkel conducted his own compositions and Sándor Erkel conducted *Lohengrin*'s first act with enormous success.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁶ 'Az opera bizony nem víg, hanem unalmas és nehézkes, erőltetett, cikornyás (...). Nem hisszük, hogy megmarad műsoron.'

⁶⁵⁷ H, p. 412.

⁶⁵⁸ BudOp100, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁵⁹ The cast of *Lohengrin* on 27 Sept. 1884: Henrik I: (Dávid) Ney, Lohengrin: (Ferenc) Gassi (Glatz), Elsa of Brabant: (Irma) Reich, Friedrich of Telramund, Count of Brabant: Bignio, Ortrud: Emma Saxlehner, The King's Messenger: (János) Tallián. Source: the poster of the premiere in Haraszti's book, pp. 414-15.

⁶⁶⁰ BudOp100, p. 63.

A few events connecting to Richard Wagner's name and music occurred before *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*) was premiered on 26 Jan. 1889 in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. Sometime in 1884 the Philharmonic Society of Budapest performed the last scene from *Siegfried* (H, p. 462.), on 27 Jan. 1884 the chorus classes of the National Hungarian Royal-Conservatoire (Országos Magyar királyi Zeneakadémia), conducted by János Koessler, performed the *Holy Communion* (*Zum letzten Liebesmahle*) from *Parsifal*, act I. (solo: Ákos Horváth, piano: István Thomán, organ: Károly Nosedá) and also the *Flower-Maidens chorus* (*Komm, komm holder Knabe*) from act II. (solos: Gizella Rotter, Róza Schuschny, Augusztá Kolheit, Valentin Képes, Gizella Schlesinger, Mathild Lugosi and Mihály Takáts; accompaniment: István Thomán and Etelka Willheim).⁶⁶¹ On 7 Feb. 1887 a concert of a Wagner-Zweigverein (Wagner-fiókegyesület; Általános Wagner Richard-Egyesület) was presented in Budapest, with the title of 'Zenei Reggély'. This 'second' Hungarian Richard Wagner Society, which was soon dissolved, was established by Károly Giancelli. On the establishing-concert the following fragments of Richard Wagner's compositions were performed: 3 songs (*Lieder*) of Wagner in the rendition of Julia Jera (there is no information about which songs were performed exactly), *Albumblatt* fiddled by Ignác Stimpfler (there is no data on whether it was the WWV64 or the WWV108), and the *Norns-terzetto* from *Götterdämmerung-Twilight of the Gods* (Ilona Farkas, Julia Kotaucsek, Gizella Keményffy).⁶⁶² Until Gustav Mahler became the music director of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, four further musical-episodes happened on the territory of Hungary. The Hungarian Royal Opera House reworked '*Mastersingers*' on 6 Sept. 1887,⁶⁶³ on 23 Nov. 1887 the Philharmonic Society of Budapest presented

⁶⁶¹ H, p. 414. According to Ervin Major, the date was 27 June 1884. Source: Ervin Major's Haraszti book, The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, p. 414.

⁶⁶² H, p. 415.

⁶⁶³ The cast of the performance: Sachs: (Lehel) Odry, David: (Richárd) Pauli (Paulikovics), Magdaléna: (Emma) Saxlehner, Beckmesser: (Fülöp) Láng. New singers in the cast: Éva: Mrs. Maleczky née Josepha Ellinger, Pogner: (Dávid) Ney, Walter: (Zsigmond) Hajós. Sources: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, from p. 11, Haraszti, between pp. 414-15.

the *Kaisermarsch* and the *Symphony in C major*,⁶⁶⁴ on 21 Apr. 1888 the '*Holländer*' was performed in Antal Radó's translation in the Hungarian Royal Opera House, on 9 Nov. 1888 the Music Teachers' National Society (Zenebarátok Országos Egyesülete) arranged a Wagner-concert, where Aladár Juhász, Ferenc (Franz) Liszt's student played the piano and Janka Major sang, and on 15 Dec. 1888 the same opera was premiered by the Kment-company, conducted by Hartl in Bratislava.⁶⁶⁵

The Hungarian Royal Opera House probably found the Hungarian situation adequate for presenting a tetralogy especially because Gustav Mahler became its music director in October 1888.⁶⁶⁶ Before Gustav Mahler moved to Budapest, Ferenc Beniczky — the then director of the Opera —, amongst others, had been negotiating with Artúr (Arthur) Nikisch and Felix Mottl, and the Hungarian Royal Opera House made contract with the latter. However, in October of 1888 Mottl terminated the contract⁶⁶⁷, so that a young conductor, Gustav Mahler, became the director of the Opera. Mahler signed with a salary of 12 000 Ft, and it was also fixed in the document that he had to learn Hungarian until the contract expired.⁶⁶⁸ However, the latter promise he failed to fulfil, it is true that one year later he gave a speech in Hungarian.⁶⁶⁹ Prior to Gustav Mahler,⁶⁷⁰ Sándor Erkel⁶⁷¹ was the director, whose number of performances was decreased by Mahler,⁶⁷² though 'Sándor Erkel was considered by the musical

⁶⁶⁴ H, p. 415.

⁶⁶⁵ The cast of the '*Holländer*' according to Emil Haraszti: Joachim Kromer, Helen Bauer, Ferenc Nöthig, Béla Pállik. H, p. 416.

⁶⁶⁶ Intendants and music directors before Gustav Mahler: 1st: Frigyes Podmaniczky—intendant (19 March 1875-24 June 1875), 2nd: István Keglevich—intendant (1 Feb. 1886-12 Jan. 1888), 3rd: Ferenc Beniczky—government commissioner and intendant (13 Jan. 1888-31 Jan. 1891). Source: BudOp100, pp. 76-81.

⁶⁶⁷ According to Tibor Tallián. Source: BudOp100, p. 81.

⁶⁶⁸ According to Tibor Tallián. Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Peremiczky, p. 1.

⁶⁷⁰ Mahler was director between 1 Oct. 1888 and 15 March 1891. Source: BudOp100, p. 494.

⁶⁷¹ Sándor Erkel was director from Sept. 1884 to 30 Sept. 1886, and chief music-director from 30 Sept. 1886 to 7 Apr. 1900 of Hungarian Royal Opera House. Source: BudOp100, p. 494.

⁶⁷² According to Tibor Gedeon and Miklós Máthé, Mahler did not has that purpose. Source: Tibor Gedeon-Miklós Máthé, *Gustav Mahler*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1965, p. 106.

life, to be the greatest Hungarian conductor.⁶⁷³ According to Tibor Tallián,⁶⁷⁴ the reason of the disputes/conflict between Sándor Erkel and Gustav Mahler could be, partly, that their musical style and habits were completely different. Sándor Erkel's conducting genius was only remarkable in some routine performances, and even then, it was not visible in the whole accomplishment of the artistic effect, but rather in the creation of the common musical world of the conductor and the orchestra. On the contrary, Mahler's musical ideas were always elaborated, so that wonderful performances could take place in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. The Hungarian press was passionately fond of Mahler's performances,⁶⁷⁵ which made Sándor Erkel sullen, so he handed in his notice – not for the first time.

At the time of the Opera-opening, the orchestra — conducted by Mahler — had 75 members. Both the technical preparedness and their musicality were on a high level, and many of them also played in Bayreuth.⁶⁷⁶ However, the moral and financial honor/appreciation of the musicians was not commensurable to the work they did — even excluding the high work speed of Mahler. They were not only required to be active members of the orchestra, but also — for some extra money — to give classes and copy music sheets, so it is fairly understandable that they were greatly offended by the extra work Mahler ordered them to do. They had 80 rehearsals or so for the '*Ring*' — which according to Mahler was essential for studying the opera properly — between 10.00 and 13.00 every day, but Mahler was so dissatisfied with the performance of them that he was contemplating to hire a whole orchestra from Berlin.⁶⁷⁷ The period of the practices not only tried the musicians, but also Mahler, who felt ill in the beginning of the new year (1889). But despite the proceeding troubles, the dress rehearsal of *The Valkyrie (A walkür)* on 23 January and *The Rhine*

⁶⁷³ '[Erkel Sándorról] 'úgy tartja a zenei köztudat, hogy a legnagyobb magyar karmester volt'. Source: BudOp100, p. 81.

⁶⁷⁴ BudOp100, p. 81.

⁶⁷⁵ '(...) who conjured the cliffed wild to the fairy-garden of Merlin.' (...) aki a sziklás vadont Merlin tündéerkertjévé varázsolta'. Source: Tibor Gedeon-Miklós Máthé, *Gustav Mahler*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1965, p. 99.

⁶⁷⁶ BudOp100, p. 81.

⁶⁷⁷ Roman *Mahler*, p. 49.

Gold (A Rajna kincse) on 24 January, were a great success, which Mahler mentioned in a letter to his parents.⁶⁷⁸

Prior to the first night, several essays were published, which dealt with the first and second parts of the Tetralogy.⁶⁷⁹ All of the tickets were sold well in advance, and the directorate of the Opera published an announcement, in which they asked the audition not to read the libretto during the performance, but before it.

The opening night of *The Rhine Gold* (its Hungarian title was *A Rajna kincse*)⁶⁸⁰ took place on 26 January 1889 and *The Valkyrie* (Hungarian title: *A walkür*)⁶⁸¹ on 27. These performances constituted important episodes of Hungarian music history; not only because of their cultural-historical significance, but also due to Gustav Mahler's conducting.

The Hungarian press dealt quite a lot with the performance of the Tetralogy's first two parts, and published mostly positive critiques. Jenő Péterfy (sometimes Péterfi), who published for the first time the two letters written by Wagner to Károly Weber, the gardener (22 Oct. 1874, Bayreuth, WBV 6897, WHL-S/28, and 10, or 11 March 1875, WBV A439, WHL-S/37.), and Wagner's letter to Mihály Mosonyi on 12 October 1863. (WBV 3669, WHL-S/18.) wrote that

⁶⁷⁸ Roman, *Mahler*, pp. 53-54.

⁶⁷⁹ E.g. one in *Nemzet (Nation)*, 23 Jan. 1889.

⁶⁸⁰ The cast of the premiere of *Das Rheingold-The Rhine Gold-A Rajna kincse* performed in Hungarian: Wotan: (Dávid) Ney, Donner: (Lajos) Szendrői, Froh: (Károly) Stoll, Loge: (Ferenc) Broulik, Alberich: (Mihály) Takács(ts), Mime: (Béni) Dalnoki, Fasolt: (Lehel) Odry, Fafner: (János) Tallián, Fricka: (Helén) Henszler, Freia: (Gizella) Rotter, Erda: (Borbála) Irlbeck, Woglinde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Wellgunde: (Mariska) Kordin, Flosshilde: (Johanna) Eibenschütz. The opera was translated by Antal Radó (dr.) and directed by Kálmán Alszegehy. Source: The poster of the premiere in SzNL, THS. For the copy see Add. 47. For the dates of other performances during Mahler's direction see Detailed Summaries (VIII.).

⁶⁸¹ The cast of the premiere of *The Valkyrie (A walkür)* performed in Hungarian: Siegmund: (Ferenc) Broulik, Hunding: (Lajos) Szendrői, Wotan: (Dávid) Ney, Sieglinde: Mrs. Maleczky, née Jozefa Ellinger, Brünnhilde: (Arabella) B. (Bella) Szilágyi, Fricka: (Mariska) Fleiszig, Helmwig, Valkyrie: Mrs. György, née Zsófia Fischer, Gerhilde: (Anna) Neszveda, Ortlinde: Mrs. Csányi, Waltraute: (Mariska) Kordin, Schwertleite: (Borbála) Irlbeck, Siegrune: (Mrs. Diósy), née (Berta) Handl (Handel), Grimgerde: (Helén) Henszler, Rossweise: Johanna (Eibenschütz). The opera was translated by Gergely Csiky and directed by Kálmán Alszegehy. Source: The poster in SzNL, Theatre Historical Section. For the copy see Add. 48. For the dates of other performances during Mahler's direction see Detailed Summaries (VIII.).

‘(Mahler) could raise a special interest in Wagner’s Nibelung Tetralogy. (...) There was a whole new intellectuality among the walls of our Opera.’⁶⁸² Mór Vavrinecz (1858-1913), was a respected composer, conductor, teacher and musical publisher. He wrote a critique, which was also full of commendatory words: ‘We have been waiting for Walkür for years, but we needed a new director to accomplish the impossible plan.’⁶⁸³ Jenő Sztojanovits (1864-1919), who was also a respected composer, conductor and musical publisher, said the following: ‘Mahler (...) did a feat in three months.’⁶⁸⁴ *Nemzet (Nation)* 23 Jan. 1889, morning edition, wrote about changes, which Mahler did in connection with the degradation of the orchestra, which the paper claimed to be a ‘Bayreuth correctness’. Béla Diósy (1863-1930), the critic of the *Neues Pester Journal* and colleague of *Politisches Volksblatt* was also a teacher at Liszt Academy, and probably wrote the first book about the relationship of Gustav Mahler and Budapest. In 1916 he commented the following regarding the Hungarian performances of the *Rhine Gold* and *The Valkyrie*. (Zoltan Roman’s translation):

(...) we heard *Das Rheingold* in Hungarian for the first time, performed entirely by the permanent members of our Opera. Not too long ago, we had hardly dared even to hope for this circumstance, so praiseworthy from the national point of view. (...) To be sure, this cast⁶⁸⁵ could not duplicate the standards of a performance in

⁶⁸² ‘(Mahler) ritka érdeklődést tudott kelteni Wagner: Nibelung tetralógiája iránt. (...) Egész új szellem lengte át az operánkat.’ Tibor Gedeon-Miklós Máthé, *Gustav Mahler*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1965, p. 101. With reference to the *A Fővárosi Lapok (The Journals of the Capital)*.

⁶⁸³ ‘Már évek óta vártuk a Walkürt, új igazgatónak kellett jönni, hogy a lehetetlennek tetsző tervet néhány hét alatt keresztülvigye.’ We may think from the aforementioned words, that Vavrinecz did not regard *The Valkyrie* of Angelo Neumann worth mentioning. Tibor Gedeon-Miklós Máthé, *Gustav Mahler*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1965, p. 101.

⁶⁸⁴ ‘Mahler (...) 3 hónap alatt valóságos hőstettet vitt véghez.’ Tibor Gedeon-Miklós Máthé, *Gustav Mahler*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1965, p. 103. A *Pester Lloyd*-ra hivatkozva.

⁶⁸⁵ Mihály Takáts (sometimes Takács) (1861-1913) would be worth to be highlighted out of the cast, who from his debut at the Opera in 1883 to his death, remained the leader baritone of the institute. As a Wagner-singer, he also had been in Bayreuth. His relationship with Mahler was not really cloudless, as in one of the practices Mahler rebuked him and Szendrő as well, because of their constant indiscipline. The main roles of Takáts were the following: Valentin

Bayreuth, Vienna, Dresden or Leipzig, but it is our accomplishment, our artistry. (...) At the end of the interrupted 'Vorabend' Director Mahler (...) had to appear for two curtain calls. (...) Next day *Die Walküre* was equally successful. (...) We must especially mention Arabella Szilágyi,⁶⁸⁶ whose Brünnhilde was a great and equally pleasant surprise. (...) Director Mahler received not one but two laurel wreaths, and had to take two bows after each act.(...)⁶⁸⁷

The Hungarian papers — in a break with traditions —, not only praised Mahler, but also Kálmán Alszegehy (1852-1927) — the director —, and Ede Újházy (1841-1915) – stage-master – as well.⁶⁸⁸

The anti-German and anti-Wagnerian groups did not remain silent either. Among them e.g.: the *Kis Újság (Little Journal)*⁶⁸⁹ was offended by that 'Mahler

(Gounod: *Faust*), Rigoletto (Verdi), Don Giovanni (Mozart), Brankovics György (Erkel Ferenc), Wolfram, Biterolf (Wagner: *Tannhäuser*), Scarpia (Puccini: *Tosca*), Almaviva (Mozart: *Figaro*), Tiborc (*Bánk bán*). Sources: *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon*, <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02139/html/sz25/33.html>. Downloaded: 10 March 2014. See also Peremiczky p. 22, footnote 73.

⁶⁸⁶ Arabella Szilágyi (Spiegel Arabelle, Aranka) was born in 1861 and passed away on 27 April, 1918. She was discovered by Gustav Mahler, and he trained her to be a real prima donna. She was the first Santuzza in Hungary, but after the departure of Mahler, she also vanished from the theatre. In 1894, she went back to the Opera, and from 1908, she also dealt with teaching. The main roles of her: Brünnhilde (*The Valkyrie, Siegfried, Twilight of the Gods*), Ortrud (*Lohengrin*), The Queen of Saba (Goldmark), Donna Anna (Mozart: *Don Giovanni*), Santuzza (Mascagni: *Cavalleria Rusticana*), Piroska (Ödön Mihálovich: *Toldi szerelme*). Source: *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon*, <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02139/html/sz24/354.html>. Downloaded: 10 March 2014.

⁶⁸⁷ Roman Mahler, p. 10. and p. 54. Endnotes 39.

⁶⁸⁸ Roman Mahler, p. 55.

⁶⁸⁹ The *Little Journal* was started on 20 November 1887. It was constituted by the publisher Fülöp Wodanier and his sons, based on the model of international tabloids. It was a cheap daily paper, in a sort of popular-paper quality. From its constitution on, it was a maverick paper, sovereign from any political parties. In name, its editor was László Papp, but in reality, it was Elek László until 31 December 1892, who was one of the oldest members of the then capital's journalist committee. Other staffers were: János Somfai, Tivadar Tenus, Antal P. Bártfai, Jenő Péterfi(y). The paper had 15-18000 issues per day Source: *Sajtómúzeum, Hírlapjaink I/1896, A 'Kis Újság' története*, http://sajtomuzeum.oszk.hu/forrasok/hirlapjaink/pdf/1_05_kis_ujzag.pdf. (21 March 2014).

put on the famous pan German Richard Wagner's German operas' with a huge budget. He added, that it was enough with the German words, and the Hungarian Royal Opera House 'has to be the cultural venue of Hungarians.'⁶⁹⁰ The journalist of the 27 January, 1889 issue of the *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, morning edition) wrote, that the voluminous three-hour long performance *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*) tested the capability of the audience's nerves, and that the whole interlude could be condensed into one hour, right after which *The Valkyrie* (*A walkür*) should be on stage.⁶⁹¹ József Keszler (1846-1927), who probably had been the most notable theatre-critic of the age, believed that '(...) The Director reaped great success. None could fail to acknowledge it. (...) the road is open to *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*.'⁶⁹² Ferenc Beniczky, the intendant of the Opera, who hired Mahler, said thanks in an open letter for the work of Gustav Mahler and for making the best out of the orchestra, and proved '(...) that even the most difficult tasks may be carried out with the so often and so unjustly maligned native forces (...). This situation undoubtedly fills every patriot with genuine joy and satisfaction. (...)'⁶⁹³ There were some portentous signs girdling the performance of the Tetralogy's first part such as a cat crossing the stage before the performance, or that something caught on fire next to the prompt-box, right after Mahler went on stage; and they seemed to continue.⁶⁹⁴

Although, it is true that on 29 January, 1889, *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*) was performed without any significant disturbance, they had to wait for *The Valkyrie* (*A Walkür*) until 7 February, due to the death of the archduke Rudolf on 30 January.⁶⁹⁵ During Mahler's stay, the Hungarian Royal Opera House, had mainly profitable performances. For instance *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*) produced an income of 10 123 Ft, and from *The Valkyrie* (*A walkür*) they profited 8207 Ft.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁰ Tibor Gedeon-Miklós Máthé, *Gustav Mahler*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1965, p. 103.

⁶⁹¹ Roman Mahler, p. 55.

⁶⁹² Ibid.

⁶⁹³ Roman Mahler, p. 56.

⁶⁹⁴ Rockenbauer, p. 16.

⁶⁹⁵ Roman Mahler, p. 56.

⁶⁹⁶ As a comparison: after the departure of Mahler from the *Siegfried* the Opera had and income of 3683 Ft, from the *Az istenek alkonya* 5714 Ft. Source: Roman Mahler, p. 140.

In January 1891, Beniczky – who had been supporting Mahler before — left the institution and was followed by count Géza Zichy (1849-1924), the one-armed pianist, the student of Ferenc Liszt, the composer, play-writer who became one of the most generous Maecenas of Hungarian culture.⁶⁹⁷ The Hungarian music-history blames mainly Zichy for Mahler leaving Budapest, before the expiration of his contract,⁶⁹⁸ but if we take a wider look at his departure, we have to note, that Mahler was young, without ability to compromise, with a frequently harsh and intolerant personality, which could have made the cooperation of the two people harder – says Zoltan Roman.⁶⁹⁹

In connection with the question which arose about the departure of Mahler, I have to tell about the historical, societal and social circumstances during his stay, because; as I consistently try to show in my Ph. D. Thesis, the data about music-history cannot be analysed in itself. We have to be aware of the historical and societal context to be able to get a whole view of a music-historical event.

To get the whole view of the history of Mahler in Hungary, I have to mention a determining moment in Hungarian history, the so-called ‘Kiegyezés’ (Agreement), which affected the cultural life of 1867 and also after that. Franz Joseph I, after the Prussian-Austrian-Italian War in 1866, gave up the idea of the ‘great-German state’ for good, and he needed his ‘slightly aghast’ empire to get stronger somehow. In his so-called ‘Easter article’ (Húsvéti cikk) in 1865, Ferenc Deák pinned down, that towards resituating constitutionalism, the Hungarian nobility would be willing to support the sustaining of the empire, and as on the elections of 1865, the followers of Deák got the majority of the votes, there are no obstacles to found the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Against the ‘Kiegyezés’ in 1867, amongst others, Lajos Kossuth also raised his voice in his ‘Kassandra-letter’, because he believed, that Hungarians are part of an unsteady state, which is destined to split up. According to Kossuth, either the confederacy of the states by the Danube, or simply waiting would have been the

⁶⁹⁷ Zichy had been the intendant between 11 February, 1891 and 10 April, 1894. Source: BudOp100, p. 494. Zichy probably respected Wagner, since he composed a piano-piece: *Fantasie über Motive aus Wagner's Tannhäuser f. die linke Hand*. Released in Berlin, by Fürstner.

⁶⁹⁸ We can read about this e.g. in BudOp100, p. 83. és Rockenbauer, p. 17.

⁶⁹⁹ Roman *Mahler*, p. 132.

proper attitude of Hungary. In spite of the oppositions, thanks to the Kiegyezés in 1867, a dualist state was founded, with a common ruler. Franz Joseph I became Apostolic King of Hungary, and his wife 'Sissi', became the Hungarian queen. The common portfolios of the Monarchy became the ministry of war, foreign affairs and finance — to cover the cost of the two other portfolios. Despite many positive achievements — such as economical increase —, there were several rights of the ruler, which went against the constitution. For instance, that Franz Joseph I remained responsible for controlling the army, or instead of the common empirical committee, the delegation assigned by the ruler was responsible for supervising the adherence of the constitution. In case of differences in viewpoints, the ruler was the one who had the right to decide, and the assigned party of Adrássy, first had to ask for the permission of the king, and only after this they were allowed propagating it in the parliament. The accepted acts triggered an augment of anti-German attitude in larger layers of society.⁷⁰⁰

Nevertheless, the law article of 1867. XVII — which disposed the emancipation of Jews —, had several positive effect. The Hungarian Jews — in the midst of assimilation —, became the enthusiastic spreaders of Hungarian culture.⁷⁰¹ Soon, the audience of the Hungarian Royal Opera House — along the aristocracy — were adding up from bourgeois and great-bourgeois Jews. Mahler, impersonator of the Jews, whose aspired assimilation⁷⁰² — who meanwhile gained a little too much space —, someone, who did not care about the national musical movements,⁷⁰³ and as being German, probably started to incommode the Hungarian elite, which exclusively wanted to have a Hungarian-language Hungarian Royal Opera House. And although, Mahler tried to meet

⁷⁰⁰ András Gergely, *Az 1867-es kiegyezés*, in *RubicOnline*, 1-2/1996,

http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/az_1867_es_kiegyezes/. Downloaded: 25 March 2014.

⁷⁰¹ Dux Adolf translated *Bánk bán* to German. Source: Peremiczky, p. 2.

⁷⁰² Mahler's willingness for assimilation can be seen from the fact of his baptism (source: Peremiczky, p. 15), but it is also possible that he's only got baptised to get the position of the conductor in Vienna.

⁷⁰³ Peremiczky (p. 14, footnote 47.) alluded to Mihály Szegedy-Maszák's lecture.

the requirements,⁷⁰⁴ probably, he did not want to give up neither his own artistic standard nor his principles, which lead to a conflict.

Mahler left Hungary on 22 or 23 March 1891 — in slightly unworthy circumstances —, but with a fair dismissal pay, and with another contract in Hamburg. At the train station many of his friends and admirers had come to say farewell. Mahler got a silver baton and also silver fruit bowl as a present.⁷⁰⁵ Contrary to János (Hans) Richter, most of the Hungarian audience was upset about the departure of Mahler. The reason of this could be, that his departure also meant the end of a brilliant era, in the history of the Hungarian Royal Opera House.

After Mahler had left, *Siegfried*⁷⁰⁶ was played on 9 April 1892 in Antal Radó's translation in Hungarian, then *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Gods*)⁷⁰⁷ on 12 Dec. 1892. (Also in Antal Radó's translation). Both premieres were conducted by Josef Rebiček (József Rebicsek, 1844-1904). *Nemzet* (*Nation*, 10 April 1892) wrote about *Siegfried* that the music of the performance was a little too difficult, '(...) many fell in sleep until Brünnhilde woke up (...)'⁷⁰⁸ and *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Gods*), which the Hungarian audience

⁷⁰⁴ Under his directorship, Mahler was ready to put several Hungarian compositions to the program as well, from which two performances produced a great income. One of them was *Brankovics György*, and the other was the ballet *Vióra* by Károly Szabados. Source: Roman Mahler, p. 140.

⁷⁰⁵ Roman Mahler, p. 132.

⁷⁰⁶ The cast of the premiere of *Siegfried*: Siegfried: (Gyula) Perotti (Julius Prott) as guest, Mime: (Béni) Dalnoki, The wanderer (Wotan): (Dávid) Ney, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Fafner: (Lajos) Szendrői (Szabó), Erda: (Laura) Hilgermann, Brünnhilde: (Arabella) Szilágyi as guest, The voice of the bird: (Bianka) Bianchi. The opera was translated by Antal Radó dr. directed by Kálmán Alszeghy, and conducted by Josef Rebiček (József Rebicsek). For the premiere-poster see Add. 49. Source: SzNL, THS.

⁷⁰⁷ The cast of the premiere of *Götterdämmerung-Twilight of the Gods-Az istenek alkonya*: Siegfried: (Gyula) Perotti as guest, Gunther: (Lehel) Odry, Hagen: (Dávid) Ney, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Brünnhilde: Arabella Szilágyi as guest, Gutrune: Gizella Rotter, Waltraute: Laura Hilgermann, The Three Norns: Helén Henszler, Berta Handel, Margit Kaczér, Woglinde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Welgunde: Ilona Bárdossy, Flosshilde: Helén Henszler. The opera was translated by Antal Radó, directed by Kálmán Alszeghy, and conducted by József Rebicsek. Source: Haraszti, p. 419.

⁷⁰⁸ '(...) sokan elaludtak, mire Brünnhilde felébredt. (...)'. Source: H, p. 419.

received with great interest, 'was the weakest part of the tetralogy'⁷⁰⁹ (*Nemzet-Nation*, 11 Dec. 1892). The 'entire' 'Tetralogy' was performed at first in the Hungarian Royal Opera from 30 Jan. to 4 Feb. 1893.⁷¹⁰ On 30 Jan. 1893 (*The Rhine Gold-A Rajna kincse*), 31 Jan. (*The Valkyrie-A walkür*), 2 Feb. (*Siegfried*), and 4 Feb. (*Götterdämmerung-Twilight of the Gods-Az istenek alkonya*). According to Haraszti (p. 419.), Hungary was one of the first countries where *The Ring of the Nibelung* appeared as a cycle, performed by 'native' singers.

There were other musical events happening on the territory of Hungary in and after 1893. Five passages were performed from *Parsifal* with permission of Bayreuth in Bratislava on 29 Oct. 1893; out of the parts the *Transformation Scene-Music* (act I.), the grand finale of act I., and '*Parsifal's Arrival*' were heard for the first time in Hungary. Later, on 5 Jan. 1895⁷¹¹ the Opera House renewed '*Mastersingers*'⁷¹² which brought great success at last.⁷¹³ On 20 Apr. 1895 the Orchestra of the Society of Music-lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesületének Zenekara), 'The Glee-club' of Pécs (Pécsi Dalárda)⁷¹⁴ and a woman-choir performed the '*Entry of the Guests*'-March from the *Tannhäuser* (act II.) with the conductorship of Vilmos Löhr in Pécs.⁷¹⁵ It seems possible that as a single

⁷⁰⁹ '(...) a tetralogia leggyengébb része. (...)' Source: H, p. 419.

⁷¹⁰ For the casts see Detailed Summaries (VIII.). For the premiere-posters see Add. 50, 51, 52, 53.

⁷¹¹ Haraszti probably mistakenly dated the premiere to 7 Jan. 1895. (H, p. 420). The date; 5 Jan. can be found in two sources: BudOp100, p. 446. and Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 11.

⁷¹² The cast of the renewed '*Mastersinger*': Sachs: (Dávid) Ney, Pogner: (Lajos) Szendrői, Vogelsang: (Béni) Dalnoki, Nachtigall: Mihályi, Beckmesser: Hegedűs, Kothner: Beck, Zorn: Béla Kiss, Wather: (Ferenc) Broulik, Eva: Gizella Rotter, David: (Dezső) Arányi. Chief Director: Antal Váradi. Sources: BudOp100, p. 446. and Haraszti, p. 420.

⁷¹³ The time of the premiere Arthur Nikisch was the director. He worked there between 1 June 1893 and 5 Aug. 1895. Source: BudOp100, p. 494.

⁷¹⁴ Ferenc Erkel, who played a very important role in the establishment of 'Dalárda-movement' of Hungary was the honorary member of the 'Pécsi Dalárda' as well.

⁷¹⁵ Lajos Haksch, *A negyvenéves Pécsi Dalárda története, 1902–VIII*, Pécs, (Taizs Printing Company), 1902, p. 236. and Mátyás Ivasivka, Attila Kovács, *Pécsi Concerto, Fejezetek Pécs zenetörténetéből, Világhírű külföldi, magyar és helyi zeneszerzők kapcsolata Péccsel és Baranyával*, Pécs, (Alexandra), 2010, p. 118.

number it was performed first time down in the country. According to Haraszti, Róza Sucher sang the songs *Träume* and *Schmerzen* from *Wesendonck-Lieder* on the concert of the Philharmonic Society in 1896, in Budapest (H, p. 462.) and on 16 March 1896 the *Rienzi* overture was first performed in the country, in Pécs, with the accompaniment of The Orchestra of the Society of Music-lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesületének Zenekara), conducted by Vilmos Löhr.⁷¹⁶

Richard Wagner did not meet Vilmos Löhr (Löhr, 1837-1920) but he had some other acquaintances and friends from Pécs.⁷¹⁷ According to Attila Kovács,⁷¹⁸ Wagner's most enthusiastic Pécs' devotee was József Jánosi Engel (1851-1939) who wanted to be musician, but became music journalist instead.⁷¹⁹ He met Wagner and Cosima in Bayreuth in 1874, in where Engel was invited. The proof of their great relationship could be that Wagner became the godfather of Engel's elder sons, Richard.

The last significant events in connection with Wagner before the millennium was the presentation of a 'cycle' of four Wagner operas. According to Haraszti, the *Flying Dutchman* was played on the first evening on 11 July,⁷²⁰ then *Tannhäuser* on 12, *Lohengrin* on 14, and '*Mastersingers*' on 16 1895.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁶ *Pécsi Concerto, Fejezetek Pécs zenetörténetéből*, p. 118.

⁷¹⁷ One of them was probably Ferenc Hölzl Szeráf (1808–1884), who was also a well-known musician in Hungary but also in Austria. For source see the next footnote.

⁷¹⁸ Attila Kovács, *Verdi-Wagner és Pécs*, <http://www.baralib.hu/zenei-verdi-wagner-es-pecs>.

⁷¹⁹ It would be interesting to note that in his first critique; *Richard Wagners Das Judentum in der Musik. Eine Abwehr*, which was released in 1869 in Leipzig, he answered to Wagner's *Das Judentum in der Musik*. He worked for *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Source: Lajos Hajzer, *150 évvel ezelőtt született jánosi Engel József* – in *Pécsi Szemle*, Autumn 2001, pp. 52-53.

⁷²⁰ Tibor Tallián agreed on the performance of '*Holländer*' (BudOp100, p. 103.), but the data of the other mentioned premieres could not be found anywhere but in Haraszti (p. 421.).

⁷²¹ According to Haraszti, the operas were played between 15-20 Aug. as well. Source: Haraszti, p. 421.

4.5.5. The Premieres of *Tristan and Isolde*, *Tannhäuser* ('Paris-version') and the two '*Parsifals*'

After the Millennium, the most important event in Hungarian music history could be the first night of *Tristan and Isolde* in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. Most probably, the Hungarian newspapers first wrote about the dress rehearsal of *Tristan* on 10 November 1901,⁷²² which was public only for the press, but the newspapers were flooded with the news in connection with the upcoming event, from 9 November,⁷²³ looking forward by almost 'everybody'. One of these articles was about the dismissal of the then director, Imre Mészáros. Music-history and history seemed to lock into each other again, at least, according to an article of the contemporary Hungarian press. In the article — *Another director was thrown out (Megint kilöktek egy igazgatót)* —⁷²⁴ the journalist, who used the pseudonym 'Lancelot' — referred to behaviour of the intendant István Keglevich, who was reckoned to be influenced by political interests when dismissing Mészáros. Amongst these both the 'Jew-friendly' behaviour of the intendant, and the aping of the foreign countries were mentioned; according to which, Keglevich kicked out Mészáros — the 'unlucky, [Hungarian] man, who belonging here' — which was a totally unpatriotic demeanour. The incident, which was also regarded as a political act, probably caused an uproar in contemporary Budapest, as it was not only mentioned in the Hungarian papers, (e.g.: *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* 15 Nov. 1901) but also in an article by the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse* (16 Nov. 1901), however in the latter it was written in a seemingly more objective perspective. The dress rehearsal of '*Tristan*' —

⁷²² E.g. *Magyarország (Hungary)*, 267/VIII, 10 Nov. 1901. In the column: Opera House ('Operaház') of *Alkotmány (Constitution)*, 271/VI, 14 Nov. 1901) a piece of information appeared, that the first main rehearsal was delayed because of the sickness of the prima donna: Mrs. Vasquez-(Molina), née Itália (Italia) Ucelli (countess).

⁷²³ The premiere was scheduled to 9 Nov., but because of the sickness of Karel (Károly) Burian (Burrian, sometimes Burián) it was rescheduled to 16th. Ignaz Paderewsky (1861-1941), the famous pianist gave a concert on 16 Nov. in Budapest, so the premiere was delayed again. Source: *Magyar szó (Hungarian Word)*, 265/II, 9 Nov. 1901.

⁷²⁴ Prokopovych alluded to a newspaper cutting file (14 Nov. 1901), which – according to him – can be found in the Archive of the Hungarian State Opera. Prokopovych, p. 74.

which was cancelled several times — was finally to take place on 24⁷²⁵ or more likely on 25⁷²⁶ November. Firstly, it was scheduled at 10 a.m. (according to *Budapester Tagblatt*, 26 Nov.), but probably it was at 9:30 a.m. (*Pesti Napló*—*The Journal of Pest* reported 10 a.m. on 24, but on 27 Nov. changed the date to 9:30 a.m.). The premiere took place on 28 November,⁷²⁷ which could not be precluded neither by the incident of Mészáros-Keglevich, nor the significant strike of the opera's choir⁷²⁸, or the other troubles. In addition to these, the people of the audience who were late to the performance, were not let in until the end of act I, which provision was reckoned as something new.⁷²⁹

By checking the contemporary newspapers' articles it seems, that the event must have had raised a dust in the Hungarian media. On first night the house was full according to the article of 29 November of *Hazánk* (*Our Home*), which also reported that the aforementioned intendant (Keglevich) did not take part in the performance. The previous analysis', which had appeared in the newspapers before benefited the comprehension of the opera,⁷³⁰ in which — and also in the later releases — the journalists competed about: who will understand better Richard Wagner's art. First of all, I have to quote from a true

⁷²⁵ Only one journal, the *Hungary* (*Magyarország*, 273/VIII, 17 Nov. 1901), wrote about the dress rehearsal on 24.

⁷²⁶ Both the *Pesti Napló* (*The Journal of Pest*, 24 Nov. 1901), and the *Budapester Tagblatt*, 26 Nov. 1901, and the *Pesti Hírlap* (*The Gazette of Pest*, 319/XXIII, 18 Nov. 1901) writes about a dress rehearsal of 25 November.

⁷²⁷ The premiere started at 6:30 p.m. with the contribution of the orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conductor: István Kerner. Translation: Emil Ábrányi Sr. Director: Kálmán Alszegehy, scenery: Jenő Kéméndy. The cast: Tristan: (Karel, Károly) Burian (Burrian, or Burián), King Marke: (Dávid) Ney, Isolde: Mrs. Vasquez-(Molina), née Itália Ucelli (countess), Kurwenal: Mihály Takáts(cs), Melot: (Béla) Kiss, Brangene: Mimi Berts, Shepherd: (József) Gábor, Young sailer: (Jenő) Déri. For the premiere-poster see Add. 54. For more details see Appendix, Detailed Summaries, *Tristan and Isolde*. 1901.

⁷²⁸ About the strike both the *Egyetértés* (*Accordance*, 324/XXXV, 27 Nov. 1901) and the *Budapest* (27 Nov. 1901) reported.

⁷²⁹ Moreover, the directorship furnished a confectionery and a bufet in the cloakroom downstairs. Source: Szabó *Burian*, p. 49.

⁷³⁰ E.g. *Neues Pester Journal*, 328/XXX, 28 Nov. 1901.

Wagnerist, junior Kornél Ábrányi,⁷³¹ who probably wrote the most positive criticism about the first performance:

This music is like an ocean! Both the drama, epos and lyre are united in this and all of them remain self-consistent. [...] So it is right to say that all the cities in which Tristan and Isolde have been performed, are one step higher in the level of civilization.⁷³²

On the contrary, János Csiky wrote the following about the first performance:

From endless melodies, and rambling thoughts, it is impossible to compose something interesting. It is just like, as if somebody would like to concoct a *meal* from different spices — like paprika, pepper, clove, cinnamon, ginger, marjoram and nutmeg — with a pleasant taste. ‘Tristan and Isolde’ is a snack like this — good for somebody, who likes it/who is willing to eat it.⁷³³

⁷³¹ Kornél Ábrányi Junior (1849-1913) was the son of Kornél Ábrányi Sr, who has been mentioned several times in this Ph. D. Thesis. Kornél Ábrányi Jr. had been the editor of *Pesti Napló* between 1901 and 1902. He wrote several novels, poetic and theatrical compositions, also wrote many articles and had a fiction column in the contemporary papers, such as he published some political pamphlets (e.g.: *Tisza Kálmán és gróf Andrássy Gyula*, 1878) under the pen name of Aranyos Kákay II (the second). Other works: *A rövidlátók* (comedy, 1872), *Régi és új nemesek* (novel, 1881) etc.

Source: MagyÉLex, <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC00003/00050.htm>. Downloaded: 7 April 2014.

⁷³² ‘Egy óceán ez a zene! A dráma, az éposz és a lira minden eleme egyesül ebben s önmagához mindenik következetes marad. [...] S ezért igaz az, hogy minden város, melynek falai közt Tisztán és Izolda hallani lehet, egy műveltségi fokkal magasabbra lépett.’

⁷³³ ‘Végtelen dallamokból, összefüggés nélkül álló gondolatokból nem lehet érdekes művet alkotni. Olyanféle ez, mintha valaki csupa kellemes ízű fűszerből: paprikából, borsból, szegfűszegből, fahéjból, gyömbérből, majorannából és szerecsendióból *ételt* akarna kotyvasztani. „Tristan és Isolde” is csak ilyen csemege, — jó annak, aki szereti.’ Sources: Art. *Two Premieres-Tristan and Isolde (Két premier, I. Tristan és Izolda)* in *Magyar szó (Hungarian Word)*, 28 Nov. 1901, Szabó *Burian*, p. 50.

Andor Merkler, the music-critic of *Hungary (Magyarország)* — a political newspaper — was complaining about the length of the drama,⁷³⁴ Károly Antalík praised the translation of Emil Ábrányi Sr.⁷³⁵ in *Our Home (Hazánk)*.⁷³⁶ *The Journal of Pest (Pesti Napló)*, 29 November, wrote in a witty, but satirical way about the first night, also mentioning the Hungarian Wagnerians. According to István Gergely it was a perfect Babel,⁷³⁷ and the *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* reckoned István Kerner — the conductor of the performance — as one of the best Wagner-conductors. The papers were more or less delighted with the director, Kálmán Alszegehy, and the settings of Jenő Kéméndy, limner (e.g. *Pesti Hírlap*, *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Budapesti Napló* on 29 Nov.). Most of them appreciated Károly Burian⁷³⁸ and Vasquezné,⁷³⁹ and were the most divided

⁷³⁴ 28 Nov. 1901.

⁷³⁵ The other son of Kornél Ábrányi Sr. Emil Ábrányi Sr. (1851-1920) was a well-known poet, journalist and translator. His wife, Margit Wein was an operasinger, sang e.g. Woglinde in *The Valkyrie (A walkür)* on 26 Jan. 1889. Their son, Emil Ábrányi Jr. was a composer and became a famous conductor, who worked in Hungarian Royal Opera House among others. Source: *MagyÉLex*, Volume I, p. 6.

⁷³⁶ 28 Nov. 1901.

⁷³⁷ '(...) ilyen a világ mifelénk. A cseh tenorista olaszul zeng, olasz primadonnánk magyarul, egynémely magyar énekesnőnk [Berts Mimi] pedig érthetetlenül.'

'(...) life is like this in our country. The Czech tenor sings in Italian, the Italian prima donna in Hungarian, some of our Hungarian singers [Berts Mimi] incomprehensibly.' *Budapesti Napló-The Journal of Budapest*, 29 Nov. 1901.

⁷³⁸ Károly (Karel) Burián (1870-1924) was one of the most outstanding singers during the first part of the XX. century. He was 'Heldentenor', and mostly kept tallied as a Wagner-singer. The first part of his career lasted until 1902, while the second half from 1902 to 1913. During this period (1902-1913), he sang in Dresden, New York, Bayreuth, London and Paris. After 1913 he left to America. His style of singing cannot be regarded as 'Bayreuthean style', rather Belcanto, his presence benefited the development of Hungarian Wagnerism. Source: Szabó *Burian*, pp. X-XIV.

⁷³⁹ Italia Vasquez-Molina, née Ucelli (countess). Born in 1869, died in 1954. 'Hungarian' Soprano. The leading dramatic soprano of Hungarian Royal Opera House until 1912. Although she had Belcanto-vocal technique, she was great in Wagner-roles as well. She always sang in Italian (sic., on the premiere of *'Tristan'* she sang in Hungarian-my comment), never learned the Hungarian language. Her main roles were: Elisabeth, Venus (*Tannhäuser*), Elsa (*Lohengrin*), Brünhilde, Sieglinde, Isolde, Santuzza (Mascagni: *Cavalleria Rusticana*).

about Berts Mimi's performance.⁷⁴⁰ Besides the itemization of the criticisms, it is worth mentioning two other things in connection with the Hungarian Wagner-reception. Firstly, that according to Gyula Fodor, by the means of the first performance of 'Tristan' '(...) the citizens of Pest turned from gypsy-music — without a transition — to the music of Wagner (...)',⁷⁴¹ which statement — I should hope — has been already refuted previously in my Ph. D. Thesis,⁷⁴² and on another hand there was no need to switch at all, since the 'verbunkos' and 'foklike-songs' were parts of Hungarian culture at the time. It can be also interesting to mention that according to Markian Prokopovych (Prokopovych, p. 88.), the Hungarian State Opera (actually the Hungarian Royal Opera House) had become untinged from cultural nationalism by the time of the '*Tristan's*' first performance.

Although there were a few 'small premieres'⁷⁴³ in the territory of Hungary after the first performances of '*Tristan*', the following important premiere in the Hungarian Royal Opera House was the 'Paris-version' of the *Tannhäuser*,⁷⁴⁴ on

Source: Magyar Színházművészeti Lex., <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02139/html/sz28/169.html>.
Downloaded: 8 April 2014.

⁷⁴⁰ Mimi Berts' photo can be seen in Add. 55.

⁷⁴¹ Géza Staud's idea. Source: BudOp100, p. 68.

⁷⁴² Markian Prokopovych is of the same mind as me. (Prokopovich, pp. 69-88).

⁷⁴³ Between 1901 and 1907 there were a few Wagner-premieres in Hungary. 16 March 1903, the Hungarian minister of religion- and education set up the Scholarship-Foundation of Bayreuth for Hungarian Singers and Musicians (Magyar ének- és zene-művészek bayreuthi ösztöndíj-alapja) in 1903; for the good of this scholarship-fund they organised a concert in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. The fragments from Wagner's operas had been conducted by Siegfried Wagner. Apr. 1903, Bratislava, the first performance of *The Valkyrie* in the country. 14 Jan. 1904-Theodor Bertram and Dr. Alexander Dillmann gave a Wagner-concert in Hotel Royal, Budapest. 10 March 1906, Timișoara, *Lohengrin*, conductor: Árpád Orbán. 1907, The Ecclesiastical Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneművészeti Társulat) with the conductorship of Kossow Jenő dr. performed the composition scored WWV 37, namely the melodies of the *Columbus-overture*. (Got lost. Rediscovered in 1905. Date of formation: 1834–1835). First performance in Hungary. (Haraszti, p. 422). 3 March 1907, the premiere of *Lohengrin* in Debrecen, conductor: Oszkár Fekete, with the contribution of Glee-club of Debrecen (Debreceni Városi Dalegylet) and the Accordance-orchestra (Egyetértés zenekar). For more details see this present dissertation, Appendix VII.

⁷⁴⁴ Details about the premiere: the new parts of the Hungarian text: Sándor Várady, the previous versions: Kornél Ábrányi. Conductor: István Kerner. Cast (according to Haraszti): Hermann:

24 October 1907.⁷⁴⁵ The *Hungarian Stage (Magyar Színpad)* heralded the event (295/X, 24 Oct. 1907), in which a journalist with the pseudonym 'Figaró' quoted from one of Wagner's letters, written in 1859. He also totalized the number of performances up to this point (49 performance in 14 years), and in the 5th page of the same issue, the lyrics of the opera had been published. The *Music World (Zenevilág)* released a very detailed criticism about the first night, in two parts – VIII. year, issues 31. and 32. The first part dealt with the story of the composition, and the second issue compared the structure of the two versions, and also talked praisingly about Jenő Kéméndy, Ágoston Span(n)raft and Christofani, but did not forget to appreciate György Anthes⁷⁴⁶ Margit Kaczér and the other singers.

According to Tibor Tallián (BudOp100, p. 106.), from the 1900s Wagner became quite 'posh' in Budapest (Hungary), which can be proved by the fact, that the number of Wagner-performances in a season, which never went below 30 (except the season of 1905-06), moreover, in 1907-1908 it culminated with 37, which was 20% out of the total number of the performances in the Opera. (It is quite interesting, that the operas of Verdi were only 5% of the contemporary repertoire of the Hungarian Royal Opera House in the mentioned period). After the years of 1907-08, Hungary got into the storm of history again. Political demonstrations, (e.g.: 'Vörös csütörtök' (Red Thursday), 10 Oct. 1907, 'Vérvörös csütörtök' (Sanguine Thursday), 23 May 1912, assassination attempt

Béla Venczell, Elisabeth: Mrs. Vasquez-(Molina), née Itália Ucelli (countess), Tannhäuser: György Anthes, Wolfram: Mihály Takáts(cs), Walter: (Jenő) Déri, Biterof: Bernát Ney, Heinrich: Elemér Pichler, Reinmer: Rezső Kárpát, Venus: Margit Kaczér. H, p. 422.

⁷⁴⁵ Haraszi mistakenly dated the premiere to 14th. (H, p. 422). The date (24th) can be found e.g. in *Magyar Színpad (Hungarian Stage)* 295/X, 24 Oct. 1907, in BudOp100, pp. 449-50. and in Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 28.

⁷⁴⁶ György Anthes (1863-1922), the Hungarian tenor, debuted in Freiburg in 1888. Between 1889 and 1902 he worked in Dresden, and between 1902 and 1903 in the Metropolitan Opera House of New York. From 1902 to 1913, he was the opera singer of the Hungarian Royal Opera House. One of his most successful roles was the lead of the *Lohengrin*. From 1913 he had been teacher of the Liszt Academy, from 1920 until his death worked as the main director of the Opera. Source: MagySzínházművLex, <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02139/html/sz01/174.html>. Downloaded: 9 April 2014.

of István Tisza, 7 June 1912, etc.), which can be possibly regarded as the earnest of World War I.⁷⁴⁷

Before Franz Ferdinand — crown prince — and his wife were murdered on 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo, the monopoly of *Parsifal* had expired on 1 January 1914, which made it possible for the last great composition of Wagner, to be performed worldwide. It is interesting, that the first opportunity was not taken by the Hungarian Royal Opera House, but by the 'Népopera'-Folk Opera, which — considering its repertory — favoured plays with more 'ethereal' genres. The theatre — constructed in 1911 — had the largest volumetric capacity in contemporary Budapest, and was located in the then Tiszta Kálmán square. Probably the Folk Theatre of Buda can be considered as the forerunner of the theatre, which was entertaining wider layers of society from 1861 until 1870. After the termination of the institution, in 1875, there was already a new institution with open doors, waiting for the audience, the 'Népszínház' (Folk Theatre), in the recent Blaha Lujza square. The first renter of it had been Jenő Rákosi, from whom his son in law, Lajos Evva, took the tenancy of the building. Although, the 'Népszínház' (Folk Theatre) had a successful professional life, its financial state putrefied, because of the establishing of other theatres (e.g.: 1896-'Vígsház' (Comedy Theatre), 1897-'Magyar Színház' (Hungarian Theatre), 1903- 'Király Színház' (King Theatre). The governance of the theatre — which was then called 'Népszínház-Vígopera' (Folk Theatre-Comedy Opera) — was taken by Dezső Máder in the October of 1907,⁷⁴⁸ who first of all billed the plays of Hungarian composers, and was planning to revive the then folk play with the help of the best Hungarian writers. But the institution could not operate for a long time, as in the season of 1908-09, the Hungarian National Theatre

⁷⁴⁷ But before the outbreak of I Worldwar, between 1908 and 1913 a few Wagner-premieres were arranged in the territory of Hungary. 1 Jan. 1908, according to Haraszi the Philharmonic Society performed the *Rule Britannia-overture* (1834) number WWV 42. First performance in Hungary. (H, p. 422.) 3 Jan. 1913, the premiere of the '*Holländer*' in Cluj Napoca, conductor: Miklós Bródy dr. 25 Jan. 1913, the opening night of the '*Holländer*' in Timișoara, conductor: Árpád Orbán. Around May 1913, Festival in the memory of Wagner, Arad. There were performed fragments from the *Flying Dutchman*, the *Tannhäuser*, *The Rhine Gold* and *The Valkyrie*. For source see Appendix, VII.

⁷⁴⁸ Máder was director there from 15 Sept. 1901 to 7 April 1907. Source: BudOp100, p. 494.

rented the building, so the need for the construction of a capacious theatre arose, which was open for all layers of society. The coiner and the implementer of the concept was Dezső Márkus (1870-1948), who as the student of Ferenc (Franz) Liszt, also the coach and later conductor of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, and the main music-director of the 'Városi Színház' (Urban Theatre), seemed to be really qualified for fulfilling the position. Despite the cheap tickets and various programs, the theatre was not able to survive, so after the opening on 7 December 1911, the tenancy of the building alighted back on the capital city (Budapest) in 1914.⁷⁴⁹

My supposition is that the first performance of the *Parsifal* can mainly be merited of Dezső Márkus, who according to the article titled *Parsifal in the Folk Opera (Parsifal a Népoperában)*, in the 4-11 January 1/III issue of *Színházi Élet (Theatre Life)*,⁷⁵⁰ was dealing with the coaching of the music drama. Frigyes Reiner probably also played a significant part in the aforementioned *Parsifal*-history; according to the source mentioned before, he had not only established his reputation in Hungary by conducting the play, but also in foreign countries. Furthermore, we should not forget Adolf Mérey, who fulfilled the position of the director, with '(...) an artistic talent of a role model.'⁷⁵¹ The journalist highlighted György Anthes and Teréz K. Krammer from the singers, but wrote in praise of the performance of the others as well.⁷⁵² The critic of *A Zene (The Music)* — with the pseudonym of 'tta.' — the scientific and artistic monthly journal, in the 1. issue of season VI. (pp. 10-12.), wrote in detail about the first night. In his opinion, the performance should not be released beyond the walls of Bayreuth, and the atmosphere of the venue was in no way suitable of performing the play. He said there was much room for improvement considering the direction, not to

⁷⁴⁹ The source of the history of the 'Folk Theatre': Pálincás, pp. 187-208.

⁷⁵⁰ Illustrated Theatrical, Artistic and Cinema Weekly paper. Its responsible editor was Sándor Incze. Released every Sunday morning, provided with the weekly program of the theatres in Budapest.

⁷⁵¹ '(...) mintaképpül szolgálható művészi teljességgel.'

⁷⁵² Cast: *Parsifal*: György Anthes, Kundry: Teréz Kammer (K.), Amfortas: (Arnold) Gábor, Titurel: Ernő Mátrai, Gurnemanz: Sándor Bihar, Klingsor: Ödön Pajor, Esquires: Rózsi Ábrányi, Margit Ney, Ferenc Pázmán, Károly Huszár, Grail Knights: Lajos Lóránd, Dezső Róna, Flower-maidens: Rózsi Ábrányi, Margit Ney, Ilona Sebők, Adél Adler, Zoja Rozovszka, Erzsí Murányi. See the poster in Add. 56.

mention the problems of the setting. (For instance the magic-garden of Klingsor could not be lowered, as in the theatre there was no bridge lift-elevator stage). The choirs were unsure both in intonation and in rhythm, the standing of the children-choir was disillusioning, such as the *choir of Flower-girls*, and the exiguous number of the orchestra (compared to the one in Bayreuth) was one more reason to criticize. In spite of the recited items, the journalist praised Frigyes Reiner, with whose conductorship the orchestra was at its best, and he also wrote nicely about Anthes, Krammer, Gábor, Pajor and Mátrai. There was full house; the singers were applauded 30 times, and nobody left before the end of the play. In the 3 January, XIX. season, issue 3, column 'Színházi élet' (Theatrical life) of the *Magyar Színpad (Hungarian Stage)*,⁷⁵³ a really appreciative criticism appeared with a title of *The audience of Parsifal – The punctual audience (A Parsifal közönsége – A pontos publikum)*, which was mainly about the audience. According to the journalist '(...) there had been never an audience behaving so wonderfully, so ideally.'⁷⁵⁴ Out of the 3400 — or so — people, nobody was late, so that the performance could start at the minute of 5 p.m. During the 40-minute break after act I, 26 cars parked in front of the theatre, out of which some people went to supper, other to get changed, and after the break, every car returned with its passengers, and the audience bursted out in salvo after every act. The longest article was probably released in *Zeneközlöny (Music Bulletin, 10/XII)*,⁷⁵⁵ in 15 January, written by Gyula Fodor, whom I have mentioned before in connection with the first night of '*Tristan*'. The music-critic Gyula Fodor (1890-1948), tended to be an extremist in some cases. As I wrote about it in detail apropos of '*Tristan*', it might be possible that his lines — particularly about the reception of the music drama — should be taken with a grain of salt. Gyula Fodor was probably the only one who wrote about the first performance of *Parsifal*, that it did not have a significant impact, and also

⁷⁵³ The paper was the official journal of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, the National Theatre, Castle-theatre (Várszínház), the Comedy Theatre (Vígsház), the Hungarian Theatre (Magyar Színház), the Folk Opera ('Népopera'), the King Theatre (Király Színház), the Theatre of Budapest (Budapesti Színház) and the Summer Theatre of the Capital (Fővárosi Nyári Színpad) of Hungary.

⁷⁵⁴ '(...) soha ilyen remekül, ilyen ideálisan közönség nem viselkedett.'

⁷⁵⁵ Its editor was Dezső Demény, published by Rózsavölgyi Co.

that it was strange for the audience. He wrote the following about Wagner, as a composer: ‘The *Parsifal* is the solution to Wagner’s life (...)’, and that Wagner — in his soul — is the most Christian composer ever.’ He continued: ‘The art of Wagner shows its final sophistication and most ideal crystallization, still, the *Parsifal*, compared to his previous compositions, is decadence.’⁷⁵⁶ He reckons that several parts of *Parsifal* are boring, and there are too many returning melodies from Wagner’s previous compositions, mostly in the outstanding parts. Yet, the performance is ‘relatively’ good, which the critic ascribed to the guest-actors (singers) and the significant financial investment. Fodor was not happy at all about the play being performed in German, but believed: the original language is a stylistic requirement, and any play or opera — without a doubt — is the most accurate in its original language. Fodor agreed with the previously quoted critics in one point, the prominent performance of Frigyes Reiner, whom can be thanked for the choir being able to deal with their deficiencies of musical intellect and lack of musical education, and also the orchestra played well – of course only ‘more or less’. Fodor also praised the settings of Loeffler, with a comment that because of the deficiencies of the lights, there were no significant effects even in the best settings (act I.). The critique wrote most positively about György Anthes, whose pronunciation in German, and expressiveness of his speech was reckoned unique. Teréz Krammer had been stunning, gorgeous and hypnotic in the role of the hysteric fairy (Kundry), and Sándor Bihar was also an outstanding member of the cast. On the contrary, the writer regarded Gábor’s presence pleasant, but monotone, and strictly criticized Pajor, saying that he was uncultivated.

If I consider the criticisms in average, I would have to say that the first performance of *Parsifal* in German, received a warm welcome in Hungary, and that there is no doubt that the Hungarian audience had come a long way since getting familiar with the first Wagner-opus. Still, despite the success, partly, because of events of World War I, and other factors, the Hungarian audience

⁷⁵⁶ ‘A *Parsifal* Wagner életének megoldása (...)’, s hogy Wagner — lélekben — a legkeresztényebb zeneszerző.’ ‘Wagner művészete itt mutatja végső kifinomultságát és legideálisabb kikristályosodását, mégis, a *Parsifal* Wagner többi műveihez viszonyítva dekadencia.’

had to wait until 1 June 1924 for the first night of the *Parsifal*⁷⁵⁷ in the Hungarian Royal Opera House, presented in Hungarian. The debt had been settled finally by István Kerner. With his conductorship the performance was presented in perfect metrics, with the contribution of perfectly square orchestral sound and perfect vocalic solutions. The title-role was sung by Ferenc Székelyhidy (1885-1954); Kundry was sung by Olga Haselbeck (1884-1961), the role of Gurnemanz performed by Béla Venczell (1882-1945).⁷⁵⁸

Resumé and Panorama

With the first night of the *Parsifal* in 1924, at the Hungarian Royal Opera House, in Hungarian, all the frequently performed operas of Wagner had been presented in Hungary. The Hungarian Wagner-reception shows a really interesting development — I hope also for the reader — for almost 100 years (the first news about Richard Wagner was released in 1842 in an Hungarian journal), amongst others, because it arched over several periods of both Hungarian and international history and music history.

During the process of creating my Ph. D Thesis, my main aim was to introduce the relation of a unique composer, an interesting country and its people, in connection with a topic, which was interesting per se in itself. And while trying to present the Hungarian history of Richard Wagner punctually and accurately, I started to understand the history of my own country and its people much better.

⁷⁵⁷ 1 June 1924, 5 p.m. Played by the orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by István Kerner. The translation which was based on the work of István Keresztly was completed by Viktor Lányi. Director: László Márkus. Cast: Amfortas: Árpád Szemere, Titurel: Bernát Ney, Gurnemanz: Béla Venczell, Parsifal: (Ferenc) Székelyhidy(y) (dr.), Kundry: Olga Haselbeck, Klingsor: Ferenc Szende, 1st Grail Knight: Zoltán Závodszy, 2nd Grail Knight: Pál Komáromy, 1st Esquire: Edit Kiss, 2nd Esquire: Elma Haynal, 3rd Esquire: Kálmán Szügyi, 4th Esquire: Gyula Toronyi. 1st Flower-maiden: Gizella Goda, 2nd: Gitta Halász, 3rd: Rózsi Marsalkó, 4th: Matild Palay, 5th: Vilma Tihanyi, 6th: Karola Bodor. For the premiere-poster see Add. 57.

⁷⁵⁸ The source of the events of *Parsifal* in 1924 was Tibor Tallián's essay in BudOp100, pp. 201-203.

In the end of my Ph. D. Thesis, I had to face two things. Firstly, that lock up of a manuscript is a really hard task. I could write about many more things. Secondly, that every end is a beginning at the same time; and after finishing with the introduction of this period, there could be a presentation of another almost 100 years' history (1924-2014), which will provide not only me, but also the readers — I hope — again with a lot of excitement in its time.

Ildikó Rita Anna Varga.

V. List of Abbreviations

**Addenda 1998–2009,
WBV**

Addenda 1998–2009 zu Werner Breig, Martin Dürer, Andreas Mielke, Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Briefe von Richard Wagner, Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis (WBV), erstellt in Zusammenarbeit mit der Richard Wagner-Gesamtausgabe, Redaktionelle Mitarbeit: Birgit Goede, Wiesbaden, Leipzig, Paris, (Breitkopf & Härtel), [1998], 2009.

Altmann

Wilhelm Altmann, Richard Wagners Briefe nach Zeitfolge und Inhalt: Ein Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte des Meisters, Leipzig, (Breitkopf und Härtel), 1905.

AmagyWagn

A magyarországi wagnerizmus, Editor: Margó Szöllösi, Budapest, (Richard Wagner Társaság, Szabó Lőrinc alapítvány), 2000.

ANemzSzính150

Miklós Hofer, Bálint Magyar, Mrs. Mályusz, née Edit Császár, György Székely, László Vámos, A Nemzeti Színház 150 éve, Budapest, (Gondolat), 1987.

Barna

István Barna, Erkel Ferenc operái az egykorú sajtó tükrében in Zenetudományi Tanulmányok II, Ed.: Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1954, pp. 175-218.

Barna Erkel

István Barna, Erkel nagy művei és a kritika in Zenetudományi Tanulmányok IV, Ed.: Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1955, pp. 211-270.

- Bartha-Révész** Dénes Bartha, Dorrit Révész, *Joseph Haydn élete dokumentumokban*, Budapest, (Európa Könyvkiadó), 2008.
- Bartlett** Rosamund Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, (Cambridge Studies in Russian Literature), Cambridge, (Cambridge University Press), 1995.
- Batta** András Batta, *Richard Wagner und Ungarn in Wagner Weltweit, Die Zeitschrift des Richard Wagner Verband International e. V*, Nr. 30/10, July 1999, pp. 21-29.
- Bauer** Albert Bauer, *Erkel hangszerelése in Erkel Ferencz Emlékkönyv 1810-1910, születésének századik évfordulójára írók és tudósok közreműködésével*, Ed.: Bertalan Fabó, Budapest, (Pátria), 1910, pp. 77-102.
- Birkin** Kenneth Birkin, *Hans von Bülow, A Life for Music*, Cambridge, (Cambridge University Press), 2011.
- Bónis** Ferenc Bónis, *Mosonyi Mihály*, Budapest, (Gondolat), 1960.
- Bónis Erkel, Bánk bán** Ferenc Bónis, *Erkel Ferenc a Bánk bánról in Magyar Zenetörténeti Tanulmányok, Írások Erkel Ferencről és a magyar zene korábbi századaiból*, Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1968, pp. 63-73.
- Bónis Mosonyi** Ferenc Bónis, *Richard Wagner und sein Komponistenfreund aus Pest: Mihály Mosonyi*, in: *Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1978*, H. 6. Siegfried, pp. 55-60.
- Br Freunde** Erich Kloss, (Hrsg.), *Richard Wagner: Briefe an Freunde und Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, (Schuster&Loeffler), 1909.

BrWB	Richard Wagner, <i>Briefe an Hans von Bülow</i> , Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs in Jena, 1916.
BrWL1	<i>Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt</i> , Leipzig, (Breitkopf & Härtel), 1887, Volume I.
BrWL2	<i>Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt, Dritte erweiterte Auflage in Volksstümlicher Gestalt</i> , Herausgegeben von Erich Kloss, Leipzig, (Breitkopf & Härtel), 1910.
BudFilhTárs	<i>A Budapesti Filharmóniai Társaság százötven esztendeje, 1853-2003</i> , Ed.: Ferenc Bónis, Budapest, (Balassi Kiadó), 2005.
BudOp100	Ágnes Gelencsér, Géza Körtvélyes, Géza Staud, György Székely, Tibor Tallián, <i>A Budapesti Operaház 100 éve</i> , Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1984.
Burgtheater/ 1776-1976	<i>Burgtheater 1776-1976, Aufführungen und Besetzungen von Zweihundert Jahren</i> , Volume I, Wien, (Salzer-Ueberreuter), [1979].
Chiappari Liszt	L. Chiappari, <i>Liszt: 'Excelsior', op. 1400: Catalogo delle composizioni cronologico, tematico, alfabetico</i> , Pisa, 1996.
Ch. Mueller-Eckhardt Liszt	Rena Charnin Mueller-Mária Eckhardt, <i>Tematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Franz Liszts</i> , Munich, in preparation, [LW].
Cosima Wagner, Napló	Cosima Wagner, <i>Napló, 1869-1883, Válogatás</i> , Budapest, (Gondolat), 1983.
Dahlhaus	Carl Dahlhaus, <i>The Idea of Absolut Music</i> , translated by Roger Lustig, (Originally published as <i>'Die Idee der absoluten Musik'</i> in 1978), Chicago, (The University of Chicago Press), 1991.
Démoni ragály	<i>Démoni ragály: A pestis</i> , the catalogue of the Exhibition of the Semmelweis Museum of the

- History of Medicine, Budapest, (Published by Károly Kapronczay), 2007.
- D' Isoz Erkel** Kálmán d' Isoz, *Erkel és a szimfonikus zene in Erkel Ferencz Emlékkönyv születésének századik évfordulójára írók és tudósok közreműködésével, edited by Bertalan Fabó.* Budapest, ('Pátria' Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai R.- Társ. Nyomása), 1910, pp. 125-156.
- Dobszay** László Dobszay, *A magyar dal könyve,* Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1984.
- Dugonics Bátori** András Dugonics, *Bátori Mária, Szomorú történet öt szakaszban (Mária Bátori, Sad Story in Five Chapters)* in the cycle *Nemzeti Könyvtár* with the essay; *Endrődy Sándornak Dugonicsról írt tanulmányával*, Ed.: Lajos Abafi, Budapest, (Aigner Lajos in A. Rudnyánszky Könyvnyomdája), 1881.
- Eckhardt-Mueller, Liszt** Mária Eckhardt, Rena Charnin Mueller, *Tematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Franz Liszts*, Munich, in preparation, [LW].
- EnlAbs** *Felvilágosult abszolutizmus?* in *Public Foundation of Habsburg Studies*, V, pp. 47-71, http://www.habsburg.org.hu/files/konyvek/niederhauser_emil_maria_terezia_elete_es_kora_V.pdf. Downloaded: 5 June 2014.
- Erkel Operas, Bánk bán** *Ferenc Erkel Operas, Bánk bán*, Chief Ed.: Tibor Tallián, Budapest, (Rózsavölgyi Kiadó), 2009.
- Erkel Operas, Mária Bátori** *Ferenc Erkel, Operas, Mária Bátori*, Chief Ed.: Tibor Tallián, Budapest, (Rózsavölgyi Kiadó), 2002.
- É. Lakatos** Éva Lakatos, *A magyar színházi folyóiratok bibliográfiája (1778-1948)*, Budapest,

	(Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum és Intézet), 1993, pp. 190-91.
Faragó Korall	Dr. Tamás Faragó, <i>Adatok a pestisjárványok magyarországi történetéhez</i> , <i>Korall</i> , 30/8, 2007.
Fazekas	<i>Verdi Machbetje Pesten</i> , Budapest, (The Website of the Hungarian State Opera), 22 March 2011, p. 5.
Finscher	Ludwig Finscher, <i>Joseph Haydn und seine Zeit</i> , Laaber-Regensburg, (Laaber-Verlag), 2001.
Gabrielová	Jarmila Gabrielová, <i>Antonin Dvorák and Richard Wagner</i> , in <i>Muzikologija (Musicology)</i> , 6/6, 2006, pp. 305-316.
Geiringer	Karl Geiringer, <i>Joseph Haydn</i> , Budapest, (Gondolat), 1969.
Glasenapp	Carl Fr. Glasenapp, <i>Das Leben Richard Wagners in sechs Büchern, vorgestellt von Carl Fr. Glasenapp</i> , Leipzig, (Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel), 1911.
Glossy	Karl Glossy, <i>Zur Geschichte der Wiener Theaterzensur. I. In Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft</i> , Wien, (Konegen), 1897.
Grey	Thomas S. Grey, <i>Richard Wagner and His Work</i> , Princeton, New Jersey, (Princeton University Press), 2009.
GROVE Monographs	<i>GROVE Monographs (GROVE monográfiák)</i> , Ed.: Stanley Sadie, Translated by Tibor Tallián, London, (Papermac Macmillan), Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), [1984], 1988.
GROVE Opera	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Opera</i> , Ed. by Stanley Sadie, London, (Macmillen Publishers), 1992.
GROVE sec.ed.	<i>The New Grove Dictionary for Music and Musicians</i> , Second Edition, Ed. by Stanley Sadie, London, (Macmillan), 2001.

- Gurmai Csörgősapka** Éva Gurmai, *Johann Baptist Henneberg-Emanuel Schikaneder-Szerelemhegyi András: Csörgősapka*, in *Magyar Zene (Hungarian Music)*, Budapest, 2002, 3/40, pp. 271-278.
- Gurmai István király** Éva Gurmai, (Gábor Bóka's interview), *István király – a kottától az előadásig*, in *Opera-Világ*, 13 Aug. 2013, <http://operavilag.net/interjuk/istvan-kiraly-a-kottatol-az-eloadasig/>.
- Hamburger** Klára Hamburger, *Liszt Ferenc: Hunok csatája, A hét zeneműve*, 1983-1984, pp. 272-278.
- Haraszti** Emil Haraszti, *Wagner Richard és Magyarország*, Budapest, (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása), 1916.
- H. Balázs** Éva H. Balázs, *A nyolcvanas esztendőök drámája*, in Győző Ember, Gusztáv Heckenast, *Magyarország története, 1686–1790*, IV/2, Budapest, 1989, 1023–1123.
- Hoboken** Anthony Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Volume II, Mainz, (B. Schott's Söhne), 1971.
- Illésy Szalkay** Dr. János Illésy, *Adatok Szalkay Antal élete történetéhez*, in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények (Publications in Literary History)*, ed. by Áron Szilády, 1/10, Budapest, (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kiadása), 1900, pp. 87-96.
- Karpf** Roswitha Vera Karpf, *Beiträge zur Österreichischen Wagner-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert*, Nr. 129 in *Richard Wagner 1883-1983: Die Rezeption im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, *Gesammelte Beiträge der Salzburger Symposions*, Stuttgart,

- (Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz),
1984, pp. 229-247.
- Kassai** István Kassai, *Néhány szó Bartay Endréről in Magyar Zene (Hungarian Music)*, September 1991, 3/XXXII, pp. 328-331.
- Kincses** Károly Kincses, *Rosti Pál 1830-1874*, Budapest, (Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum & Balassi Kiadó), 1992.
- Kolland** Hubert Kolland, *Die kontroverse Rezeption von Wagners Nibelungen-Ring 1850-1870, Diss., Berliner Musik-Studien, Bd. 5, Köln, (Technische Univ.), 1992.*
- Kristófi** Kristófi János Zsigmond, *Levéltári adatok Nagyvárad XVIII. századi egyházzenei életéhez*, in *Magyar Egyházzene*, 2-3/VIII, Budapest, (Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság), 2000/2001, pp. 279-86.
- Kulcsár/Nem** Krisztina Kulcsár, *Jelen a múlt jövője, 'nem bánom, ha József császárnak is panaszkodok'*, http://mnl.gov.hu/pp_hir_nyomtat.php?hir_id=59 3. Downloaded: 3 July 2011.
- Kulcsár/II. József** Krisztina Kulcsár, *Jelen a múlt jövője, II. József visszavonja rendeleteit*, http://mnl.gov.hu/a_het_dokumentuma/ii._jozsef_visszavonja_rendeleteit.html. (1 Sept. 2013).
- Lakatos** István Lakatos, *A kolozsvári magyar zenés színpad (1792-1973)*, Bukarest, (Kriterion Könyvkiadó), 1977.
- Lakatos Brassai** István Lakatos, *Brassai Sámuel és a muzsika (I.-V.)*, in *Keresztény Magvető*, 1941/43, pp. 143-151.
- Landon** H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and works*, Volume 5, London, (Thames and Hudson), 1976-1980.

Lat. Magy.	<i>Latin-magyar, magyar-latin szótár és latin morfológiai elemző</i> , http://www.tintakiado.hu/cgi-bin/e-szotar/lat/search.cgi . Downloaded: 1 Apr. 2014.
Legány	Dezső Legány, <i>Erkel Ferenc művei és korabeli történetük</i> , Budapest, (Zeneműkiadó), 1975.
MagyÉLex	<i>Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon</i> , Ed.: Ágnes Kenyeres, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1967.
MagyMűvTört	<i>Magyar Művelődéstörténet</i> , ed. by Sándor Domanovszky, György Balanyi, Imre Szentpétery, Elemér Mályusz, Elemér Varjú, Volume V, <i>Az új Magyarország</i> , Budapest, (Arcanum Adatbázis Kft), 2003, http://mek.oszk.hu/09100/09175/html/93.html .
MagySzíntört	<i>Magyar színháztörténet 1790-1873</i> , Ed: György Székely, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1990.
MagySzínLex	<i>Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon/Pesti Német Színház</i> , Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1994.
MagySzínművLex	<i>Magyar Színművészeti Lexikon</i> , Budapest, (Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézete), 1931.
MagyTört	<i>Magyarország Története 1848-1890</i> , Chief Ed.: Endre Kovács, ed.: László Katus, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1987.
MagyTört19	<i>Magyarország története a 19. században</i> , Ed.: András Gergely, Budapest, (Osiris), 2005.
Magytört/1686-1790	<i>Magyarország története 1686-1790</i> , chief editors: Győző Ember and Gusztáv Heckenast, Volume II, chapter 4, <i>A mobilizált társadalom, Novus Ordo a társadalomban, a gazdaságban, a jogi életben</i> , 1989.

- Major A népies** Ervin Major, *A népies magyar műzene és a népzene kapcsolatai*, Budapest, (Stádium Sajtóvállalat Részvénytársaság), 1930.
- Major Népdal** Ervin Major, *Népdal és verbunkos, adalékok néhány verbunkos-dallamunk népdal-eredetéhez*, in *Emlékkönyv Kodály 70. születésnapjára*, Ed.: Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha, Budapest, (Akadémiai Kiadó), 1953.
- Marczali** Henrik Marczali, *Magyarország története II. József korában*, 1–3. Budapest, (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvkiadó Vállalata), 1882–1888.
- McKnight** Mark McKnight, *Wagner and the New York Press 1855-76 in American Music*, Vol. 5. No. 2, (Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois), Summer, 1987, pp. 145-155.
- Mein Leben** *Richard Wagner, Mein Leben*, Volume I and II, Leipzig, (Diestrich'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung zu Leipzig), 1958.
- 'Melinda a haza'** Tibor Tallián, „*Melinda a haza*”, in Tibor Tallián; *Operaország, Kísérletek a magyar operajátszásról 1995-2004*, Pécs, *Jelenkor* (periodical), 2006, pp. 30-40. (35, 38).
- Mesterházi** Máté Mesterházi, *A nemzeti opera eszméjének átértékelődése a 19-20. század fordulóján, A korabeli bécsi, budapesti, prágai sajtóviszhang és egynémely tanulságai* (*The Re-evaluation of the National Ideal in Opera at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries: The Reactions of the Press in Vienna, Budapest and Prague, and Some Lessons from them*) in *Magyar Zene* (Hungarian Music), 2/XLIX, May 2011, pp. 190-205, [204-206].

- MGG2** *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe* herausgegeben von Ludwig Finscher, Kassel, (Bärenreiter Metzler), from 2001.
- MHS** Music Historical Section in Széchenyi National Library, Budapest, Hungary.
- NaKépViltört** Antal Áldássy, Samu Borovszky, Jenő Csuday, Albert Fogarassy, József Geréb, Ignác Goldzicher, Gyula Gyomlai, Sándor Mika, Gyula Schönherr, *Nagy képes világtörténet*, Ed.: Henrik Marczali, Budapest, (Franklin-Társulat, Magyar Irod. Intézet és Könyvnyomda, Révai Testvérek, Irodalmi Intézet Részvénytársaság), 1898-1905,
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VI. ADDENDUM

1. Erkel, Ferenc.

Hungarian composer, pianist, conductor, teacher, the ‘founding father’ of the genre: Hungarian national opera.

Born: November 7, 1810, Gyula.

Died: June 15, 1893, Budapest.

L: Legány-catalogue. The most trustworthy catalogue of Erkel’s compositions. Ervin Major, Ilona Mona and Amadé Németh also made registers of Erkel’s composition, but I preferred to reveal the numbers of Legány-catalogue.



Erkel’s lithography. Ágoston Canzi, from 1861, in Hungarian National Museum.

Erkel’s studied music with his father, and most likely gave his first concert performance in 1821. From 1822 to 1825 he was a student of composer Henrik Klein in Pozsony and composed his first composition entitled *Litánia* (*Litany*,

before 1825, L. 1.). From 1827/28 to 1834 he lived in Kolozsvár (Cluj Napoca, Klausenburg, Romania) where he met Sámuel Brassai (musicologist, scientist, a renaissance man), József Heinisch (the conductor) and György Ruzitska (the composer of the first Hungarian 'opera'). In 1835, he moved to Pest. Until 1841, he performed regularly as a soloist and accompanying pianist at concerts in Pest. He presented e.g. the *E-minor piano-concerto* by Chopin first in Hungary on 1 November 1835. From 1835, he worked with the Hungarian Theatre-playing Company in Buda — which played in Várszínház, (Castletheatre) — where he made his debut conducting Rossini's '*Barbier*' on 11 April 1835. After that, (in 1836/37) he was the conductor of the German Theatre of Pest (Pester Stadttheater).

In 1838, he became the first conductor of the newly opened Hungarian Theatre of Pest (from 1840 the National Theatre). There he worked to develop Hungarian-language operatic performance with the intention of creating an opera company capable of competing with the German Theatre of Pest, by staging works e.g. by Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Spontini, Mercadante, Dalayrac, Hérold, and Auber in Hungarian. His motivation to support the birth of new Hungarian operas was, among others, József Ruzitska's 'opera' *Béla futása* (*The Flight of Bela*, 1822), so he put new Hungarian compositions of Rózsavölgyi, Bartay (*A csel*, *The Catch*, premiere: 29 April 1839) and Szerdahelyi on the programme of National Theatre.

In his own operas, he tried to synthesize Western European elements with Hungarian genres like 'verbunkos' and 'folklike songs' and other contents like Hungarian historical topic and national feelings. ('Hungarian consciousness'). His first original works were *Mária Bátori* (1840, L. 20.) and *Hunyadi László* (1844, L. 25.), both with librettos by Benjámín (Béni) Egressy (Galambos). In 1844 Erkel composed *Himnusz* (*Anthem*, L. 30.), with lyrics taken from an 1823 poem by Ferenc Kölcsey, which was later adopted as *Hungary's National Anthem*. Erkel also wrote original accompaniment music and songs for newly written Hungarian popular plays, e.g. Ede Szigligeti's *Két pisztoly* (*Two Pistols*, 1844, L. 28.), and for *A rab* (*The Prisoner*, 1845, L. 37.). To be able to support his family, he became the music teacher of the daughters of Archduke Albert (Archduke Albrecht Friedrich Rudolf Dominik of Austria, Duke of Teschen, 1817-1895).

Erkel revived the opera company of the National Theatre after the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848–49. In 1853, he assembled the Philharmonic Society of Pest (legally established as an association in 1867), which performed concerts at the National Museum and later in the 'Vigadó'. (Its first concert was at the salon of the National Museum on 20 November 1853). He introduced new compositions e.g. by Hector Berlioz, Richard Wagner, Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt, a composition in Viennese-style and at least one aria on these concerts.

Ferenc Erkel was one of the best chessplayer of his day. He played in the Pesti Sakk-kör (The Chess-club of Pest) in 1865 and later he became the president of the club. He even wrote a pantomime about chess entitled: *Sakk-játék (Chess-play)* in 1853 (L. 46).

The opera that he composed with the Doppler-brothers (Ferenc and Károly) *Erzsébet (Elisabeth, L. 51.)* was performed first on 6 May 1857. On 9 March, 1861 Erkel staged *Bánk bán* (based on a drama by József Katona with a libretto by Benjámin Egressy, L. 53.), which became his most popular and most successful composition, but *Sarolta*, his first comic opera performed on 26 June 1862 (L. 54.) proved to be a failure. In his later operas, *Dózsa György* (1867, L. 58.) *Brankovics György* (1872/74, L. 64.), and *Névtelen hősök* (1875-1879/80, *Anonymous Heroes, L. 68.*) Erkel continued his musical endeavour, just as in his two last operas, *István király (King Stephan, L. 71.)* composed between 1874 and 1884/85 and in *Simon Kemény* (1887, L. 73.). Erkel composed one of his last significant works, the *Ünnepi nyitány (Festival Overture, 1887, L. 72.)*, for the 50th anniversary of the opening of the National Theatre in Budapest. In his latter operas and other works Erkel began entrusting his sons Gyula (1842-1909) and Sándor (1846-1900), with orchestration duties and the composing of complete accompaniments to vocal scores and compositions. László Somfai, the Hungarian musicologist was concerned with Erkel's manuscripts and recognized that Gyula's and Sándor's handwriting figures in Ferenc Erkel's works. Zoltán Farkas has even suggested that the aforementioned *Ünnepi nyitány (Festival Overture, 1887, L. 72.)* was entirely Gyula Erkel's composition.

Erkel also composed ballet-music (e.g. *Orgia-tánc, Orgy-Dance, 1842, L. 21/a.*), choir-works (e.g. I. és II. *Király-himnusz, King-Anthem I, II, 1873, L. 63.* and 1892, L. 77.) and songs (e.g. *Erdei madárka, Little Bird in the Forest, 1861, L. 61.*).

In 1874, Erkel announced his resignation as the lead conductor of the National Theatre, but he became the Permanent Chief-Director of the house and a teacher and the director of Academy of Music in Budapest (1875). In 1884, he became the chief music-director of the newly established Hungarian Royal Opera House of Budapest.

The incredible effort of Erkel and others raised the Hungarian romanticism and music culture to the contemporary European level.

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2. János Bihari, *Hatvágás verbunk (Six-Beat Verbunk)*, 'Lassú'.

Source: *Veszprémi Táncgyűjtemény (Omnibus of Dances from Veszprém)*, 13/3 June 1824.

Since Bihari was a self-educated musician, he was not able to note down his compositions. Probably Ignác Ruzitska noted down the aforementioned composition.



Franz (Ferenc) Liszt used the composition of Bihari in the second part of his two piano pieces entitled *Zum Andenken (Zwei ungarische Werbungstänze von László Fáy und János Bihari)*, composed in 1828. S (Searle-number); 241, R (Raabe-number); 107, LW: A11, Chiappari: 41-42. This and the first part (based to Fáy-s composition) of *Zum Andenken* were probably the first 'Hungarian' compositions of Liszt.

Franz Liszt: *Zum Andenken (Zwei ungarische Werbungstänze von László Fáy und János Bihari)* — Variation allegro molto agitato in Liszt: *Freie Bearbeitungen*, Volume I, EMB, in Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Kutatókönyvtára, (The Research-Library of Liszt Academy, LFZF).



3. Ferenc Erkel: *László Hunyadi; Palotás*.

The elements of the 'verbunkos' in classical music:



The 'improved' 'verbunkos'-elements which can be found e.g. in Ferenc Erkel's and Ferenc (Franz) Liszt's compositions. Source: Art. 'Ferenc Erkel' in Grove Online:

EX.1 'Hungarian scale' (cf Liszt: Sonata in B minor, beginning)



EX.2 The chotiamb (cf Kodály: *Háry János*, Intermezzo)



EX.3 Bokázó cadence (cf Liszt: *Coronation Mass*, Benedictus, vn solo)



4. Reményi, Ede.

Born as Eduard Hoffmann. 17 January 1828 or 15 July 1829, Miskolc-15 May 1898, San Francisco.



Photo: Reményi in 1887. Private property.

Reményi was a Hungarian violinist, a student of Joseph Böhm in Vienna Conservatory from 1842 or 1843 and a friend of Johannes Brahms. Banished from the Habsburg Empire for participation in the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848-49, he went to the United States. After his return to Europe in 1852, he toured Germany with Brahms. Ede Reményi was not only Richard Wagner's friend — with whom he met in Basel in 1853 —, but also Johannes Brahms's, and Thomas Alva Edison's. After Reményi had become the solo violinist of Queen Victoria in 1854, he returned to Hungary in 1860 and became one of the most significant leader of the Hungarian 'Wagnerism' around 1863. In 1865, Reményi made a brilliant tour through France, Germany and Netherlands and settled temporarily in Paris in 1875, whence two years later he proceeded to London and then to the United States, Canada, and Mexico. In a world tour, in 1887, the phenomenal violinist visited Japan, China, Cochin-China, and the Cape of Good Hope. Reményi made many musical adaptations of pianoforte pieces, such as waltzes of Chopin, polonaises, mazurkas and compositions by Bach and Schubert. His most popular violin-compositions were

Repülj fecském (Fly My Swallow), *Ezt a kerek erdőt (This Round Forest)* and *Rákóczi induló (Rákóczi-march)*, which were obligatory to be played on his concerts. His best original composition is probably his violin concerto.

Sources: E. Heron-Allen/R, Art. 'Reményi [Hoffmann], Ede [Eduard]' in GROVE, sec. ed., Volume 21, pp. 177-178, MagySzínművLex, Volume IV, pp. 33-35.

Photo: Reményi in 1887, Private Property.

5. Ábrányi, Kornél, Sr.

Born as Kornél Eördögh. 15 or 22 Oct. 1822, Szentgyörgyábrány (Nyírábrány)-20 Dec. 1903, Budapest.

Ábrányi was a Hungarian pianist, music writer, musicologist and composer, a student of János Kirch (1810-63) and Joseph Fischhof and a close friend of Franz Liszt and Ferenc Erkel. Ábrányi mainly wrote music for piano, but also composed chamber music, choral works and 'lieder'. As an establisher and editor of the first Hungarian musical period of *Zenészetí Lapok (The Musical Journal)* he campaigned for a native musical idiom and the development of musical life and education. He played important role of the establishment of Academy of Music and later became its secretary and professor. He did much to strengthen Liszt's connections with Hungary and wrote books on nineteenth-century Hungarian music. He is the author of the first Hungarian schoolbook of musicology (aesthetics) in 1877.



Ábrányi's photo can be seen on the previous page, which appeared in *Irodalom és tudomány* by Ernő Vende in *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai*, Budapest, (Arcanum Kiadó), 2004, p. 201.

Sources:

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2. MagySzínművLex, Volume I, pp. 24-25.

6. Mosonyi, Mihály

Born as Brand Michael. 2 Sept. 1814 or 1815, Frauenkirchen (Boldogasszony)-
31 Oct. 1870, Pest.



Mosonyi's picture. The lithography of Marastoni from 1861 in *Zene és zenekutúra (Music and Music Culture)* by Margit Prahács in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet (The History of the Hungarian Culture)*, Volume V, Budapest, (Arcanum Kiadó), 2003.

Hungarian composer, teacher and writer of music. Studied piano and music theory with Károly Turányi in Bratislava. In Pest from 1842, he gave piano and composition lessons. He made his debut as a composer in 1844 with the *First Symphony (D major)*, then he composed the innovative, single-movement *Piano Concerto in E minor* (1844) and the *String-Sextet in C Minor*. In his *Second Symphony* (1846-56), he used Hungarian idioms. Liszt had immense respect for

Mosonyi and encouraged him to compose in 'Hungarian style'. One sign of Liszt's support is, that two of the Mosonyi-compositions, the *Offertorium and the Graduale*, which were composed for the dedication ceremony of the Basilica of Esztergom were first performed with the contribution of Franz Liszt on 24 August 1856. (A week earlier than Liszt's '*Esztergomi mise*'- *Missa Solemnis zur Einweihung der Basilika in Gran* was premiered). He had a notable success as a composer with his verbunkos-fantasy for piano, *Pusztai élet (Life on the Plains)*. Mosonyi composed a 'Grand' German opera as well; *Kaiser Max auf der Martinswand* (written to Ernst Pasqué's libretto) which was finished on 13 June 1857, so it seems that the 'German opera' had made a tremendous impact on his music.

Mosonyi took the Hungarian name Mosonyi ('Hungarianisation') in 1859 and produced works using 'verbunkos' and 'folklike-songs'. Of his larger Hungarian compositions, the orchestral rhapsody *Homage to Kazinczy* (1860), the *Gyász hangok Széchenyi István halálára (Funeral Melodies for the Death of István Széchenyi)* uses the a characteristic Hungarian contemporary music. The cantata from 1860, *Tisztulás ünnepe az Ungnál a 886-ik esztendőben (Festival of Purification at the River Ung in the year 886)*, based on the conquest of the Hungarians in the 9th century, the composer had tried to reform the Hungarian musical language. His latter operas are *Szép Ilonka* — premiere on 19 Dec. 1861 — and *Álmos* — composed in 1862 premiered on 1934 — out of which in *Álmos*, he sought to synthesize Hungarian verbunkos with the 'style' of Wagner's music dramas. Since Mosonyi was a friend of Richard Wagner and one of the greatest Hungarian 'Wagnerists', he was invited by the Mastermind to Munich to attend the first performance of '*Tristan*'. (Because of the remarkable delay Mosonyi could not appear on the event). As a chief contributor to the music journal *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, he campaigned vigorously for the new national style and the new 'cosmopolitan Hungarian music'.

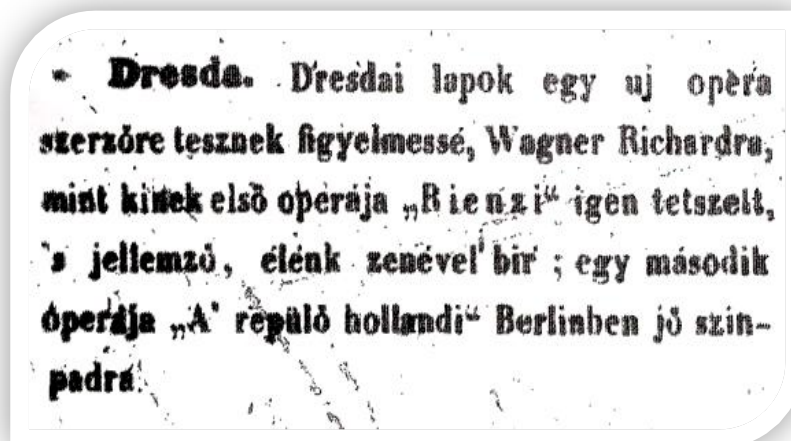
Sources:

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2. Ferenc Bónis, *Mosonyi Mihály*, Budapest, (Gondolat), 1960.
3. Ferenc Bónis, *Magyar Zeneszerzők (Hungarian Composers) 10, Mihály Mosonyi*, (Mágus) 2002.

4. Ferenc Bónis, *Liszt- und Wagner-Briefe an Mosonyi* in *Kodály's wissenschaftlicher Bearbeitung in Die Musikforschung*, 4/39, Kassel, (Bärenreiter), 1986, pp. 317-334.
5. Ferenc Bónis, *Richard Wagner und sein Komponisterfreund aus Pest: Mihály Mosonyi* in *Richard Wagner: Des Ring der Nibelungen 1876-1978, Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1978*, Hrsg. von Wolfgang Wagner, July 1978, pp. 11-13, 53-64.

7. The first appearance of Richard Wagner's name in the Hungarian Press.

Regélő, Pesti Divatlap (Chatter, Fashion Paper of Pest), 4 Dec. 1842, Pest.

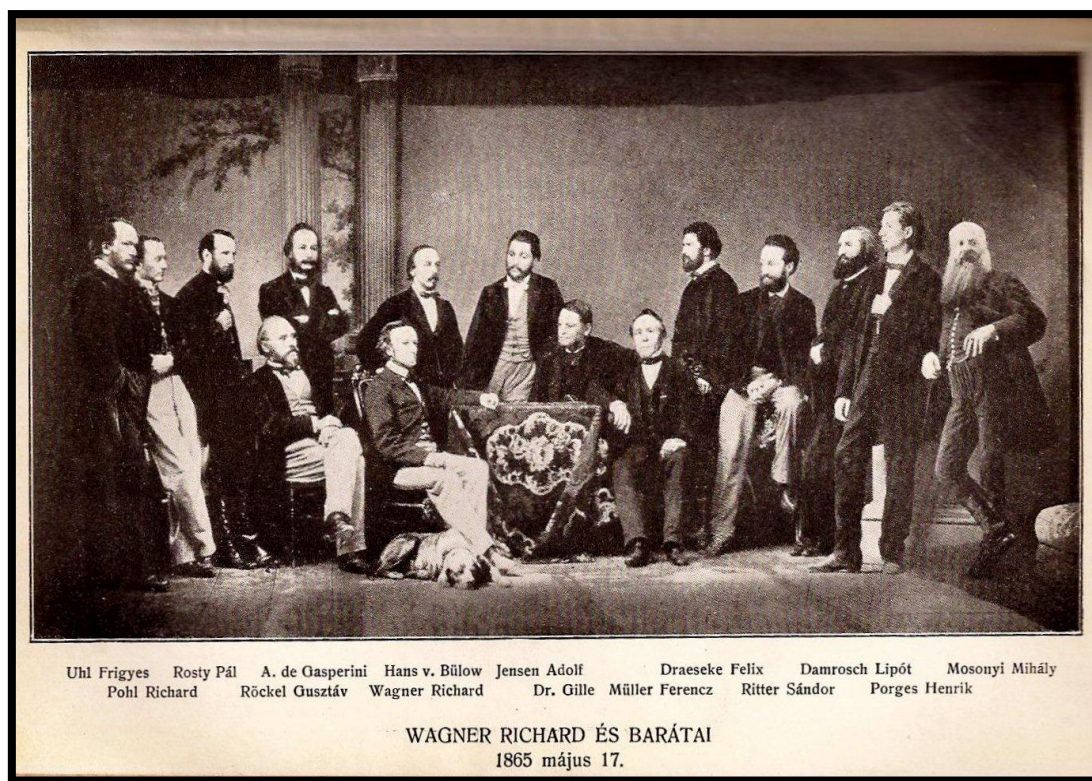


Dresden. Richard Wagner, a new opera-author whose first work 'Rienzi' was an enormous success with its vivid music, aroused the attention of Dresden papers. His second opera, 'Der fliegende Holländer', will be performed in Berlin.

8. Richard Wagner and his friends.

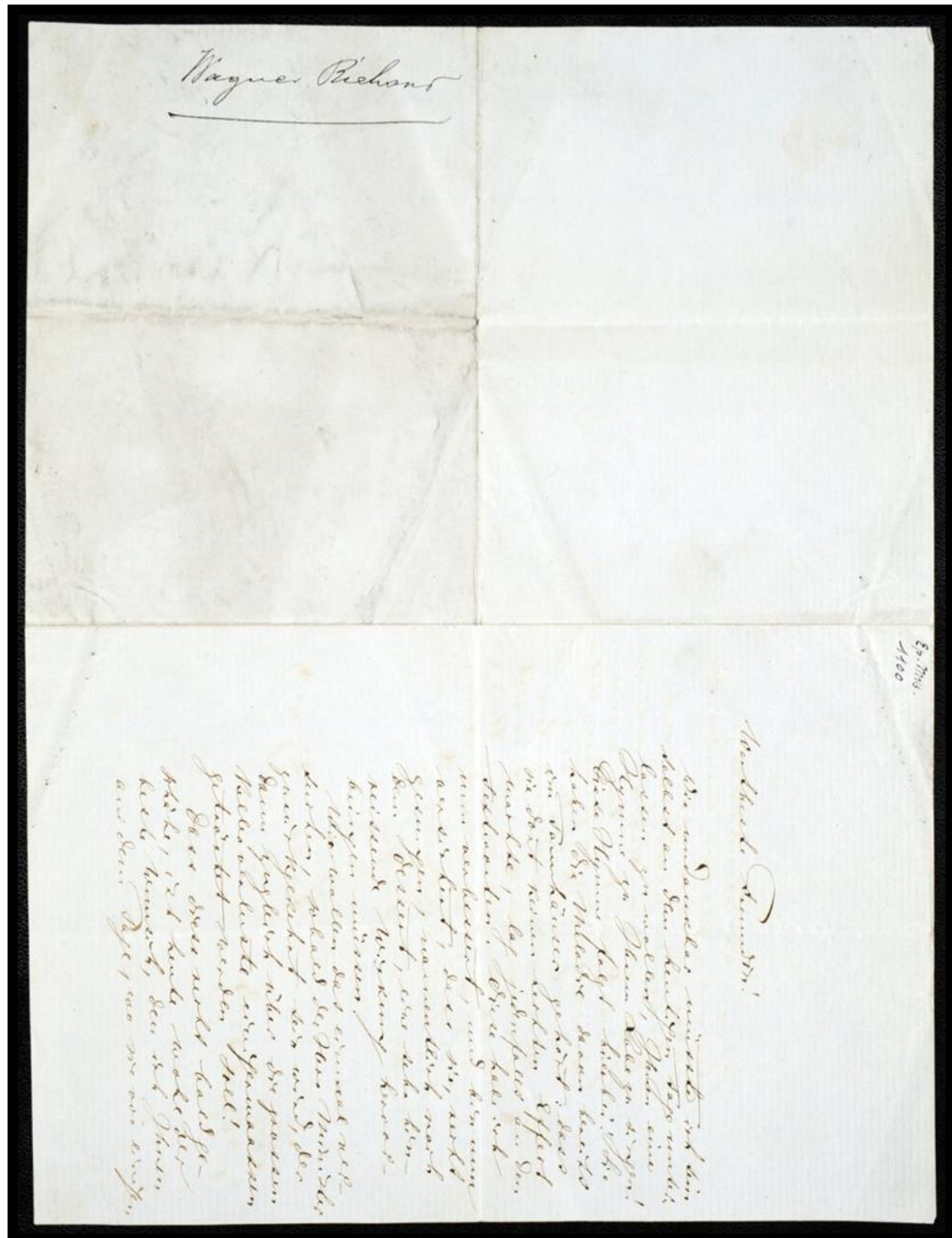
The photo was probably taken either on 16 or 17 May 1865 in Munich. Pál Rosti and Mihály Mosonyi, the two significant representatives of the Hungarian Wagner-movement can also be seen on the picture. Richard Wagner invited them to Munich to take part in the opening night of *Tristan and Isolde*. The premier, originally tended to be performed on 15 May, only was presented on 10 June. Because of this remarkable delay neither Mosonyi nor Rosti could appear on the event. The persons from left to right: Friedrich Uhl, Richard Pohl, **Pál Rosty (Rosti, Barkóczy)**, August Röckel, Auguste de Gaspérini, **Wagner** and his dog Pohl, Hans von Bülow, Adolf Jensen, Carl Grille, Franz Müller, Felix Draeseke, Alexander Ritter, Leopold Damrosch, Heinrich Porges, **Mihály Mosonyi**.

Sources: Curt von Westernhagen, *Wagner, a Biography*, Translated by Mary Whittal, New York, (Cambridge University Press), 1978, Volume II, chapter 25, München, Haraszti, between p. 312. and 313., Ferenc Bónis, *Richard Wagner und sein Komponisterfreund aus Pest: Mihály Mosonyi in Richard Wagner: Des Ring der Nibelungen 1876-1978, Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1978*, Hrsg. von Wolfgang Wagner, July 1978, p. 26.



9. Richard Wagner's letter. Probably written to Mrs. Bertalan Szemere, née Leopoldina Jurkovich in Paris. 16 April 1861. WHL-S/7.

Facsimile. The original can be found in the Manuscript Collection of SzNL (OSZK). Fond 1195/XII. The Hungarian lady who was living in banishment in Paris, was the wife of Bertalan Szemere, the prime minister for a short period during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49. In the letter Wagner also writes about the *Tannhäuser*. For more details see the catalogue WBV-WHL-S and WHL-S summary in the appendix.



10. The heads and the articles of *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, 9 July 1863, and *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)*, 9 July 1863. WHL-S/8/A and WHL-S/8/B.

The two articles mentioned above include information that Richard Wagner had written a letter to Ferenc Erkel, sometime in June 1863, perhaps in the beginning of July. The 'WBV Addenda' does not indicate the columns of the *Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses)*.

Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal), 9 July 1863, WHL-S/8/A:



* Mint értesültünk, Wagner Richárd a mult napokban egy sajátkezűleg irt levelet intézett Erkel Ferenc karnagyhoz, melyben hajlandónak nyilatkozik fővárosunkat meglátogatni a jövő hóban s egy pár hangversenyt rendezeni a magyar színházban.

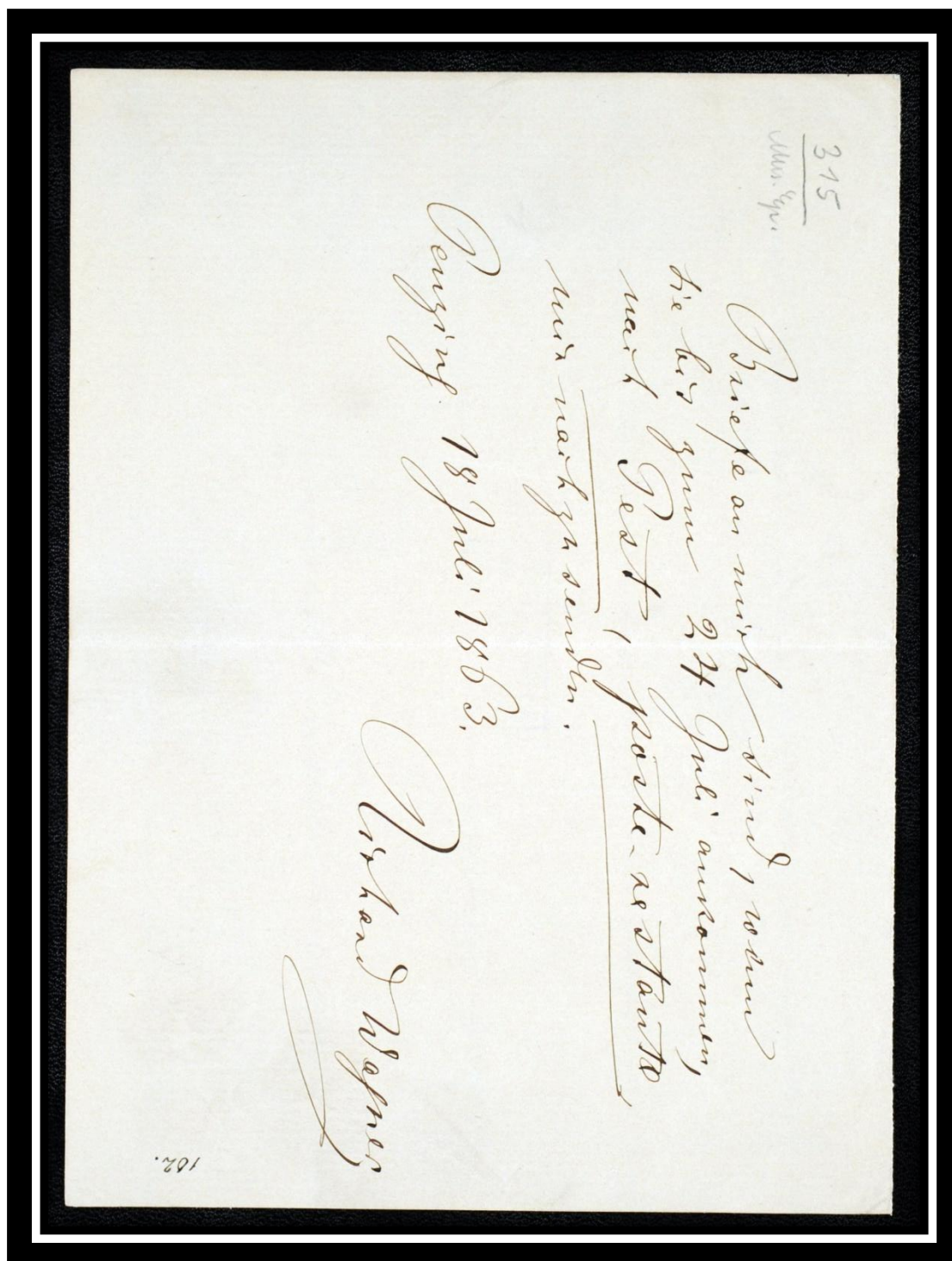
Reményljük, hogy az igazgatóság a legnagyobb készséggel elfogadja a nagy hírű zeneköltő ajánlatát s Erkel F. úr is mindent elkövetend a maga részéről, hogy a nagy hírű zeneköltő s a közönség ohajtása teljesüljön.

* We have been informed that Richard Wagner himself wrote a letter to the conductor Ferenc Erkel just a few days ago, in which he expressed an interest in giving a handful of concerts at the Hungarian Theatre (National Theatre). We hope that the management will accept the proposal of the very famous music-poet and that Mr. F. Erkel will do his utmost to honor the wishes of the famous music-poet and the audience.

11. Richard Wagner's brief letter.

In the short note Wagner disposes of sending his letters after him to Pest.

Facs. 18 July 1863, Penzing. WBV A 214, WHL-S/9. (Fond 1356/XII in Manuscript Collection of Széchenyi National Library, Budapest).



12. The poster of Richard Wagner's first Hungarian concert. Pest, 23 July 1863.

Haraszti, between pp. 244-245.

NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ

Általános bérletszűnet.

Pest, csütörtökön, július 23-án, 1863.

VIII-dik rendkívüli előadásul:

WAGNER RICHARD ur

HANGVERSENYE

2 szakaszban.

Stéger Ferencz urnak,

a bécsi cs. k. operaház első tenoristájának s a németalföldi hangművészeti akadémia tiszteletbeli tagjának szives közreműködésével.

A tetemesen megerősített zenekart WAGNER RICHARD ur vezérlel.

Minden e hangversenyben előadandó zenemű Wagner Richard ur szerzeménye.

Első szakasz.

- Nyitány „Tannhäuser” című operából; előadja a nemzeti színház megerősített zenekara.
- a) „Elsa beszélgetése a szellőkkel” } „Lohengrin” című dalműből; énekl
b) „Ortrud megintése” } Rabatinszky Mari
- „A szent Graal” Előjáték. } „Lohengrin” című dalműből; előadja a nemzeti színház megerősített zenekara.
- „Menyegzői zene” Bevezetés a 3-dik felvonáshoz

Második szakasz.

- Előjáték, és az utolsó felvonás végzete } „Tristán és Izolda” című dalműből;
(Szerelmi dal és megdicsőítés.) } előadja a megerősített zenekar
- a) „A mesterdalmnok-czéh gyűlekezete” a zenekar által. } A „Norinbergi mesterdalmnokok”
b) „Pogner mester felszólalása” énekl Kőszeghi } című dalműből.
- „Zsigmond szerelmi dala.” Énekl Simon. } A „Walkür” című dalműből,
teljes zenekarra.
- „A Walkürök lovaglása”
- „Kovács-dalok” Szigfrid című operából.
- a) „Olvasztó-dal” } Énekl Stéger Ferencz ur.
b) „Pöröly-dal”

STÉGER FERENCZ ur, a hangversenyző iránti szivességből lép föl.

Kezdeté 8-advél órákor, vége 10-kor.

Jókainé, Prielle Cornelia, Felekiné M. Flóra, Hamvai Kovács Imréné, Bognár Vilma B.-né, Láng Paulina, Pauliné, Hubenainé, Pann, Tóth József, Szigeti, Feleki szabadságidejüket használják. Szilágyiné beteg.

A fölemelt helyérek következök:

Földszinti, vagy	12 frt.	Erkélyzék	3 frt — kr.	Másodemeleti zártasék	1 frt 20 kr.
Első emeleti páholy	10 frt.	Földszinti zártasék	2 frt — kr.	Másodemeleti bemenet	80 kr.
Másodemeleti páholy		Földszinti bemenet	1 frt — kr.	Karzat bemenet	40 kr.

Ez azon 12 rendkívüli előadás nyolcadika, melyeket a bérlethirdetményben az igazgatóság különösen kikötött, melyek alkalmazásával a bérlet őrasságok kivétel nélkül, tehát azok is, kik páholyukat a bérletszűnetes előadásokhoz megváltották, illető bérlet helyeit csakán a napi helyérek lefűrtése mellett használhatják, mire névbe ma d. e. 10 óráig méltóttassanak rendelkezni; azontul mások kívánata fogván ügyelembé vétetni.

A ki nem bérlet páholy- és zártasékek iránt Wagner Richard ur második hangversenyére rendelkezetni naponkit 9—1 órák közt.

Nyomtatott: Emil Gessler, magy. nyelv-nyomtatás, Pesten, 1863. Z. N. St. P. G. Kiadás: CSEPREGI titkár

13. Richard Wagner's first 'Hungarian poem' written in Pest on 24 July 1863.

WBV A 217, WHL-S/13.

An Tichatschek

Dem Fürst der Hühner und der Hähne,
Dem Ritter edler Singe-Schwäne,
geb' ich als Rohstoff Lohengrin
Zur Aufführung in Rostock hin
Nicht grad' verwöhnt mit Honorar,
Ein armer Teufel immerdar,
zu Deutschlands Ehr' sei mir gezahlt,
was auf der Leinwand nicht vermalt.
Ich thu's für meinen Tichatschek;
darum die Pflöck' zurück ich steck':
sonst sagt' ich, weil's grad' hier geschäh,
wohl, *Bassama teremtete!*

Pest, den 24 Juli 1863.

Perhaps it is easier to understand Wagner's poem by presenting a few events in its backgrounds. Tichatschek (Wagner's tenor in Dresden) planned to sing *Lohengrin* in Rostock in the theatre led by director Hünerfürst. Tichatschek asked Wagner to give the score of *Lohengrin* for cheap because he had little hopes for significant revenues. Haraszti alluded to Kastner's book (Kastner, Emerich, *Die dramatische Werke Richard Wagners: Chronologisches Verzeichnis der ersten Aufführungen*, sec. ed., Leipzig, (Breitkopf and Härtel), 1899), where the date of Rostock-premiere appeared (1 December 1863) to prove the authenticity of the aforementioned words. Wagner used an Hungarian serement: *Bassama teremtette* in his poem.

Sources: *Gedichte von Richard Wagner*, Berlin, (G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung), 1905, p. 35, WBV p. 705, Haraszti, pp. 258-59.

14. Richard Wagner's other poem written in Pest in July 1863.

Des Deutschen Vaterland

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist's Nibelheim, Krähwinkelland?
Ist's wo der Jud' mausig macht,
der Lump sich kühn in's Fäustchen lacht?
Ist's wo man ernst und tief sich preis't,
mit Nachbar's Wegwurf doch sich speis't?
Wo Mittelmässigkeit gedeiht,
dem Edlen man in's Antlitz speit?
Wo hundert Jahr man alt muss sei
eh' Anerkennung sich stellt ein?
Wo dem, den sie zu todt gehetz,
man Reden hält und Standbild setzt?
etc. etc. etc.
O ja! O ja! Ja! Ja!
Sein Vaterland, da es ist es, da!

Sources: *Gedichte von Richard Wagner*, Berlin, (G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung), 1905, p. 34, Haraszti, pp. 257-58.

15. The poster of Richard Wagner's second Hungarian concert. Pest, 28 July 1863.

Haraszti, between pp. 264-265.

NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ.

Általános

Pest, kedden, július 28-án, 1863.

bérletszünet.

IX-dik RENDKIVÜLI ELŐADÁSUL:

WAGNER RICHARD ur HANGVERSENYE

2 szakaszban.

Stéger Ferencz urnak,

a bécsi cs. k. operaház első tenoristájának s a péntetfalvi hangművészeti akadémia tiszteletbeli tagjának szíves közreműködésével.

A tetemesen megerősített zenekart WAGNER RICHARD ur vezérli.

Minden e hangversenyben előadandó zenemű Wagner Richard ur szerzeménye.

Első szakasz.

1. „Előzene” a „Norinbergi mesterdalmokok” című dalműből.
2. a) „Elsa beszélgetése a szellőkkel” / „Lohengrin” című dalműből; énekl. Rabatinszky Mari
- b) „Ortrud megintése”
3. Egy „Faust nyitány.”
Az isten a ki szívében itt lakik, — Saját valóját megrendítheti,
Ki minden erőmön uralkodik, — A külvilágra nincs hatálya neki.
Ezért nekem a lét teher lett, — Ohajtott a halál, gyűlölt az élet.
4. „Menyegzői zene” Bevezetés a 3-dik felvonáshoz, „Lohengrin” című dalműből; előadja a nemzeti színház megerősített zenekara.

Második szakasz.

5. Előjáték, és az utolsó felvonás végezte / „Tristán és Isolde” című dalműből;
(Szerelemi dal és megdicsőítés.) előadja a megerősített zenekar.
6. a) „A mesterdalmok-czéh gyülekezete” a zenekar által, / A „Norinbergi mesterdalmokok”
b) „Pogner mester felszólalása” énekl. Kőszeghi, című dalműből.
7. „Zsigmond szerelemi dala.” Énekl. Simon. / A „Walkür” című dalműből,
8. „A Walkürök lovaglása” teljes zenekarra.
9. „Kovács-dalok” Szigfrid című operából.
a) „Olvasztó-dal” Énekl. Stéger Ferencz ur.
b) „Pöröly-dal” Énekl. Stéger Ferencz ur.

STÉGER FERENCZ ur, a hangversenyző iránti szíveségből lép föl.

Kezdeté **8-advél** órákor, vége 10-kor.

Jókainé, Prielle Cornelia, Felekiné M. Flóra, Hamvai Kovács Imréné, Boguár Vilma B-né, Láng Paulina, Pauliné, Hubenainé, Pauli, Tóth József, Szigeti, Feleki szabadságdíjüket használják. Szilágyiné beteg.

A fölemelt helyárak következők:

Földszinti, vagy	12 frt.	Felsőszinti	3 frt — kr.	Másodemeleti zártasok	1 frt 26 kr.
Első emeleti páholy		Földszinti zártasok	2 frt — kr.	Másodemeleti bemenet	80 kr.
Másodemeleti páholy	10 frt.	Földszinti bemenet	1 frt — kr.	Karzat bemenet	40 kr.

Ez azon 12 rendkívüli előadás kilenczediké melyeket a bérlet hirdményben az igazgatóság különösen kikötött, melyek alkalmával a t. bérlet uraságok kivétel nélkül, tehát azok is kik páholyaikat a bérletszünetes előadásokhoz megváltották, illető bérlet helyeiket csupán a napi helyárak lefizetése mellett használhatják, mire névze ma d. e. 10 óráig méltóstanak rendelkezni; azontúl mások kívánata fogván figyelembe vétetni.

A ki nem bérlet páholy- és zártasokjegyért iránt rendelkezni a pénztárnál d. e. 9—12, d. u. 3—5 óra közt.

Kiadta: CSEPREGI titkár.

Z. N. St. P. G.

16. Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter'. Written to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy).

1 Aug. 1863, written in Penzing, sent to Pest. WBV/3626, WHL-S/14.

Theme: farewell letter. Wagner explained his thanks as well.

Facsimile. The original is in Remembrance Collection (Museum and Archive) of Hungarian State Opera, Budapest. Score: 72. 47. 45.

[illegible]

Einleitet darüber, in welchem Grade
manche dieser Ausnahmen in Betracht kommen
sollen. Dagegen können nur 3 Hauptmomente
angeführt werden: erstens die Wichtigkeit der
Ausnahme, zweitens die Wichtigkeit der
Ausnahme, drittens die Wichtigkeit der
Ausnahme. Die Wichtigkeit der Ausnahme
ist ein sehr wichtiger Punkt, welcher
in Betracht kommen muss. Die Wichtigkeit
der Ausnahme ist ein sehr wichtiger Punkt,
welcher in Betracht kommen muss. Die
Wichtigkeit der Ausnahme ist ein sehr
wichtiger Punkt, welcher in Betracht
kommen muss. Die Wichtigkeit der
Ausnahme ist ein sehr wichtiger Punkt,
welcher in Betracht kommen muss.

My dear Mr. Garrison

Richard Rogers
Esquire
Longing & Allen
August 1863

72, 47, 45

17. Wagner's letter — 1 Aug. 1863 —, in the Hungarian Press.
Színházi Látcső (The Opera Glasses), issue 120, 5 August 1863.

Wagner Rikárd bucsulevele.

A nagy zeneköltő aug. 1-jéről Pen-
 zingből — Bécs mellől — következő le-
 veletintézte a nemzeti színház igazgatója
 Radnótfáyn udv. tanácsos urhoz:

„Nagyrabecsült udv. tanácsos ur! Alig talál-
 ván időt, hogy Pestről való elutazásom alkalmával öntől kellőleg elbucsuzzam: kötelezve
 érzem magamat innen a távolból küldeni meg-
 őszinte és meleg köszönetem nyilvánítását
 mindazon szivességért, melyet irántam tanusi-
 tott. Ha már meghívása is kellemetesen lepett
 meg, s azon biztosítása, hogy öfömére válik a
 nemzeti színház erőinek támogatásával engem
 Magyarország fővárosa közönségének bemu-
 tatni; jólesőleg bizelgő volt rám nézve: szives
 fáradozásainak sikere s minden tekintetben
 könnyítő és segítő előzőkenysége csak fölül-
 múlhatá kellemes várakozásimat. Zenekarának
 jelensége, mindenkitől tisztelt karnagyának pá-
 lyatársi buzgalma, a dicséretreméltó éneksze-
 mélyzet kitűnő közreműködése, s a színház
 technikai erőinek erélyes támogatása nokem
 egy kis fáradsággal lehetővé tették a legmög-
 pőbb módon győzni le még némely pesti zene-
 barát azon botrányosan aggódó kétségeit is,
 melyet a magyar közönség fogékonyságára
 nézve éreztek oly zenével szemközt, mely ed-
 digi ízlés-hajlamaitól nagyon távol van tartva.
 Ha tehát szerzeményeimnek oly zenerészei is,
 melyek (az egyetlen Bécs kivételével) még a
 német közönségre nézve is egészen idegenek
 maradtak, a magyar közönség előtt már jól is-
 mervék, s általa egész élénkséggel fölfogattak,
 s ha továbbá azon sajátzerű jelenséghez, hogy
 legnémetesebb alkotásaimmal, minők a „Nie-
 belungok“ és „Mesterdalnokok“ sat. Cseh és
 Oroszország fővárosai, hová én sajátlag ezért
 hivatám, megbárátkoztanak, még azon tapaszt-
 alatot is kapcsolhatom, hogy újabb műveim
 Magyarország fővárosa közönségének és művé-
 szeinek részéről a legszívesebb fogadtatásban
 részesültek: ugye vigasztaló és bátorító tapaszt-
 alásomért csakis az ön meghívási tevékeny
 kezdeményezésének kell köszönetet mondanom,
 melybe egyszeremind örömet befoglalom mind-
 azon művészek és műbarátok fáradozásait is,
 kik önnök, nem egészen vakmerőtlen elhatáro-
 zásuánál odaadólag és támogatólag közreműköd-
 tek. Ha ön azon hitben van, hogy a közönség-
 nek nem lesz ellenére tudomást venni elismere-
 sem és köszönetem érzésnyilvánításról: annyi-
 val örömetesebb hatalmazom föl annak közzé-
 tételére, mivel valóban megtisztelés lesz rám
 nézve, ha ön azt közlére méltónak találná. A
 legnagyobb tisztelettel lekötelezettje.

Wagner Rikárd.

* A „Szin. Lát.“ szerint Wagner Richárd következő levelet intézett Pencingből aug. 1-ről Radnótfáy nemzeti színházi igazgató úrhoz:

„Nagyrabecsült udv. tanácsos úr! Alig találván időt, hogy Pestről való elutazásom alkalmával öntől kellőleg elbúcsúzzam: kötelezve érzem magamat innen a távolból küldeni meg őszinte és meleg köszönetem nyilvánítását mindazon szívesességért, melyet irántam tanusított. Ha már meghívása is kellemetesen lepett meg, s azon biztosítása, hogy örömeire válik a nemzeti színház erőinek támogatásával engem Magyarország fővárosa közönségének bemutatni, jólesőleg hizelgő volt rám nézve: szíves fáradozásainak sikere s minden tekintetben könnyítő és segítő előzékenysége, csak fölülmulhatá kellemes várakozásimat. Zenekarának jelessége, mindenkitől tisztelt karnagyának pályatársi buzgalma, a dicséretreméltó énekszemélyzet kitűnő közreműködése, s a színház technikai erőinek erélyes támogatása, nekem egy kis fáradsággal lehetővé tették a legmeglepőbb módon győzni le még némely pesti zenebarát azon botrányosan aggódó kétségeit is, melyet a magyar közönség fogékonyságára nézve éreztek oly zenével szemközt, mely eddigi izlés hajlamaitól nagyon távol van tartva. Ha tehát szerzeményeimnek oly zenerészei is, melyek (az egyetlen Bécs kivételével) még a német közönségre nézve is egészen idegenek maradtak, a magyar közönség előtt már jól ismervék, s általa egész élénkséggel fölfogattak, s ha továbbá azon sajátos jelenséghez, hogy legnémetesebb alkotásaimmal, minők a „Niebelungok“ és „Mesterdalnokok“ stb. Cseh- és Oroszország fővárosai, hová én sajátlag ezért hivatám, megbarátkoztanak, még azon tapasztalatot is kapcsolhatom, hogy újabb műveim Magyarország fővárosa közönségének és művészeinek részéről a legszívesebb fogadtatásban részesültek: úgy e vigasztaló és bátorító tapasztalásomért csakis az ön meghívási tevékeny kezdeményezésének kell köszönetet mondanom, melybe egyszersmind örömemet befoglalom mindazon művészek és műbarátok fáradozásait is, kik önnek, nem egészen vakmerőtlen elhatározásánál odaadólag és támogatólag közreműködtek. Ha ön azon hitben van, hogy a közönségnek nem lesz ellenére tudomást venni elismerésem és köszönetem érzésnyilvánításáról: annyival örömetesebb hatalmazom föl annak közzétételére, mivel valóban megtisztelés lesz rám nézve, ha ön azt közlésre méltónak találja. A legnagyobb tisztelettel lekötellezettje Wagner Richárd.“

The same 'Hungarian Letter' published in *Pester Lloyd* in the article (feuilleton) written by Miksa Rothhauser. *Pester Lloyd*, 12 February 1899, 39/12.

Geehrtester Herr Hofrath!

Raum fand ich die Zeit bei meiner Abreise von Pest zum Abschied mich Ihnen zu empfehlen, und ich fühle mich daher veranlaßt, Ihnen aus der Ferne noch den Ausdruck meines aufrichtigen und warmen Dankes für alles Freundliche, was Sie mir erwiesen haben, nachzusenden.

Hatte mich bereits Ihre Einladung angenehm überrascht und Ihre Versicherung, daß es Ihnen zur Freude gereiche, mit der Unterstützung der Kräfte des Nationaltheaters mich dem Publikum der Hauptstadt Ungarns vorzuführen, mir wohlthätig geschmeichelt, so hat der Erfolg Ihrer freundlichen Bemühungen durch erleichterndes und förderndes Entgegenkommen in jeder Beziehung meine angenehmen Erwartungen nur noch übertreffen können. Die Vorzüglichkeit Ihres Orchesters, der kollegialische Eifer seines allseitig verehrten Chefs, die ausgezeichnete Mitwirkung eines rühmenswerthen Gesangpersonals, sowie die energische Unterstützung der technischen Behörden Ihres Theaters machten es mir mit weniger Mühe möglich, sogar den freundlich besorgten Zweifel mancher Pestler Musikfreunde an der Empfänglichkeit des ungarischen Publikums für eine Musik, die bisher seinen Geschmacksneigungen sich fern gehalten hatte, auf das überraschendste zu besiegen. Wenn daher heute Musikstücke meiner Kompositionen, welche (mit einziger Ausnahme Wiens) dem deutschen Publikum noch gänzlich fremd geblieben, dem ungarischen Publikum bereits wohlbekannt und mit Lebhaftigkeit von ihm aufgesaßt worden sind; wenn ich daher zu der eigenthümlichen Erscheinung, daß mir Kompositionen deutscher Art, wie denen meiner „Nibelungen“, „Meistersinger“ u. s. w., das Publikum der Hauptstädte Böhmens und Rußlands, wohin ich eigens hiezu eingeladen war, sich vertraut gemacht hat, jetzt noch die Erfahrung von der willigten Aufnahme meiner neueren Arbeiten auch seitens der Künstler und des Publikums der Hauptstadt Ungarns zügen darf, — so kann ich meinen Dank für diese mir so tröstliche wie ermunternde Erfahrung nur der thatkräftigen Initiative Ihrer Einladung danken, in welchen ich gern meine volle Anerkennung der Bemühungen aller derjenigen Künstler und Kunstfreunde einschließe, welche veranlassend und unterstützend zu Ihrer nicht ganz ungewagten Entschliebung mitwirkten.

Glücken Sie, daß auch das Publikum es nicht verschmähen dürfte, von den Empfindungen meines Dankes und meiner Anerkennung, wie ich sie in diesen Zeilen niederlegte, Kenntniß zu nehmen, so autorisire ich Sie zu deren Veröffentlichung ebenso gern, als es wahrhaft mir zur Ehre gereichen würde, wenn sie Ihnen der Veröffentlichung werth erscheinen sollten.

Mit größter Hochachtung bin ich Ihr ergebener

Richard Wagner.

B e n g i n g . bei Wien, 1. August 1868.

Wagner Richárd nyílt levele.

(a "Zenészet Lapok" szerkesztőjéhez.)

Tisztelt szerkesztő úr!

Pesten való tartózkodásom ideje alatt, Reményi Ede barátunk, nagyobb mennyiségű zeneszerzeményeket közölt velem „magyar zenészet tanulmányok s kísérletek” címen s ajánlat mellett, melyekkel csak most van alkalmam közelebbről megismerkedni s

Midőn a nagy zeneköltőnek hozzánk intézett nagy horderejű sorait a nyilvánosság elé bocsátjuk: nemcsak az ő abeli kívánságának teszünk eleget, hanem egyszersmind erkölcsi elégtételt is vélünk ez által szolgáltatni ama nemzeti zenészetünk terén felmerült erőnedellen törekvéseknek, melyek évek óta annyi gyanúsítások, ellenséges torzalkodások s idegen elemek által eléjük gördített akadályok közepette is, végre talán még sem egészen üres légvárak, melyeket mint minden biztos alap nélküli szemképrázatokat, halomra dönthet tetszése szerint a nyegleség, mulékony hatásvadász, érdek s az álnimbusz konoksága vagy tudatlansága. Szerk.

Míg ez be nem következik, mindaddig önök hazájában veszedelmes, sőt ártalmas különbség fog uralkodni a nemzeti elem s annak csak fölületével érintkező műzene közt elannyira, hogy a nemzeti zene vagy is: a népdal s tánczene, mindinkább a „ülyedő s hátramenő naturalismus” zsákmányává fog esni annál is inkább, mert maga a műzene is, pusztán csak fölületes termékei után értelmeztetvén, méltányoltatván: viszont csak is elkorcsosító s elvadtató hatást gyakorolhatand amazokra.

Hogy mit értek ez alatt, az könnyen tisztán fog állani ön előtt, ha a magyar népdalokban — mint egy elzárt aknában — rejlő rhythmusai s harmóniai gazdagságot, azon nagy szegénységgel hasonlítjuk össze, mely az újabb olasz operazene terén annyira visszatetszik minden korunkbeli művelt zenésznek. Nem lehet valami szomorítóbb, mintha e szegénység a népzeneének naturalista kezelőit is megragadja elannyira, hogy azt a nemzeti zene elferdítésével még annak jellemeül is feltünteti!

Ez esetben, ép oly káros eredményre számolhatunk, mint minden oly kívülről jövő s felerőszakolt civilizációnál, melynek az önállólag ápolat s kifejlesztett nemzeti elem nem képes ellentállni, s mely ugy a magányélet, mint a népek polgárisultságának különböző pházisaiban annyi visszás, s undorító jelenséget eredményezett.

Hogy minő változatosságot s kifejezési jelentékenységet lehet eredményezni, továbbá, hogy a népzeneben rejlő őseredeti gazdagságot szabatos művészi kezelés által mennyire lehet belbecsében emelni, nemesíteni s sokszorozni: épen erről meglepőleg örvendetes bizonyosságot nyújtottak nekem a velem közlött „magyar zenészet tanulmányok.” Sőt, hogy a valóban jellemzetes művészi feldolgozás, miként képes a még tökéletes nemzeti elemről csaknem bevégezett tökélyű műzenészet termékeket alakítani: erre példa Mosonyi M. „Tanulmányok” című műve II-ik füzetének XIII-ik számú darabja. Ki ne ismerné fel ebben — mely másrészt feltűnő hiven tükrözi vissza a magyar „Lassú”-k eredeti típusát — azon szellemet, mely Bach Sebestyén phantastikus előjátékait átlengeti? Valóban, épen a magyar népzene rhythmikái s harmoniai sajátosságaiba való mély be-

mélyek felett szeretném önrel kiváló örömet közölni. De azon gondolati főtétel, mely ezáltal mintegy szélesebb észlelődés nyomán keletkezett bennem, sokkal nagyobb mérvű, semhogy e rövid közlemény folytán annak komoly megvitátását célozhattam.

Mindazonáltal kapcsolatban azzal, mit együttlettünk utolsó estélyén, a zene „nemzeti” volta felett egy nagyobb számú baráti kör előtt nyilvánítottam, szabadon ez úttal azt, mi a szóbanforgó zeneszerzemények szellemébe való mélyebb behatolás mellett, műtörténelmi tekintetben előttem jelentékeny vívmányként tűnik fel, röviden a következőkben kijelölni.

En azt hiszem, hogy önök abeli törekvése, miszerint a magyar nemzeti dalt oly módon akarják művészi-
leg kimivelni, hogy aztán a mi kifejlett műzenénkkel közvetlen érintkezésben állhasson: legbiztosabb sikert nyújt általában Magyarországon a zeneművészet emelése s fejlesztésére.

hatolás, feltűnő természetszerű bizonyítékokat nyújt a műzenében használni szokott rhythmikái képletek s összhangzatosítások helyességére nézve, melyek csak is az e téren lehetséges elméleti copfok előtt válnak megfoghatatlanokká s megengedhetlenekké.

Ha tekintetbe veszem azon pangást, tespedést, mely jelenleg a tulajdonképpeni műzene fejlődése terén fércismeretlenül bekövetkezett: csaknem hajlandó vagyok azon merész következtetésre, hogy a nemzeti zenészet terén tovább folytatott szerencsés fejlesztés s kimivelés folytán, lehetőleg önöknek van feltartva, amannak további fejlesztésére is viszont felfrissítő befolyást gyakorolni. Annyi bizonyos, hogy ha önök általam is felismert törekvései, szükséges a jótékony hatása viszhangra találva a magyar közönség előtt; azok, önök nemzeténél az általános zeneművészet fejlődésének, (melyet tisztán emberinek szeretnék nevezni) felette szerencsés, sőt mondhatni: egyedüli igazán sikerdús alapját kell, hogy képezzék s valóban képezni is fogják.

Pencsingben, Bécs mellett 8-ik aug. 1863.

Wagner Richárd.

Wagner Richard nyílt levele,

a „Zenészet Lapok“ szerkesztőjéhez.

Tisztelt szerkesztő-ur!

Pesten való tartózkodásom ideje alatt, Reményi Ede barátunk, nagyobb mennyiségű zeneszerzeményeket küldött velem „magyar zenészet tanulmányok“ s kísérletek“ címen s ajánlat mellett, melyekkel csak most van alkalmam közelebbről megismerkedni, s melyek fölélt szeretném önnel kiváló örömet közölni. De azon gondolati főtétel, mely ezáltal mintegy szélesebb észlelés nyomán keletkezett bennem, sokkal nagyobb mérvű, semhogy e rövid közlemény folytán annak komoly megvitatását célozhattam.

Mindazonáltal kapcsolatban azzal, — mit együttlétünk utolsó estején, a zene „nemzeti“ volta felett egy nagyobb számú baráti kör előtt nyilvánítottam, szabadon ez által azt, mi a szóban forgó zeneszerzemények szellemébe való mélyebb behatolás mellett, műtörtelmi tekintetben előttem jelentékeny vívmányként tűnik fel, röviden a következőkben kifejezni.

En azt hiszem, hogy önök abbéli törekvése, miszerint a magyar nemzeti dalt oly módon akarják művésziileg kimivelni, hogy aztán a kifejlett műzenékkel közvetlen érintkezésben állhasson: legbiztosabb sikert nyújt általában Magyarországon a zeneművészet emelése s kifejlesztése.

Míg ez be nem következik, mindaddig önök hazájában veszedelmes, sőt ártalmas különbség fog uralkodni a nemzeti elem, s annak csak fölületével érintkező műzene közt elannyira, hogy a nemzeti zene, vagyis: a népdal s tánczene, mindinkább a süllyedő hátramenő naturalismus szakmányaui fog esni annál is inkább, mert maga a műzene is, pusztán csak fölületes termékei után értelmeztetvén, méltányoltatván: viszont csak is elkorcsosító s elvadító hatást gyakorolhatand amazokra.

Hogy mit értek ez alatt, az könnyen tisztán fog állani ön előtt, ha a magyar népdalokban — mintegy elzárt aknában — rejlő ritmikai s harmoniai gazdagságot, azon nagy szegénységgel hasonlítjuk össze, mely az újabb olasz operazene terén annyira visszatetűzik minden korunkbeli mivelt zenészek. Ném lehet valami szomorítóbb, mint ha szegénység a népzenenek naturalista kezelőt is megragadja elannyira, hogy azt a nemzeti zené elferdítésével még annak jellemű is feltünteti!

Ezen esetben, ép oly-káros eredményre számolhatunk, mint minden oly kívülről jövő s felerőszakolt civilisationál, melynek az önállólag ápolt s kifejlesztett nemzeti elem nem képes ellentállni, s mely ugy a magán-élet, mint a népek polgáriultságának különböző pházisaiban, annyi visszás s undorító jelenséget eredményezett.

Hogy minő változatosságot s kifejezési jelentékenységet lehet eredményezni, hogy továbbá, hogy a népzeneben rejlő őseredeti gazdagságot szabatos művészi kezelés által mennyire lehet belbecsében emelni, nemesíteni s sokszorozni: éppen erről meglepőleg örvendetes bizonyosságot nyújtottak nekem a velem közlött „magyar zenészet tanulmányok.“ Sőt, hogy

valóban jellemzetes művészi feldolgozás, miként képes a még tökéletes nemzeti elemből csaknem bevégezett tökélyű műzenészet termékeket alakítani: erre példa M o s o n y i M. „Tanulmányok“ című műve II-ik füzetének XIII-ik számú darabja. Ki ne ismerné fel ebben — mely másrészt feltűnő biven tükrözi vissza a magyar „Lassú“-k eredeti típusát — azon szellemet, mely Bach-Sebestyén phantastikus előjátékait átlengé? Valóban, épen a magyar népzene ritmikai s harmoniai sajátágaiba való mély behatolás, feltűnő természetű szerű bizonyítékokat nyújt a műzenében használni szokott ritmikai képletek s összhangzatosítások helyességére nézve, melyek csakis az e téren lehetséges elméleti copfok előtt válnak megfoghatatlannokká s megengedhetlenekké.

Ha tekintetbe veszem azon pangást, tespedést, mely jelenleg a tulajdonképpeni műzene fejlődése terén félreismerhetlenül bekövetkezett: csaknem hajlandó vagyok azon merész következtetésre, hogy a nemzeti zenészet terén tovább folytatott szerencsés fejlesztés s kimivelés folytán, lehetőleg önöknek van feltartva, amannak további fejlesztésére viszont felfrisítő befolyást gyakorolni. Annyi bizonyos, hogy ha önök általam is felismert törekvései, eszközös s jótékony hatásu viszhangra találandnak a magyar közönség előtt: azok, önök nemzeténél, az általános zeneművészet fejlődésének, (melyet tisztán emberinek szeretnék nevezni) felette szerencsés, sőt mondhatni: egyedül igazán sikeres alapját kell, hogy képezzék a valóban képezni is fogják.

Penzingben, Bécs mellett 8-ik aug. 1863.

Wagner Richard.

GWK

Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik¹⁾.

Herrn Carl von Abrányi, Redacteur der „Zenészet Lapok“ (ungarische Musik-Zeitung) in Pesth.
Geehrter Herr Redacteur!

Mir ist während meines Aufenthaltes in Pesth von unserem Freunde Reményi Ed. mit der Empfehlung, es seien ungarische Studien, eine größere Anzahl von Compositionen mitgetheilt worden, die ich jetzt erst Gelegenheit finde, näher kennen zu lernen, und über die ich Ihnen gern meine besondere Freude mittheilen möchte. Das Thema, welches hiedurch zu erweiterter Reflexion in mir angeregt wurde, ist so umfassend, als daß ich endlich es bei dieser kurzen Mittheilung berühren möchte. Mit Aufheftung an dasjenige, was ich am letzten Abende unseres Zusammenseins vor einem grünen Krumm von Freunden über das „Nationale“ in der Musik andeutete, erlaube ich mir jedoch, das, was mir beim Eingehen auf die in Rede stehenden Compositionen culturgeschichtlich von Bedeutung scheint, in Kürze mit Folgendem zu bezeichnen:

Wir wissen diese Bestrebungen, das ungarische National-Vied in der Weise künstlerisch auszubilden, daß es in unmittelbare Beziehung zu unserer entwickelten Kunstmusik tritt, zu dem günstigsten Erfolge für die Entwicklung und Hebung der Musik in Ungarn überhaupt bestimmt. So lange ein solcher Erfolg nicht eintritt, wird bei Ihnen immer ein bedenklicher, ja, verderblicher Abstand zwischen dem nationalen Elemente und der nur die Oberfläche desselben berührenden Kunstmusik bestehen, und zwar in der Weise, daß die nationale Musik, d. h. die volkstümliche Tanz- und Liedweise, einem um so degradirenderen Naturalismus Preis gegeben wird, als die Kunstmusik, eben bloß nach ihren oberflächlicheren Producten begriffen, fast nur verwildert wiederum auf jene einwirken kann. Was ich hier meine, wird Ihnen leicht klar werden, wenn ich Sie auf den harmonischen und rhythmischen Reichthum, welcher in der ungarischen Nationalweise wie in einem verdeckten Schatze verborgen liegt, aufmerksam mache und das mit der grossen Anzahl, welche die italische neue Opernmusik dem wirklich Musikgebildeten unserer

¹⁾ Pesther Lapok, Nr. 130.

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Zeit so weit ab steht, vergleiche. Nicht Trümmern aus, als wenn diese Anzahl des nationalen Trümmers der Volksmusik sich der Art mittheilt, daß sie von ihnen auch der Nationalmusik entstellend eingeprägt wird! Wie werden hier demselben allen Erfolg jedes von ihnen eingeführten Civilisation, welcher nicht ein selbständig gepflegtes und entwickeltes, rein nationales Element zugleich entgegensteht, stehen, welches auf anderen Gebieten des Lebens und der Gestaltung der Völker so widerliche Erscheinungen zu Tage fördert.

Wie mannigfaltig und für den Ausdruck bedeutend dagegen jener ursprüngliche Reichthum in der kunstreichen Behandlung der Volksmusik nicht nur wiedergegeben, sondern veredelt und weitergeführt werden kann, davon aber geben mir jene mitgetheilten „Ungarischen Studien“ überraschend erhebliche Belege. Ja, wie sehr eine wirklich charakteristische, künstlerische Behandlung das auch vollständig nationale Motiv zu die Producte der vollendetsten Kunstmusik herausbringen kann, davon gibt mir z. B. Nr. XIII. im zweiten Hefte der „Ungarischen Studien“ von Menzies ein Beispiel. Wir erkennen in diesem Stücke, das allerdings auffallend den Typus der ungarischen „Lassan“ trägt, nicht den Geist eines der phantastischsten Präludien Sebastian Bach's? In Wahrheit bildet ein Eingehen auf die harmonischen und rhythmischen Eigenheiten gerade der ungarischen Volksmusik auffallende Natürlichkeitsbeweise für die Richtigkeit von Harmonisationen und Rhythmisationen in der Kunstmusik, welche das nur auf diesem Gebiete wiederum möglichen „Zerfallen“ der Theorie unbegreiflich und unzulässig erscheinen.

Betrachte ich aus die Stagnation, welche gegenwärtig unabweisbar in der Entwicklung der eigentlichen Kunstmusik eingetreten ist, so werde ich fast zu dem äusseren Schluße verleitet, daß Ihnen bei fortgesetzter gleichlicher Entwicklung Ihrer Nationalmusik es möglicher Weise vortheilhaft sein dürfte, einen erschreckenden Einfluß wiederum auf jene Entwicklung zu gewinnen. Jedenfalls aber läßt sich voraussagen, daß die nur vorliegenden Bestrebungen, wenn sie den nötigen fordernden Eingang bei dem ungarischen Publikum gewinnen, eine höchst glückliche, ja, wohl die einzig wahrhaft ersprießliche Grundlage für die Entwicklung der Musik überhaupt — (derjenigen Musik, welche ich die von menschlichen Wesen möglichste) — bei Ihnen bilden kann und wird.

Pesth bei Wien, 8. August 1863.

Richard Wagner.

Zenészet Lapok (9/12, 26 Nov. 1871).

In German and Hungarian.

Wagner Richárd eredeti levele a magyar műzenészeti törekvésekről.

(E lapok szerkesztőjéhez intézve.)

Geehrter Herr Redacteur!

Mir ist während meines Aufenthaltes in Pesth von unserem Freunde Ed. Reményi mit der Empfehlung, es seien „ungarische Studien“, eine größere Anzahl von Compositionen mitgetheilt worden, die ich jetzt erst Gelegenheit finde, näher kennen zu lernen, und über die ich Ihnen gern meine besondere Freude mittheilen möchte. Das Thema, welches hiedurch zu erweiterter Reflexion in mir angeregt wurde, ist so umfassend, als daß ich endlich es bei dieser kurzen Mittheilung berühren möchte. Mit Aufheftung an dasjenige, was ich am letzten Abend unseres Zusammenseins vor einem größeren Kreise von Freunden über das „Nationale“ in der Musik andeutete, erlaube ich mir jedoch das, was mir beim Eingehen auf die in Rede stehenden Compositionen culturgeschichtlich von Bedeutung scheint, in Kürze mit Folgendem zu bezeichnen.

Mir scheinen diese Bestrebungen, das ungarische National-Vied in der Weise künstlerisch auszubilden, daß es in unmittelbare Beziehung zu unserer entwickelten Kunstmusik tritt, zu dem günstigsten Erfolge für die Entwicklung und Hebung der Musik überhaupt in Ungarn bestimmt, so lange ein solcher Erfolg nicht eintritt, wird bei Ihnen immer ein bedenklicher, ja, verderblicher Abstand zwischen dem nationalen Elemente und der, nur die Oberfläche desselben berührenden, Kunstmusik bestehen, und zwar in der Weise, daß die nationale Musik, d. h. die volkstümliche Tanz- und Liedweise, einem um so degradirenderen Naturalismus Preis gegeben wird, als die Kunstmusik, eben bloß nach ihren oberflächlicheren Producten begriffen, fast nur verwildert wiederum auf jene einwirken kann. Was ich hier meine, wird Ihnen leicht klar werden, wenn ich den harmonischen und rhythmischen Reichthum, welcher in der ungarischen Nationalweise, wie in

einem verdeckten Schachte verborgen liegt, mit der großen Armuth, welche die italienische neuere Opernmusik dem wirklich Musikkulturbildeten unserer Zeit soweit absteht vergleiche. Nichts traurigeres nun, als wenn diese Armuth den naturalistischen Trägern der Volksmusik sich derart mittheilt, daß sie von ihnen auch der Nationalmusik entstellend eingebracht wird! Wir würden hier denselben üblen Erfolg jeder von Affekten eingeführten Civilisation, welcher nicht ein selbstständig gepflegtes und entwickeltes rein nationales Element zahlreich entgegentritt, ersehen, welches auf anderen Gebieten des Lebens und der Gestaltung der Völker so wiederliche Erscheinungen zu Tage fördert.

Wie mannigfaltig, und für den Ausdruck bedeuten- dagegen jener unfrühhilfliche Reichthum, in der Kunstgerechten Behandlung der Volksmusik nicht nur wieder gewonnen, sondern veredelt und weiter geführt werden kann, davon eben geben mir jene mitgetheilten „ungarische Studien“ überraschend erfreuliche Belege. Ja, wie nahe eine wirklich charakteristische künstlerische Behandlung das noch vollständig nationale Motiv an die Producte der vollendetsten Kunstmusik heranbringen kann, davon giebt mir z. B. Nr. XIII. im II. Hefte der ungarischen Studien von Mosonyi ein Beispiel: wer erkennt in diesem Stücke, das anderseits auffallend den Typus des ungarischen „Lassus“ trägt, nicht ganz den Geist eines der phantastischen Preluden Sebastian Bach's? In Wahrheit bietet ein inniges Eingehen auf die harmonischen und rhythmischen Eigentümlichkeiten gerade der ungarischen Volksmusik auffallende Natürlichkeitsbeweise für die Wichtigkeit von Harmonisationen und Rhythmisirungen in der Kunstmusik, welche den „Söpfen“ der Theorie unbegreiflich und unzulänglich erscheinen.

Betrachte ich nun die Stagnation, welche gegenwärtig unlösbar in der Entwicklung der eigentlichen Kunstmusik eingetreten ist, so werde ich fast zu dem trüben Schlusse verleitet, daß Thnen, bei fertigter glücklicher Entwicklung Ihrer Nationalmusik, es möglicher Weise vorbehalten sein dürfte, einen erfreulichen Einfluß wiederum auf jene Entwicklung zu gewinnen. Jedenfalls aber läßt sich voraussagen, daß die mir vorliegenden Bestrebungen, wenn sie den nöthigen fördernden Eingang bei dem ungarischen Publikum gewinnen, eine höchst glückliche, ja wohl die einzig wahrhaft erquickliche Grundlage für die Entwicklung der Musik überhaupt (der-

jenigen Musik, welche ich die rein menschliche nennen möchte) bei Ihrem Volke bilden muß und wird.

Penzing bei Wien, 8 August 1863.

Richard Wagner.

A fentebbi levél magyar fordításban.

T. szerkesztő ur.

Pesten való tartózkodásom ideje alatt, Reményi Ede barátunk, nagyobb mennyiségű zene-szerzeményeket küldött velem „magyar zenészet történeti tanulmányok“ s kiadványok címen s ajánlat mellett, melyekkel csak most van alkalmam közelebbről megismerkedni s melyek felett szeretném önnek kiváló örömet közölni. Amde, ama gondolati főtétel, mely ez által mintegy észlelhető észlelés nyomán következett bennem, sokkal nagyobb mérvű, semhogy a rövid közlemény folytán, annak komoly megvitátását előzhatsám.

Mindazonáltal, kapcsolatban szál, mit együttöltünk utolsó estélyén, a zene „nemzeti“ volta felett egy nagyobb számú barátai kör előtt nyilvánítottam, szabadon és attól azt, mi a szóban forgó zene-szerzemények szellemébe való mélyebb behatolás mellett, műtörténelmi tekintetben előttem jól értékes vívmányként tűnik fel, röviden a következőkben kijelölni.

En azt hiszem, hogy önök abbéli törekvése, miszerint a magyar nemzeti dalt oly módon akarják rávilágíltatni, hogy aztán a mi kifejezett műzenével közvetlen érintkezésben állhasson, legbiztosabb sikert nyújt a társaságban Magyarországon a zeneművészet emelése s kifejelesztése.

Míg ez be nem következik, mindaddig az önök hazájában veszedelmes, sőt ártalmas külsőbség fog uralkodni a nemzeti elem s annak csak felületével érintkező műzene között, az nyíra, hogy a nemzeti zene, vagyis: a népdal-s tánczene, mindinkább s súlyos hátramaradott naturalizmus szűkmaradványai fog esni, annál inkább, mert maga a műzene is, pusztán csak felületi termékei után értelmezettván s méltányoltván: viszont csak is elkorcsosító s elvaidító hatást gyakorolhat amazokra.

Hogy mit értek ez alatt, az könnyen tisztán fog ön előtt állni, ha a magyar népdaloktól — mint egy elzárt aknában — rejte ritmikai s harmoniai gazdagságot, ama nagy szegénységgel hasonlítjuk össze, mely az újabb olasz opera zene terén nyíra vezetettetik minden korunkbeli művelt zene-szerzők. Nem lehet valami szomorítóbb, mint ha a szegénység a népzenének naturalista-kezelését megfogadja elanyira, hogy azt a nemzeti zene elferdítésével, még annak jellemét is feltünteti.

Ez egyben, ép oly káros eredményre számolhatunk, mint minden oly kívülről jövő s felerőszakolt civilizatióval, melynek az általános világ ápolta s kifejelesztett nemzeti elem nem képes ellenállni, s mely ugya magánélet, mint a népek polgárisultságának különböző fázisaiban, már annyi vissza s underító jelenséget eredményezett.

Hogy minő változatosságot s kifejezési jelentékenységet lehet eredményezni, továbbá, hogy a népzeneben rejlő és eredeti gazdagságot, szabatos művészi kezelés által mennyire lehet belbecsében emelni, nemesíteni és sokszorozni: ép erről meglepőleg örvendetes bizonyosságot nyújtottak nekem a velem küldött „magyar zenészet történeti tanulmányok“. Sőt, hogy a valóban jellemzetes művészi feldolgozás, miként képes a még tökéletes nemzeti elemről csaknem bevégezett tökélyű műzenészet termékeket alakítani: erre példa Mosonyi Mihály „Tanulmányok“ című műve 2-ik füzetének 13. számú darabja. Ki ne ismerné fel abban, — mely másrészt feltűnő hiven tükrözi vissza a magyar „Lassus“ eredeti típusát, — ama szellemet, mely Bach Sebestyén phantastikus előjátékait átlengi? Valóban, ép a magyar népzene ritmikai, s harmoniai sajátágaiba való mély behatolás, feltűnő természetesen bizonyítékokat nyújt a műzenében használni szokott ritmikai képlet s összhangosítások helyességére nézve, melyek csak is az etéren lehetséges elméleti copfok előtt válnak megfoghatlanokká s megengedhetlennékké.

Ha tekintetbe veszem azt a pangást, tespedést, mely jelenleg a tulajdonképeni műzene fejlődési terén félreismerhetlenül bekövetkezett: csaknem hajlandó vagyok ama merész következtetésre, hogy a nemzeti zenészet terén tovább folytatott szerencsés fejlesztés s kiművelés folytán, lehetőleg önöknek van feltartva, amazok további fejlődésére is viszont felfrissítő befolyást gyakorolni. Annyi bizonyos, hogy ha önök — általam is felismert — törekvései, szükséges s jótékony hatása viszhangra találандnak a magyar közönség előtt: azok, önök nemzeténél az általános zeneművészet fejlődésének (melyet tisztán emberinek szeretnék nevezni) felette szerencsés, sőt mondhatni: egyedüli igazán sikerdús alapját kell, hogy képezzék, s valóban fogják is képezni.

Penzingben, Bécs mellett aug. 8-án.

Wagner Richard.

19. The thirteenth composition of the second volume of *Tanulmányok zongorára, a magyar zene előadása képzésére (Studies for the Piano, for the Improvement of Hungarian Music's Performance)* by Mihály Mosonyi.

Adagio assai (Andalogva), Melankolisch, in the style of Fatyal (Fatyal modorában).

Source: Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Kutatókönyvtára, (The Research-Library of Liszt Academy), RGY(Z) 1622/2, pp. 9-11.

Page 1:



Page 2:

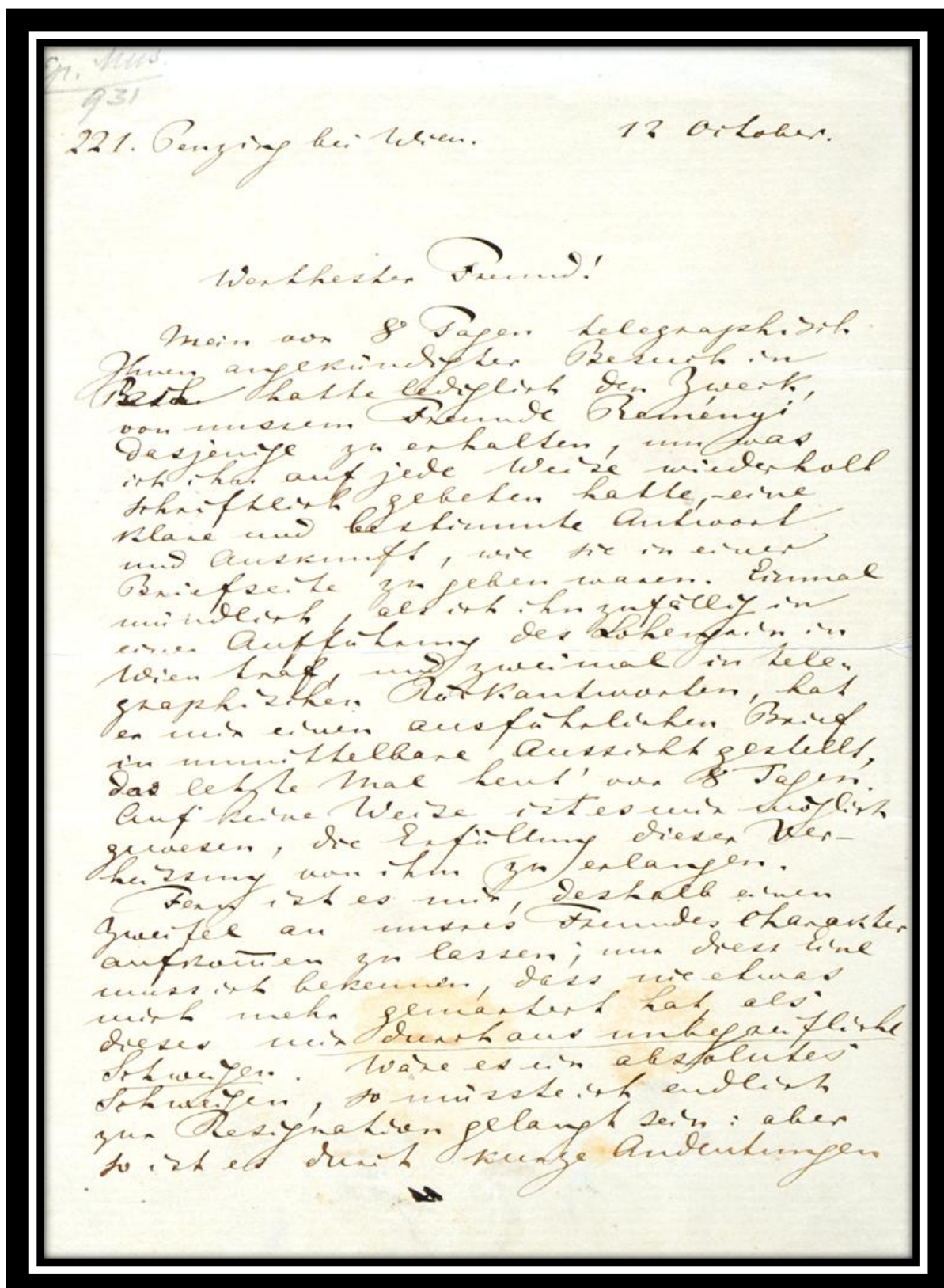


Page 3:

Page 3 of a musical score, featuring five systems of piano and vocal staves. The music is in a minor key, indicated by the key signature. The score includes various dynamics such as *pp*, *cresc.*, *ppp*, *mod.*, *ppp*, and *dim.*. There are also markings for *ritard.* and *cresc.* at the end of the page. The vocal line is written in a soprano or alto clef, and the piano accompaniment is in a bass clef. The page number 11 is visible at the top right. The score includes markings for *à tempo*, *precipitato*, *Tempo I*, and *accelerando*. The page number 16/18 is visible at the bottom right.

20. Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter', with its envelope. Written to Mihály Mosonyi. Penzing, 12 October 1863. WBV/3669, WHL-S/18.

Facsimile. Score: Fond 1192/XII, SzNL, Manuscript Collection.



[illegible]

John

Richard Rogers

Emma Wagner
 4th Floor
 Richard Wagner
 Anglistische Bibliothek

Feb. 21



La. 37/926.

21. The same letter was published by Jenő Péterfi in *Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)* in 1907, pp. 42-43/VII. In German and Hungarian. The WBV forgot to mention the publication in German.

2

Penzing, bei Wien.

12. Oktober.

Wertheater Freund!

Mein vor 8 Tagen telegraphisch Ihnen angekündigter Besuch in Pest hatte lediglich den Zweck, von unserem Freunde Reményi dasjenige zu erhalten, um was ich ihm auf jede Weise wiederholt schriftlich gebeten hatte, eine klare und bestimmte Antwort und Auskunft, wie sie in einer Briefseite zu geben waren. Einmal mündlich, als ich ihn zufällig in einer Aufführung des Lohengrin in Wien traf, und zweimal in telegraphischen Rückantworten, hat er mir einen ausführlichen Brief in unmittelbare Aussicht gestellt, dass letztemal heute vor 8 Tagen. Auf keine Weise ist es mir möglich gewesen, die Erfüllung dieser Verheissung von ihm zu erlangen.

Fern ist es mir, deshalb einen Zweifel an unsres Freundes Charakter aufkommen zu lassen; nur dies Eine muss ich bekennen, dass nie etwas mich mehr gemartert hat, als dieses **mir durchaus unbegreifliches Schweigen**. Wäre es ein absolutes Schweigen, so müsste ich endlich zur Resignation gelangt sein; aber so ist es durch kurze Andeutungen unterbrochen, die mich zu einem nun vielleicht höchst verderblich werdenden Ausharren und Hoffen ermuthigten.

Nun beschwöre ich Sie, werther Freund, mir von sich aus sofort brieflich mitzuthellen, was Sie etwa durch Reményi über den Erfolg seiner jedenfalls grossherzigen Bemühungen für mich, erfahren haben mögen. Ich nehme hierbei, gewiss mit Recht an, dass ich zu Ihnen als einem mit dem Gegenstande jener Bemühungen Vertrauten sprechen kann.

Erfüllen Sie mir diese Bitte? Ich hoffe es, und grüsse Sie mit wahrer Hochachtung und Freundschaft! Ihr

Richard Wagner.

Fordításban:

Penzing, Bécs mellett.

október 12.

Kedves barátom!

Nyolcz nap előtt, táviratilag önnek bejelentett Pestre való utazásomnak tulajdonképpen célja az

43

lett volna, hogy Reményi barátunktól megkapjam azt, a mire mindenképpen, többszörösen írásban kértem, világos és határozott feleletet és felvilágosítást, a mi egy levéloldalon elfér.

Egyszer szóval, a mikor véletlenségből Bécsben egy Lohengrin előadáson találkoztunk és kétszer táviratban kilátásba helyezte, hogy körülményes választ ad, levélben és pedig legutóbb 8 nap előtt. Semmiképpen sem sikerült őt ígéretének teljesítésére bírnom.

Távol legyen tőlem, hogy barátunk jellemében ezért kételkedjem, de meg kell vallanom, hogy alig gyötört valami annyira, mint ez a *megmagyarázhatlan hallgatás*. Hogyha absolute hallgatott volna, akkor még beletörődnék, de így rövidebb jelzésekkel megszakítva, talán káros reményekre és kitartásra bátorít.

Nagyon kérem Önt tisztelt barátom, értesítsen levélben azonnal, hogyha Reményitől megtud valamit arra vonatkozólag, milyen eredménnyel jártak, mindenesetre nagylelkű fáradozásai, érdekében.

Jogosítva érzem magam, hogy úgy beszéljek önnek, mint a ki a fáradozások tárgyában beavatott.

Teljesíti kérdésemet? Remélem és igaz tisztelettel és barátsággal üdvözlöi önt hiva

Wagner Richárd.

*

The certified copy of the same letter in Széchenyi National Library from 1921. 23/1921/Ms. mus 820.

The copy was certified by Kálmán d'Isoz.

MÁSOLAT. Wagner Richardnak Mosonyi Mihályhoz Penzing
 ----- október 12-ikén kelt leveléről:

Wertheimer Freund!

Mein vor 8 Tagentelegraphisch Ihnen angekündigter Besuch in Pest hatte lediglich den Zweck, von unsrem Freunde Reményi dasjenige zu erhalten, um was ich ihn auf jede Weise wiederholt schriftlich gebeten hatte, -eine klare und bestimmte Antwort und Auskunft, wie sie in einer Briefseite zu geben waren. Einmal mündlich, als ich ihn in einer Logen-
 grin in Wien traf, und zweimal in telegraphischen Rückantworten, hat er mir einen ausführlichen Brief in unmittelbare Aussicht gestellt, das letzte mal heut vor 8 Tagen. Auf keine Weise ist es mir möglich gewesen, die Erfüllung dieser Verheissung von ihm zu erlangen.

Fern ist es mir, deshalb einen Zweifel an unseres Freundes Charakter aufkommen zu lassen; nur diess Eine muss ich bekennen, dass nie etwas mich mehr gekränkt hat als dieses mir durchaus unbegreifliche Schweigen. Wäre es ein absolutes Schweigen, so müsste ich endlich zur Resignation gelangt sein; aber so ist es durch kurze Andeutungen unterbrochen, die mich zu einem nun vielleicht höchst verderblich werdenden Ausharren und Hoffen ermuthigten.

Nun beschwöre ich Sie, werther Freund, mir von sich aus

sofort brieflich mitzutheilen, was Sie etwa durch Reményi über den Erfolg seiner jedenfalls grossherzlichen Bemühungen für mich, erfahren haben mögen. Ich nehme hierbei, gewiss mit Recht, an, dass ich zu Ihnen als einem mit dem Gegenstande jener Bemühungen vertrauten sprechen kann.

Erfüllen Sie mir diese Bitte? - Ich hoffe es, und grüsse Sie mit wahrer Hochachtung und Freundschaft!

Ihr

Richard Wagner

A másolat hitelesül:

W. A. MOSONYI KÖNYVTÁRA
 Kézirat. Néveléskönyv
 29. és 23. sz.

22. The certified copy of Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter', written to Mihály Mosonyi. Munich, 14 June 1865.

WBV/4215, WHL-S/20.

The WBV did not mention the certified copy of the letter (SzNL, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1193/XII), or the appearance in Haraszti, pp. 323-324.

820
Ep. Mus.

Wagner Richard Levele Morony; dihályhor.

Werther Freund!

Ich kam es noch nicht ver-
winden, dass ich Sie ohne Abschied
- in so übler Stimmung - und so
gänzlich ohne welche deutsch-
digung für den verfallten Zweck,
von hier scheiden liess. -

Das bestiegende Dillet bewahre
ich Ihnen auf: es war am Abend
Ihrer Abreise geschrieben; ich hoffte
Sie noch aufhalten zu können;
doch traf Sie mein Wiener
bereits nicht mehr an. Es hat
mir diess sehr weh' gethan! -

Kann es Sie nun einiger Maassen
A) freuen, wenn ich Ihnen berichte,
dass am 10 u. 11. d. M. zwei
vortreffliche Aufführungen des
Tristan nun wirklich statt-
gefunden haben? Nächsten Sonntag
gehen wir ihn zum dritten und
letzten Mal. Der Erfolg steigerte
sich namentlich in der zweiten
Vorstellung - bis zum völligen
Furore, - was immerhin bei

A) freuen (хорошо) [valószínűleg freuen]

diesem Werke, einem gewöhnlichen
Theaterpublikum gegenüber, wirk-
lich zum Verwundern ist.

Alles ging vortrefflich: gewiss
würden auch Sie zufrieden
gewesen sein. Wie sehr hätte
ich es Ihnen gegnüt, es
erleben zu können! —

Bitte theilen Sie diese
Nachrichten, mit meinen
herzlichsten Grüßen und
Danksagungen, den lieben
Gether Freunden mit, die
hier es so übel trafen,
mir aber dadurch für
immer werth u. theuer
geworden sind.

Leben Sie wohl, und be-
halten Sie stets in gutem
Erdenken

Ihren

München
14 Juni 1865.

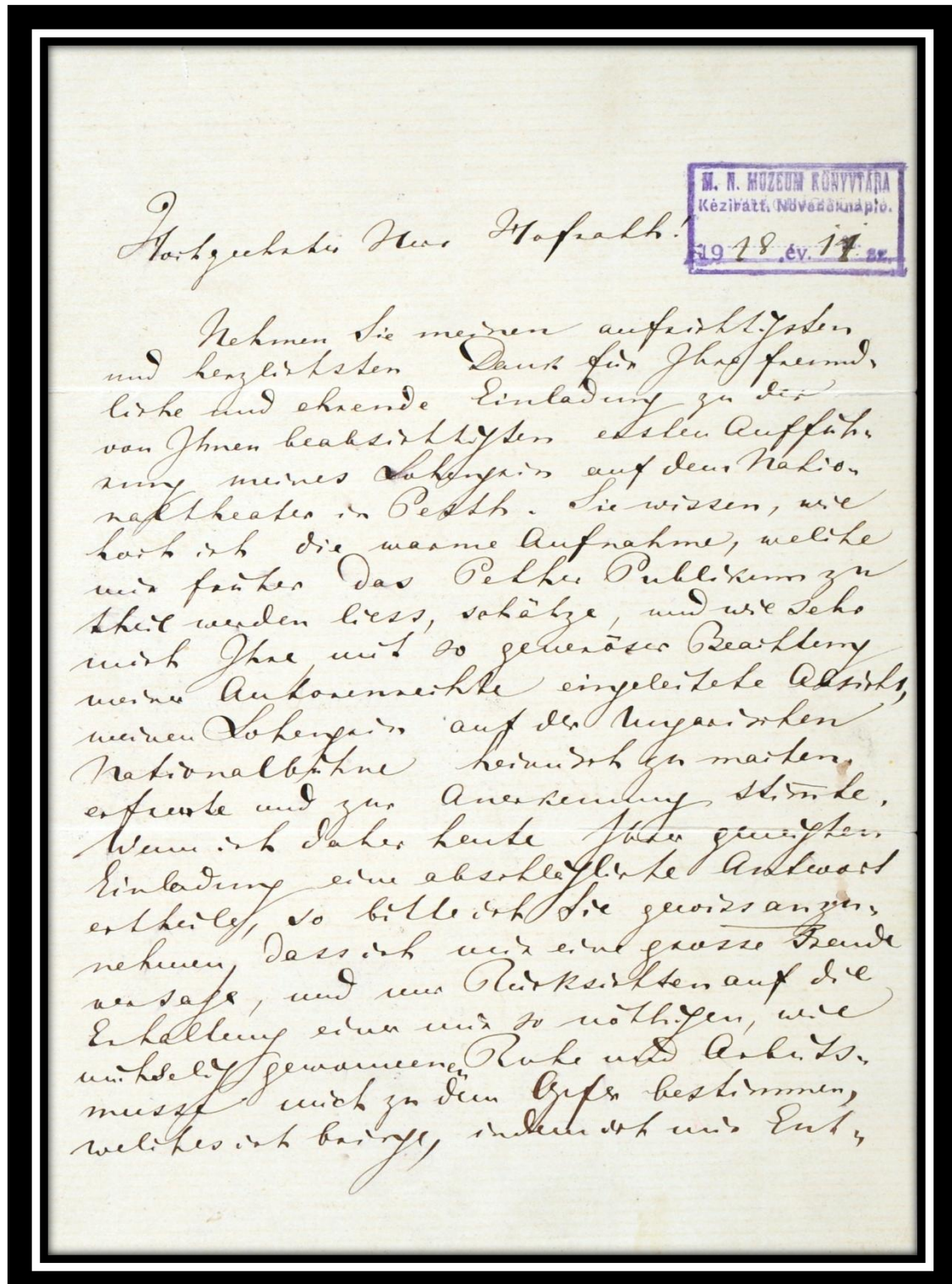
ergebensten
Richard Wagner

Másolva (az eredetiről) Dr. Werkesz Kálmán
Budapest, 1921. évi. V. 7.



23. Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter' with its envelope, addressed to the supervisor (Sámuel Radnótfáy, Nagy) of National Theatre. Luzern, 26 Nov. 1866. WBV 4607, WHL-S/21.

Facsimile. Fond 1194/XII. Széchenyi National Library (SzNL), Manuscript Collection.



Hebung auf's Neue.
 Ich bleibe bei demnach aus, Ihnen
 und Ihnen vorzüglichem Runderhagen,
 welche in diesen Briefe gesehen,
 höchstliche Annehmungen in
 nachstehenden, und die ich in diesem
 neuen Briefe haben (denn für
 die ungenügende erweisen
 Bräutigamen in diesen,
 Ihre Frauen Bräutigam mit
 höchsten Annehmlichkeiten, welche
 ist mit angedeuteten Briefe
 an dem
 des Markescheide

August
 26. Nov. 1863
 Richard Wagner




24. The same letter, published in *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*, Column: 'Fővárosi hírek'-News from the Capital) on 4 December 1866.

FŐVÁROSI HÍREK.

* **Wagner Richárdnak** a nemzeti színház igazgatójához. **L u z e r n b ő r** nov. 26-án írt levele következőleg hangzik: „Mélyen tisztelt udvari tanácsos úr! Fogadja legőszintébb és szívélyesebb köszönetemet nyájias és megtisztaló meghívásért „Lohengrin” emnek a pesti nemzeti színházban leendő első előadására. Kegyed tudja, mily magasra becsülöm én azon meleg fogadtatást, melyben engemet a pesti közönség már előbb részesíté, s menyira örültem s mily elismerésre hangolt kegyednek azon előkelt szándoka, hogy — a szerzői jog bőkezű figyelembe vétele mellett — „Lohengrin” emet a nemzeti színpadon meghonosítsa. Ennélfogva, ha én kegyednek ma vett meghívására mégis tagadólag válaszolok, kérem, legyen bizonys benne, hogy magamat ez által nagy örömtől fosztom meg, s csupán azon tekinteteknek engedek, melyek ép oly szükséges, mint fáradságosan megszerzett nyugalmam és munkásságom fentartását, ez áldozathozatalt és onmegtagadást követelik tőlem. Nem marad tehát egyéb hátra, mint hogy a legjobb sikert kívánjam kegyed és kitűnő művészi személyzete közös törekvéseinek, s előre is a legszívélyesebben megköszönjem mindenkinek a művum iránt tanúsított fáradozalmakat. További bajlaimba is melegen ajánlva magamat, maradok, sat.”

Művészeti ujdonságok.

* Wagner Richárd, a nemzeti színház igazgatójához
Luzernből nov. 26-ról következő levelet intézett: „Mélyen tisztelt udvari tanácsos úr! Fogadja legőszintébb és szívélýesebb köszönetemet nyájas és megtisztelő meghívásaért „Lohengrin“-emnek a pesti nemzeti színházban leendő első előadására. Kegyed tudja, mily magasra becsülöm én azon meleg fogadtatást, melyben engemet a pesti közönség már előbb részesít, s mennyire örültem, s mily elismerésre hangolt kegyednek azon előkelt szándoka, hogy — a szerzői jog bőkezű figyelembevételével — „Lohengrin“-emet a nemzeti színpadon meghonosítsa. Ennélfogva, ha én kegyednek ma vett meghívására még is tagadólag válaszolok, kérem legyen bizonyos benne, hogy magamat ez által nagy örömtől fosztom meg s csupán azon tekinteteknek engedek, melyek ép oly szükséges, mint fáradságosan megszerzett nyugalmam és munkaszünetem fentartását, ez áldozathozatalt és önmegtagadást követelik tőlem. Nem marad tehát egyéb hátra, mint hogy a legjobb sikert kívánjam kegyed és kitűnő művészi személyzete közös törekvéseinek, s előre is a legszívélýesebben megköszönjem mindenkinek a művem iránt tanusított fárada*lmak*at. További hajlamaiba is melegen ajánlva magamat, maradok, stb.“

25. The poster of the Hungarian premiere of *Lohengrin*.

Pest, 1 Dec. 1866.

Source: Haraszti, between pp. 332-333.

Altalános
Bérletszám



NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ.

Pest, szombaton, december 1-én, 1866. Főlemelt helyárrakkal :
IV-dik RENDKIVÜLI ELŐADÁSUL : ELŐSZÖR :

LOHENGRIK

Régényes opera 3 felvonásban. Szövegét és zenéjét írta Wagner Richard. Fordították : Böhm G. és Ormay F. Az összes új díszítményeket festette Horn Róbert. Az összes új jelmezek berlini és párisi minták szerint Papp József főruhátárnok felügyelete alatt készültek. A kellékek Gruber Antal, az ékszerek Zimmermann művei. Karnagy : Huber K. Rendező : Böhm G. Az előadásban a színi képezde fi- és nő-növendékei, valamint a báró Gerstner 8-dik számú cs. k. gyalog serezed zenekarának egy része is, közreműködnek.

Személyek :

I. Henrik, (madarász) Németország királya Lohengrin Brabanti Elza Gottfréd herceg, öccse Telramundi Fridrik, brabanti gróf	Kőszeghy. Ellinger. Carina Anna. Muskovszky I. Simon.	Ortrud, neje A király hirdetője 1-ső) 2-ik) apród, Elza 3-ik) szolgálatában 4-ik) Mányik Ern. Bodorfi. Schlick Augusta,) Igercsics Katalin,) Balogh Etelka,) Lám Lina,) képződei tanoncok
--	---	--

Szász és thüringiai grófok és nemesek. Brabanti grófok és nemesek, Nemes hölgyek. Nemes apródok. Harcosok. Zsoldosok. Nép. Szolgák. Színhely : Antwerp, a X. század első felében.

Kezdeté 7 órakor, vége 10-kor.

A főlemelt helyárrak következők :

Földszinti, vagy	12 frt.	Erkélyszék — — 3 frt — kr.	Földszinti bemenet — 1 frt — kr
Első emeleti páholy	—	Földszinti zártzék — 2 „ — „	Másodemeleti bemenet — frt 70 kr
Másodemeleti páholy	10 frt.	Másodemeleti zártzék 1 „ 20 „	Karzati bemenet — frt 30 kr

Ez azon 12 rendkívüli előadás negyediké, melyeket a bérlethirdetményben az igazgatóság különösen ki-
kötött, melyek alkalmával a t. bérlo uraságok kivétel nélkül, tehát azok is, kik páholyaikata bérletszünetes
előadásokhoz megváltották, illető bérlett helyeiket csupán a napi helyárrak lefizetése mellett használhatják,
mire nézve **ma d. e. 10 óráig** méltóztassanak a **pénztárnál** rendelkezni,
azontul mások kívánata fogván figyelembe vétetni.

A bérlo uraságok által igénybe nem vett páholyok **ma d. e. 10—12 óra** közt adatkak ki az azokra
előjegyzett t. uraságoknak a **tílkári hivatalban**.

Az erkélyszék-, földszinti és másodemeleti zártzékra előfizetett t. uraságok méltóztas-
sanak illető jegyeiket a kapott nyugta előmutatása mellett, **ma d. e. 9—12 óra** közt a **tílkári**
hivatalban átvenni.

Holnap, vasárnap, december 2-án, bérletfolyamban, először :

A törvénytelen vér.

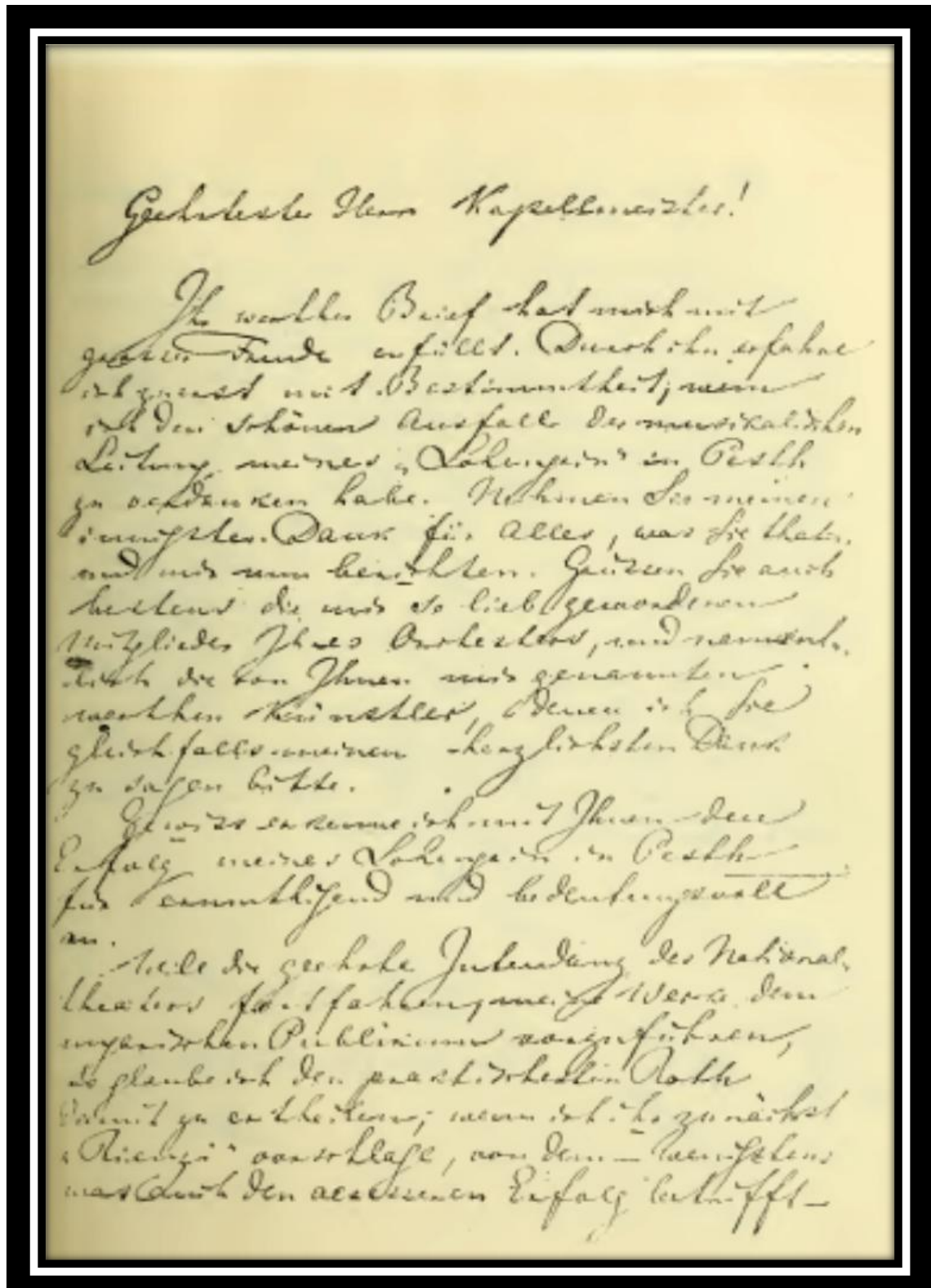
Történeti dráma 5 felvonásban. Írta Hiador.

A ki nem bérlett páholy-, erkély- és zártzékjegyek iránt rendelkezhetni a pénztárnál d. e. 9—12, d. u. 3—5 óra közt.

Pest 1866 Nyomatott Emich Gusztáv in Akad nyomd
Z. N. St. Pál G
Kinda Csepregi, titkár

26. Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian Letter' written to Károly Huber.
Luzern, 14 December 1866.

WBV 4619, WHL-S/22. Facsimile in Emil Haraszi, *Hubay Jenő élete és munkái*
(*The Life and Work of Jenő Hubay*), Budapest, 1913, between p. 12. and 13.



jedenfalls das vorläufige Resultat davon
zu sehen ist.

Schlüsselt bitte ich Sie nach meinem
Freunde Masányi, der wohl jedenfalls
Ihnen zugänglich sein wird, meine
bezüglichen Wünsche zu melden, und
wäre mir sehr lieb, wenn Sie auf diesen
freundlichen Brief durch die
Verhütung entschuldigen zu wollen;
dass ich für die Umstände lagere,
und wie ich ihm die besten Bekanntschaft
geworden sein werden, eine geschäftliche
Beantwörung für unumgänglich hielt,
ausserdem aber Briefe und sonstiges
unmöglich beschreiben zu lassen.

Mit dem nochmaligen Ausdruck
meines warmsten Dankes verbleibe
ich hochachtungsvoll

Ihr

Luzern.
14 Dez. 1866

Ihr ergebener
Anton Dreyer

27. The same 'Hungarian Letter' written to Károly Huber. Luzern, 14 December 1866.

Published in *Zenészetí Lapok (The Musical Journal)* on 23 December 1866. Issue 12/7, 1866.

Wagner Richárd levele Huber Károly karmesterhez.

Tisztelt karmester úr!

Hozzám intézett becses levele a legnagyobb örömmel töltött el. Abból értesültem legelőször egész bizonyossággal, hogy „Lohengrin”-em zenészetí vezényletének szép sikerét Pesten kinek köszönhetem. Fogadja legforróbb köszönetemet mind azért a mit értem tenni s a miről engemet értesíteni sziveskedett; kérem üdvözlje nevemben az előttem annyira kedves emlékü zenekar tagjait s különösen az ön által fölemli-tett s közreműködött művészeket, kiknek ez alkalommal szintén legszívélyesebb köszönetemet küldöm.

Önnel egyetemben „Lohengrin”-emnek pesti sikerét én is nagy horderejű dolognak tartom.

Ha a nemzeti színház tisztelt igazgatóságának további szándékában van többi műveimmel is megismertetni a magyar közönséget: gyakorlati becsü tanácscsal vélek neki szolgálhatni akkor, midőn e végből legközelebb „Rienzi” dalművemet ajánlom szíves figyelmébe, melytől — legalább a külsikert tekintve — bizonyára a legbiztosabb eredmény várható.

Végül kérem önt, legyen szíves Mosonyi barátomnak — kivel bizonyára érintkezésben áll — legszívélyesebb üdvözetemet kinyilvánítani, s egyszersmind az ő baráti megke-reső levelére hallgatásomat ama biztositásommal kimenteni, miszerint a körülmények folytán — melyek eddig előtte is bizonyára ismeretesek — arra bővebb választ küldeni fölös-legesnek tartottam, s mert emellett jelenben nagyon terhesek rám nézve a levelezések.

Legmelegebb köszönetem ismételt nyilvánítása mellett megkülönböztetett tisztelettel maradok önnek lekötelezettje

Lucern, dec. 14-én 1866.

WAGNER RICHÁRD.

28. The enthusiasts or followers and friends of Ferenc Liszt and Richard Wagner.

In this magnificent document not only Liszt can be seen — who had been the most outstanding prophet of Wagner —, but also other Hungarians from whom some were the admirer and friend of Richard Wagner. The photo was taken in the occasion of the 50th jubilee of Liszt's musical activity. He can be seen in the company of his devotees as sitting by cardinal Haynald.

The four people sitting in the front are **Lajos Haynald**, Ferenc Liszt, **Count Albert**



Apponyi and **Count Guido Karátsonyi**. In the back, from left to right: **Imre Huszár**, **Antal Siposs**, **Ödön Mihalovich**, **Baron Antal Augusz**, **Hans (János) Richter** and **Johann Nepomuk Dunkl**. Peoples name, who played a role both in the life of Liszt and Wagner, are indicated with cursive letters. It is necessary to note that Lajos Haynald knew Cosima and Richard Wagner. Cosima sent a letter to the bishop on 19 Nov. 1873 from Bayreuth, and introduced Haynald to Wagner in 15 March 1875.

Source: The photo of Ferenc Kozmata, 1873, Budapest. Source: Archives of Kalocsa Archbishopric.

29. Richard Wagner's letter sent to his Hungarian friends. 23 May 1869, Luzern.

Facsimile. WBV 5304, WHL-S/23. Score: ML 1285, LFZF.

Herrn Allschul, Ellinger, Mosonyi,
Rozsvoölgyi, Schaeida, Gouppas,
Bellovits und Dunkel!

Meine hochgeehrten, lieben Freunde!

Von ganzem Herzen danke ich Ihnen
für Ihren freundlichen Geburtstags-
gruss! Es war der Erste, der mich
aus der Ferne zuckte; von Neuem
belebte er mich die heuliche Erin-
nerung an das unergleichlich heu-
liche und erhebende Fest, welches
ich mich an jenen schönen Abende
in Pest beisehen. Ich belehnen
Sie auch nicht selbst wieder, denn
auch von so schönen Erinnerungen
nicht ich der ewig neue Lebenspfaden
der Künstlerwelt.

Brüderlichkeit

Gruss dagegen!

dankehaus

Luzern.
23 Mai 1869
j

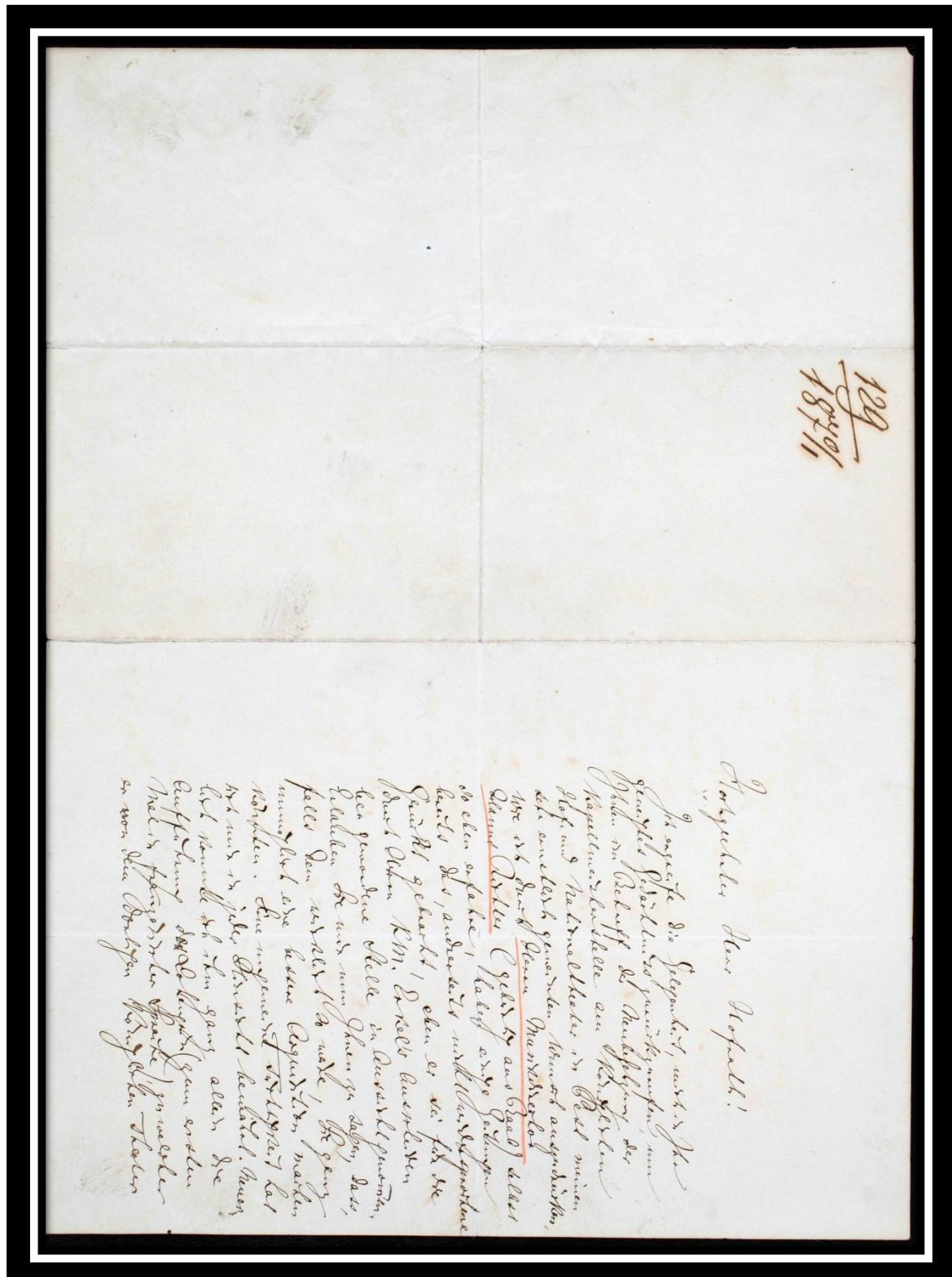


Richard Wagner

30. Richard Wagner's letter. Sent to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy). 31 March 1870, Luzern.

Facsimile. WBV 5543, WHL-S/24.

Score: 'Levelestár/Richard Wagner's letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy.' SzNL.



den Mann.
 Sie werden sich sehr erkundigen, wenn
 Sie den Mann des Engländers
 und dessen die Freunde der Politik
 sehen werden.

4. Heinen Lössen nach:
 Auf großer Parkbank
 No

John

Spekter
Richard Wagner

Answer
31 March 1870



31. The poster of the premier of *Tannhäuser* in National Theatre on 11 March 1871.

Haraszti, between pp. 346-47.

Általános bérletszünet.

NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ.

Pest, szombaton, márczius 11-én, 1871.

VI-dik rendkívüli előadásul és fölemelt helyárrakkal; E L Ő S Z Ő R:

Tannhäuser

és a vartburgi dalnok-verseny.

Regényes dalmú 3 felvonásban. Szövegét és zenéjét írta Wagner Richard. Fordította id. Abranyó Kornél.
Fő-zeneigazgató: Erkel Ferencz.

Személyek

Herman, thüringiai örgrót	Kőszeghy	Venus
Erzsébet, unokahuga	Pauline	Pásztorfi
Tannhäuser,	Ellinger.	1-ső
Wolfram,	Láng,	2-ik
Walther,	Hajós,	3-ik
Biterolf,	Bodorfi.	4-ik
Henrik,	Korbay.	
Reinmar,	Tallán.	

Kotsis Irma
Hunan Alexa
* * *
Widmár K.
Schwarz Emma
Kaltner Mari
Herczegnök. Herczegek. Udvari hölgyek. Lovagok. Apródok
Zarándokok. Nymphák. Bachansok. Faunok. Vadászok. Katonák

Uj díszletek

Az 1-ső felvonásban: a) „Venus barlang.”
b) „Vartburg völgye tavasszal.”
A 2-ik felvonásban: „Dal-csarnok a Vartburgban.”
A 3-ik „Vartburg völgye ősszel.”
Az új jelmezek Gaul F. bécsi történelmi festő mintája szerint. Gábor Gerő fő-ruhatárnok felügyelete alatt készültek. A női apród ruhákat készítette Policzer Jakab.
A cachirott tárgyak Pantoffel Jakab művei.

Festette Lehmann Mór, fő-díszítő

Az opera szövege a pénztárnál 40 krért kapható.

Kezdeté 7 órakor, vége 10 után.

Fölemelt helyárrak:

Földszinti vagy 1-ső emeleti páholy	15 frt.	Földszinti beemenet	1 frt 50 kr.
II. emeleti páholy	12 .	II. emeleti zártasék 1-ső sorban	2 . 40 .
Támlásasék	4 .	2-ik és 3-ik sorban	1 . 50 .
Erkélyasék	4 .	Számozott állóhely	2 . .
		Karzat	50 .

Holnap, vasárnap, márczius 12-én, bérletfolyamban:

A nők az alkotmányban.

Eredeti vigjáték 3 felvonásban. Írta Tóth Kálmán.

Kedden, márczius 14-én, általános bérletszünettel; m á s o d s z o r:

Tannhäuser.

Regényes dalmú 3 felvonásban. Írta Wagner Richard.

Ezen előadásra előre válthatni jegyet a titkári irodában naponként d. e. 10–12 óra közt

Ma, a budai várszínházban, adatik:

A GYÖNGÉD ROKONOK.

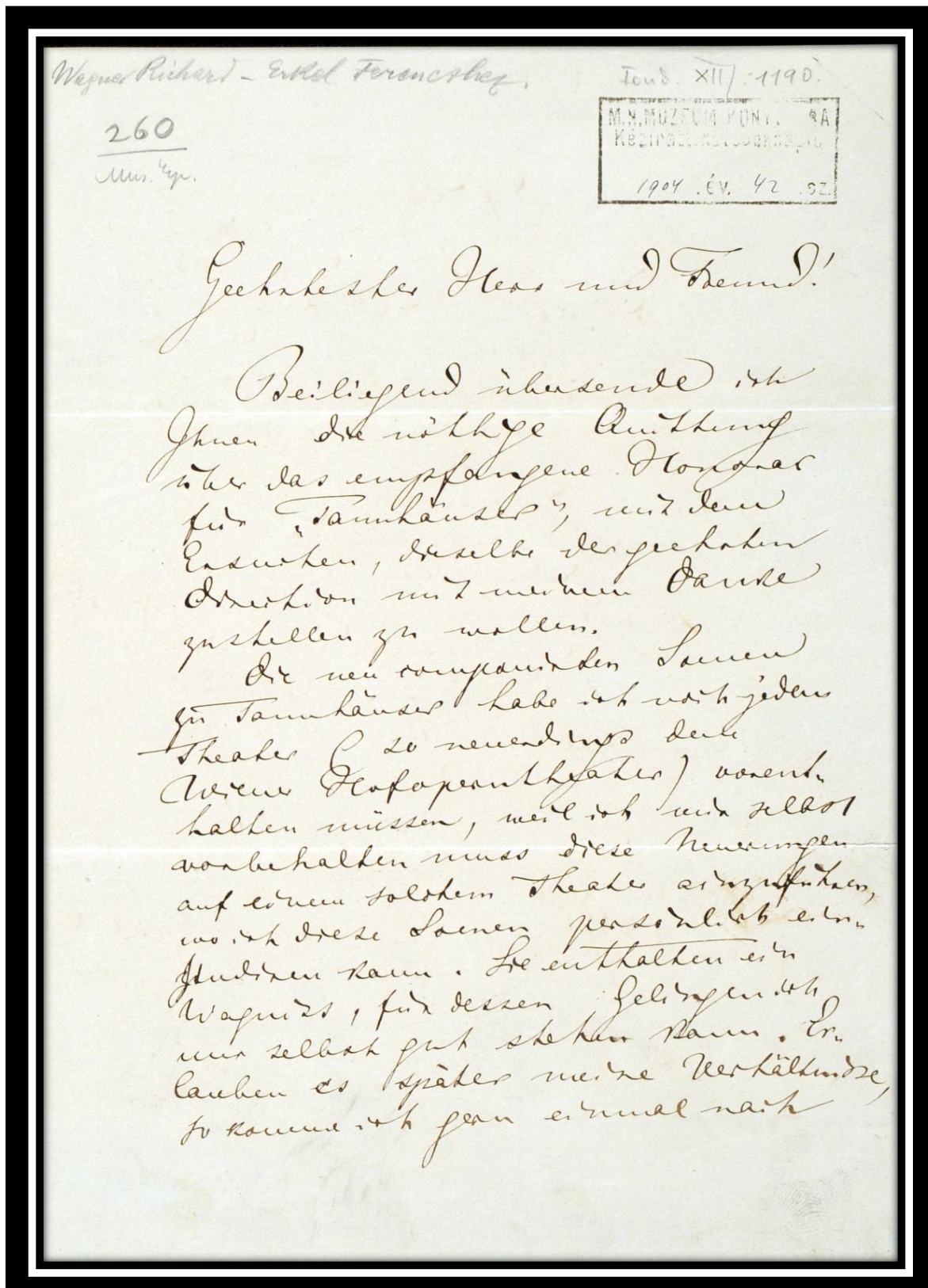
Vigjáték 3 felvonásban. Írta Benedix. Fordította Radnótfáy Sámuel.

Radnótfáy A. nyomdájából, (vánci- és régi posta-utca szögletén 14. sz. a.)Kiadta: Csepregi, utca

32. Richard Wagner's letter, written to Ferenc Erkel. 28 June 1870, Luzern.

WBV 5611, WHL-S/25.

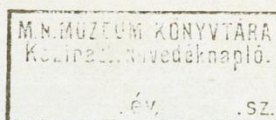
Facsimile. Score: Fond 1190/XII. SzNL (OSZK), Manuscript Collection.



Pest, und führe gelegentlich aus
 diese Meinung kein; für jetzt
 werde mir das jedoch nicht
 möglich. Lassen Sie aber
 nicht, dass weder
 Berlin, noch Wien, noch
 sonst auch Theater diese
 Seiten besitzt, und nur
 in München ich selbst
 unter ausserordentlichen
 Umständen einen Versuch
 damit mache, welche noch
 einmal vollständig platze.
 Mit den herzlichsten
 Empfehlungen bin ich
 Ihr

Luzern,
 28 Juni 1870

Ihre ergebener
 Richard Wagner



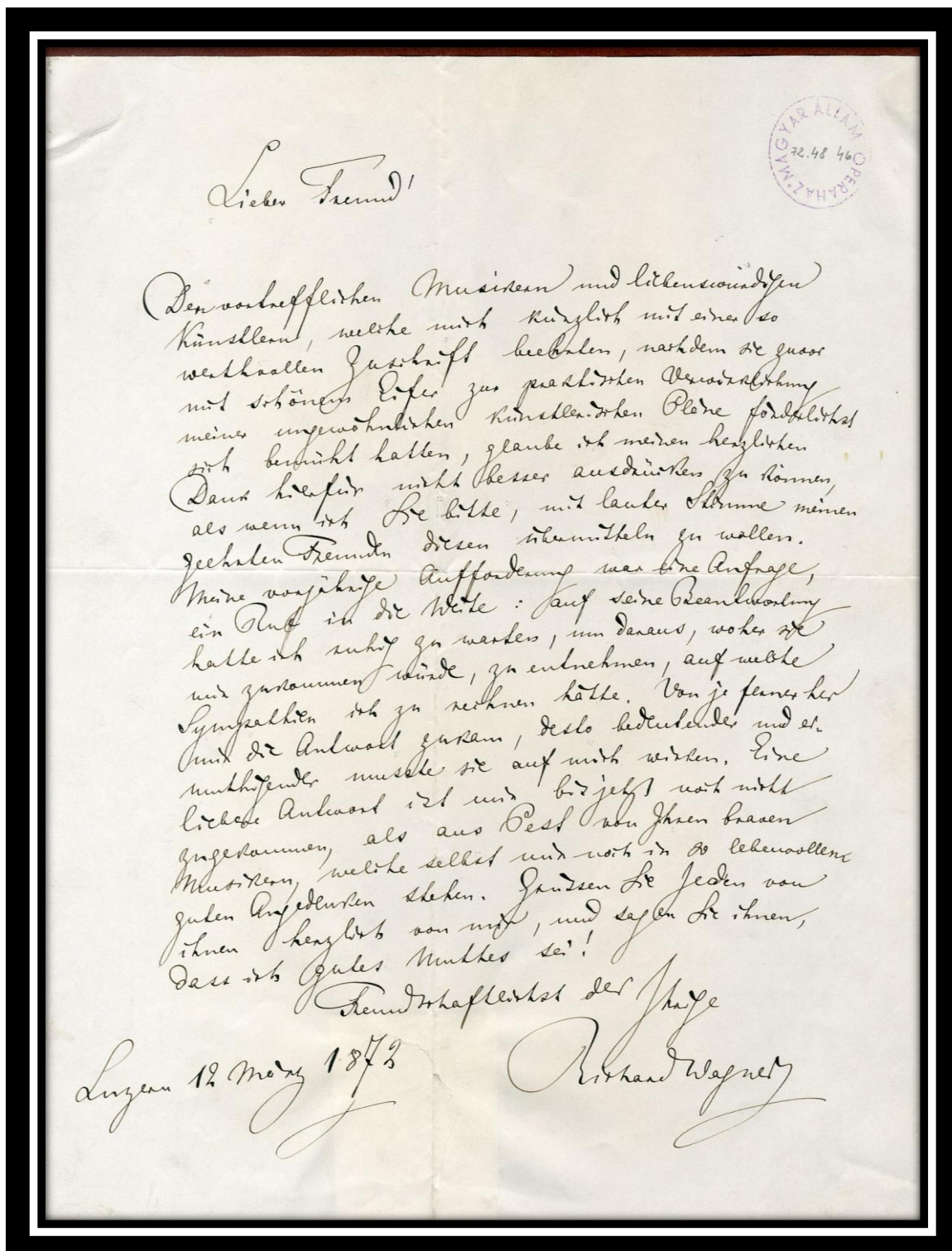
WBV 6000, WHL-S/26. Facsimile. Score: Fond 1191/XII, SzNL, Manuscript Collection.

349

34. Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letter' addressed to János (Hans) Richter. 12 March 1872, Luzern.

WBV 6075, WHL-S/27.

Facsimile. Score: 72. 48. 46. in Hungarian State Opera, Memory Collection.



35. The same 'Hungarian Letter'.

Published in column 'Fővárosi Hírek' (News from the Capital) in *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*, 63/9) on 17 March 1872.

Fővárosi hírek.

* Wagner Rikárd köszönő-levelet intézett Richterhez s az általa vezényelt zenekarhoz amaz ezer forint következtében, melyet fővárosunkból az utolsó előtti nagy zenekari hangverseny jövedelméből a beyrenthi Wagner-színház építésére küldtek. E levél így hangzik: „Kedves barátom! A kitűnő zenészeknek és szeretetreméltó művészeknek, kik miután az én szokatlan művészi terveim valósitására elősegítőleg fáradoztak, — engem oly becses irattal tisztelének meg: szívélyes köszönetemet nem hiszem máskint jobban kifejezni, mintha ön kérem föl, hogy azt e tisztelt barátaimnak előszóval adja át. Taralyi fölhevítésem egy kérdés, egy a távolba intézett szót volt, melyre a választ nyugodtan vártam, hogy belőle megtudjam: mily részvételre számíthatok. Minél távolabbról jó a válasz, annál jelentékenyebben és bátorabban kell annak számot adni. S kedvesebb válasz ez ideig még nem érkezett, mint Pestről, az ön derek zenészeitől, kik még oly élénken élnek az én jó emlékemben. Üdvözölje nevemben szívélyesen mindnyájukat, s mondja meg nekem, hogy a legjobb szívvel vagyok irántok. Barátilag az önöké, Luzern, 1872. márc. 12. Wagner Rikárd.”

36. Richard Wagner's poem written around 1876 to Countess Imre Széchenyi, née Countess Alexandra Sztáray-Szirmai.

Sources: *Gedichte von Richard Wagner*, Berlin, (G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung), 1905, p. 123, Haraszti alluded to Kloss Weber's book: *Richard Wagner über den Ring des Nibelungen*, Leipzig, 1913, on p. 402. of his book.

An Gräfin Széchenyi

Den freundlichen Patronen
soll bald Bayreuth nun lohnen,
wenn sie auf Sperrsitz-Thronen
der Aufführung beiwohnen
des Ring's der Nibelonen,
wo nichts ich werde
schonen,
und kost' es
Millionen,
ein starkes Werk
„ingenii“
zu zeigen der
Szechenyi!

37. The poster of the premiere of the *Flying Dutchman*. Pest, 10 May 1873.



38. A. Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian-letter', written to Károly Weber into Békásmegyer. 22 Oct. 1874, Bayreuth. WBV 6897, WHL-S/28.

The following copy is from *Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)* in 1907, booklet VII, pp. 40-41.

Hochgeehrter Herr!

Nach der schönen Übersendung, welche Sie mir diesen Frühjahr durch eine Sendung wilder Weinreben bereiteten, könnten Sie Ihre Liebenswürdigkeit nur noch dadurch überbieten, dass Sie in möglichst reichem Maasse verdoppelnd, ja verdreifachend, für die Herbstpflanzung nochmals senden wollten. Jeder Preis steht Ihnen augenblicklich zur Verfügung. Aber mein Weinlaubgang ist so enorm gross, und die hiesigen wilden Weinreben so unproductiv, dass ich schon zu Excessen schreiten muss.

Für heute begrüsse ich Sie mit meinem Portrait, das nächstemal jedoch mit der Abbildung des Hauses mit dem Laubgang.

Hochachtungsvoll

Bayreuth, 22. Okt. 1874.

*Ihr dankbarer
Richard Wagner.*

38. B. Richard Wagner visited Károly Weber in Buda-Pest on 10 or 11 March 1875 and left him a few lines. The short message was published by Péterfi in *Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)* with a wrong date (10 May 1875). WBV A 439, WHL-S/37.

Es lebe Weber & Fleischmann!

Ich weiss warum.

Pest, 10. May, 1875.

Richard Wagner.

*

39. The poster of the premiere of *Rienzi*. 24 Nov. 1874, Buda-Pest.

Ma kezdete 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ órakor.

NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ.

Altalános bérletszűnet Buda-Pest, kedden, november 24-én, 1874. V. rendkívüli előadás

HÍRŐRZÓ:

RIENZI,
az utolsó tribun

Nagy opera 5 felvonásban Wagner Richardtól. Fordította Böhm Gustáv.

SZEMÉLYEK:

Cola Rienzi, pápai jegyző — Irén, hűga — Stefano Colonna, a Colonnabáty feje Adriano, fia — Paolo Orsini, az Orsini-ház feje Raimondo, az Arignonban szökő pápa követő —	Ellinger Nagyné Benza Ida Ödön L. Tannerné Láng Tallán	Baronecelli,) római polgárok — Cecco del Vecchio) — Béke hírnök —	Szabó Kőszegi Humán A.
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A lombard városok —, Magyar és Németország követői. Római
 nobilek, polgárok és polgárok, békéhiányok, papok és barátok.
 Katonák a. a. i. Történeti hely: Róma, a XIV. század közepe körül.

A 2-dik felvonásbeli: Fegyver táncot betanította Campilli Fr. balletmester, előadják: Filáné, Gundard Aug. Eger F., Weiss R., Kárti H., Kárti
 Aug. Stekinger R., Russ M., Réka J., Balázs S., Benedek L., Gabányi, Szepessy, Tóth Imre, Berse és Kazalicsky.
 A fegyvertáncokkal kapcsolatban levő balettek előadják: Rotter Irma és a táncoskar.

Az új díszleteket:

Az 1-es felvonásban: Utoza a Lateran-templommal homábury. A 2-ik felv. Nagy. erom a capitoliumban.	A 3-ik felv. Forum romanum. A 4-ik felv. a) Csarnok a capitoliumban. b) A capitolium.
--	---

Festette Lehmann Mór.

Az új jelmezek Gaul, történeti festő mintái szerint készítek.

Az előadásban a nemzeti színész színpadi zenekara és részt vesz.

Ma, Kezdeté 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ órakor, vége 10 után.

Helyárak:

Földszinti vagy elsőemeleti páholy 12 frt. — Másodemeleti páholy 10 frt. — Erőlyűtűk 3 frt. — Földszinti támlások 2 frt. — Földszinti színek 2 frt 50 kr
 Balconetű állvány 1 frt 30 kr. — Földszinti bemenet 1 frt. — II. emeleti színek első sorban 1 frt 80 kr. — 2-ik és 3-ik sorban 1 frt 30 kr. — Másodemeleti
 bemenet 60 kr. — Karzati bemenet 40 kr. — Gyermekjegyek nem adnak.

☞ Ez azon 12 rendkívüli előadás elődike lesz, melyeket az igazgatóság a bérletkijelölésben különösen kikötött, s melyek alkalmazásával a páholybérlet t. uraságok
 (azok is kik páholyukat a bérletkijelölés előadásokra is megváltották) illető páholyukat csak a napi helyárak költségére mellett használhatják; mire utána ma
 d. e. 11 óráig módosításnak a pizistárai rendelkezni; azonnal mások kívánsága fogván figyelembe vételni.

Holnap, szerdán, november 25-én, bérletfolyamban:

Az ördög naplója.

Vigázták 3 felvonásban, kardalokkal, Irták: Arago és Vermon. Fordította: Egrossy Béni.

40. Richard Wagner's next 'Hungarian letter', written to Péter Dubez, sent from Bayreuth to Budapest. 8 Dec. 1874. WBV 6925, WHL-S/29.

Zenelap (The Journal of Music) on 20 November 1888. Issue 25/III.

A levél 1874. decz. 8-kán kelt és így hangzik:

Nagyon tisztelt Dubez ur!

Csak ma jutottam hozzá, hogy az ön kitűnő hárfa-berendezését átnézzem; ezt magamnak munka- és foglalkozástól ment órára tartottam fenn. A mennyire le vagyok önnek ezért a munkáért kötelezve, oly élenken sajnálom, hogy már korábban nem léptem erre nézve önhöz hasonló művészszel érintkezésbe. Most majd meglássuk, hogyan lehet ezt pótolni. Legyen oly szíves Richter barátomnál megnézni a »Walküre« partitúráját; ha abban úgy lehet hagyni a hárfa-szólamot, a mint irva van, azt nagyon szeretném; ha nem lehet, akkor ehez a partitúrához is pótfűzetet kellene metszetni. Azonban »Siegfried« utolsó felvonását, a melyben ismét sűrűen vannak a hárfa-alkalmazva, mielőtt kinyomatnám, el fogom önnek a partitúrában küldeni, hogy a hárfa-szólamokat mindjárt úgy rendezze be, a mint azokat magában a vezérkönyvben ki lehet nyomtatni. Ennélfogva Schottnak Mainzban azt az utasítást adom, hogy a partitúra ezen részét kéziratban

önnek, vagy (hogy biztosan járjunk, mivel nem tudom az ön címét) Richter urnak — az ön számára elküldje.

A »Götterdämmerung« utolsó felvonását, a melyben a hárfa a végén szintén bőven vannak alkalmazva, tőlem közvetlenül kapja meg hasonló átdolgozás végett.

Ezennel tehát még egyszer szíves köszönetet mondok önnek és biztosítom baráti nagyrabecsüléséről, melylyel vagyok

Bayreuth, 1874. decz. 8.

lekötelezettje

Wagner Rikhard.

U. i. Legyen oly szíves Richterünknek a fölött való mély sajnálatomat kifejezni, hogy a szerencsétlen Rienzi neki bajt, bosszúságot és haragot okozott; remélhetőleg mindez nem érinti őt nagyon mélyen és most könnyen talál vigasztalást boldog vőlegény-állapotában.

W. R.

von der Gullenham für mich zu unter-
 suchen. Den Nachsatz des kleinen
 Vaters möge ich Ihnen glaube ich
 in diesem Briefe mit Ihren eine
 Anfrage anstellen zu können ob
 etwas in der Sache, besonders
 bezüglich Nothwendigkeit für mich
 bestehend, verhandelt werden sollte
 ist in der That sehr auf. Man
 nehmen Sie auch an, dass ich
 wenn ich - wie ich dies häufig
 möchte - einmal Gedächtnis
 über etwas nicht in der Lage
 geblieben wäre, der Entfernung
 eines der Väter für ein deutsches
 Fachschicksal, Unternehmungen
 aufzugeben! Da auch andere
 Gründe aus der, dass Ihre eigene
 große für deutsche Musikanten
 gesungen hat in Anspruch, sondern
 gewiss nicht, nur für den von dem
 Musikanten, besonders für deutsche
 halten möchte.

Englisch find es nicht, wenn unter
den Amerikaner's der fast alle
für meine Untersuchung gesucht
waren als selbst, und durch
heiligen Weisheit, als dass die Welt
und die Regenten der Welt
dieser in der Welt. Und die Welt
Freunde in ihrem Namen bestanden
und die Welt die Welt der Welt
Bestandung vorwärts, und
weiter ist die Welt.

John Campbell

Richard Rogers

1875



42. The poster of Richard Wagner's concert. 10 March 1875. Budapest, 'Vigadó'. (Vigadó-Hall, Redout).

Source: Haraszti, pp. 392-393.

Mittwoch den 10. März Abends 7½ Uhr
im grossen Redoutensale
GROSSES
Orchester-Concert
unter der Leitung des
RICHARD WAGNER
und Mitwirkung des
FRANZ LISZT.

Liszt. „Die Glocken von Strassburg“, Can-
tate für gemischten Chor, grosses
Orchester und Barytonsolo.
(Herr Láng, I. Bariton des Nationaltheaters.)
Chor: Der Budapester Liszt-Verein.

Beethoven. Clavier-Concert in Es-dur **Franz Liszt.**

Wagner. „Schmiedelieder“ aus „Siegfried“ .. (Hr. F. Glatz.)

Wagner. „Siegfried's Tod“ aus „Götterdäm-
merung“ (Hr. F. Glatz.)

Wagner. „Wotan's Abschied“ und „Feuerzau-
ber“ aus „Die Walküre“ (Hr. Láng.)

Der Bösendorfer Flügel ist aus der Niederlage der Herren Chmel & Sohn.

Preise der Plätze:
Numerirte Sitze à 5, 10, 15, 20 fl. Logen à 50 fl. Entrée à 2 fl.
sind zu haben bei Rózsavölgyi & Comp., Kristofplatz Nr. 4.,
und am Tage des Concertes Abends an der Cassa.

An diejenigen verehrlichen Besucher der Concerte, welche erst erschei-
nen, nachdem die Production bereits begonnen hat, wird die höfliche Bitte
gerichtet, ihren Eintritt in den Saal im Interesse des Auditoriums gefälligst
bis nach Beendigung eines Satzes oder einer Nummer zu verzögern.

Budapest, 1875. Druck von Fancs & Frohne. (Waitzngasse 16.)

Richard Wagner
Monsieur

Monsieur l'abbé digne

378^{re} Saluting you 20

Buda-Pest

from Monsieur de Mikalovich



44. Richard Wagner's letter to Péter Dubez. Written in Bayreuth, sent to Budapest. 28 May 1875. WBV 7061, WHL-S/39.

Published in *Zenelap (The Journal of Music)* on 20 November 1888. Issue 25/III.

A második levél, mely 1875. máj. 28-án kelt, így szól:

Igen tisztelt Dubez uram!

Nagy örömmel értesültem, hogy ön változatlan hűséggel biztosította vállalatom számára közreműködését. Ezennel tehát ezen az uton is még egyszer szívélyesen meghívom, hogy legkésőbb f. 1875. évi aug. 1-éig Bayreuthban két hétre az előkészítő zenekari próbákhoz hangszerével megjelenjék, a jövő évben pedig (1876) június 1-től aug. 29-ig engem valamennyi próbán és előadáson

nagyrabecsült közreműködésével megajándékozzon. Ha elhelyezése iránt, vagy bármi más tekintetben kívánságai vannak, úgy közölje ezeket csak derék Seidl-ekkel, a ki nekem most legjobb akarattal segédkezet nyújt.

Fájdalom, most munkával annyira túl vagyok terhelve és olyan fáradt vagyok, hogy tisztán művészi ügyek rendezésére, mint a hárfa szólamoknak az ön átdolgozása alapján való helyesbitésére nem is gondolhatok. Reméllem, hogy erre az ön segítségével még időt szakíthatok az ideai előkészítő próbák után.

Addig az ön megjegyzései, a melyekért még annyi köszönettel tartozom önnek, be lettek vezetve a szólamokba. A többit majd meglássuk azután.

Lenne-e oly jó, szíves jóltevőmnnek, Weber mag- és virágkereskedőnek legszívélyesebb köszönetet átadni a nagy lugasom számára újabban küldött vad-szöllő-venyigéért? Valóban sajnálom, hogy a nekem tett számos szíveségért közvetlenül, oly kevésbé mutathatom magamat hálásnak, minthogy folytonos gondok és aggodalmak közt élek nagy vállalatom miatt.

Ezennel tehát befejezésül önt is szívélyesen üdvözölöm, mint önnek lekötöztetettje.

Bayreuth, 1875. máj. 28.

Wagner Rikhard.

45. The poem that was written by Gyula Reviczky to the death of Richard Wagner. Published in *Fővárosi Lapok* (*The Journals of the Capital*, 20/37, 'Kulturális Hírek'-Cultural News) on 14 February 1883.

Wagner Richard.

Fréja fejedre
Friss koszorút fon
S Walhalla virányin
Amrita vár.

*

Itáliában ért el a halál,
Ki germánoknál germánabb valál.
Velence! Régi nagyság, fény regéje,
Te láttad, mint borul homály szemére.
Tengerhullámod viszi szét a földnek:
Nem dobban Wagner büszke szive többet!

Megbűvölt engem is varázslatod!
Fülembe zengtek régi századok.
Láttam Siegfriedet, Krimhild bosszúját;
Tannhäuser lángját, Hollandid búját;
Az álmatag szemű Sentát, s szerelmét,
S Elzát, kinél nincs bájolóbb, se szendébb.

Szállj, szállj Odinhoz! Zengő álmaid
Behangozzák a föld határait,
Királyi koronák törékenyebbek,
Mint legkisebb betűje nagy nevednek.
S a hova útja nincs, csak égi lángnak,
Te oda szállsz. Beethoven s Goethe várnak.

*

Fréja fejedre
Friss koszorút fon
S Walhalla virányin
Amrita vár.

46. The poster of the premiere of 'Mastersingers'. 8 Sept. 1883, National Theatre, Budapest.



NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ.

Bérlet Budapest, szombaton, 1883. szeptember 8-án: 15. szám.

Előszőr:

A nürnbergi MESTER-DALNOKOK.

Dalmű 3 felvonásban, 4 képben Szövegét és zenéjét szerzette Wagner Richard. Fordította Dr. Váradi Antal

Személyek:

Hans Sachs, cipész Veit Pogner, ötvös Kunz Vogelgesang, szűcs Konrad Nachtigall, bádoga Sixtus Beckmesser, városi írnok Fritz Kothner, pék Balthasar Zorn, öntő Ulrich Eisslinger, asztalos Augustin Moser, szabó Hermann Ortel, szappanos	— Ödý — Tallián — Dálnoki — Fekter — Lang — Zaitvai — Vas — Kiss — Bortoluzzi — Ujvári	Hans Schwarz, barisnya takács) mester- Hans Foltz, rézműves) dálnokok Stolzinger Walther, ifjú frank lovag — Éva, Pogner leánya — — — Dávid, Sachs inasa — — — Magdalena, Éva dajkája — — — Éji or — — — Polgarok, nők minden rendből és zebből. Legények. Inasok, lányok, nép, városi zenészek, városi szolgák. Hely: Nürnberg. — Idő: a 16-ik század közepe.
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A 3-dik és 4-dik kép közt 10 peroznyi szűnet.

Kezdeté 7 órakor, vége 10-kor.

A dalmű szövege a pénztárnál 40 krért kapható.

Az új díszleteket festették: Spanrafi Ágost és Hirsch Gyula, a nemzeti színház festői.

Az új jelmezeket Árvay és társa udv. szállító-czég készíttette.

Rendes helyarok:

Földszint:	I. emeleten:	II. emeleten:	III. emeleten:
Páholy 10 frt —	Páholy 10 frt —	Páholy 8 frt —	Zártaszék az 1-6 sorban 80 kr.
Támlásszék az I.-VIII. sorb 2 frt 50	Erkélýszék 2 frt 50	Zártaszék az 1-6 sorb. 1 frt 20	„ a 2-ik sorban 60 kr.
IX.—XVI. sorb. 2 frt —		„ 2. és 3. sorban 1 frt —	„ a 3-ik és 4-ik sorban 40 kr

Jegyet válthatni a csarnokban, d. e. 10 órától 1-ig. és d. u. 3-tól 6-odfélig. Esteli pénztárnyitás 6¹/₂ órakor

Holnap, vasárnap, 1883. szeptember 9-én. bérletfolyamban.

O D E T T E.

Dráma 4 felvonásban. Írta V. SARDOU

47. The premiere-poster of *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*). 26 Jan. 1889, Hungarian Royal Opera House. Conductor: Gustav Mahler. (In Hungarian).

MAGY. KIR. OPERAHÁZ.

Bérlet 16. szám. Bérlet 16. szám.

Budapest, szombaton, 1889. január 26-án:

Először:

A RAJNA KINCSE

Elojáték „Niebelung gyűrűje” című zenedráma-trilógiához; 4 képen, szövegét és zenéjét írta WAGNER RICHARD. Fordította: Dr. RADO ANTAL.

Személyek:

Wotan) — — — Ney D.	* Fricke) — — — Henszler
Donner) — — — Szendrői	* Freia) istenök — — — Rotter
Froh) istenek — — — Stoll	* Erda) — — — Iribeck
Loge) — — — Broulik	* Woglinde) — — — Ábrányiné
Alberich) niebelungok — — — Ta'ács	* Wiegunde) rajnai sellők — — — Kordin
Mime) — — — Dálnoki	* Flosshilde) — — — Eibenschütz
Fasolt) óriások — — — Odry	
Falner) — — — Tallián	

Történik: az I-és kép: a Rajna mélyén: — II. és IV. kép: fensíkon a Rajna mellett: — III. kép: a Niebelheim földalatti barlangjában.

Az új díszleteket festették: SPANRAFT Á. és HIRSCH GY., a m. kir. operaház díszletfestői; az új jelmezek CAFFI P. jelmezszabó vezetése mellett a m. kir. operaház szabóműhelyeiben készültek.

Szöveggönyvek a jegyáruló pénztárnál, a páholy-, földszinti támlás-, II. em. körszék- és III. em. zártszéknyitóknaál **40 krért** kaphatók.

Kezdeté 7 órakor, vége 9¹/₂-kor.

Rendes helyárák.

Páholy:	Támlásszék:	II. em. körszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártszék:
Földszinti . . . 12 frt	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt —	Az I. sorban 2 frt —	Erkélyszék az I. sor 1 frt 50
I. emeleti . . . 12 frt	A XI—XIX. . . 2 frt —	A II. . . 1 . 50	Zártszék az I. sorb. — frt 80
II. emeleti 11. szám 10 frt		A III. . . 1 . —	. a II—V. . 1 frt —
II. . . 1—5. . . 8 frt			. a VI—VIII. . — frt 80
			. a III—IV. — frt 40

Ez előadásokra külön-külön csak az előadás napján lehet jegyet váltatni d. e. 10 órától 1-ig és d. u. 3—5-ig a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, Esteli pénztárnyitás a Rajna kincse előadásnál 6¹/₂ — a Walkür előadásnál 6 órakor.

Darabváltás előtt mind a napi, mind az előre váltott jegy érvényessége megszűnik. Az érvénytelenné vált jegy kicserélhető vagy ára visszatér; a (hajós-utcai) nappali pénztárnál d. u. 5 óráig; ezen időn túl a ki nem cserélt jegy ára az előadás végéig a fűszarnokban levő baloldali pénztárnál fizetendő vissza.

Hétfőn: 28-án: Az operaház zárva. — Kedden, 29-én: A „RAJNA KINCSE” II-szor. Bérlet 17. sz. Rendes helyárák. — Szerdán: 30-án: „A VALKÜRE” II-szor. Bérlet 19. szám. Rendes helyárák.

48. The premiere-poster of *The Valkyrie* (*A walkür*). 27 Jan. 1889, Hungarian Royal Opera House. Conductor: Gustav Mahler. (In Hungarian).

➡ Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órakor., vége 10 után. ➡

MAGY. KIR. OPERAHÁZ.

Budapest, vasárnap, 1889. január 27-én:

➡ Bérlet 18. szám. ➡

Először:

A WALKÜR

„A Nibelung gyűrűje“ című zenedráma-trilógiának 1-3. része, 3. felvonásban szövegét; és zenéjét írta WAGNER RICHARD. Fordította CSIKY GERGELY.

Személyek:

Siegfried	—	—	—	Brouk	*	Gerhilde)	—	—	Neszeveda
Hunding	—	—	—	Szendrői	*	Ortlinde)	—	—	Csányiné
Wotan	—	—	—	Ney D.	*	Waltraute)	—	—	Kordin
Sieglinde	—	—	—	Maleczkyné	*	Schwertleite)	walkürök	—	Irlbeck
Brünhilde	—	—	—	Szilágyi B.	*	Siegrane)	—	—	Handl
Fricka	—	—	—	Fleiszig M.	*	Grimgerde)	—	—	Henszler
Helmwig, walkür	—	—	—	Györgyné	*	Rosswiese)	—	—	Eibenschütz

Történet hely. I. felvonás: Hunding lakának belseje; — II. felvonás: vad sziklahegység; — a III. felvonás: egy sziklahegy orma.

Az új díszleteket festették: SPANRAFT A. és HIRSCH GY., a m. kir. operaház díszletfestői; új jelmezek CAFFI P. jelmezszabó vezetésével a m. kir. operaház szabóműhelyeiben készültek.

Szövegkönyvek a jegyárulók pénztárnál, a páholy-, földszinti támlás-, II. em. körszék és III. em. zártszéknyitókánál **40 krért** kaphatók.

Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órakor, vége 10¹/₂ után.

Rendes helyérek.

Páholy:	Támlásszék:	II. em. körszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártszék:
Földszinti . . . 12 frt	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt —	Az I. sorban 2 frt —	Beköltözték az I. sor 1 frt 50
I. emeleti . . . 12 frt	A XI—XIX. „ 2 frt —	A II. „ 1 „ 50	„ a II—V. „ 1 frt —
II. emeleti 11. szám 10 frt		A III. „ 1 „ —	„ a VI—VIII. „ 1 frt 80
II. „ 1—5. „ 8 frt			„ a III—IV. „ 1 frt 40

Ez előadásokra külön-külön csak az előadás napján lehet **napi helyérek**on jegyet váltani d. e. 10 órától 1-ig és d. u. 3—5-ig a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, Esteli pénztárnyitás a Rajna kinése előadásánál 6¹/₂ — a Walkür előadásánál 6 órakor.

Darabváltás esetén mind a napi, mind az előre adott jegy érvénytelen lesz. Az érvénytelenül váltott jegy kifizethető vagy ára visszatérítendő a (hajós-utcai) nappali pénztárnál d. u. 5 óráig; ezen időn túl a ki nem cserélt jegy ára az előadás végeig a főszínházban levő buldózi pénztárnál fizethető vissza.


Hétfőn: 28-án: Az operaház zárva. — Kedden, 29-én: A „RAJNA KINCSE“
II-szor. Bérlet 17. sz. Rendes helyérek — Szerdán: 30-án: „A WALKÜR“
II-szor. Bérlet 19. szám. Rendes helyérek.

Budapest, 1889. Nyomatott Müller Károlynál (maestri Múzeum Károly) II. kor., Főherceg Albrecht-ut 3—5. szám

49. The premiere-poster of *Siegfried*. 9 Apr. 1892, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Conductor: Josef Rebiček (Rebicsek József).

Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órákor.

Magy. Kir. Operaház.

Évi bérlet 65. szám.  Havi bérlet 5. szám.

Budapest, szombaton, 1892. április hó 9-én,
Szilágyi Bella k. a. és Perotti Gyula úr
 vendégfelléptével,
e l ő s z ő r:

SIEGFRIED.

A „Niebelung gyűrűje” trilogiának második napja. Irta: Wagner Richard. Fordította: Dr. Radó Antal.

Személyek:

Siegfried — — —	Perotti Gy. úrn. v. —	Fafner — — —	Szendői — — —
Mime — — —	Dalnovi — — —	Erda — — —	Hilgermann L. — — —
A vándor (Wotan) — — —	Ney D. — — —	Brünhilda — — —	Szilágyi B. k. a. m. v. — — —
Alberich — — —	Takács — — —	Erdei madár hangja — — —	Bianchi B. — — —

Színkép:

I. felv. Sziklabarlang az erdőben. II. felv. Erdő mélye. III. felv. Vadon egy sziklás hegy tővében, azután: a Brünhilda-kő tetején.

Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órákor, vége 10¹/₂ után.

Rendes helyérek:

Pá h o l y:	Páholyülés:	Támlásszék:	II. em. körszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártaszék:
Földszinti 10. sz. 20 frt.	Földszinti 10. szám páholy	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt.	Az I. sorban 2 frt.	Erkélyszék az I. sor 1 frt 50
Földszinti 1. em. 12 frt.	Földszinti 1. em. 12 frt.	A XI—XIX. sorban 2 frt.	A II. sorban 1 frt 50	a II—V. sorban 1 frt.
Földszinti 2. em. 8 frt.	Földszinti 2. em. 8 frt.	A III. sorban 1 frt.	A III. sorban 1 frt.	a VI—VIII. sorban 1 frt.
Földszinti 3. em. 5 frt.	Földszinti 3. em. 5 frt.			a III—IV. sorban 1 frt.

Jegyet válthatni d. e. 10 órától 1-ig és d. u. 3—5-ig a hajó-utcai nappali pénztárnál továbbá a színházjegytirodákban (Koronaherceg-utca 8. sz. és Andrássy-út 2. sz.) egész napon át.

Esteli pénztárnyitás a színházban 6¹/₂ órákor.

A németőre a férfiak felöltő, póló és esernyő, a hölgyek pedig kalap nélkül sziveskedjenek megjelenni.
 A ruhátárban a felöltőért 10 kr., kalapért, pólóért, esernyőért 5 kr. fizetendő.

Holnap, vasárnap, 1892. április hó 10.-én, évi bérlet 66. szám, havi bérlet 6. szám:
A h u g o n o t t á k.

Nagy opera 4 felvonásban. Zsejt szerzette Meyerbeer. Szövegét írta Scribe. Fordította Nádaskay Lajos.

Ezen előadásra előre válthatni jegyet a dalműház-utcai (baloldali) pénztárnál, ma d. e. 10 órától 1-ig a következő

rendes elővételi helyérek:

Pá h o l y:	Támlásszék:	II. em. körszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártaszék:
Földszinti 10. sz. 21 frt.	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt 30	Az I. sorban 2 frt 30	Erkélyszék az I. sorban 1 frt 70
Földszinti 1. emeleti 13 frt.	A XI—XIX. sorban 2 frt 30	A II. sorban 1 frt 80	a II—V. sorban 1 frt 20
Földszinti 2. em. 9 frt.	A III. sorban 1 frt 30	A III. sorban 1 frt 30	a VI—VIII. sorban 1 frt.
			a III—IV. sorban 1 frt.


valamint a színházjegytirodákban (Koronaherceg-utca 8. szám és Andrássy-út 2. szám) is.

Kyemelt Málter Károlynál (ezelőtt Münster Károly) Budapest, II. ker. Főherceg Albrecht-ut 3—5. szám.

50. The premiere of the 'Ring' as a cycle. From 30 Jan. to 4 Feb. 1893 in Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian, in Antal Radó's translation.

The premiere-poster of *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*).

Magy. Kir. Operahaz.

Évi bérlet 19. szám.  Havi bérlet 19. szám.

Budapest, hétfőn, 1893. január hó 30.-án,
Broulik Ferenc úr vendégfelléptével:

A RAJNA KINCSE.

Elojáték »A Niebelung Gyűrűje« c. zenedráma-trilógiához, 4 képben. Zenejét és szövegét írta Wagner Richard. Fordította Dr. Radó Antal.

S z e m é l y e k:

Wotan	—	—	Ney D.		Fricka	—	—	M. Henszler Helén
Donner	—	—	Szendrői		Freia	istennők	—	Rotter Gizella
Froh	istenek	—	Kiss		Erda	—	—	Hilgermann Laura
Loge	—	—	Broulik F. úr m. v.		Woglinde	—	—	Ábrányiné W. Margit
Alberich	niebelungok	—	Takáts		Welgunde	rajnai sellők	—	Handel Berta
Mime	—	—	Dalnoki		Flosshilde	—	—	Rosenberg Izabella
Fasolt	—	—	Ódry					
Fafner	óriások	—	Tallán					

Történet: az I.-ed kép: a Rajna mélyén: — a II. és IV. kép: fensíkon a Rajna mellett; — a III. kép: a Niebelheim földalatti barlangjában.

A második és harmadik kép között 10 pernyi szünet.

Kezdeté 7 órakor, vége 9¹/₂ után.

RENDES HELYÁRAKON:

P á h o l y:	T á m l á s s z é k:	II. emeleti kőrszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártzék:
Földszinti 10. sz. 20 frt	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt —	Az I. sorban . . . 2 frt —	Erkélyszék az I. sorb. 1 frt 50
Földszinti és I. emeleti 12 frt	A XI—XIX. sorban 2 frt —	A II. sorban . . . 1 frt 50	" a II—V. " 1 frt —
II. emeleti 11. sz. 10 frt		A III. sorban . . . 1 frt —	" a VI—VIII. " 1 frt 80
II. emeleti 2—5. sz. 8 frt			" a III—IV. " — frt 40

Jegyet válthatni d. e. 10 órától 1-ig és d. u. 2—5-ig a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, továbbá a színházjegyirodáknál (Koronaherceg-utca 8. szám és Andrássy-út 2. szám) egész napon át.

ESTELI PÉNZTÁRNYITÁS A SZÍNHÁZBAN 6¹/₂ ÓRAKOR.

A nézőtérben a férfiak felöltő, páncs és esernyő, a hölgyek pedig kalap nélkül sziveskedjenek megjelenni. A ruhátárban a felöltőért 10 kr., kalaptárolt páncsért, esernyőért 5 kr. fizetendő.

Holnap, kedden, 1893. január hó 31.-én, évi bérlet 20. szám, havi bérlet 20. szám., Szilágyi Bella k. a. és Broulik Ferenc úr vendégfelléptével:

A W A L K Ü R.

A »Niebelung Gyűrűje« című zenedráma-trilógia első része, 3 felv. Zenejét és szövegét írta Wagner Richard. Fordította Csiky Gergely.

Ezen előadásra előre válthatni jegyet a dalműház-utcai (baloldali) előárusítási pénztárnál, ma d. e. 10 órától 1-ig a következő

RENDES ELŐVÉTELI HELYÁRAKON:

P á h o l y:	T á m l á s s z é k:	II. emeleti kőrszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártzék:
Földszinti 10. sz. 21 frt —	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt 30	Az I. sorban . . . 2 frt 30	Erkélyszék az I. sorb. 1 frt 70
Földszinti és I. em. 13 frt —	A XI—XIX. sorban 2 frt 30	A II. sorban . . . 1 frt 80	" a II—V. " 1 frt 20
II. emeleti 2—5. sz. 9 frt —		A III. sorban . . . 1 frt 30	" a VI—VIII. " 1 frt —
II. em. 11. sz. 11 frt —			" a III—IV. " — frt 50

valamint a színházjegyirodáknál (Koronaherceg-utca 8. szám és Andrássy-út 2. szám) is.

M Ű S O R:

Szerdán, február 1.-én az operaház zárva (a várszínházban Nőtlig Ferenc úr vendégfelléptével: A zsidóné). — Csütörtökön, 2.-án, Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelléptével: Siegfried. Évi bérlet 21. sz., havi bérlet 1. sz., rendes helyárak. — Pénteken, 3.-án az operaház zárva. — Szombaton, 4.-én, Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelléptével: Az istenek alkonya. Évi bérlet 22. sz., havi bérlet 2. sz., rendes helyárak. — Vasárnap, 5.-én: Ilka. A korrigán. Évi bérlet 23. sz., havi bérlet 3. sz., rendes helyárak.

A műsoron levő előadásra elő lehet jegyezni — a váltandó hely napi ára és előre váltási díjának lefizetése mellett — a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, déli 12 és 1 óra közt.

Bérelni lehet február hóra a következő helyekre:

A HELY MEGNEVEZÉSE:	frt	A HELY MEGNEVEZÉSE:	frt
II. emeleti 2—5. számú páholy: —	130	III. emeleti erkély I. sor: —	16
I. rangú támlásszék (I—X. sor): —	50	III. " " II—V. sor: —	24
II. " " (XI—XIX. sor): —	32	III. " " VI—VIII. sor: —	12
II. emeleti kőrszék I. sor: —	28	III. emeleti zártzék I. sor: —	13
II. " " II. " —	22	III. " " II. sor: —	9
II. " " III. " —	15	III. " " III—IV. sor: —	5

Páholyok felezésben, a páros vagy a páratlan számú előadásokra is bérelhetők a fel bérletár lefizetése mellett.


Bérelni lehet f. hó 31.-éig bezárólag naponként délelőtti 10 órától délutáni 1 óráig az operaházban.

Nyomatott Müller Károly, ezültkötő Münster Károly könyvnyomdájában, Budapest II. ker., Főherceg-Albrecht-út 3—5. szám.

51. The premiere-poster of *The Valkyrie* (A walkür). 31 Jan. 1893, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Translation: Gergely Csiky.

➡ **Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órákor.** ➡

Magy. Kir. Operaház.

Évi bérlet 20. szám.  Havi bérlet 20. szám.

Budapest, kedden, 1893. január hó 31.-én,

Szilágyi Bella k. a. és Broulik Ferenc úr
vendégfelleptével:

A WALKÜR.

„A Niebelung Gyűrűje” című zenedráma-trilogia első része, 3 felv. Zenéjét és szövegét írta Wagner Richard. Fordította Csiky Gergely.

S z e m é l y e k:

Siegmond — — — — — Broulik F. úr m. v.	}	Gerhilde, — — — — — Ábrányiné W. Margit
Hunding — — — — — Szendrői	}	Rotter Gizella
Wotan — — — — — Ney D.	}	Sz. Bárdossy Ilona
Sieglinde — — — — — Hilgermann Laura	}	Semsey Mariska
Brünhilde — — — — — Szilágyi Bella k. a. m. v.	}	Handel Berta
Fricka — — — — — M. Henszler Helén	}	M. Henszler Helén
Helmvige, walkür — — — — — Kaczér Margit	}	Doppler Ilka

Történeik az I. felvonás: Hunding lakának belsejében: — a II. felvonás: vad sziklahegységben: — a III. felvonás: egy sziklahegy ormán.

Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órákor, vége 10 után.

RENDES HELYÁRAKON:

P á h o l y:	P á h o l y ü l é s:	Támlásszék:	II. em. kőrszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártaszék:
Földszinti 10. sz. 20 frt	Földszinti 10. szám páholy	Az I-X. sorb. 3 frt	Az I. sorban 2 frt	Erkélyszék az I. sorb. 1 frt 50
Földszinti 11. sz. 12 frt	I. em. 1-4. sz. 3 frt — kr.	Az XI-XIX. „ 2 frt	II. sorban 1 frt 50	„ a II-V. „ 1 frt —
II. em. 11. sz. 10 frt	II. sor 1-4. sz. 2 frt — kr.	Az I-XIX. „ 2 frt	III. sorban 1 frt —	„ a VI-VIII. „ 1 frt 80
II. em. 2-5. sz. 8 frt	III. sor 1-3. sz. 1 frt 50 kr.			„ a III-IV. „ — frt 40

Jegyet válthatni d. e. 10 órától 1-ig és d. u. 3-5-ig a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, továbbá a színházjegyirodáknál (Korona-herceg-utca 8. szám és Andrássy-ut 2. szám) egész napon át.

ESTELI PÉNZTÁRNYITÁS A SZÍNHÁZBAN 6 ÓRÁKOR.

A nézőtér a férőhelyek felöltő, pálya és esernyő, a hölgyek pedig kalap nélkül szíveskedjenek megjelenni. A ruhátárban a felöltőt 10 kr., kalapért, pálcáért, esernyőért 5 kr. fizetendő.

M Ű S O R:

Szerdán, február 1.-én az operaház zárva (a várszínházban Nöthig Ferenc úr vendégfelleptével: A zsidónő). — Csütörtökön, 2.-án, Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelleptével: Siegfried. Évi bérlet 21. sz., havi bérlet 1. sz., rendes helyárak. — Pénteken, 3.-án az operaház zárva. — Szombaton, 4.-én, Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelleptével: Az istenek alkonya. Évi bérlet 22. sz., havi bérlet 2. sz., rendes helyárak. — Vasárnap, 5.-én: Ilka. A korrigán. Évi bérlet 23. sz., havi bérlet 3. sz., rendes helyárak.

A műsoron levő előadásra elő lehet jegyezni — a váltandó hely napi ára és előre váltási díjának lefizetése mellett — a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, déli 12 és 1 óra közt.

Bérelni lehet február hóra a következő helyekre:

A HELY MEGNEVEZÉSE:	frt	A HELY MEGNEVEZÉSE:	frt
II. emeleti 2-5. számú páholy: — — —	130	III. emeleti erkély I. sor: — — —	16
I. rangú támlásszék (I-X. sor): — — —	50	III. „ „ II-V. sor: — — —	24
II. „ „ (XI-XIX. sor): — — —	32	III. „ „ VI-VIII. sor: — — —	12
II. emeleti kőrszék I. sor: — — —	28	III. emeleti zártaszék I. sor: — — —	13
II. „ „ II. „ — — —	22	III. „ „ II. sor: — — —	9
II. „ „ III. „ — — —	15	III. „ „ III-IV. sor: — — —	5

Páholyok felérésben, a páros vagy a páratlan számú előadásokra is bérelhetők a fel bérletár lefizetése mellett.

Bérelni lehet I. hó 31.-éig bezárólag naponként délelőtti 10 órától délutáni 1 óráig az operaházban.

Nyomatott Müller Károly, ezelőtt Münster Károly könyvnyomdájában, Budapest II. ker., Főherceg-Albrecht-út 3-5. szám.

52. The premiere-poster of *Siegfried*. 2 Feb. 1893, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Translated by Antal Radó dr.

Magy. Kir. Operaház

Budapest, szerdán, 1893. február hó 1.-én,

AZ OPERAHÁZ ZÁRVA.

Holnap, csütörtökön, 1893. február hó 2.-án,


évi bérlet 21. szám, havi bérlet 1. szám,

Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelleptével:

SIEGFRIED.

• A *Niebelung Gyűrűje* című zenedráma-trilógiának második napja. Irta Wagner Richard. Fordította Dr. Radó Antal.

S z e m é l y e k:

Siegfried — — — — Perotti		Fafner — — — — Szendrői
Mime — — — — Dálnoki		Brünhilda — — — — Szilágyi Bella k. a. m. v.
A vándor (Wotan) — — — — Ney D.		Erdei madár hangja — — — — Bianchi Bianca
Alberich — — — — Takáts		

S z i n t é r.

I. felv. Sziklabarlang az erdőben. II. felv. Erdő mélye. III. felv. Vadon egy sziklás hegy tövében, azután: a Brünhilda-kő tetején.

Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órakor, vége 10 után.

Ezen előadásra **előre válthatni** jegyet a dalműház-utcai (baloldali) előadási pénztárnál, **ma d. e. 10 órától 1-ig a következő**

RENDES ELŐVÉTELI HELYÁRAKON:

P á h o l y:	Témlásszék:	II. emeleti kőrszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártzsek:
Földszinti 10. sz. 21 frt —	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt 30	Az I. sorban 2 frt 30	Erkélyszék az I. sor 1 frt 70
Földszinti és I. em. 13 frt —	A XI—XIX. sorban 2 frt 30	A II. sorban 1 frt 80	Zártzsek az I. sorban — frt 90
II. emeleti 2—5. sz. 9 frt —		A III. sorban 1 frt 30	„ a II—V. „ 1 frt 20
II. em. 11. sz. 11 frt —			„ a VI—VIII. „ 1 frt —
			„ a III—IV. „ — frt 50

valamint a színházjegyirodákban (Koronaherceg-utca 8. szám és Andrássy-út 2 szám) is.


M Ű S O R:

Pénteken, 3.-án az operaház zárva. — Szombaton, 4.-én, Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelleptével: *Az istenek alkonya*. Évi bérlet 22. sz., havi bérlet 2. sz., rendes helyárok. — Vasárnap, 5.-én: *Ilka. A korrigán*. Évi bérlet 23. sz., havi bérlet 3. sz., rendes helyárok.

A műsoron levő előadásra elő lehet jegyezni — a váltandó hely napi ára és előre váltási díjának lefizetése mellett — a hajós-utcai nappal pénztárnál, déli 12 és 1 óra közt.

Nyomatott Müller Károly, ezeltől Münster Károly könyvnyomdájában, Budapest II. ker., Főherceg-Albrecht-út 3—5. szám,

53. The premiere-poster of the *Twilight of the Gods* (*Az istenek alkonya*). 4 Feb. 1893, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. (Antal Radó dr.).

Magy. Kir.  Operaház.

Budapest, pénteken, 1893. február hó 3.-án:

AZ OPERAHÁZ ZÁRVA.

Holnap, szombaton, 1893. február hó 4.-én,

évi bérlet 22. szám, havi bérlet 2. szám,

Szilágyi Bella k. a. vendégfelleléptével:

AZ

ISTENEEK ALKONYA.

„A NIBELUNG GYÜRÜJE” című trilogia HARMADIK NAPJA, egy előjátékban és 3 felvonásban. Zenéjét és szövegét írta Wagner Richard.
Fordította Radó Antal.

S z e m é l y e k:

Siegfried	—	—	—	Perotti	Gutrune	—	—	—	—	Rottér Gizella
Günther	—	—	—	Odry	Woglinde	—	—	—	—	Ábrányiné W. Margit
Hagen	—	—	—	Ney D.	Wellgunde	—	—	—	—	Sz. Bárdossy Ilona
Alberich	—	—	—	Takáts	Flosshilde	—	—	—	—	M. Henszler Helén
Brünhilde	—	—	—	Szilágyi Bella k. a. m. v.		—	—	—	—	Vitézek, nők, gyermekek.

Történik: az előjáték éjjel, a Walkür-bércen; az első felvonás a Gibichungok csarnokában a Rajna mellett, és a Walkür-bércen; a második felvonás a Gibichungok csarnoka előtti partvidéken; a harmadik felvonás vad, erdős, sziklás vidéken a Rajna mellett, és a Gibichungok csarnokában.

Kezdeté 6¹/₂ órakor, vége 10 után.

Ezen előadásra előre válthatni jegyet a dalműház-utcai (baloldali) előárusítási pénztárnál, ma d. e. 10 órától 1-ig a következő

RENDES ELŐVÉTELI HELYÁRAKON:

P á h o l y:	Támlásszék:	II. emeleti kőrszék:	III. emeleti erkély- és zártaszék:
Földszinti 10. sz. 21 frt —	Az I—X. sorban 3 frt 30	Az I. sorban 2 frt 30	Erkélyszék az I. sor 1 frt 70
Földszinti és I. em. 13 frt —	A XI—XIX. sorban 2 frt 30	A II. sorban 1 frt 80	Zártaszék az I. sorban — At 90
II. emeleti 2—5. sz. 9 frt —		A III. sorban 1 frt 30	„ a II. „ — frt 70
II. em. 11. sz. 11 frt —			„ a VI—VIII. „ 1 frt — „ a III—IV. „ — At 60

valamint a színházjegyirodáknál (Koronaherceg-utca 8. szám és Andrássy-út 2 szám) is.

Vasárnap, 5.-én: Hka. A korrigán. Évi bérlet 23. sz., havi bérlet 3. sz., rendes helyárak.

A másoron levő előadásra elő lehet jegyezni — a váltandó hely napi ára és előre váltási díjának lefizetése mellett — a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál, déli 12 és 1 óra közt.

Nyomatott Müller Károly, ezülvitt Münster Károly könyvnyomdájában, Budapest II. ker., Főherceg-Albrecht-út 3—5. szám.

54. The premiere-poster of 'Tristan'. 28 Nov. 1901, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian, in Emil Ábrányi Sr.'s translation.

Kezdetre 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ órakor.

MAGY. KIR. OPERAHÁZ.

Budapesten, csütörtökön, 1901. november hó 28-án

Evi bérlet 133. sz.
Havi bérlet 15. sz.

előszőr

Tristan és Izolda.

Zenedráma 3 felvonásban. Írta Wagner Richard. Szövegét fordította Ábrányi Emil.

Személyek:

Tristan — — — Burrian	Brangéne — — — Berts M.
Marke király — — — Ney D.	Pásztor — — — Gábor
Izolda — — — Vasquezné M. I.	Kormányos — — — Ney B.
Kurwenál — — — Takács	Ifjú hajós — — — Déri
Melot — — — Kiss B.	

Hajósok. Nemes daliák. Fegyveres vitézek.

Kezdetre 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ órakor, vége 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ óra után.

Az I. és II. felvonás után 20 perc szünet.

Jegyet válthatni ma d. e. 10—1-ig és d. u. 3—5-ig a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál a rendes napi helyárakon.

ESTELI PÉNZTÁRNYITÁS A SZÍNHÁZBAN 6 ÓRAKOR.

A nézőtérben a férfiak felöltő, pálcza és esernyő — a hölgyek pedig kalap nélkül szíveskedjenek megjelenni.

Műsor:

Pénteken, nov. 29-én: nincs előadás. Evi bérlet 134. sz. Havi bérlet 16. sz.

Szombaton, " 30-án: **Az afrikai nő.** Kezdetre 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ órakor. Bérletszűnet 29. sz.

Vasárnap, dec. 1-én: **Tristan és Izolda.** (másodszor).

A műsoron levő előadásokra jegyet lehet váltani naponként d. e. 10-től 1-ig, ezenkívül oly napokon, melyeken előadás tartatik d. u. 3 és 5 óra közt is a hajós-utcai nappali pénztárnál a rendes elővételi helyárakon.

Az összes előadásokra jegyet lehet még váltani naponként egész napon át „Bárd Ferenc és Testvére” zeneműke-
reskedésében: Kossuth Lajos-utca 4. sz. (Standard palota) és Andrássy-út 2. sz. a.

HELYÁRAK:

HELYEK	Rendes		HELYEK	Rendes	
	napi ár	évi ár		napi ár	évi ár
Páholy: földszinti	24	240	II. em. kőrszék az I. sorban	3	360
" I. emeleti	24	240	" " a II. "	2	240
" II. emeleti II. szám	20	200	" " a III. "	2	240
" II. emeleti 2—5. szám	16	160	III. em. erkélyszék az I. sorban	2	240
Támlásszék az I. sorban	7	760	" " a II—V. "	2	240
" a II—IV. sorban	6	660	" " a VI—IX. "	1	660
" a V—X. sorban	5	560	III. em. zártszék az I. sorban	1	660
" a XI—XVI. "	4	460	" " a II. "	1	360
" a XVII—XIX. "	3	360	" " a III—IV. sorban	1	360

A váltott jegy darabváltozások is érvényes, de a ki ilyenkor nem kívánja használni, árát a pénztárnál előadás végeig visszaveheti.

A rendes bérletszűnetes előadásokra a bérlet helyét a pénztár az előadást megelőző nap déli 12 óráig fenntartja; eddig az időpontig a bérletnek joguk van helyüket a napi áron megváltani.

Bérelni lehet 1901. december hóra a következő helyekre:

A hely megnevezése:	Kor.	A hely megnevezése:	Kor.	A hely megnevezése:	Kor.
II. emeleti 2—5. számú páholy	200	Támlásszék XVII—XIX.	45	III. emeleti erkélyszék II—V. sor	25
Támlásszék I. sor	90	II. emeleti kőrszék I. sor	40	" " VI—IX. sor	20
" II—IV. sor	75	" " II. sor	30	III. emeleti zártszék I. sor	20
" V—X. sor	65	" " III. sor	25	" " II. sor	15
" XI—XVI. sor	55	III. emeleti erkélyszék I. sor	30	" " III—IV. sor	10

Páholyok felelőrszében, páros vagy páratlan számú előadásokra is bérelhetők a bérlet összeg felének lefizetése mellett.

Bérelni lehet a f. hó 30-ig bezárólag naponként délelőtti 10 órától délutáni 1 óráig az Operaházban.

Nyom. Müller Károly, cselelt Múster Károly. Budapest, II. ker., Főherceg-Arkadok. 3—6. szám.

55. Mimi Berts as Brangäne on the premiere of *Tristan and Isolde*. 28 Nov. 1901, Hungarian Royal Opera House.

Score in Széchenyi National Library: OSZK SZT KB 3/4328. (4328/3.). With the permission of SzNL, THS.



56. The premiere-poster of *Parsifal*. 1 Jan. 1914, 'Népopera' (Folk Opera).

In German. Conductor: Frigyes Reiner, director: Adolf Mérei(y), scenery: Loeffler.

NÉPOPERA

Igazgató: MÁRKUS DEZSÓ **VIII., Tisza Kálmán-tér** III. ev. 181. előadás.

Kezdetre 5 órakor ➡ Csütörtökön, 1914 január 1-én ➡ **Kezdetre 5 órakor**

KRAMMER TERÉZ és ANTHES GYÖRGY felléptével
először

PARSIFAL

Ájtatos ünnepi színjáték. Írta: Wagner Richard. — A zenekart vezényli: Reiner Frigyes.

SZEREPLŐK:

Amfortas Gábor Arnold Titurel Mátrai Ernő Gurnemanz Bihar Sándor Parsifal Anthes György Klingsor Pajor Ödön Kundry V. Krammer Teréz Első Ábrányiné Rózi Második Ney Mariska Harmadik } apród Pázmán Ferenc Negyedik Huszár Károly	Első } Második } Grál-lovag Klingsor varázsos virág-leányai Grál-lovagok. Apródok. Klingsor virág-leányai.	Lóránd Lajos Vajda Frigyes Adler Adelina Ábrányiné Rózi Ney Mariska Sebők Ilona Rozovska Soja Murányi Erzsébet Legard Adél
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Az I. és VI. kép a Monsalvet-hegység vidékén, az erdőszégen történik, a II. és VII. kép a Grál várában. A III., IV. és V. kép a Klingsor kastélyában és kertjében, a gót Spanyolország északi hegysegeiben.

Az előadás d. u. 5 órakor kezdődik és 11 órakor végződik.

➡ **Az I. és II. felvonás után 40–40 perc szünet.** ➡

A Parsifal német szövegkönyve, továbbá Cserna Andornak a Parsifalról írt részletes ismertetése (hangjegyzédekkel) a Népopera pénztáránál és jegyszédőinél kapható. Egy füzet ára 60 fillér.

A Parsifal előadás helyeire:

Zsölle 15 kor. Támlásszék 1–5 sor 12 kor., 6–10. sor. 10 kor. Körzék 1–3. sor 8 kor., 4–6. sor 7 kor., 7–10. sor 6 kor., 11–12. sor 5 kor. Zártszék 1–4. sor 4 kor., 5–7. sor 3 kor. Erkély 1 sor 7 kor., 2–3. sor 5 kor., 4–6. sor 4 kor., 7–10. sor 3 kor., 11–15. sor 2.50 kor., 16–17. sor 2 kor., 18–19. sor 1.50 kor., 20. sor 1 kor. Földszinti páholy 2–6-ig 70 kor., 7–11-ig 50 kor. Erkély-páholy 2–6-ig 50 kor., 7–11-ig 40 kor.

Pénteken és vasárnap este, rendes helyárrakkal, SZOYER ILONA és BERKY LILI felléptével

KATONADOLOG

A helyek megnevezése	Rendes napi helyárak		Elővetéti díj		Délutáni mész. helyárak	A helyek megnevezése	Rendes napi helyárak		Elővetéti díj		Délutáni mész. helyárak	A helyek megnevezése	Rendes napi helyárak		Elővetéti díj		Délutáni mész. helyárak	
	K	F	K	F			K	F	K	F			K	F	K	F		K
Földszinti páholy (5 szem.)	24	—	2	—	16	Földsz. zártszék 1–4. sor	2	50	—	30	1	50	Erkély 7–10. sor	2	—	—	1	—
Erkély páholy (5 személyre)	20	—	2	—	14	„ 5–7. „	2	—	—	1	50	„ 11–15. „	1	50	—	—	1	—
Földszinti zsölle 1–10.	5	—	1	—	3	Erkély 1–3. sor	3	—	—	2	—	„ 16–19. sor	1	—	—	—	80	
Földsz. támlásszék 1–10.	4	—	—	70	2 50	„ 4–6. sor	2	50	—	1	—	„ 20. sor	—	50	—	—	50	
Földsz. körzék 1–12.	3	—	—	50	2													

A délutáni előadásokhoz elővetéti díj nincs.

Szombaton, 1914 január 3-án, este fél 8 órakor

Lipkovska és Baklanoff búcsúfelléptével

HAMLET

Zsölle 1–10. sor 12 korona. Támlásszék 1–5. sor 10 korona, 6–10. sor 8 korona. Körzék 1–6. sor 6 kor., 7–12. sor 5 korona. Zártszék 1–4. sor 4 korona, 5–7. sor 3 kor. Erkély 1. sor 7 kor., 2–3. sor 5 kor., 4–6. sor 4 kor., 7–10. sor 3 kor., 11–15. sor 2.50 kor., 16–17. sor 2 kor., 18–19. sor 1.50 kor., 20. sor 1 korona. Földszinti páholy 2–6-ig 50 korona, 7–11-ig 40 korona. Erkély-páholy 2–6-ig 40 korona, 7–11-ig 30 korona.

Vasárnap, 1914 január 4-én, délután 3 órakor, mérsékelt helyárrakkal, SZOYER ILONA és BERKY LILI felléptével

Aranyeső

A PARSIFAL második előadása **hétfőn, január 5-én**
este 7 órakor lesz.

Jegy már váltható.

Thália műintézet 1.-4.

Magyar Kir. Operaház

Vasárnap, 1924 június 1-én (rendes előadás, 218. szám, páros)

először:

Parsifal

Ünnepi játék 3 felvonásban. Szövegét írta és zenéjét szerzte: **Wagner Richard.** Kereszty István fordításának részleteit felhasználva fordította: **Lányi Viktor.** Vezényli: **Kerner István.** Rendezte: **Márkus László.** Személyek:

Amfortas	Szemere Árpád	1.	Goda Gizella
Titurel	Ney Bernát	2.	Halász Gitta
Gurnemanz	Venezell Béla	3.	Marschalkó Rózsi
Parsifal	Szekelyhidý F. dr.	4.	Palay Matild
Kundry	Haselbeck Olga	5.	Tihanyi Vilma
Klingsor	Szendé Ferenc	6.	Bodor Karola
Grállovag	Závodszy Zoltán		
apród	Komáromy Pál		
	Kiss Edit		
	Haynal Elma		
	Szügyi Kálmán		
	Toronyi Gyula		

Grállovagok, apródok, gyermekek, esatlósok, virágglányok.

A cselekmény színhelye: I. felv. 1. kép: Erdő a Grál birodalmában. 2. kép: A grállovagok várának kupolás terme. — II. felv. 1. kép: Klingsor vára. 2. kép: Klingsor büvös kertje. 3. kép: Pusztaság.

III. felv. 1. kép: Tavasszi mező a Grál birodalmában. 2. kép: A grállovagok várának kupolás terme.

A díszletek és kosztümök Kéméndy Jenő, if. Oláh Gusztáv és Márkus László tervei szerint az Operaház műhelyeiben készültek.

Az I. felvonás után 30 perc, a II. felvonás után 45 perc szünet.

Kezdetre 5 órákor, vége 11 órákor.

Esti pénztárnyitás a színházban 4^{1/2} órákor.

Az előadás és a felvonások megkezdése után a nézőtérre vezető ajtók zárva maradnak.

MŰSOR:	Hétfőn	június 2-án:	Nincs előadás.	Kezdetre 7 órákor
	Keddén	június 3-án:	Tannhäuser (Leuer Hubert vendégfellépésével)	Kezdetre 7 órákor
	Szerdán	június 4-én:	Farsangi lakodalom	Kezdetre 7 órákor
	Csütörtökön	június 5-én:	Hoffmann meséi	Kezdetre 7 órákor
	Pénteken	június 6-án:	Lohengrin (Leuer Hubert vendégfellépésével)	Kezdetre 7 órákor
	Szombaton	június 7-én:	Rigoletto	Kezdetre 7 órákor
	Vasárnap	június 8-án:	Parsifal (másodszor, felemelt helyárák)	Kezdetre 5 órákor
	Hétfőn	június 9-én:	Aida	Kezdetre 7 órákor

A Magyar Színpad a jegyszedőknél - vigalmi adóval együtt - 3300 K-ért kapható.

Jegyek csak a Magyar Királyi Operaháznál válthatók és pedig a helybiztosítással le nem kötött korlátozott számban a napi előadásokra a **Hajós-utcai pénztárnál**, a műsoron hirdetett más előadásokra a **Dalszínház-utcai pénztárnál**, naponként d. e. 9—1-ig és d. u. 3—¹/₅-ig (Telefonszám: 22-49). A helybiztosítottok ki nem váltott jegyei keddtől fogva árusíthatnak. Az elővételi (Dalszínház-utcai) pénztár vasárnap délután zárva van.

Helyárák a vigalmi adóval együtt:

HELYEK	Rendes		Parsifal II. előad.		HELYEK	Rendes		Parsifal II. előad.	
	napi ár	Forg. adó, nyugdíj int. juttat., és az új Nemz. Szính. legia pótlóméré	napi ár	Forg. adó, nyugdíj int. juttat., és az új Nemz. Szính. legia pótlóméré		napi ár	Forg. adó, nyugdíj int. juttat., és az új Nemz. Szính. legia pótlóméré	napi ár	Forg. adó, nyugdíj int. juttat., és az új Nemz. Szính. legia pótlóméré
Főhaly: földszint	32000	28000	40000	30000	Támlássz. a XX—XXII. sorban	35000	3000	44000	3300
" I. emeleti	32000	28000	40000	30000	II. em. páholylülés az I. "	42000	3600	52000	4000
" II. " " 11. szám	32000	28000	40000	30000	II. " " a II. "	33000	2800	40000	3000
" II. " " 2—5. "	200000	18000	250000	20000	III. em. középerkély I. "	35000	3000	44000	3300
Zsöllye	90000	7800	110000	8500	" " II—V. "	30000	2700	38000	3000
Támlásszékek az I—II. sorban	85000	7300	105000	8000	" " VI—IX. "	25000	2200	32000	2400
" a III—IV. "	80000	6900	100000	7500	" " oldalelek. I. "	33000	2800	40000	3000
" az V—VI. "	75000	6500	94000	7000	" " II—IV. "	28000	2500	35000	3000
" a VII—IX. "	70000	6000	88000	6600	" " V—VI. "	21000	1800	26000	2000
" a X—XII. "	60000	5200	75000	5700	III. " zártaszék I. "	18000	1600	22000	1800
" a XIII—XV. "	50000	4300	62000	4700	" " II. "	13000	1200	16000	1300
" XVI—XIX. "	42000	3600	52000	4000	" " III—IV. "	9000	800	11000	900

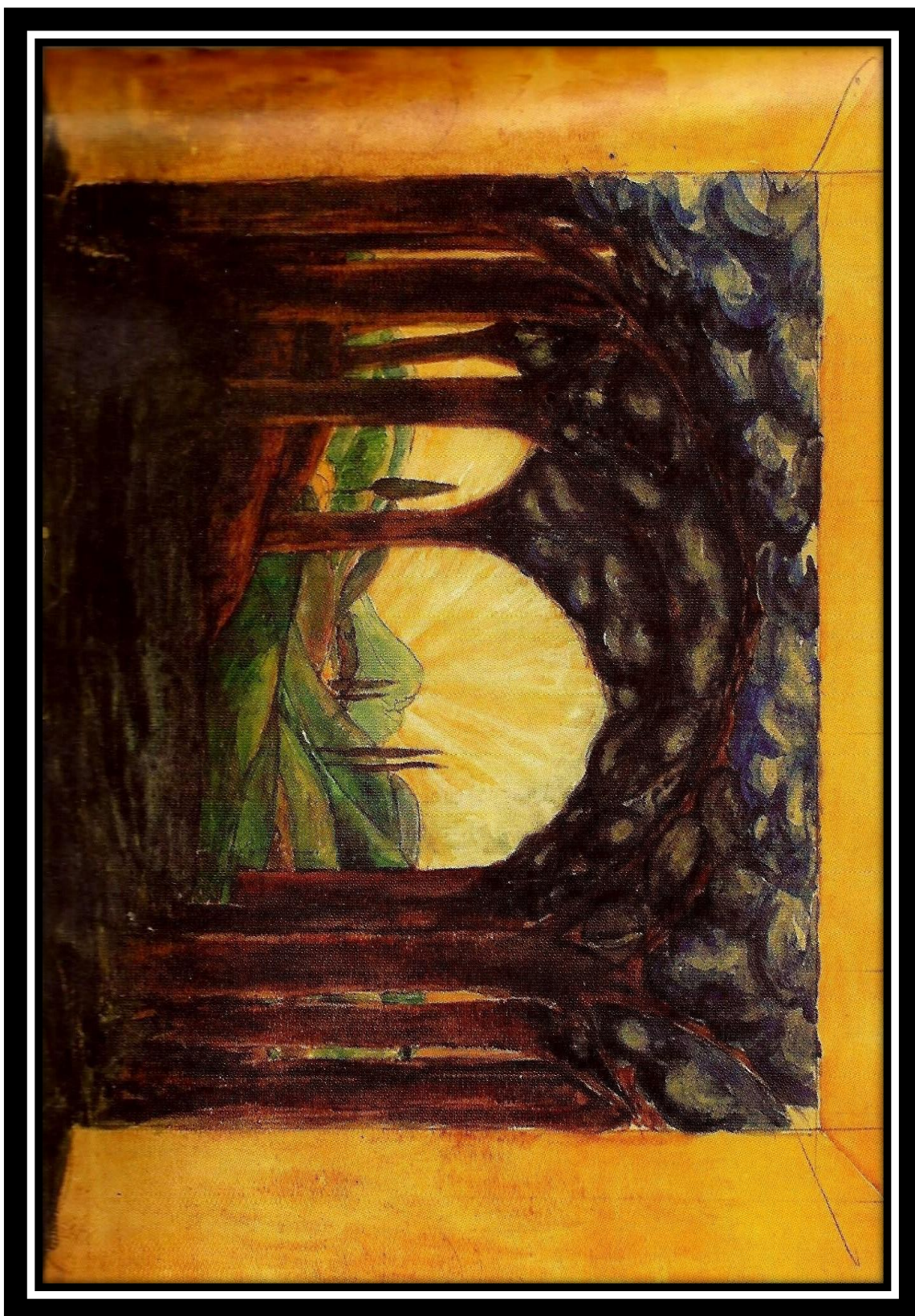
7488 „Stádium Sajtóvállalat R. T.” VI. Réssza-n. III. Nyomdaigazgató: Janovits Ferenc. Kiadó: M. kir. Operaház.

58. Two scenery-designs of *Parsifal* (1924) by László Márkus.

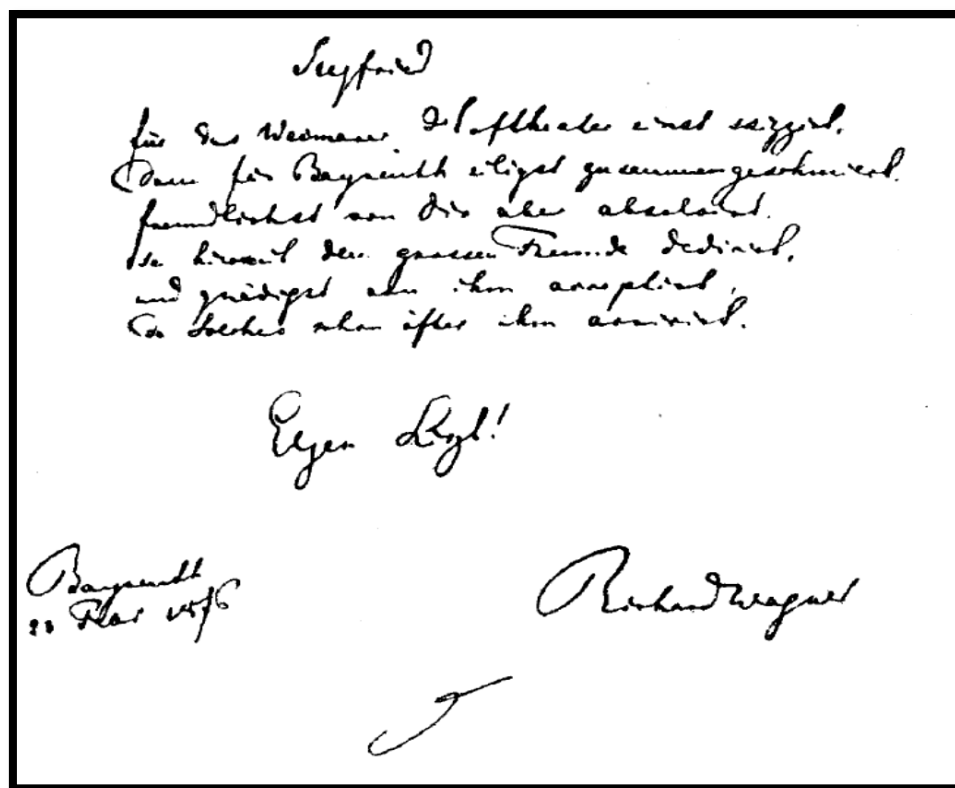
Scores: 1. *Varázskert* (*Magic Garden*, I. act, I. scene), KE 4643. in Széchenyi National Library, Theatre Historical Section. With the permission of SzNL THS.



2. *Tavaszi rét* (*Vernal Meadow*, III. act, I. scene), KE 4646. in Széchenyi National Library, Theatre Historical Section. With the permission of SzNL THS.



59. Richard Wagner's lines in a *Siegfried's* score. Facsimile in OSZK, THS,
Mus pr. 9. 867. Published for the first time with corrected text.



Siegfried

Für das Weimarer Hoftheater einst skizzirt,
Dann für Bayreuth eiligst zusammengeschmiert,
freundlichst von Dir aber absolviert,
sei hiermit dem grossen Freunde dedicirt,
und gnädigst von ihm acceptirt,
da solches schon öfter ihm arrivirt.

Eljen Liszt!

Bayreuth. 28. Febr. 1876.

Publications with a text-mistakes: 1. Press-cutting with a wrong German text in an attachment in the Haraszi-Wagner-book in Ervin Major's property. Library of The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology. 2. *Magyar Könyvszemle* LXIV. 1/3, January-March of 1940, p. 87.

**VII. The first time,
or
The First Publication of Richard Wagner's Name and the
Premieres of His Compositions in Hungary.
1842-1924.**

4 December 1842 – The name of Richard Wagner appears for the first time in the columns of Hungarian papers; in the Omnibus heading of the *Regélő, Pesti Divatlap* (*Chatter, Fashion Paper of Pest*), issue 97. In the article, we can read about the premiere of *Rienzi* in Dresden (20 Oct. 1842) and the potential premiere of the '*Holländer*' in Berlin.

8 Dec. 1853 – The music of Wagner can be heard for the first time in Pest when the Philharmonic Society of Pest — conducted by Ferenc Erkel — performs the *Overture of Tannhäuser* in the saloon of the Hungarian National Museum. (It was the third number of the evening). On the basis of the articles appeared between the period of 10 and 13 December, in the *Budapesti Napló* (*The News-sheet of Budapest*, conservative nationalistic weekly newspaper), *Délibáb* (*The Mirage*, literary weekly newspaper), *Divatcsarnok* (*The Fashion-hall*, high quality literary weekly newspaper), and in the *Pesti Napló* (*The Pest Journal*), the majority of the press did not give it a warm welcome.

25 March 1854 – The premiere of the '*Pilgrim-chorus*' in Hungary. During the concert, the *Overture of Tannhäuser* could be heard again. Saloon of the Hungarian National Museum, Pest. Conducted by Ferenc Erkel, performed by the orchestra of the Philharmonic Society of Pest with the contribution of the 'Pestbudai Hangászegylet' (The Singing Association of Pest-Buda). If you read between the lines of the articles appeared about the event, it would be clear that at least a part of the audience had been delighted to hear the overture; however, the 'media's' attitude was quite dubious.

28 Feb. 1858 – The Hungarian premiere of the *Lohengrin's overture*. Saloon of the Hungarian National Museum, Pest. Conducted by Ferenc Erkel, performed by the orchestra of the Philharmonic Society of Pest. According to one subsistent Hungarian article, the overture has had repeated.

In the country, by all odds, Wagner's music could be heard on 7 November 1858, in Redout, Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony) for the first time with the instrumentality of Pressburger Liedertafel (Song-Table of Bratislava) and Hainburgers Männerverein (Men's Club of Hainburg). '*Pilgrim-chorus*' from the *Tannhäuser*. Conductor: Volkmar Schurig.

1860 – According to Haraszti, the Ecclesiastical Music-Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zene-Egyesület) performs the *Entr'acte* from the *Lohengrin*, which was either the *Overture* or the *Entr'acte from the beginning of the third act*. H, p. 460.

22 Feb. 1862 – *Overture to Tannhäuser*, piano-arrangement for four hands. Janka Wohl and Antal Siposs. Pest. H, p. 233.

6 March 1862 – The opening night of the *Tannhäuser* in German, in the German Theatre of Pest. ('Nottheater', Erzsébet Square today). Conducted by Carlo Emanuele (de) Barbieri. Relying on the contemporary sources — namely the criticism of Sándor (sometimes Julius) Czeke which is the only subsistent material — the opera met with a warm response. Before the premiere in Hungary, the first 'version' of the *Tannhäuser* had been performed only in a few other countries.

Approximately 3 Apr. 1862 – The first performance of the *Tannhäuser-parody* in the Folktheatre of Buda (Budai Népszínház). It is possible that it was the one by Kalisch. The parodies, written by Kalisch and Nestroy and Binder were only 'based' on the *Tannhäuser*, but their performances added valuable details to the reception of Richard Wagner's Hungarian history.

25 May 1863 – *Tannhäuser*-parody in the German Theatre of Pest. Probably the first Hungarian performance of the parody by Nestroy and Binder.

23 July 1863 and 28 July 1863 – In the National Theatre, Richard Wagner had been the conductor of two concerts on which fragments only from his operas and music-dramas were played. The concert on 23 July the following parts were performed for the first time in Pest (Hungary): *Elsa's Singing with the Breezes* (*Elsas Gesang an die Lüfte*), *Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud* (*Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud*) — both performed by Miss Mari Rabatinszky — and the *Wedding March* from the *Lohengrin*, the overture of *Tristan and Isolde* and 'The Destiny' of the last act; *Isolde's Love song and Apotheosis* ('*Verklärung*') from 'Tristan' (the latter also with orchestra), *The Assembly of the Master-Guild* (*Versammlung der Meistersingerzunft*) and *The Invocation of Master Pogner* (*Pogners Anrede*) from the *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* performed by Károly Köszeghy, *The Love Song of Sigmund* and *The Ride of the Valkyries* from *The Valkyrie*, the latter performed by: 'Simon' (Gusztáv Simon), also the '*Bloomery-Song*' ('*Schmelzlied*') and the '*Hammer-Song*' from *Siegfried* (Ferencz Stéger). First performances of the concert on 28 July, Hungary: the overture of '*Mastersingers*', and the *Faust-overture*. Enormous success. After his homecoming, Wagner wrote two letters, which were also important to Hungarians. The first was addressed to Sámuel Radnótfáy, the second to Kornél Ábrányi (Sr.), about the future of Hungarian music. (1 Aug. 1863 and 8 Aug. 1863, Penzing).

18 March 1864 – The first Hungarian (Pest) performance of *Summ und brumm, du gutes Rädchen* ('*Spinning Chorus*') from act II. of the '*Holländer*'. One of the favourite students of Liszt, Carl Tausig, who Wagner also regarded as a close friend of his, played it on the piano.

13 Jan. 1866 – The premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Timișoara (Temesvár), Ferencz József (Franz-Josef) Theatre. Source: The poster of the premiere in Dr. Franz Metz, *Die Musik Richard Wagners im Banat, Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte zum 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, in *Edition Musik Südost*, <http://www.edition-musik-suedost.de/html/wagner.html>.

1 Dec. 1866 – The opening night of *Lohengrin* in the National Theatre (Pest), in Hungarian, translated by Gusztáv Böhm and Ferencz Ormay. Conducted by Károly Huber, the father of the famous Hungarian violinist; Jenő Hubay. The Hungarian press regarded it as a huge success. Probably, Hungary was one of the first countries — besides the German territories — where *Lohengrin* was performed.

1871 – The Ecclesiastical Music-Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zene-Egyesület) performs *The overture of 'Mastersingers'*, the Song-Table of Bratislava (Pressburger Liedertafel) sings *Steuermann! Lass die Wacht!* from '*Holländer*', and the Raming Infanterie-Regimentskapelle plays the *Kaisermarsch* in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony). H, p. 359.

11 March 1871 – The 'old version' of the *Tannhäuser* is performed in the National Theatre, Pest, with the lyrics of Kornél Ábrányi Sr. Conducted by Ferenc Erkel. Both the press and the audience are divided about it.

19 May 1871 – The premiere of *Lohengrin* in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony). Company of Csernitz and Bauer, conductor: Kiehaupt. H, p. 359.

7 Oct. 1871 – János (Hans) Richter conducts the orchestra of the National Theatre for the first time on the performance of *Lohengrin*.

8 Nov. 1871 – János (Hans) Richter conducted the *Overture of 'Holländer'* in the 'Vigadó' in Pest. Concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest. H, p. 358.

13 or 16 Dec. 1871 – János (Hans) Richter conducted the overture of '*Mastersingers*' and the overture of '*Tristan*' on the concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest in the 'Vigadó' (Vigadó-Hall or Redout) in Pest. According to Haraszti, the concert took place on 16 Dec. according to the *Zenészeti Lapok* (*The Musical Journal* 12/12, 17. Dec. 1871), its date was 13 Dec. 1871.

1872 – According to Emil Haraszti on a concert Richter conducted *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* in the translation of Ábrányi in Pest. However, the book

of Emil Haraszti — *Richard Wagner and Hungary (Wagner Richard és Magyarország)* — was published in 1916, is still a precious work, in spite of being sometimes slightly or especially imprecise in giving a chronicle and summary of Richard Wagner's history in Hungary.

25 Feb. 1872 – The founder sitting of the Richard Wagner-Society of Pest in Hotel Hungaria, Pest. Founders: János (Hans) Richter, Ödön Mihalovich (the director of the society), Count Albert Apponyi (secretary), and János Mende (notary). In creating the draft of the statutes Sr. Kornél Ábrányi, Viktor Langer and János Frecskay also took part.

28 Feb. 1872 – János (Hans) Richter conducts a concert in favour of Bayreuth in the Hungarian National Theatre. This is the first time when the quintet from '*Mastersingers*' (*Selig, wie die Sonne meines Glückes lacht*, act III.) and the *Huldigungsmarsch* can be heard in Hungary.

27 March 1873 – The premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Bratislava. Csernitz's and Bauer's Company. Conductor: Kiehaupt. H, p. 369.

10 May 1873 – The first performance of the *Flying Dutchman*. Pest, National Theatre, in Hungarian, with the lyrics of Kornél Ábrányi Jr., conducted by János (Hans) Richter. According to the contemporary press, the performance did not earn much success.

18 May 1873 – August Pummer, the well-known bass-bariton performed *Hymne an den Abendstern* from *Tannhäuser* with the contribution of the Philharmonic Society of Temesvár and Orawitzaer Music- and Singing Association. Orawitzaer Theatre, Timișoara (Temesvár). Source: Dr. Franz Metz, *Die Musik Richard Wagners im Banat, Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte zum 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, in *Edition Musik Südost*, <http://www.edition-musik-suedost.de/html/wagner.html>.

24 Nov. 1874 – The first night of *Rienzi* in the National Theatre, Buda-Pest, in Hungarian, translated by Gusztáv Böhm. (Buda, Pest and Óbuda was probably

united on 17 November 1873). The performance was rather a failure which made the conductor, János (Hans) Richter, upset.

10 March 1875 – The second visit of Richard Wagner in Hungary, in the already united Budapest. He gave a concert with Ferenc Liszt in the 'Vigadó' for the good of the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth which was in course of construction. Out of the ordinary practice of concert and theatre performances, the program started at 7:30 p.m. In the concert '*Siegfried's Death*' from *Twilight of the Gods* was performed by Ferenc Gassi (Glatz), '*Wotan's Farewell*' from *The Valkyrie* was sung by Fülöp Láng. The aforementioned two fragments were performed in Hungary for the first time. The '*Fire Magic*' (*The Valkyrie*) was performed earlier as well.

1876 – The last scene of *Twilight of the Gods*. Philharmonic Society, Budapest. H. p. 462.

13 Nov. 1876 – The first performance of the *Grosser Festmarsch* (WWV110), for the 100th anniversary of the American War of Independence – 1876) conducted by Gyula Káldy in the performance of the orchestra of the Society of Music-Lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesülete), in Budapest.

16 March 1877 – The performance of *The Valkyrie's* entire first act in the small room of the 'Vigadó' in Budapest. Accompaniment for the composition for four hands by Félix Mottl and János Paumgartner dr. Vocals: Labatt (Siegmund), Berta Ehn (Sieglinde), Hablawetz (Hunding). (Relying on the opinion of Haraszti. H, p. 404.).

19 Dec. 1877 – The first time of performing the *Lohengrin* in Timișoara (Temesvár), Ferencz József Theatre. According to Haraszti, it came off well. (Haraszti, p. 404.).

1878 – The Philharmonic Society of Budapest performs the *Siegfried Idyll*. Budapest. H, p. 462.

1882 – Overture of *Parsifal*, and 'Dass mein Vater nicht ist' from *Siegfried*. The Philharmonic Society of Budapest. H, p. 462.

28 Feb. 1883 – The Philharmonic Society of Budapest organised a commemoration-concert (5th Philharmonic concert) at 7:30 p.m. in the 'Vigadó', where the orchestra — conducted by Sándor Erkel — played *Faust-overture*, the Overture and 'Wie dünkt mich doch die Aue heut so schön' from *Parsifal* (first Hungarian performance), *Siegfried's Death* and one of Wagner's favourite Beethoven symphonies, the *Third Symphony*.

From 23 to 28 May 1883 – The first performance of the '*Ring*' in the German Theatre, Gyapjú Street (today: Báthory Street 24.), Budapest, Hungary. May 23 – *The Rhine Gold*, May 24 – *The Valkyrie*, May 25 – Concert from the fragments of Richard Wagner's operas, May 26 – *Siegfried*, May 27 – *Twilight of the Gods*, May 28 – *The Valkyrie* again, then on 29; Beethoven, *Fidelio*. The cycle performed by the travelling Wagner theatre-company of Angelo Neumann in German. Conducted by Antal Seidl, second conductor: Pál (Paul) Geisler. Enormous success.

8 Sept. 1883 – The first performance of the '*Mastersingers*'. National Theatre, Budapest. It was performed in Hungarian, in the translation of Antal Váradi dr. Conductor: Sándor Erkel.

1884 – The last scene from *Siegfried*. The Philharmonic Society of Budapest. H, p. 462.

27 Jan. 1884 – The chorus classes of the National Hungarian Royal-Conservatoire (Országos Magyar királyi Zeneakadémia) performed the *Holy Communion (Zum letzten Liebesmahle)* from *Parsifal*, act I. (solo: Ákos Horváth, piano: István Thomán, organ: Károly Noseda) and the *Flower-Maidens chorus (Komm, komm holder Knabe)* from act II. (solos: Gizella Rotter, Róza Schuschny, Auguszta Kolheit, Valentin Képes, Gizella Schlesinger, Mathild Lugosi and Mihály Takáts; accompaniment: István Thomán and Etelka Willheim), conducted by János Koessler. H, p. 414. According to Ervin Major,

the concert-date was 27 June 1884. Source: Ervin Major's Haraszti book, The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, p. 414.

7 Feb. 1887 – Concert of a Wagner-Zweigverein (Wagner-fiókegyesület; Általános Wagner Richard-Egyesület) in Budapest, with the title of 'Zenei Reggély'. The following fragments had been performed: 3 songs (Lieder) of Wagner in the rendition of Julia Jera (there is no information about which songs were performed exactly), *Albumblatt* fiddled by Ignác Stimpfler (there is no data on whether it was the WWV64 or the WWV108), and the *Norns-terzetto* from *Twilight of the Gods* (Ilona Farkas, Julia Kotaucsek, Gizella Keményfi). H, p. 415.

23 Nov. 1887 – The Philharmonic Society of Budapest presents the *Kaisermarsch* (1871) by Richard Wagner, scored WWV104 and the *Symphony in C major* (WBV29, 1832). H, p. 415.

15 Dec. 1888 – The opening night of the '*Holländer*' in Bratislava. Performed by the company of Kment, conductor: Hartl. H, p. 416.

26 Jan. 1889 – *The Rhine Gold* (*A Rajna kincse*) was performed in the Hungarian translation of Antal Radó in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. Conductor: Gustav Mahler. Something caught fire during the performance.

27 Jan. 1889 – The first performance of *The Valkyrie* (*A walkür*) in Hungarian, in the Hungarian Royal Opera House (today Hungarian State Opera). Translated by Gergely Csiky. Conductor: Gustav Mahler. Success. (The third and fourth part of the tetralogy's performance was lagged behind this time).

1890 – *Overture* and *Venusberg Music* (*Bacchanale*) from the 'Paris-version' of *Tannhäuser*. Philharmonic Society, Budapest. H, p. 462.

9 Apr. 1892 – The opening night of the *Siegfried* in the Hungarian Royal Opera House, in Hungarian. Hungarian text: Antal Radó, conductor: Josef Rebiček (Rebicsek József). The success was inequable.

12 Dec. 1892 – The first performance of *Twilight of the Gods* in the Hungarian Royal Opera House, in Hungarian. Interpreter: Antal Radó, conductor: Josef Rebiček (József Rebicsek).

From 30 Jan. to 4 Feb. 1893 – The '*Ring*' (*The Ring of the Nibelung*) appeared as a cycle for the first time on the repertoire of the Hungarian Royal Opera House. 30 Jan. – *The Rhine Gold*, 31 Jan. – *The Valkyrie*, 2 Feb. – the *Siegfried*, 4 Feb. – the *Twilight of the Gods* was on at.

29 Oct. 1893 – The Ecclesiastical Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneegyesület) with the conductorship of Joseph Thiard-Laforest and with the permission of Bayreuth, performed 5 fragments from *Parsifal*. Out of the parts performed on the concert the *Transformation Scene-Music* (act I.), the grand finale of act I., and '*Parsifal's Arrival*' could be heard for the first time in Hungary. H, p. 420.

20 Apr. 1895 – The Orchestra of the Society of Music-lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesületének Zenekara), 'The Glee-club' of Pécs (Pécsi Dalárda) and a woman-choir performed the '*Entry of the Guests*'-*March* from the *Tannhäuser* (act II.) with the conductorship of Vilmos Löhr (Löhr) in Pécs. As a single number it was performed first time in the country. For sources see Detailed Summaries, *Events between 1893 and 1901*.

1896 – According to Haraszi, Róza Sucher sang the songs *Träume* and *Schmerzen* from *Wesendonck-Lieder* on the concert of the Philharmonic Society. Budapest. H, p. 462.

16 March 1896 – The first performance of *Rienzi's* overture in the country, Pécs. With the accompaniment of The Orchestra of the Society of Music-lovers

(Zenekedvelők Egyesületének Zenekara), conducted by Vilmos Löhr (Löhr). For source see Detailed Summaries, *Events between 1893 and 1901*.

28 Nov. 1901 – The opening night of *Tristan and Isolde* in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. The opera was translated by Emil Ábrányi Sr., conducted by István Kerner. Success.

16 March 1903 – The Hungarian minister of religion- and education set up the Scholarship-Foundation of Bayreuth for Hungarian Singers and Musicians (Magyar ének- és zene-művészek bayreuthi ösztöndíj-alapja) in 1903; for the good of this scholarship-fund they organised a concert in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. The fragments from Wagner's operas had been conducted by Siegfried Wagner conductor and composer.

Apr. 1903 – Bratislava. The first performance of *The Valkyrie* in the country.

10 March 1906 – Timișoara, *Lohengrin*. Conductor: Árpád Orbán.

1907 – The Ecclesiastical Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneművészeti Társulat) with the conductorship of Kossow Jenő dr. performed the composition scored WWV 37, namely the melodies of the *Theodor Apel, the Columbus-overture*. (Got lost. Rediscovered in 1905. Date of formation: 1834–1835). First performance in Hungary. Haraszi, p. 422.

3 March 1907 – The premiere of *Lohengrin* in Debrecen. Conductor: Oszkár Fekete. With the contribution of Glee-club of Debrecen (Debreceni Városi Dalegylet) and the Accordance-orchestra (Egyetértés zenekar).

24 Oct. 1907 – The first performance of the 'Paris-version' of the *Tannhäuser* in Hungarian with Kornél Ábrányi's lyrics. Dr. Antal Váradi made the alterations. The aforementioned date can be found e.g. in *Magyar Színpad (Hungarian Stage, 295/X, 24 Oct. 1907)*, in BudOp100, pp. 449-50, and in Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek 29*,

Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 28. According to Haraszti the premiere was held on 14th. H, p. 422.

1 Jan. 1908 – According to Haraszti the Philharmonic Society performed the *Rule Britannia-overture* (1834) number WWV 42. First performance in Hungary. (H, p. 422.)

3 Jan. 1913 – The premiere of the '*Holländer*' in Cluj. Conductor: Miklós Bródy dr.

25 Jan. 1913 – The opening night of the '*Holländer*' in Timișoara. Conductor: Árpád Orbán.

Around May 1913 – Festival in the memory of Wagner, Arad. There were fragments performed from *Flying Dutchman*, *Tannhäuser*, *The Rhine Gold* and *The Valkyrie*.

1 Jan. 1914 – The premiere of the *Parsifal* in Hungary. The Bayreuth monopoly for the opera — lasting for 30 years — expired right before the day of the opening night in Budapest. The *Parsifal* was performed in German, with the conductorship of Reiner Frigyes, in the 'Népopera' (Folk Opera), which today is the Erkel Theatre. Success.

26 Jan. 1914 – The premiere of the '*Holländer*' in Bratislava. Conductor: Károly Fischer.

Regarding the country — according to Haraszti — fragments of Wagner's operas had been also performed in Brașov, Győr and Sibiu (Nagyszeben). H, p. 432.

1918 – Karel (Károly) Burian's Wagner-concert in Szeged. Source: *Magyar Színpad (Hungarian Stage)*, 22 Feb. 1918. Press-cutting in Remembrance (Memory) Collection of Hungarian State Opera.

8 March 1920 – According to Ferenc János Szabó, Karel (Károly) Burian (Burián) sang ‘*The Prayer*’ from *Rienzi* (*Allmächt’ger Vater, blick’ herab!*) in ‘Vigadó’, Budapest. As a single movement it was probably performed at first in the territory of Hungary. Source: Szabó *Burian*, p. 91, footnote 314.

8 Apr. 1923 – According to Ferenc János Szabó, Karel (Károly) Burian’s last concert was a Wagner-concert held in the ‘Stadttheater’ (Városi Színház). Burian sang fragments from *Tannhäuser* (e.g. *Inbrunst im Herzen, wie kein Büsser noch je sie gefühlt* (*Romerzählung*) and *The Valkyrie* (e.g. *Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond...-Siegmund’s Springsong*-it was performed on 23 July 1863 at first) with the contribution of the Symphonic Orchestra of Budapest (Budapesti Szimfonikus zenekar). Conductor: Emil Ábrányi. Source: Szabó *Burian*, p. 91.

1 June 1924 – The first performance of the *Parsifal* in Hungarian in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. Applying the parts of István Kereszty’s translation, interpreted by Viktor Lányi. Conductor: István Kerner. The performance started at 5 p.m. As a matter of curiosity: tickets were available from the price of 9000 to 320 000 korona, which included the ‘marry-making’ tax.

VIII. Detailed Summaries

About the Performances of Richard Wagner's Compositions in Hungary,

With the Supplements of the *Tannhäuser-parodies*' Data.

1853-1924.

I. Summary.

About the first Appearance of Richard Wagner's Compositions in Hungary in 1853-55, 1858/59, 1860, 1862.

The First Performance of a Wagner-composition in Hungary:

Richard Wagner: *Overture to Tannhäuser*.

(The third number of the concert).

8 December 1853. (First season, second concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest).	Salon of the National Museum, Pest.	Philharmonic Society of Pest. Conductor: Ferenc Erkel.
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Richard Wagner: *Overture to Tannhäuser* and '*Pilgrim-chorus*'.

(The fifth and sixth numbers of the concert).

25 March 1854. (The fifth, additional concert of the second season of the Philharmonic Society of Pest).	Salon of the National Museum, Pest.	Philharmonic Society of Pest, conductor: Ferenc Erkel. With the contribution of the Pestbudai Hangászegylet (The Singing Association of
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		Pest-Buda).
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Richard Wagner: *'Pilgrim-chorus'* from *Tannhäuser*.

(The fourth number of the concert).

9 April 1854. (The sixth, additional concert of the second season of the Philharmonic Society of Pest).	Salon of the National Museum, Pest.	Philharmonic Society of Pest, conductor: Ferenc Erkel. With the contribution of the Pestbudai Hangászegylet (The Singing Association of Pest-Buda).
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Richard Wagner: *Overture to Tannhäuser*.

(The fourth number of the concert).

2 December 1855. (Third season, first concert of the Philharmonic Society of Pest).	Salon of the National Museum, Pest.	Philharmonic Society of Pest, conductor: Ferenc Erkel.
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Between 1853 and 1855 the *Overture to Tannhäuser* was performed three times and the *'Pilgrim-chorus'* twice in Hungary (in Pest).

The First Performance of *Lohengrin*-overture in Hungary.

Richard Wagner: *Overture to Lohengrin*.

28 February 1858.	Salon of the National Museum, Pest.	Philharmonic Society of Pest, conductor: Ferenc Erkel.
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According to Haraszti⁷⁵⁹ the '*Pilgrim-chorus*', *Overture to Tannhäuser* and *Entre-act from Lohengrin* were performed on a few occasions in Pest and Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) between 1858 and 1862:

'Pilgrim-chorus'.

7 November 1858.	Redout, Bratislava (Pozsony Pressburg).	With the contribution of Song-Table of Bratislava (Pressburger Liedertafel) and Men's Club of Hainburg (Hainburger Männerverein). Conductor: Volkmar Schurig.
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Overture to Tannhäuser.

28 March 1859.	Pest, The German Theatre of Pest (Pester Stadttheater).	The orchestra of The German Theatre of Pest.
6 January 1860.	Pest.	Philharmonic Society of

⁷⁵⁹ Haraszti, pp. 232-33.

		Pest, conductor: Ferenc Erkel.
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Entre-act from Lohengrin (Overture or The Entr'acte from the Beginning of the Third Act).

1860.	Bratislava, (Pozsony, Pressburg).	Ecclesiastical Music-Society of Bratislava. (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneegylet).
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Overture to Tannhäuser, Piano-arrangement for Four Hands.

22 February 1862.	?	Janka Wohl and Antal Siposs.
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II. Summary.

The First Performance of *Tannhäuser* and *Tannhäuser-parody* in 1862.

The First Performance of an 'entire' Wagner Opera in Hungary:
Richard Wagner: *Tannhäuser*.

6 March 1862.	Pest, The German Theatre of Pest (Pester Stadttheater, 'Nottheater'). In German.	The orchestra of The German Theatre of Pest conducted by Carlo Emanuele (de) Barbieri. The cast probably were: Hermann: (Rezső) Schmidt, Tannhäuser: Coloman Schmidt,
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8 March 1862.	Pest. German Theatre of Pest. In German.	<p>Wolfram: (Gusztáv) Simon, Walter: Baer, Biterolf: Borkovszky, Reimar: Leichner, Elisabeth: Frl. (Miss) Leinauer, Venus: Frl. Braun, Shepherd: Frl. Alsdorf, Four Pageboys: Frl. Hild, Arnstein, Frühwirth, Dobrowolny. Source: Haraszi, p. 234.</p> <p>Probably with the conducting of (de) Barbieri and with the same cast.</p>
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Tannhäuser was premiered on 6 March 1862 at the 'Second German Theatre' of Pest. The evidence of the information can be found in *Pester Lloyd* (Nr. 54. on 6 March 1862, column: Lokal-Anzeiger—Local-Index). According to another news of piece from *Pester Lloyd* (Nr. 56. on 8 March 1862), *Tannhäuser* was performed for the second time on 8 March 1862. Haraszi wrote, — H, p. 237. — that there were a few occasions were *Tannhäuser* was performed at the 'Second German Theatre' on 19 and 28 March, on 20 May, and at the Ofner Sommer-Theater (Summer-Theatre of Buda) on 12 June 1862. (In German). It could be an interesting detail that *Vasárnapi Újság* (*The Sunday Journal*, column: 'Budai Népszínház'-The Folktheatre of Pest-Buda, 25/9, 1862, 22 June 1862) reported about the performance of the second act of *Tannhäuser* which probably happened on 7 June 1862 in The Folktheatre of Pest-Buda.

The First Performance of *Tannhäuser-parody* in Hungary.

Before 3 April 1862.	Buda, Budai Népszínház (The Folktheatre of Buda).	<p>The orchestra of the Budai Népszínház (The Folktheatre of Buda). It is possible that it was the one by Kalisch.</p>
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III. Summary.

The Facts According to Richard Wagner's First and Second Hungarian Concerts.

Tannhäuser and Tannhäuser-parodies in 1863.

Richard Wagner's first Hungarian concert.

23 July 1863.	National Theatre, Pest.	<p>The supplemented orchestra of the National Theatre conducted by Richard Wagner.</p> <p>Program:</p> <p>First part:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Overture to Tannhäuser.</i> 2. a. <i>Elsa's Singing with the Breezes. (Elsas Gesang an die Lüfte)</i> from <i>Lohengrin</i> sang by Miss Mari Rabatinszky. 2. b. <i>Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud (Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud)</i> from <i>Lohengrin</i> sang by Miss Mari Rabatinszky). <p>This 'aria' was performed only in Pest.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. <i>Overture to 'St. Gra!'. (The Overture to Lohengrin).</i> 4. <i>Wedding March.</i> <p>Introduction to the third act (of <i>Lohengrin</i>).</p> <p>Second part:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. <i>Overture and end (the destiny) of the last act: 'Verklärung', (Isolde's Love song and Apotheosis)</i> from the
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		<p>opera; <i>Tristan and Isolde</i> played by the supplemented orchestra of the National Theatre.</p> <p>6. a. <i>The Assembly of the Master-Guild</i> (<i>Versammlung der Meistersingerzunft</i>) 'through' the orchestra. (From <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i>).</p> <p>6. b. <i>The Invocation of Master Pogner</i> (<i>Pogners Anrede</i>) sung by Károly Köszeghi. (From <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i>).</p> <p>7. <i>The Love Song of Sigmund</i>, sung by 'Simon' (Gusztáv Simon).</p> <p>8. <i>The Ride of the Valkyries in the Air</i>. Numbers seven and eight are from the opera called <i>The Valkyrie</i> played by the whole orchestra.</p> <p>9. 'Hammer-smith' songs from the opera; <i>Siegfried</i>;</p> <p>a. <i>Bloomery-Song</i> ('<i>Schmelzlied</i>').</p> <p>b. 'Hammer- Song'. The last two arias sung by Ferencz Stéger.</p> <p>All of the above pieces are the compositions of Richard Wagner. (This text stands at the end of the poster of the first concert).</p>
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Richard Wagner's Second Hungarian Concert.

<p>28 July 1863.</p>	<p>National Theatre, Pest.</p>	<p>The supplemented orchestra of the National Theatre conducted by Richard Wagner.</p> <p>Program:</p> <p>First part:</p> <p>1. <i>Overture to The Mastersingers of Nuremberg.</i> This composition was presented instead of the <i>Overture to Tannhäuser</i> that was on the program on 23 July.</p> <p>2. a. <i>Elsa's Singing with the Breezes (Elsas Gesang an die Lüfte).</i> 2. b. <i>Elsa's Admonition to Ortrud (Elsas Ermahnung an Ortrud).</i> This 'aria' was performed only in Pest. (Miss Mari Rabatinszky).</p> <p>3. <i>The Faust-overture (Eine Faust-overtüre).</i> This composition was played instead of the <i>Overture to St. Gral. (Overture to Lohengrin)</i> which was on the program of the first concert.</p> <p>4. <i>Wedding Marsch. Introduction to the third act (of Lohengrin).</i></p> <p>Second part:</p> <p>5. <i>Overture and the end (the destiny) of the last act; Verklärung</i> from the</p>
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		<p>'opera'; <i>Tristan and Isolde</i> for orchestra.</p> <p>6. a. <i>The Assembly of the Master-Guild</i> (<i>Versammlung der Meistersingerzunft</i>) for orchestra.</p> <p>6. b. <i>The Invocation of Master Pogner</i> (<i>Pogners Anrede</i>) for singing. The compositions are from <i>The Mastersingers of Nuremberg</i>. (Károly Köszeghy).</p> <p>7. <i>The Love Song of Sigmund</i>. For voice. ('Simon'-Gusztáv Simon).</p> <p>8. <i>The Ride of the Valkyries in the Air</i>. Numbers seven and eight are from the opera, <i>The Valkyrie</i>.</p> <p>9. 'Hammer-smith' Songs from the <i>Siegfried</i>; a. <i>Bloomery-Song</i> (<i>Schmelzlied</i>), b. <i>Hammer- Song</i>. (Ferencz Stéger).</p>
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Tannhäuser in 1863.

19 or 21 May 1863.	The German Theatre of Pest (Pester Stadttheater). In German.	<p>The cast according to Haraszti, p. 237).</p> <p>Hermann: (Rezső ?) Schmidt, Tannhäuser: (József) Ellinger, Wolfram: Robinson, Wather: Adami, Biterolf: Jager, Heinrich: Knoller, Reimar: Hausmann, Elisabeth: Frau (Mrs.) Kapp-Young, Venus: Frau Braun, The Shepperd: Frä. (Miss) Alsdorf.</p>
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22 Dec. 1863.	'Grand finale' of the opera.	It was played once to the benefit of 'Suppen-Anstalt' (Sup-Institution), which was established by the Chief Rabbi of Pest, Rabbi Meisel.
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Tannhäuser-parody in 1863.

25 May 1863.	The German Theatre of Pest. The parody of Nestroy and Binder.
Around 10 June 1863.	'Budai Színkör' (The Theatre-Club of Buda). Kalisch's burlesque-intermezzo.
Around 6 Aug. 1863.	The German Theatre of Pest. Probably Kalisch's burlesque-intermezzo.

IV. Summary.

The Performances of Richard Wagner's Compositions between 1864 and 1883 in Hungary.

1864.

18 March 1864.	Pest.	The first Hungarian performance of <i>Summ und brumm, du gutes</i>
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		<i>Rädchen</i> (' <i>Spinning Chorus</i> ') from act II. of the ' <i>Holländer</i> '. Carl Tausig, piano.
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13 Jan. 1866 – The premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Timișoara (Temesvár), Ferencz József (Franz-Josef) Theatre. Source: The poster of the premiere in Dr. Franz Metz, *Die Musik Richard Wagners im Banat, Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte zum 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten*, in *Edition Musik Südost*, <http://www.edition-musik-suedost.de/html/wagner.html>.

The Premiere of *Lohengrin* in 1866.

1 Dec. 1866. (Saturday, 7 p.m.). The fourth, additional show.	National Theater, Pest. In Hungarian. Translated by Gusztáv Böhm and Ferencz Ormay.	Conductor: Károly Huber. The orchestra of the National Theatre. Costumes: József Papp, scenery: Róbert Horn, stage properties: Antal Gruber, jewellery: Zimmermann. The cast of <i>Lohengrin</i> according to the poster of the premiere: Henrik I: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Ortrud, his wife: Ern. (Ernesztina) Mátyik, Lohengrin: (József) Ellinger, Elsa of Brabant: Anna Carina, Prince Gottfried (Its Gottfréd in the poster), his younger brother: I. Muskovszky, Friedrich of Telramund, Count of Brabant: (Gusztáv) Simon, The King's Messenger: (Henrik) Bodorfi. H, between pp. 332-333.
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1871.

1871.	Bratislava.	<p>The Ecclesiastical Music-Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zene-Egyesület) performs <i>Overture of 'Mastersingers'</i>.</p> <p>The Pressburger Liedertafel (Song-Table of Bratislava) sings <i>Steuermann! Lass die Wacht!</i> from '<i>Holländer</i>'.</p> <p>The Raming Infanterie-Regimentskapelle plays the <i>Kaisermarsch</i>. H, p. 359.</p>
1871.	Pest.	<p>János (Hans) Richter conducted the <i>Overture of the 'Holländer'</i>.</p> <p>H, p. 461.</p>

Tannhäuser in 1871. ('Old Version').

<p>11 March 1871. (Saturday, 7 p.m.). The sixth, additional show.</p>	<p>Pest, National Theater. In Hungarian. Translated by Kornél Ábrányi Sr.</p>	<p>The orchestra of the National Theater conducted by Ferenc Erkel.</p> <p>Costumes: Ferencz Gaul-Gerő Gábor-Jakab Policzer. Scenery: Mór</p>
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		<p>Lehmann.</p> <p>Props: Jakab Pantoffel.</p> <p>The cast of <i>Tannhäuser</i> according to the poster of the premiere: Herman, marquis of Thüringen: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Elisabeth, her niece: Mrs. Pauli née Ilka Markovics, Tannhäuser: (József) Ellinger, Wolfram: (Fülöp) Láng, Wather: (Zsigmond) Hajós, Biterolf: (Henrik) Bodorfi, Henrik: Korbay, Reinmar: (János) Tallián, Venus: Irma Kotsis, Shepherd: Alexa Human. H, between pp. 346-47.</p>
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The *Lohengrin*'s Premiere in the Country. 1871.

19 May 1871.	Bratislava.	<p>Csernitz's and Bauer's Company, conductor: Kiehaupt. H, p. 359.</p>
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The Renewed-version of *Lohengrin*. 1871.

7 Oct. 1871.	National Theatre of Pest. Pest.	<p>Conductor: János (Hans) Richter. The orchestra of the National Theatre.</p>
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According to Haraszti (p. 358), the following compositions were performed in 'Vigadó' (Redout): the *Overture to 'Holländer' (Der fliegende Holländer)* on 8 Nov. 1871, the *Overture to Tristan and Isolde* and *Isolde's Love Death* on 22, and the *Overture to Tristan* and *Overture to The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* on 13 Dec. Haraszti is

probably mistaken when dating the third concert to 16 Dec. on p. 358 in his book since 13 Dec. is written in issue 12 of year 12 of *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)* published on 17 Dec. 1871. Sources: *Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal)*, 12/12, 17 Dec. 1871. All the aforementioned concerts were conducted by János (Hans) Richter.

1872.

1872.	<i>Das Liebesmahl der Apostel.</i> Pest. Concert in favour of Bayreuth.	Conductor: János (Hans) Richter. Translated by Kornél Ábrányi Sr. H, p.367.
25 Feb. 1872.	The founder sitting of the Richard Wagner Society of Pest.	Founders: János (Hans) Richter, Ödön Mihalovich (director), Count Albert Apponyi (secretary), János Mende (notary). In ceating the draft of the statues Kornél Ábrányi Sr., Viktor Langer and János Frecskay also took part.
28 Feb. 1872.	<i>'Mastersingers'; Selig, wie die Sonne meines Glückes lacht</i> , act III. and <i>Huldigungsmarsch</i> in the National Theatre, Pest.	Conductor: János (Hans) Richter. The singers and the orchestra of the National Theatre.

1873.

The Premiere of the *Tannhäuser* in Bratislava. 1873.

27 March 1873.	Bratislava.	Csernitz's and Bauer's Company. Conductor: Kiehaupt. H, p. 369.
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Flying Dutchman in 1873.

10 May 1873. (Saturday, 7 p.m.). The first, additional show.	Pest, National Theater. In Hungarian, translated by Ábrányi Kornél Jr.	The orchestra of the National Theater, conducted by János (Hans) Richter. Scenery: Mór Lehmann. Woman's costumes: Jakab Policzer. Men's costumes: Gerő Gábor Ships: Károly Dreich. The cast of the premiere: Dutchman: (Sándor) Angyalfi, Senta: Mrs. Tanner née Róza Szabó, Daland: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Erik: Richárd Pauly(i), Mary: Mrs. Kvassay née Emma Saxlehner, Natigator: (Károly) Verbőczy. Source: the poster of <i>Flying Dutchman</i> between p. 370. and 371. of Haraszi's book.
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18 May 1873 – August Pummer (1837-1893), the well-known bass-bariton performed *Hymne an den Abendstern* from *Tannhäuser* with the contribution of the Philharmonic Society of Temesvár and Orawitzaer Music- and Singing Association. Orawitzaer Theatre, Timișoara (Temesvár). Source: Dr. Franz Metz, *Die Musik*

Richard Wagners im Banat, Eine Rezeptionsgeschichte zum 200. Geburtstag des Komponisten, in *Edition Musik Südost*, <http://www.edition-musik-suedost.de/html/wagner.html>.

Rienzi in 1874.

<p>24 Nov. 1874. (Tuesday, 6:30 p.m.). Fifth, additional show.</p>	<p>Buda-Pest, National Theater. In Hungarian, translated by Gusztáv Böhm.</p>	<p>The orchestra of the National Theater, conducted by János (Hans) Richter. Scenery: Mór Lehmann. Costumes: based on Ferencz Gaul's paintings. The cast of the premiere: Cola Rienzi, Papaé Greffier: (József) Ellinger, Iren, her younger sister: Mrs. Nagy née Ida Benza, Stefano Colonna: (Lehel) Ódry, Adriano, his son: Mrs. Tanner née Róza Szabó, Paolo Orsini: (Fülöp) Láng, Raimondo: (János) Tallián, Ceco del Vechio: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Peace Messenger: (Alexa) Human.</p>
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Richard Wagner's Third Concert in Hungary. 1875.

<p>10 March 1875. (Thursday, 7:30 p.m.).</p>	<p>'Vigadó' (Vigadó-Hall, Redout) in Budapest.</p>	<p>Ferenc (Franz) Liszt and Richard Wagner. Conductor: Richard Wagner. 1. Liszt: <i>The Bells of Strasbourg Cathedral (Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters—Longfellow)</i>, cantata for mixed choir, orchestra, and baritone solo. (Sung by Mr. Fülöp Láng, the first baritone of the National Theatre). Choir: the choir of the Liszt</p>
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		<p>Society of Budapest.</p> <p>2. Beethoven: <i>Piano Concerto in E-flat Major</i>. Liszt Ferenc.</p> <p>3. Wagner: 'Hammer-smith' songs from <i>Siegfried</i>. (Sir Ferenc Glatz-Gassi).</p> <p>4. Wagner: <i>Siegfried's Death from Twilight of the Gods</i>. (Sir Ferenc Glatz-Gassi).</p> <p>5. Wagner: <i>Wotan's Farewell</i> and 'Fire Magic' from <i>The Valkyrie</i>. (Sir Fülöp Láng).</p> <p>The details are authentic with the data as standing on the poster.</p>
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Wagner-premieres in Hungary between 1876 and 1883.

1876 – The last scene of *Twilight of the Gods* were premiered by the Philharmonic Society of Budapest.

13 Nov. 1876 – The first performance of *Grosser Festmarsch* (WWV110, for the 100th anniversary of the American War of Independence – 1776) happened with the contribution of the orchestra of the Society of Music-Lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesülete) conducted by Gyula Káldy also in Budapest.

16 March 1877 – *The Valkyrie's* entire first act was presented in the small saloon of the 'Vigadó' (Vigadó-Hall, Redout), with the accompaniment for four hands by Félix Mottl and János Paumgartner dr. The singers were: Labatt (Siegmund), Berta Ehn (Sieglinde), Hablawetz (Hunding).

19 Dec. 1877 – *Lohengrin* was premiered in Timișoara (Temesvár), in the Ferencz József Theatre, and according to Haraszti, it came off well (Haraszti, p. 404).

1878 – The Philharmonic Society of Budapest performed the *Siegfried Idyll* in Budapest.

1882 – The *Overture of Parsifal*, and ‘*Dass mein Vater nicht ist*’ from *Siegfried* was presented in 1882 by the Philharmonic Society of Budapest.

28 Feb. 1883 – The Philharmonic Society of Budapest organised a commemoration-concert (5th Philharmonic concert) at 7:30 p.m. in the ‘Vigadó’, where the orchestra — conducted by Sándor Erkel — played *Faust-overture*, the *Overture* and ‘*Wie dünkt mich doch die Aue heut so schön*’ from *Parsifal* (first Hungarian performance), *Siegfried*’ *Death* and one of Wagner’s favourite Beethoven symphonies, the *Third Symphony*.

Ring. 1883.

From 23 May until 28 May 1883.	In the German Theatre, Gyapjú Street (today: Báthory Street 24.), Budapest	<p>Angelo Neumann’s traveller Richard Wagner Theatre.</p> <p>Conductors: Antal Seidl, Pál Geisler.</p> <p>Program: May 23 – <i>The Rhine Gold</i>, May 24 – <i>The Valkyrie</i>, May 25 – Concert from the fragments of Richard Wagner’s operas, May 26 – <i>Siegfried</i>, May 27 – <i>Twilight of the Gods</i>, May 28 – <i>The Valkyrie</i> again, then on 29; Beethoven, <i>Fidelio</i>. Singers: Marianne Brandt Marie Bischof, (alto), Hedwig Reicher-Kindermann (soprano), Amelie Materna (soprano), Róza Bleiter, Elsa Freytag, Georgina Hellvig, Berta Hinrichsen, Katalin Klafszky, Augusta Kraus, Teréz Milár, Orlanda Riegler, Anna Stürmer, Elisabet Lindemann, Anton Schott, Róbert Biberti, Frigyes Caliga, József Chandon, Ferencz Krückl dr., Gyula Lieban, Ferencz Pischek, Ferencz</p>
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		Tomaschek, Ágoston Ulbrich, György Unger, Adolf Wallnöfer. Source: Haraszti, pp. 407-08.
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The Mastersingers of Nuremberg. 1883.

8 Sept. 1883.	National Theatre, Budapest.	<p>The orchestra of National Theatre conducted by Sándor Erkel.</p> <p>In Hungarian. Translated by Antal Váradi (dr.).</p> <p>The scenery of the premiere was painted by Ágost Spanraft and Gyula Hirsch, costumes were designed by Árvay and Partners Co. The cast was the following: Hans Sachs, shoemaker: (Lehel) Ódry, Veit Pogner, goldsmith: (János) Tallián, Kunz Vogelgesang, furrier: (Béni) Dalnoki, Konrad Nachtigall, tinsmith: (Ferenc) Fektér, Sixtus Beckmesser, city clerk: (Fülöp) Láng, Stolzingi Walther, young knight from Franconia: (Ferenc) Gassi (Glatz), Eva, Pogner's daughter: Mrs. Szigeti née Erzsi Human, David, Sachs's servant: (Richárd) Pauli (Paulikovics), Magdalena, Eva's nurse: (Emma) Saxlehner, Hans Schwarz: (Károly) Kőszeghy, Hans Foltz: (Lajos) Szendrői (born as Szabó), Fritz Kothner: Zsitvai, Balthasar Zorn: Vas, Ulrich Eisslinger: (Béla) Kiss, Augustin Moser: Bartoluzzi, Hermann Ortel: Ujvári, Night-watchman:</p>
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		Szekeres. Source: the poster of the performance in Haraszi's book, between pp. 410-11.
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V. Summary.

The Performances of Richard Wagner's Compositions between 1884 and 1924 in Hungary.

1884 – The last scene from *Siegfried*. The Philharmonic Society of Budapest. H, p. 462.

27 Jan. 1884 – The chorus classes of the National Hungarian Royal-Conservatoire (Országos Magyar királyi Zeneakadémia) performed the *Holy Communion (Zum letzten Liebesmahle)* from *Parsifal*, act I. (solo: Ákos Horváth, piano: István Thomán, organ: Károly Nosedá) and the *Flower-Maidens chorus (Komm, komm holder Knabe)* from act II. (solos: Gizella Rotter, Róza Schuschny, Augusztá Kolheit, Valentin Képes, Gizella Schlesinger, Mathild Lugosi and Mihály Takáts; accompaniment: István Thomán and Etelka Willheim), conducted by János Koessler. H, p. 414. According to Ervin Major, the date was 27 June.

27 Sept. 1884 – The opening festivity of Hungarian Royal Opera House (Hungarian State Opera today), where the *Lohengrin's* first act was conducted by Sándor Erkel. The cast of *Lohengrin* on 27 Sept. 1884: Lohengrin: (Ferenc) Gassi (Glatz), the King: (Dávid) Ney, Elsa: (Irma) Reich, Telramund: (Lajos) Bignio, Ortrud: Emma Saxlehner, messenger: (János) Tallián. Sources: the poster of the premiere in Haraszi's book, between pp. 414-15, BudOp100, p. 442, Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, from p. 3. to p. 28.

7 Oct. 1884 – *Lohengrin*. (The whole opera). Hungarian Royal Opera House. Translation: Gusztáv Böhm. Newly coached version: 15 Sept. 1889. Source: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, from p. 3. to p. 28.

1 Feb. 1885 – *Tannhäuser*. Hungarian Royal Opera House.

7 Feb. 1887 – Concert of a Wagner-Zweigverein (Wagner-fiókegyesület; Általános Wagner Richard-Egyesület) in Budapest, with the title of ‘Zenei Reggély’. This ‘second’ Hungarian Richard Wagner Society, which was soon dissolved, was established by Károly Giancelli. On the aforementioned concert the following fragments had been performed: 3 songs (Lieder) of Wagner in the rendition of Julia Jera (there is no information about which songs were performed), *Albumblatt* fiddled by Ignác Stimpfler (there is no data on whether it was the WWV64 or the WWV108), and the *Norns-terzetto* from *Twilight of the Gods* (Ilona Farkas, Julia Kotaucsek, Gizella Keményffi). H, p. 415.

6 Sept. 1887 - ‘*Mastersingers*’. Hungarian Royal Opera House. Translation: Antal Váradi(y) (dr.). The cast of the performance: Sachs: (Lehel) Ódry, David: (Richárd) Pauli (Paulikovics), Magdaléna: (Emma) Saxlehner, Beckmesser: (Fülöp) Láng. New singers in the cast on 6 Sept. 1887: Éva: Mrs. Maleczky née Josepha Ellinger, Pogner: (Dávid) Ney, Walter: (Zsigmond) Hajós. Source: BudOp100, p. 444. Newly coached: 5 Jan. 1895. Source: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, from p. 11.

23 Nov. 1887 – The Philharmonic Society of Budapest presents the *Kaisermarsch* (1871) and the *Symphony in C major* (1832). H, p. 415.

21 Apr. 1888 - ‘*Holländer*’. In Antal Radó’s translation. Hungarian Royal Opera House. Source: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 12.

9 Nov. 1888 - the Musicteachers’ National Society arranged a Wagner-concert. Aladár Juhász-piano, Janka Major-singing. H, pp. 415-16.

15 Dec. 1888 – The opening night of the ‘*Holländer*’ in Bratislava. Performed by the company of Kment, conductor: Hartl. Cast: Joachim Kromer, Helen Bauer, Ferenc Nöthig, Béla Pállik. H, p. 416.

The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse). 1889.

26 Jan. 1889. 7 p.m.	The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.	The orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by
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		<p>Gustav Mahler. In Hungarian. Translated by Antal Radó (dr.).</p> <p>Director: Kálmán Alszeghy, Play-master: Ede Újházy. Scenery: Ágost Spannraft, Gy. Hirsch, costumes: P. Caffi.</p> <p>Cast: Wotan: (Dávid) Ney, Donner: (Lajos) Szendrői, Froh: (Károly) Stoll, Loge: (Ferenc) Broulik, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts(cs), Mime: (Béni) Dalnoki, Fasolt: (Lehel) Odry, Fafner: (János) Tallián, Fricka: (Helén) Henszler, Freia: (Gizella) Rotter, Erda: (Borbála) Irlbeck, Woglinde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Wellgunde: (Mariska) Kordin, Flosshilde: (Johanna) Eibenschütz.</p> <p>Source: The poster of the premiere in SzNL, THS. For the facsimile see Add. 47.</p>
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The Valkyrie (A walkür). 1889.

<p>27 Jan. 1889. 6:30 p.m.</p>	<p>The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.</p>	<p>The orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by Gustav Mahler. In Hungarian. Translated by Gergely Csiky.</p> <p>Director: Kálmán Alszeghy. Scenery: Ágost Spannraft, Gy. Hirsch, costumes: P. Caffi.</p> <p>The cast of the premiere of <i>The Valkyrie (A walkür)</i>: Siegmond: (Ferenc) Broulik, Hunding: (Lajos) Szendrői, Wotan: (Dávid) Ney, Sieglinde: Mrs. Maleczky, née Jozefa</p>
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		Ellinger, Brünnhilde: (Arabella) B. (Bella) Szilágyi, Fricka: (Mariska) Fleiszig, Helmwig, Valkyrie: Mrs. György, née Zsófia Fischer, Gerhilde: (Anna) Neszveda, Ortlinde: Mrs. Csányi, Waltraute: (Mariska) Kordin, Schwertleite: (Borbála) Irlbeck, Siegrune: (Mrs. Diósy), née (Berta) Handl (Handel), Grimgerde: (Helén) Henszler, Rossweise: Johanna (Eibenschütz). Source: SzNL, THS. For the facsimile see Add. 48.
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The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse) was also performed on 29 Jan. 1889 and *The Valkyrie (A walkür)* on 7 Feb. 1889. The other ‘Ring’ performances during Mahler’s direction:

16 Feb. 1889 – *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*.

17 Feb. 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

2 March 1889 – *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*.

3 March 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

Probably on 16 March 1889 – *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*.

Probably on 17 March 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

13 April 1889 – *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*.

14 April 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

Probably on 28 Apr. 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

15 May 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

15 Sept. 1889 – *Lohengrin*. Newly studied. Source: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 5.

9 Nov. 1889 – *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*.

10 Nov. 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

24 Nov. 1889 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

2 Feb. 1890 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

Possibly on 25 Feb. 1890 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

15 March 1890 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

26 March 1890 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

22 April 1890 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

22 Jan. 1891 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

17 Feb. 1891 – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*.

Source for the parts of the '*Ring*': Roman Mahler, p. 56. and pp. 137-39.

1890 – *Overture and Venusberg Music (Bacchanale)* from the 'Paris-version' of *Tannhäuser*. Philharmonic Society, Budapest. Source: H, p. 462.

24 March 1890 – *The Feast of Pentecost (Das Liebesmahl der Apostel)*. With the contribution of 'The Glee-club' of Buda (Budai Dalárda), the Society of Music-lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesülete), and the men-choir of National Theatre. Translation: Kornél Ábrányi Sr. Source: *Wagner and His Hungarian Friends*, booklet of the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum, 26 Feb. 2014, p. 54.

Siegfried. 1892.

9 Apr. 1892. 6:30 p.m.	The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.	<p>The orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by Josef Rebiček (József Rebicsek).</p> <p>Translated by Antal Radó dr.</p> <p>Director: Kálmán Alszegehy.</p> <p>The cast of the premiere:</p> <p>Siegfried: (Gyula) Perotti (Julius Prott) as guest, Mime: (Béni) Dalnoki, The wanderer (Wotan): (Dávid) Ney, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Fafner: (Lajos) Szendrői (Szabó), Erda: (Laura) Hilgermann, Brünnhilda: (Arabella) Szilágyi as guest, The voice of the bird: (Bianka or Bianca) Bianchi.</p> <p>Source: SzNL, THS. For the copy of the poster see Add. 49.</p>
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Twilight of the Gods (Az istenek alkonya).1892.

12 Dec. 1892.	The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.	<p>The orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by Josef Rebiček (József Rebicsek).</p> <p>Translated by Antal Radó dr.</p> <p>Director: Kálmán Alszegehy.</p> <p>The cast of the premiere: Siegfried: (Gyula) Perotti as guest, Gunther: (Lehel) Odry, Hagen: (Dávid) Ney, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Brünnhilde: Arabella Szilágyi as guest, Guttrune: Gizella Rotter, Waltraute: Laura Hilgermann, The Three Norns: Helén Henszler, Berta Handel, Margit Kaczér, Woglinde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Welgunde: Ilona Bárdossy, Flosshilde: Helén Henszler. Source: H, p. 419.</p>
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The premiere of the '*Ring*' as a cycle. From 30 Jan. to 4 Feb. 1893 in Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian.

30 Jan. 1893, 7 p.m. – *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*: Translated by Antal Radó dr.
Cast: Wotan: (Dávid) Ney, Donner: (Lajos) Szendrői (Szabó), Froh: (Béla) Kiss, Loge: (Ferenc) Broulik as guest, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Mime: (Béni) Dalnoki, Fasolt: (Lehel) Odry, Fafner: (János) Tallián, Fricka: Helén Henszler, Freia: Gizella Rotter, Erda: Laura Hilgermann, Woglinde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Welgunde: Berta Handel, Flosshilde: Izabella Rosenberg. Source: The poster in SzNL, THS, for the copy see Add. 50.

31 Jan. 1893, 6:30 p.m. – *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*: Translated by Gergely Csiky. Cast:
Sigmund: (Ferenc) Broulik as guest, Hunding: (Lajos) Szendrői (Szabó), Wotan: (Dávid) Ney, Brünnhilde: Bella Szilágyi as guest, Fricka: Helén Henszler, Helmwige:

Margit Kaczér, Gerhilde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Ortlinde: Gizella Rotter, Waltraute: Ilona Bárdossy, Schwertleite: Mariska Semsey, Siegrune: Berta Handel, Grimgerde: Helén Henszler, Rossweise: Ilka Doppler. Source: The poster in SzNL, THS, for the copy see Add. 51.

2 Feb. 1893, 6:30 – *Siegfried*: Translated by Antal Radó dr. Cast: Siegfried: (Gyula) Perotti, Mime: (Béni) Dalnoki, The wanderer (Wotan): (Dávid) Ney, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Fafner: (Lajos) Szendrői (Szabó), Brünhilda: Bella Szilágyi as guest, The voice of the bird: Bianca Bianchi. Source: The poster in SzNL, THS, for the copy see Add. 52.

4 Feb. 1893, 6:30 p.m – *Twilight of the Gods (Az istenek alkonya)*: Translated by Antal Radó. Cast: Siegfried: (Gyula) Perotti, Gunther: (Lehel) Odry, Hagen: (Dávid) Ney, Alberich: (Mihály) Takáts, Brünhilde: Bella Szilágyi as guest, Guttrune: Gizella Rotter, Woglinde: Mrs. Ábrányi née Margit Wein, Wellgunde: Ilona Bárdossy, Flosshilde: Helén Henszler. Source: The poster in SzNL, THS, for the copy see Add. 53.

Events between 1893 and 1901.

29 Oct. 1893 – The Ecclesiastical Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneegyesület) with the conductorship of Joseph Thiard-Laforest and with the permission of Bayreuth, performed 5 fragments from *Parsifal*. Out of the parts performed on the concert the *Transformation Scene-Music* (act I.), the grand finale of act I., and '*Parsifal's Arrival*' could be heard for the first time in Hungary. H, p. 420.

5 Jan. 1895 – '*Mastersingers*'. Renewed version. The cast of the renewed '*Mastersingers*': Sachs: (Dávid) Ney, Pogner: (Lajos) Szendrői, Vogelsang: (Béni) Dalnoki, Nachtigall: Mihályi, Beckmesser: Hegedűs, Kothner: Beck, Zorn: Béla Kiss, Wather: (Ferenc) Broulik, Eva: Gizella Rotter, David: (Dezső) Arányi. Chief Director: Antal Váradi. Haraszi misdated the premiere to 7 Jan. 1895. (H, p. 420). The date; 5 Jan. can be confirmed by two sources: BudOp100, p. 446. and Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 11.

20 Apr. 1895 – The Orchestra of the Society of Music-lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesületének Zenekara), 'The Glee-club' of Pécs (Pécsi Dalárda) and a woman-choir performed the '*Entry of the Guests*'-March from the *Tannhäuser* (act II.) with the conductorship of Vilmos Löhr (Löhr) in Pécs. As a single

number it was performed first time in the country. Sources: Lajos Haksch, *A negyvenéves Pécsi Dalárda története, 1902–VIII*, Pécs, (Taizs Printing Company), 1902, p. 236. and Mátyás Ivasivka, Attila Kovács, *Pécsi Concerto, Fejezetek Pécs zenetörténetéből, Világhírű külföldi, magyar és helyi zeneszerzők kapcsolata Péccsel és Baranyával*, Pécs, (Alexandra), 2010, p. 118.

1896 – According to Haraszti, Róza Sucher sang the songs *Träume* and *Schmerzen* from *Wesendonck-Lieder* on the concert of the Philharmonic Society. Budapest. H, p. 462.

16 March 1896 – The first performance of *Rienzi*'s overture in the country, Pécs, National Theatre. With the accompaniment of The Orchestra of the Society of Music-lovers (Zenekedvelők Egyesületének Zenekara), conducted by Vilmos Löhr (Löhr). Source: Mátyás Ivasivka, Attila Kovács, *Pécsi Concerto, Fejezetek Pécs zenetörténetéből, Világhírű külföldi, magyar és helyi zeneszerzők kapcsolata Péccsel és Baranyával*, Pécs, (Alexandra), 2010, p. 118.

According to Haraszti, *Flying Dutchman* was played on 11 July 1895, (source: BudOp100, p. 103.), then *Tannhäuser* on 12, *Lohengrin* on 14, and *'Mastersingers'* on 16.

According to Haraszti, the same operas were played between 15-20 Aug. as well. Source: Haraszti, p. 421.

11 May 1901 – *Siegfried*, newly studied version. Translation: Antal Radó. Conductor: Rezső Mader. (Mader's 'real' name was Raoul Mader, 1856-1940). Source: BudOp100, p. 448.

Tristan and Isolde. 1901.

28 Nov. 1901. 6:30 p.m.	The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.	The orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by István Kerner. Translated by Emil Ábrányi Sr. Director: Kálmán Alszeghy, scenery: Jenő Kéméndy. The cast: Tristan: (Karel, Károly) Burrian, (Burian,
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		Burián), King Marke: (Dávid) Ney, Isolde: Mrs. Vasquez-(Molina), née Itália Ucelli (countess), Kurwenal: Mihály Takáts (cs), Melot: (Béla) Kiss, Brangene: Mimi Berts, Shepherd: (József) Gábor, Young sailer: (Jenő) Déri. For the premiere-poster see Add. 54.
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According to Tibor Tallián (BudOp100, p. 105.) *‘Tristan’* was performed 12 times after the premiere.

11 May 1902 – *Siegfried*. Newly studied. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. Source: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek 29*, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 17.

16 March 1903 – The Hungarian minister of religion- and education set up the Scholarship-Foundation of Bayreuth for Hungarian Singers and Musicians (Magyar ének- és zene-művészek bayreuthi ösztöndíj-alapja) in 1903; for the good of this scholarship-fund they organised a concert in the Hungarian Royal Opera House. The fragments from Wagner’s operas had been conducted by Siegfried Wagner conductor and composer. According to Lajos Koch, the first concert was an open rehearsal and took place on 15 March. The income was offered for the good of The Widows’ and Orphans of the Philharmonic Orchestra’s foundation. Source: Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek 29*, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 24.

Apr. 1903 – Bratislava. The first performance of *The Valkyrie* in the country. According to Ervin Major, there was a Wagner-concert with the contribution of the baritone: Theodor Bertram (1869-1907) and Dr. Alexander Dillmann, on 14 Jan. 1904 in the hall of Hotel Royal in Budapest. Source: Ervin Major’s Haraszti book, press-cutting.

4 March 1904 – Timișoara, *Tannhäuser*.

10 March 1906 – Timișoara, *Lohengrin*. Conductor: Árpád Orbán.

1907 – The Ecclesiastical Society of Bratislava (Pozsonyi Egyházi Zeneművészeti Társulat) with the conductorship of Kossow Jenő dr. performed the composition scored WWV 37, namely the melodies of the *Theodor Apel, the Columbus-overture*. (Got lost. Rediscovered in 1905. Date of formation: 1834–1835). First performance in Hungary. Haraszti, p. 422.

22 Jan. 1907 – *The Rhine Gold*. Newly studied. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. Translation: Antal Radó, scenery: Ágoston Spannraft, conductor: Dezső Márkus. Sources: BudOp100, p. 449. and Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 13.

3 March 1907 – The premiere of *Lohengrin* in Debrecen. Conductor: Oszkár Fekete. With the contribution of Glee-club of Debrecen (Debreceni Városi Dalegylet) and the Accordance-orchestra (Egyetértés zenekar).

Tannhäuser. 'Paris-version'. 1907.

<p>24 Oct. 1907.</p> <p>The aforementioned date can be found e.g. in <i>Magyar Színpad (Hungarian Stage)</i> 295/X, 24 Oct. 1907, in BudOp100, pp. 449-50. and in Lajos Koch, <i>A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959</i>, in <i>Színháztörténeti füzetek</i> 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 28. According to Haraszti, the premiere was held on 14th. H, p. 422.</p>	<p>The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.</p>	<p>The new parts of the Hungarian text: Sándor Várady, the previous versions: Kornél Ábrányi. Conductor: István Kerner.</p> <p>Cast (according to Haraszti): Hermann: Béla Venczell, Elisabeth: Mrs. Vasquez-(Molina), née Itália Ucelli (countess), Tannhäuser: György Anthes, Wolfram: Mihály Takáts(cs), Walter: (Jenő) Déri, Biterof: Bernát Ney, Heinrich: Elemér Pichler, Reinmer: Rezső Kárpát, Venus: Margit Kaczér. H, p. 422.</p>
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26 Sept. 1908 – *Siegfried*. Newly studied version. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. Conductor: István Kerner, translation: Antal Radó.

18 Oct. 1908 – '*Mastersingers*'. Newly studied. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. Translated by Antal Váradi, conducted by István Kerner.

29 Apr. 1910 – *Lohengrin*. Newly studied. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. Director: Kálmán Alszegehy, translation: Gusztáv Böhm.

Sources: BudOp100, pp. 450-453. and Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, pp. 11-21.

Parsifal. 1914.

1. Jan. 1914.	'Népopera' (Folk Opera), Budapest. Today is the Erkel Theatre in Budapest.	The orchestra of the 'Népopera', conductor: Frigyes Reiner. Director: Adolf Mérei(y), scenery: Loeffler. Cast: Parsifal: György Anthes, Kundry: Teréz Krammer (K.), Amfortas: (Arnold, sic.) Gábor, Titurel: Ernő Mátrai, Gurnemanz: Sándor Bihar, Klingsor: Ödön Pajor, Esquires: Rózsi Ábrányi, Margit Ney, Ferenc Pázmán, Károly Huszár, Grail Knights: Lajos Lóránd, Dezső Róna, Flower-maidens: Rózsi Ábrányi, Margit Ney, Ilona Sebők, Adél Adler, Zoja Rozovszka, Erzsébet Murányi. H, p. 426. See the poster in Add. 56.
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1918 – Karel (Károly) Burian's Wagner-concert in Szeged. Source: *Magyar Színpad (Hungarian Stage)*, 22 Feb. 1918. Press-cutting in Remembrance (Memory) Collection of Hungarian State Opera.

5 March 1918 – 'Vigadó'. Wagner-concert. Karel (Károly) Burian (sometimes Burián) and Emil Burian. Source: Szabó *Burian*, p. 91, footnote 312.

7 Nov. 1918 – *The Valkyrie*. Newly studied. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. Lajos Koch, *A budapesti Operaház műsora 1884-1959*, in *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 29, Budapest, (Színháztudományi Intézet), 1959, p. 13.

20 Dec. 1919 – '*Holländer*'. Newly studied. Hungarian Royal Opera House, Budapest. BudOp100, p. 454.

8 March 1920 – According to Ferenc János Szabó, Karel (Károly) Burian sang *The Prayer of Rienzi (Allmächt'ger Vater, blick' herab!)* in 'Vigadó', Budapest. As a single movement it was probably performed for the first time in the territory of Hungary. Source: Szabó *Burian*, p. 91, footnote 314.

29 Apr. 1922 – According to the article of *Pesti Napló (The Journal of Pest)* 88/XXIII. on 19 Apr. 1922, Karel (Károly) Burian performed Wagner-songs in Music Academy in Budapest for the good of 'Anthes-Foundation'. (The source is identical with the following one).

8 Apr. 1923 – According to Ferenc János Szabó, Karel (Károly) Burian's last concert was a Wagner-concert held in the 'Stadttheater' (Városi Színház). Burian sang fragments from *Tannhäuser* (e.g. *Inbrunst im Herzen, wie kein Büsser noch je sie gefühlt (Romerzählung)*) and *The Valkyrie* (e.g. *Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond...-Siegmund's Springsong*-it was performed on 23 July 1863 at first) with the contribution of the Symphonic Orchestra of Budapest (Budapesti Szimfonikus zenekar). Conductor: Emil Ábrányi. Source: Szabó *Burian*, p. 91.

Parsifal. 1924.

1 June 1924. 5 p.m.	The Hungarian Royal Opera House. Budapest.	The orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera House, conducted by István Kerner. The translation which was based on the work of István Kereszty was completed by Viktor Lányi. Director: László Márkus.
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		<p> Cast: Amfortas: Árpád Szemere, Titurel: Bernát Ney, Gurnemanz: Béla Venczell, Parsifal: (Ferenc) Székelyhidi (dr.), Kundry: Olga Haselbeck, Klingsor: Ferenc Szende, 1st Grail Knight: Zoltán Závodszky, 2nd Grail Knight: Pál Komáromy, 1st Esquire: Edit Kiss, 2nd Esquire: Elma Haynal, 3rd Esquire: Kálmán Szügyi, 4th Esquire: Gyula Toronyi. 1st Flower-maiden: Gizella Goda, 2nd: Gitta Halász, 3rd: Rózsi Marsalkó, 4th: Matild Palay, 5th: Vilma Tihanyi, 6th: Karola Bodor. For the premiere-poster see Add. 57. </p>
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**IX. WHL-S,
Richard Wagner's 'Hungarian Letters'- Selection.
Catalogue by Ildikó Rita Anna Varga. 2014.**

**Letters about the Hungarian premieres of Richard Wagner's operas, his
concerts, the Hungarian music history and friends of him; on the basis of
the researches appearing in Ph. D. Thesis of *Richard Wagner, Hungary
and the Nineteenth Century.***

1853-1883.

Addressee. Title. Theme.	Place, date.	WBV.	WHL-S.
1. To Ferenc (Franz) Liszt, Weimar. The letter talks about the upcoming premiere of <i>Tannhäuser</i> in Pest. (Edition of Erich Kloss, pp. 278- 285).	16 Nov. 1853. Luzern.	WBV 1405.	WHL-S/1. Pest and the selling-price — 15 Louis'dor (Louis'dor; 5 taler gold coin) — are only mentioned in the Erich Kloss edition, released in 1910. In the edition of the letters, published in 1887, there is no information on the price of the data and the score.
2. To Hans von Bülow, Dresden. In the letter Wagner asked Bülow to send some copy of <i>Tannhäuser</i> to Meser so that Meser could forward one to Theodor Witte, the director of the	3 Feb. 1854. Zurich.	WBV 1443.	WHL-S/2.

German Theater of Pest at that time.			
3. To Wilhelm Fischer, Dresden. About the settlement between the German Theater of Pest and Richard Wagner, regarding the premiere of <i>Tannhäuser</i> in Pest.	15 Feb. 1854. Zurich.	WBV 1449.	WHL-S/3.
4. To Minna Wagner, Dresden. Wagner reports his first wife about Pest wanting 'the' <i>Tannhäuser</i> as well.	14 Nov. 1858. Venice.	WBV 2296.	WHL-S/4.
5. To the Breitkopf & Härtel publisher, Leipzig. Wagner writes about the revival of <i>Tannhäuser</i> . Vienna, Moscow, Pest and New York make inquiries about it.	1 March 1859. Venice.	WBV 2388.	WHL-S/5.
6. To Minna Wagner, Dresden. Wagner writes about Pest placing and order for <i>Tannhäuser</i> .	18 Apr. 1859. Luzern.	WBV 2424.	WHL-S/6.
7. Presumably to the wife of Bertalan Szemere, Paris. The Hungarian lady was living in exile in Paris and had been the wife of the man who was the prime	16 Apr. 1861. Paris.	The letter of WBV 8787 is similar to the WHL-S/7. The WBV mentions a letter under the score of WBV 8787, which was created in 1861	WHL-S/7. The original can be found in the Manuscript Collection of Széchenyi National Library. Fond 1195/XII.

minister during the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence. In the letter Wagner also writes about <i>Tannhäuser</i> .		and addressed an unknown lady. The letter also talks about the <i>Tannhäuser</i> and was written to a lady who lived in Paris, in German.	In German.
8. To Ferenc Erkel, Pest. It is likely that Wagner offered to give a concert in Pest.	Penzing. (Vienna). The letter was written probably in the last days of June or the first days of July of 1863.	Mentioned in the Addendum of WBV, 1998-2009. It is not scored yet.	WHL-S/8/A and B. Two short news appeared on 9 July 1863 (Thursday). One of them in the <i>Zenészet</i> i Lapok (<i>The Musical Journal</i>) 41/III, (WHL-S/8/A) and another on the same day in <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>), issue 93. (WHL-S/8/B).
9. Wagner's order regarding postal matters. Penzing.	18 July 1863. Penzing. (Near to Vienna).	WBV A 214.	WHL-S/9. The original is in SzNL Manuscript Collection. Score: Fond 1356/XII.
10. To János Gayer trumpeter. Written in Pest. Theme: Wagner's registry in the orchestral part.	20 July 1863. Pest.	WBV A 215.	WHL-S/10. The original can not be found in the Remembrance Collection in Museum and Archive of the Hungarian State Opera yet. The score — which probably contained the dedication and commendatory — was delivered to the SzNL, but the page, including the

11. To Reinel (Reinl, Reindl) Albin clarinet player, Pest. Theme: Wagner's registry in the orchestral part.	20 July 1863. Pest.	WBV A 216.	registry, is no longer in there. WHL-S/11. The original can not be found in the Remembrance Collection in Museum and Archive of the Hungarian State Opera yet. The score — which probably contained the dedication — was delivered to the SzNL, but the page, including the registry, is no longer in there.
12. To Mathilde Maier, from Pest into Mainz. In the letter W. wrote about the circumstances of the invitation and about his experiences in Pest.	20 July 1863. Pest.	WBV 3625.	WHL-S/12.
13. To Joseph Aloys Tichatschek. A letter was written in a poem-format in Pest.	24 July 1863. Pest.	WBV A 217.	WHL-S/13.
14. To Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy). Pest. Theme: leave-taking, acknowledgements.	1 Aug. 1863. Penzing. (Vienna).	WBV 3626.	WHL-S/14. The original can be found in the Remembrance Collection in Museum and Archive of the Hungarian State Opera. Score: 72. 47. 45. First publications:

<p>15. To Mathilde Wesendonck, Zurich. In the letter there are information about Richard Wagner's first concerts in Pest.</p>	<p>3 Aug. 1863. Penzing. (Vienna).</p>	<p>WBV 3630.</p>	<p>1. <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>), issue 120, 5 Aug. 1863. Hungarian translation. 2. <i>Zenészet</i> <i>Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>), 46/III, 13 Aug. 1863. In Hungarian. 3. <i>Pester Lloyd</i>, 39/12, 12 Feb. 1899. German original. By Haraszti, pp. 274-75. In Hungarian.</p> <p>WHL-S/15.</p>
<p>16. To Kornél Ábrányi Sr, into Pest. Open/Public letter. Essay about Hungarian music.</p>	<p>8 Aug. 1863. Penzing. (Vienna).</p>	<p>WBV A 218.</p>	<p>WHL-S/16. Press-publications: 1. <i>Pester Lloyd</i>: 19 Aug. 1863, Nr. 188. Title: <i>Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik</i>. In German. 2. <i>Zenészet</i> <i>Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>), 20 Aug. 1863, 47/III. Hungarian translation. Title: <i>Wagner Richárd nyílt levele a Zenészet lapok szerkesztőjéhez</i>. 3. <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>). 23 Aug.</p>

			<p>1863, issue 137. In Hungarian. Title: <i>Wagner Richard nyílt levele a Zenészeti lapok szerkesztőjéhez.</i> 4. <i>Niederrheinische Musik Zeitung.</i> 35/XI, 29 Aug. 1863. In German. Title: <i>Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik.</i> (Identical with the issue, which appeared earlier in <i>Pester Lloyd</i>).</p> <p>5. <i>Zenészeti Lapok (The Musical Journal).</i> 26 Nov. 1871, 9/12. In German and in Hungarian. Title: <i>Wagner Richárd eredeti levele a magyar műzenészeti törekvésekről. E lapok szerkesztőjéhez intézve.</i> Haraszi, pp. 283-86. (In Hungarian).</p>
<p>17. To Heinrich Porges. There are information about Wagner's concerts in Pest. (July 1863).</p>	<p>27 Sept. 1863. Penzing. Vienna.</p>	<p>WBV 3661.</p>	<p>WHL-S/17.</p>
<p>18. To Mihály Mosonyi, Pest. The letter could be about the potential settlement of</p>	<p>12 Oct. 1863. Penzing. Vienna.</p>	<p>WBV 3669.</p>	<p>WHL-S/18. The original with its envelope can be found in SzNL, Manuscript Collection. Score:</p>

Wagner in Pest.			Fond 1192/XII. First publication: Péterfi, <i>Magyar Művészeti Almanach</i> , 1907, year VII, pp. 42-43. in German and Hungarian, and in 1916 in Haraszti, pp. 288-89. in Hungarian. Bónis, <i>Mosonyi</i> , pp. 56-57, Facsimile. Bónis, <i>Liszt- und W.</i> , pp. 317-334.
19. To Mihály Mosonyi, Pest. Wagner reports about the upcoming rehearsal of <i>'Tristan'</i> (20 May 1865) and invited Mosonyi and some other friends to come over.	24 May 1865. Munich.	WBV 4187.	WHL-S/19. The letter appeared in Haraszti p. 324. in Hungarian and p. 471. in German. Bónis, <i>Mosonyi</i> , p. 64.
20. To Mihály Mosonyi, Pest. Wagner talks about the performances of <i>'Tristan'</i> which were on 10 and 13 June 1865. Mosonyi did not see the performances.	14 June 1865. Munich.	WBV 4215.	WHL-S/20. Published: Péterfi, 1907, pp. 43-45, and Haraszti, pp. 323-24, in Hungarian. Verified, hand-written copy in the SzNL, the copy of Kálmán Kertész Dr. It was probably delivered from the Hungarian National Museum to the Manuscript Collection of the SzNL in 1921. Score: Fond 1193/XII. Bónis, <i>Liszt- und Wagner</i> , in Mf 39. (1986), pp. 317-334.

21. To Sámuel Radnótfáy, Pest. Wagner thanks for the invitation to the premiere of the <i>Lohengrin</i> in Pest but refuses it at the same time.	26 Nov. 1866. Luzern.	WBV 4607.	WHL-S/21. SzNL-score: Fond 1194/XII. First publication: 4 Dec. 1866 in <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> , in column <i>Fővárosi Hírek</i> , in Hungarian. Second publication: <i>Zenészet</i> i Lapok, column <i>Művészeti Ujdonságok</i> , 9 Dec, issue 10 year 7, in Hungarian. Haraszti, pp. 330-31, Hungarian translation.
22. To Károly Huber, Pest. Letter of thanks to the conductor of the <i>Lohengrin</i> in Pest, after the premiere.	14 Dec. 1866. Luzern.	WBV 4619.	WHL-S/22. First publication: <i>Zenészet</i> i Lapok 23 Dec. 1866, 12/7. Title: <i>Wagner Richárd levele Huber Károly karmesterhez</i> . Haraszti, <i>Richard Wagner and Hungary</i> , pp. 337-38, in Hungarian, and in the book <i>Hubay Jenő élete és munkái</i> , Bp, 1913, Facs. after p. 12.
23. To the Hungarian friends of Wagner. Addressees: Friedrich Altschul, Imre Bellovics, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, Josef Ellinger, Mihály Mosonyi, Gyula Rózsavölgyi, Rudolf Schweida,	23 May 1869. Luzern	WBV 5304.	WHL-S/23. The original is in LFZF, in Budapest. Score: ML 1285. First Hungarian publication. First publication: <i>Die Presse</i> , Vienna, from 6 June 1869 (?), and Altmann, 2130.

<p>Jenő Szupper.</p> <p>24. The addressee of the letter: Venerated King's Councillor! Originally, Wagner had addressed it to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy), but the intendant died on 9 October 1869. Wagner sent the letter to Pest. Theme: Wagner suggests János Richter to be the conductor of the Hungarian National Theatre.</p>	<p>31 March 1870. Luzern.</p>	<p>WBV 5543.</p>	<p>WHL-S/24. The original can be found in the Manuscript Collection of SzNL. Score: Levelestár/ Richard Wagner levele Radnótfáy Sámuelnek. First publication: Haraszti, pp. 474-75, in German and pp. 341-42. in Hungarian.</p>
<p>25. To Ferenc Erkel, Pest. In the letter Wagner thanks for the royalty he got for the <i>Tannhäuser</i> and explains why he did not give the 'revision' of the opera to the Hungarian National Theatre.</p>	<p>28 June 1870. Luzern.</p>	<p>WBV 5611.</p>	<p>WHL-S/25. The original: SzNL, Manuscript Collection. Score: Fond 1190/XII. In 1904 the letter was possessed by the Hungarian National Museum. Haraszti misdated the letter in his book of 27 June, pp. 343-44. Only the Hungarian translation can be found on these pages. The facsimile: Miklos Lukacs, <i>Richard Wagners Werk in Ungarn</i>, in <i>Richard Wagner Festwochen</i>, Dessau, pp. 22-30, Envelope: p. 27, letter: after p. 27.</p>

26. To Theodor Kafka, Vienna. In the letter Wagner writes in connection with the Pest-Vienna Wagner-Association.	2 Jan. 1872. Luzern.	WBV 6000.	WHL-S/26. The original: SzNL, Manuscript Collection. Score: Fond 1191/XII. Published: Haraszti, pp. 472-73, in German, and pp. 360-62. in Hungarian.
27. To János (Hans) Richter, Pest. Letter of thanks for the concert's income, which was organised in favour of Bayreuth and the contribution of the musicians in Pest.	12 March 1872. Luzern.	WBV 6075.	WHL-S/27. Score in the Remembrance Collection of Hungarian State Opera: 72. 48. 46. Published in Pest: <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> , column <i>Fővárosi Hírek</i> , 17 March 1872, 63/9 in Hungarian.
28. To Károly Weber, Békásmegyer. The addressed gardener was the godson of Mihály Mosonyi. In the letter Wagner thanked for the consignment of wild vine which Weber sent to Bayreuth, and Wagner sent a portrait of himself in gratitude.	22 Oct. 1874. Bayreuth.	WVB 6897.	WHL-S/28. According to Haraszti, the letter was owned by Augusztá Weber yet in 1906. In the book of Haraszti, it was published on p. 376, in Hungarian translation. Published also in Jenő Péterfi; <i>Magyar Művészeti Almanach</i> in 1907, booklet VII, pp. 40-41, in German.
29. To Peter Dubez, Budapest. Wagner asked Dubez — who was an avowed harpist of his age — to	8 Dec. 1874. Bayreuth.	WBV 6925.	WHL-S/29. First publication: <i>Zenelap</i> , 20 Nov. 1888, 25/III, in Hungarian. Haraszti, in

<p>alter the harp-parts in <i>The Rhine Gold</i>, which he thanked for in this letter as well. He also asked Dubez to alter the harp-parts of <i>The Twilight of the Gods</i> at the same time. In the postscript of the letter Wagner also sent a word to Richter.</p>			<p>Hungarian, in <i>Richard Wagner and Hungary</i> on pp. 380-81.</p>
<p>30. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. Among others, the concert in Budapest comes into question in the letter.</p>	<p>9 Dec. 1874. Bayreuth.</p>	<p>WBV 6928.</p>	<p>WHL-S/30.</p>
<p>31. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. Another detail about the concert in Budapest: Ferenc Liszt conducts his latest composition himself.</p>	<p>29 Dec. 1874. Bayreuth.</p>	<p>WBV 6955.</p>	<p>WHL-S/31.</p>
<p>32. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. More details about the concert.</p>	<p>27 Jan. 1875. Bayreuth.</p>	<p>WBV 7008.</p>	<p>WHL-S/32.</p>
<p>33. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. Theme: a poem for the 27 January wedding of Richter.</p>	<p>27 Jan. 1875. Bayreuth.</p>	<p>WBV A 437.</p>	<p>WHL-S/33.</p>
<p>34. To Ödön Mihalovich, Budapest. The letter was written in the topic</p>	<p>The formation of the letter is unknown. It was probably written in the end of</p>	<p>WBV 8896.</p>	<p>WHL-S/34. The original is in LFZF, score: ML 1287. <u>First publication.</u></p>

of the upcoming Wagner-Liszt concert for the good of Bayreuth in Budapest.	January, 1875 in Bayreuth.		Published: Haraszti, pp. 383-85 in Hungarian and pp. 475-76, in German.
35. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. The letter includes information about the second Hungarian visit of Richard Wagner.	20 Feb. 1875. Bayreuth.	WBV 7055.	WHL-S/35.
36. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. Budapest and Liszt also come into question.	23 Feb. 1875. Bayreuth.	WBV 7058.	WHL-S/36.
37. To Károly Weber, Budapest. A short letter of thanks.	10 or 11 March 1875. Budapest.	WBV A 439.	WHL-S/37. The location of the original is unknown. First publication: Péterfi, 1907, VII/p. 40-41, in German. However, I have to note that Jenő Péterfi published an incorrect date — 10 May 1875 — as a formation of the letter. Haraszti also released the short letter, but on p. 394. of his book, he renamed Károly Weber to Gusztáv.
38. To Ferenc Liszt, Budapest. A letter of apology.	24 March 1875. Bayreuth.	WBV 7072.	WHL-S/38. Published: Haraszti, pp. 395-97. and pp. 476-77.

<p>39. To Peter Dubez, Budapest. Repeated invitation. Wagner asked Dubez to play in the orchestra on the opening nights of Bayreuth.</p> <p>40. The last letter of Richard Wagner to Angelo Neuman. In the letter Pest comes into question.</p>	<p>28 May 1875. Bayreuth.</p> <p>11 Feb. 1883. Venice.</p>	<p>WBV 7061.</p> <p>WBV 8713.</p>	<p>The copy of the letter which was written by Ödön Mihalovich is possessed by the LFZF, in Budapest, with its envelope enclosed to it. Score: ML 1288. <u>First publication.</u></p> <p>WHL-S/39. First publication: <i>Zenelap</i>, 20 Nov. 1888, 25/III, in Hungarian. Haraszti, pp. 400-401, in Hungarian.</p> <p>WHL-S/40. For details see: Comparison of WBV and WHL-S.</p>
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X. Comparison.

The Similarities and Differences between WBV (Wagner-Briefe-Verzeichnis, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Briefe von Richard Wagner*) and WHL-S (Wagner's 'Hungarian Letters' - Selection) on the Basis of Former Researches, the Data of WBV and Ildikó Rita Anna Varga's Researches (WHL-S).

Addressee. Theme. Title.	Place. Date. First appearance.	WBV	Publication	WHL-S	Differences between WBV and WHL-S
1. To Ferenc Liszt, into Weimar. On the list — enclosed to the letter — about the cities buying <i>Tannhäuser</i> and their potential income, the Hungarian capital — Pest — appears as well.	16 Nov. 1853. Luzern.	WBV 1405.	With the list about the potential income of the <i>Lohengrin</i> and the <i>Tannhäuser</i> . The original: Bayreuth, NA, 1 A 3b, Nr. 89, Published: Liszt (1887), Nr. 138, Bd. 1. S pp. 285-291, Br Liszt (1910), Nr. 136, TI, 1. S. pp. 278-285), Br Liszt (1988), Nr. 143, pp. 338-43, SBr 5, 286, pp. 464-73, Altmann, 739.	WHL-S/1.	Pest and the selling-price — 15 Louis'dor (Louis'dor; 5 taler gold coin) — are only mentioned in the Erich Kloss edition, released in 1910. In the edition of the letters, published in 1887, there is no information on the price of the data and the score.
2. To Hans von Bülow into Dresden. In the letter Wagner	3 Febr. 1854. Zurich.	WBV 1443.	The original: Bayreuth NA, I A Ia, Nr. 23. Published in Br Bülow, pp.	WHL-S/2.	—

asked Bülow to send some copy of <i>Tannhäuser</i> to C. F. Meser so that he (the Meser) could forward one to Theodor Witte, who had been the director of the German Theatre of Pest at that time.			43-44, SBr 6, Nr. 15, pp. 77-79.		
3. To Wilhelm Fischer, into Dresden. About the negotiation on the first night of <i>Tannhäuser</i> in Pest, between the German Theatre of Pest and Wagner.	15 Feb. 1854. Zurich.	WBV 1449.	The original: Bayreuth, NA, I A 2b, Br. 31. Published in Heintz, <i>Exil</i> , p. 240, Br Uhlig /Fischer/ Heine, Nr. 32, pp. 314-316, SBr 6, Nr. 21, pp. 81-83, Altmann, 759.	WHL-S/3.	—
4. To Minna Wagner, into Dresden. Wagner wrote his first wife about Pest wanting 'the' <i>Tannhäuser</i> as well.	14 Nov. 1858. Venice.	WBV 2296.	The original: Bayreuth, NA, IA 8a, Nr. 152, with its envelope, published: Br Minna, Nr. 150, Bd 1, pp. 320-23.	WHL-S/4.	—
5. To the Breitkopf & Härtel publisher, into	1 March 1859. Venice.	WBV 2388.	The original; Darmstad, HLHB. Published in Br	WHL-S/5.	—

Leipzig. Wagner writes about the resurrection of <i>Tannhäuser</i> .			Breitkopf & Härtel, Nr. 151, pp. 152- 54, Altmann, 1200.		
6. To Minna Wagner, into Dresden. Wagner reports about Pest placing an order for <i>Tannhäuser</i> .	18 Apr. 1859. Luzern.	WBV 2424.	The original: Bayreuth, NA, I A 3b, Nr. 173, with its envelope. Published: Br Minna, Nr. 169, Bd. 2, pp. 73-77.	WHL-S/6.	—
7. Presu- mably to the wife of Bertalan Szemere, into Paris. The Hungarian lady lived in exile in Paris and had been the wife of the prime minister of the Hungarian Revolution and War of In- dependen- ce (1848). In the letter, Wagner also mentioned <i>Tannhäuser</i> .	16 Apr. 1861. Paris.	The letter could be similar to WBV 8787.	The last evidence in connection with the formation of the letter, scored WBV 8787 in Stargadt: Kat. 597 (23/24. 11 1971), Nr. 856, p. 213.	WHL-S/7. In the WBV, under the score 8787, a letter is mentioned, which was written in 1861 and addresses an unknown young woman. The letter also talks about <i>Tannhäu- ser</i> and was written in German to a lady in France.	The original (WHL-S/7.) can be found in the Manuscript Collection of Széchenyi National Library. Fond 1195/XII. In German.
8. To Ferenc Erkel, into Pest. In the	Penzing. The letter was written	Men- tioned in the	Published: Hammerstein, Kap. 2, pp. 1-	WHL-S/8/A and B. A WBV	Relying on the aforemen-

letter Wagner probably offers to give a concert in Pest.	probably in the last days of June or the first days of July of 1863. Two short news appeared on 9 July 1863 (Thursday). One of them in the <i>Zenészeti Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>) 41/III, (WHL-S/8/A) and another on the same day in <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>), issue 93. (WHL-S/8/B).	Addenda of WBV, 1998-2009. It is not scored yet.	2, 13-14. SBr 15, Nr. 171, p. 209.	doesn't mention if it was released in the <i>Színházi Látcső</i> , 9 July 1863.	tioned articles, the letter was written probably in the last days of June or the first days of July of 1863. WBV doesn't mention if it was released in the <i>Színházi Látcső</i> , 9 July 1863.
9. Wagner's instruction regarding postal-matters. Penzing.	18 July 1863. Penzing (Near to Vienna).	WBV A 214.	The locality, according to the WBV: National Museum in Budapest. Published: Hammerstein, Kap. 2, pp. 2-3, 14-15.	WHL-S/9. The original is in SzNL Manuscript Collection. Score: Fond 1356/XII.	The WBV neither mention the current locality, but the previous one, nor informs us about the shelf-guide.
10. To János Gayer, trumpeter.	20 July 1863. Pest.	WBV A 215.	The original: Hungarian State Opera.	WHL-S/10. The original	The original can not be found in the

Written in Pest. Theme: Wagner's registry into the orchestral part.			Published: Hammerstein, Kap. 2, p. 3. and 15.	can not be found in the Hungarian State Opera yet.	Remembrance Collection of the Hungarian State Opera yet. The score — which probably contained the dedication — was delivered to the SzNL but the page, including the registry, is no longer in there.
11. To Reinl (Reinl, Reindl) Albin clarinettist, Pest. Theme: Wagner's registry into the orchestral part.	20 July 1863. Pest.	WBV A 216.	The original: Hungarian State Opera. Published: Hammerstein, Kap. 2, p. 3. and 15.	WHL-S/11. The original can not be found in the Hungarian State Opera yet.	The original can not be found in the Remembrance Collection of the Hungarian State Opera yet. The score — which probably contained the dedication — was delivered to the SzNL but the page, including the registry, is no longer in there.

12. To Mathilde Maier, from Pest into Mainz. In the letter W. wrote about the circumstances of the invitation and about his experiences in Pest.	20 July 1863. Written in Pest.	WBV 3625.	The original: München BStB, Cgm. 8839, Nr. 60, with its envelop. Published: Br Maier, Nr. 57, pp.114-16.	WHL-S/12.	—
13. To Joseph Aloys Tichatschek. Letter in a poem-format. Written in Pest.	24 July 1863. Written in Pest.	WBV 217. A	The last locality of the original: Stargardt, Kat. 580. (23/24. 5. 1967), Nr. 787, p. 181. Copy: Frankfurt StadtUB, Mus. Autogr. Wagner, Richard, C 5. Published: <i>Gedichte</i> , Nr. 17, p. 35, SSD, Bd. 12, p. 370. Altmann, 1677.	WHL-S/13.	—
14. To Sámuel Radnótfáy, (Nagy) into Pest. Theme: leave-taking, acknowledgements.	1 Aug. 1863. Penzing.	WBV 3626.	The original can be found in the Remembrance Collection of the Hungarian State Opera.	WHL-S/14. The original can be found in the Remembrance Collection in Museum and Archive of the	The WBV neither mentions the score amongst the Collection of the Hungarian State Opera, nor the releases of the Hungarian

				<p>Hungarian State Opera. Score: 72. 47. 45. First publications in order of appearance:</p> <p>1. <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>), issue 120, 5 Aug. 1863. Hungarian translation.</p> <p>2. <i>Zenészet</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>), 46/III, 13 Aug. 1863. In Hungarian.</p> <p>3. <i>Pester Lloyd</i>, 39/12, 12 Feb. 1899. German original. By Haraszti, pp. 274-75. In Hungarian.</p>	written press or Haraszti.
15. To Mathilde Wesendonck, into Zurich. The letter tells	3 Aug. 1863. Penzing.	WBV 3630.	The original does not exist. Copies: StadtA, Mathilde Wesendonck,	WHL-S/15.	—

about Richard Wagner's first concerts in Pest.			III. Publications: Br M. Wesendonck, Nr. 138, pp. 317-24, Br Wesendonck, pp. 419-25. Altmann, 1681.		
16. To Kornél Ábrányi Sr, Pest. Open/public letter. Essay about Hungarian music.	8 Aug. 1863. Penzing.	WBV A 218.	The publications according to WBV: 1. <i>Pester Lloyd</i> -19 Aug. 1863, Nr. 188. Title: <i>Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik</i> . 2. <i>Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung</i> -Köln, 1863, 11, pp. 279-80. 3. <i>Zenészet</i> i <i>Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>)-72/12, 1871, title: <i>Wagner Richárd eredeti levele a magyar műzenészet</i> i <i>törekvésekről</i> . 4. Bónis, <i>Mosonyi</i> , pp. 55-60.	WHL-S/16. Publications in order of appearance: 1. <i>Pester Lloyd</i> -19 Aug. 1863, Nr. 188. In German. 2. <i>Zenészet</i> i <i>Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>), 20 Aug. 1863, 47/III. Hungarian translation. Title: <i>Wagner Richárd nyílt levele a Zenészet</i> i <i>lapok szerkesztő-jéhez</i> . 3. <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>). 23 Aug. 1863,	The WBV doesn't talk about the first release in the <i>Zenészet</i> i <i>Lapok</i> , neither mentions the issue of <i>Niederrheinische Z.</i> , nor that the N. Z. issued the article which was released in the <i>Pester Lloyd</i> . (Second-publishing with the same title). They missed to tell about the publications by the <i>Színházi Látcső</i> (<i>The Opera Glasses</i>) and Haraszti.

				<p>issue 137. Hungarian translation. Title: <i>Wagner Richard nyílt levele a Zenészeti lapok szerkesztő -jéhez.</i> 4. <i>Nieder- rheinische Musik Zeitung.</i> 35/11, 29 Aug. 1863. German original. 5. <i>Zené- szeti Lapok (The Musical Journal).</i> 26 Nov. 1871, 9/12. In German and in Hunga- rian. The title identical with the title appeared in WBV, with this supple- ment: <i>E lapok szerkesztő -jéhez intézve.</i> The data about Bónis and Altmann</p>	
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				corres- ponds with the data in WBV. Haraszti pp. 283- 86, in Hungarian.	
17. To Heinrich Porges. There are information about Wagner's concerts in Pest. (July 1863).	27 Sept. 1863. Pen- zing. (Vien- na).	WBV 3661.	The original: Bayreuth NA, I B g 36. Published: Br Freunde, Nr. 173 (pp. 363-65.)	WHL-S/17.	—
18. To Mihály Mosonyi, Pest. The letter is most likely about the potential settling of Wagner in Pest.	12 Oct. 1863. Penzing. (Near to Vienna at that time).	WBV 3669.	Péterfi, <i>Magyar Művészeti Almanach</i> , 1907, in Hungarian. Hammerstein, Kap. 3. p. 3. and 22, translated from Hungarian to German. Bónis, <i>Mosonyi</i> , pp. 56-57, Facsimile. Bónis, <i>Liszt- und W.</i> , pp. 317-334.	WHL-S/18. Péterfi, <i>Magyar Művészeti Almanach</i> , 1907, VII. pp. 42-43. in Hungarian and in German. The WBV does not mention the publication in Haraszti. Haraszti, pp. 288- 89. Hungarian translation.	The WBV publicizes a wrong archive score. The right SzNL (OSZK) archive score is: Fond 1192/XII. The letter can be found with the envelope also enclosed to it, in the Manuscript Collection of SzNL. The WBV also fails to mention the edition by Péterfi, written in German, nor

19. To Mihály Mosonyi, Pest. Wagner told about the upcoming rehearsal of <i>'Tristan'</i> on Saturday (20 May), and invited Mosonyi with some other friends to come over.	24 May 1865. Munich.	WBV 4187.	The locality of the manuscript is unknown. Wagner sent this letter to Mosonyi together with the one of 14 June 1865. (WBV 4215). Haraszti, Nr. 1, p. 471. Bónis, <i>Mosonyi</i> , p. 64.	WHL-S/19. The letter was published by Haraszti in Hungarian: p. 324, and in German: p. 471. and by Bónis, <i>Mosonyi</i> , p. 64.	talks about the one by Haraszti. The WBV does not mention the translation of Haraszti. (H, p. 324).
20. To Mihály Mosonyi, Pest. Wagner tells about the performances of <i>'Tristan'</i> – 10 and 13 June. Mosonyi did not see the performances.	14 June 1865. Munich.	WBV 4215.	The original: Rendell, Kat. [1988], p. 26. Copy: Bayreuth NA, I B n M, Nr. 23. Publications: Péterfi, 1907, Br Ludwig, Bd. 4. Nr. 30, pp. 63-64, Bónis, <i>Liszt- und Wagner</i> , in Mf 39. (1986), pp. 317-334.	WHL-S/20. Péterfi, 1907, pp. 43-45. Verified, handwritten copy in the SzNL, the copy of Kálmán Kertész dr. It was delivered from the Hungarian National Museum to the Archives of the SzNL (OSZK) in 1921.	The WBV did not mention the verified copy in the SzNL (OSZK) — score: Fond 1193/XII — and fails to talk about the translation in Hungarian in Haraszti, pp. 323-24.
21. To Sámuel Radnótfáy,	26 Nov. 1866. Luzern.	WBV 4607.	The original with its envelope:	WHL-S/21. The OSZK-	The score of the SzNL-OSZK

(Nagy) into Pest. Wagner thanked for the invitation to participate in the premiere of <i>Lohengrin</i> in Pest, but refused to attend on it at the same time.			OSZK: Fond XII/1134. Published: <i>Zenészeti Lapok</i> , 1866/67, 7, dec. 9. Hammerstein, Kap. 4, p. 1 and p. 26.	score is wrong. The letter in Hungarian press: First publication: <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> , column; <i>Fővárosi Hírek</i> , 4 Dec. 1866. Second: <i>Zenészeti Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>), column; <i>Művészeti Ujdonságok</i> , 9 Dec, 10/7. Haraszti, pp. 330-31. In Hungarian.	archives publicized by the WBV is incorrect. The correct score is: Fond 1194/XII. The WBV has not released the first publication of the letter yet, which was on 4 December 1866, in the <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> .
22. To Károly Huber, Pest. Thanking letter to the conductor of <i>Lohengrin's</i> first night in Pest.	14 Dec. 1866. Luzern.	WBV 4619.	The current locality of the original letter is unknown. Published: <i>Zenészeti Lapok</i> , <i>Wagner Richárd levele Huber Károly karmesterhez</i> , 1866/67, 7, 182, in Hungarian and in Haraszti, <i>Hubay Jenő élete és munkái</i> , Bp, 1913, Facs.	WHL-S/22. <i>Zenészeti Lapok</i> (<i>The Musical Journal</i>) 23 Dec. 1866, issue 12/7. Haraszti, <i>Richard Wagner and Hungary</i> , pp. 337-38, in Hungarian.	The WBV did not mention the publication in the <i>Richard Wagner and Hungary</i> by Haraszti. The data which the WBV announces about the first press release are partially incorrect.

<p>23. To the Hungarian friends of Wagner. Addressees: Friedrich Altschul, Imre Bellovics, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, Josef (József) Ellinger, Mihály Mosonyi, Gyula Rózsavölgyi, Rudolf Schweida, Jenő Szupper (Soupper, Szoupper).</p>	<p>23 May 1869. Luzern.</p>	<p>WBV 5304.</p>	<p>after p. 12.</p> <p>First publication: <i>Die Presse</i>, Vienna, from the 6th June 1869, and Altmann, 2130.</p>	<p>WHL-S/23.</p>	<p>The original can be found in the LFZF, in Budapest. Score: ML 1285. <u>The original's facsimile is going to be publicized in this Ph.D. Thesis for the first time in Hungary.</u> I have not found the letter neither in the <i>Die Presse</i>, nor in the 6-7-8 June issues of the <i>Freie Presse</i>.</p>
<p>24. The addressee of the letter: Venerated King's Councillor! Wagner originally addressed it to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy), but the intendant died on 9 October 1869. Wagner sent the letter to Pest. Theme: Wagner suggests</p>	<p>31 March 1870. Luzern.</p>	<p>WBV 5543.</p>	<p>The original: OSZK Levelestár. Note: the addressee died on 9th Oct. 1869. Published: Haraszti, pp. 474-75.</p>	<p>WHL-S/24. Published in Haraszti, in Hungarian, pp. 341-42, and in German pp. 474-75.</p>	<p>The original is in the Manuscript Collection of the SzNL-OSZK. Score: Levelestár/ Richard Wagner's letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy. The Hungarian translation of the letter — which was released simultaneously with the original</p>

János Richter for the position of conductor in the National Theatre of Pest.					German one — the WBV forgot about.
25. To Ferenc Erkel, Pest. In the letter Wagner thanks for the royalty he gets for the <i>Tannhäuser</i> and explains why he did not give the revision of the opera to the Hungarian National Theatre.	28 June 1870. Luzern.	WBV 5611.	The original: OSZK, Fond XII/1130, with its envelope. Haraszti, pp. 471-72, Miklos Lukacs, <i>Richard Wagners Werk in Ungarn</i> , in <i>Richard Wagner Festwochen</i> , Dessau, pp. 22-30, Facsimile: the envelope: p. 27, the letter: after p. 27.	WHL-S/25. In 1904 the letter was possessed by the Hungarian National Museum. Haraszti misdated the letter in his book of 27 June, pp. 343-44. Only the Hungarian translation can be found on these pages.	The WBV published the score in a wrong way. The correct score is: Fond 1190/XII. The letter can also be found in Haraszti pp. 343-44, in Hungarian translation.
26. To Theodor Kafka, Vienna. Wagner talks about the Wagner-association of Vienna and Pest.	2 Jan. 1872. Luzern.	WBV 6000.	The original: OSZK. Fond XII/1131. Published: Br Kafka, Nr. 4. pp. 9-10.	WHL-S/26. The original copy is in the Manuscript Collection of the OSZK (SzNL). The WBV published the wrong score. The letter was published by Haraszti	The WBV published a wrong score. The correct one: Fond 1191/XII. The WBV does not mention the German and Hungarian translation in the book of Haraszti.

				in original German, pp. 472-73, and in Hungarian translation, pp. 360-62.	
27. To János (Hans) Richter, into Pest. Thanking letter for the contribution of the musicians of Pest and for the income of the concert organised in favour of Bayreuth.	12 March 1872. Luzern.	WBV 6075.	The original: Hungarian State Opera. Publications: <i>Blätter für Theater, Musik u. Kunst</i> (Wien) 18 (1872), p. 96. <i>NZfM</i> , Bd. 68. (1872), p. 155. Br Künstler, Nr. 5, p. 9, Br Richter, Nr. 47, pp. 97-98, Altmann, 2365.	WHL-S/27. The score in the Remembrance Collection of Museum and Archive of the Hungarian State Opera: 72. 48. 46. Published: <i>Fővárosi Lapok</i> , column; <i>Fővárosi Hírek</i> , 17 March 1872, 63/9, Hungarian translation.	The WBV does not say anything about the publication in the Hungarian paper or the score in the Remembrance Collection of Hungarian State Opera.
28. To Károly Weber, into Békásmegyer. The addressee, who had been a gardener, was the godson of Mihály Mosonyi. In the letter Wagner	22 Oct. 1874. Bayreuth.	WBV 6897.	The locality of the original is unknown. Copy: National Museum, Budapest. Published: Hammerstein, Kap. 5, p. 8. és 40.	WHL-S/28. The copy of the letter is not possessed by the Hungarian National Museum. There had been several letters of Wagner	The WBV marks Békásmegyer as a location. The correct name of the place: Békásmegyer, which was an autonomous settlement in 1874, cur-

<p>thanked for the consignment of wild vine, which Weber sent into Bayreuth. Wagner sent a portrait of himself in gratitude.</p>				<p>which were transferred from the Museum to the OSZK-SzNL, but the aforementioned document was not included. According to Haraszti, the letter was owned by Lady Augustza Weber yet in 1906. In the book of Haraszti, it was published on p. 376, in Hungarian translation. Published by Jenő Péterfi in <i>Magyar Művészeti Almanach (Hungarian Artistic Almanac)</i>, in 1907, VII, pp. 40-41, in German.</p>	<p>rently it is a district of Budapest. The WBV does not mention the publication of Péterfi, created in 1907, in original German, nor talks about the one by Haraszti (in Hungarian).</p>
<p>29. To Peter Dubez, Budapest. Wagner asked Dubez — who was an avowed harpist of his age — to alter</p>	<p>8 Dec. 1874, Bayreuth.</p>	<p>WBV 6925.</p>	<p>The letter's current location is unknown. Published: <i>Neues Budapester Abendblatt</i>, Oct. 1904 in</p>	<p>WHL-S/29. The WBV does not mention that the letter was firstly publicised by the</p>	<p>The WBV does not say anything about the first press publication, nor the one by Haraszti.</p>

the harp-parts in <i>The Rhine Gold</i> , which he thanked for in this letter as well. He also asked Dubez to alter the harp-parts of the <i>The Twilight of the Gods</i> at the same time. In the postscript of the letter Wagner also sent a word to Richter.			German, and in <i>Berliner Börsen-Courier</i> , 19 Oct. 1904, in German. Br Künstler, Nr. 129, pp. 150-51, Altmann, 2603.	Hungarian press in the <i>Zenelap</i> , 20 November 1888, issue no. 25/III. in Hungarian translation. The letter was also published in Hungarian, in the book of Haraszti, pp. 380-81.	
30. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. Among others, the letter (telegramme) also mentions the concert in Budapest, given in favour of Bayreuth.	9 Dec. 1874, Bayreuth.	WBV 6928.	Telegramme. Wien, ÖNB, Handschriften-sammlung, Autogr. 129/65-11. Published: Br Richter, Nr. 63, p. 119.	WHL-S/30.	—
31. To János (Hans) Richter, into Budapest. The Hungarian relation of the letter: Ferenc Liszt conducts his new composition in the concert	29 Dec. 1874, Bayreuth.	WBV 6955.	The current location of the original is unknown. Published: Br Richter, Nr. 64, pp. 119-121.	WHL-S/31.	—

organised for the good of Bayreuth.					
32. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. About the details of the concert in Budapest.	27 Jan. 1875, Bayreuth.	WBV 7008.		The current location of the original is unknown. Dated after Br Richter. Published: Br. Richter, Nr. 66, pp. 122-124.	WHL-S/32. —
33. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. Theme: a poem for the wedding of Richter on 27 January.	27 Jan. 1875, Bayreuth.	WBV 437.	A	The current location of the original is unknown. Published: <i>Gedichte</i> , Nr. 67, pp. 111-12, Br Künstler, Nr. 76, p. 93. SSD, Bd. 12, p. 380, Br Richter, Nr. 67, pp. 124-25.	WHL-S/33. —
34. To Ödön Mihalovich, Budapest. The letter was written in the topic of the Wagner-Liszt concert, to be organised in favour of Bayreuth, in Budapest.	The formation of the letter is unknown. It was probably written in the end of January, 1875 in Bayreuth.	WBV 8896.		The not complete original is in LFZF, in Budapest. Without date. Haraszti, pp. 475-76.	WHL-S/34. The original letter can be found in the LFZF; Score: ML 1287. <u>First publication.</u> The WBV does not mention the Hungarian translation by Haraszti.
35. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest.	20 Feb. 1875. Bayreuth.	WBV 7055.		The current location of the original is unknown.	WHL-S/35. —

The letter includes information about the second visit of Richard Wagner to Hungary.			Copy: Bayreuth, NA, I B n R, Nr. 12. Published: Schembera, <i>Erinnerungen</i> , p. 4, Br Künstler, Nr. 88, pp. 104-5, Altmann, 2657.		
36. To János (Hans) Richter, Budapest. In the letter, Pest and Liszt also come into question.	23 Feb. 1875, Bayreuth.	WBV 7058.	The original: Bayreuth, RWG, Hs 69/VI/4, with its envelope. Published: Br Richter, Nr. 69, p. 128.	WHL-S/36.	—
37. To Károly Weber, Budapest. A short letter of thanks.	10 or 11 March 1875. Written in Budapest.	WBV 439.	A The current location of the original is unknown. Publications: Hammerstein, Kap. 6, p. 5. and 46, Anm. 3.	WHL-S/37. First publication: Péterfi, 1907, VII/p. 40-41. The letter had been first released by Jenő Péterfi, before the publication by Hammerstein, in German.	The WBV does not mention the first place of publication, which was in the <i>Magyar Művészeti Almanach</i> by Péterfi in 1907. However, I have to note that Jenő Péterfi published an incorrect date — 10 May 1875 — as a formation of the letter. Haraszi also released the short letter, but on p. 394. of his book, he

38. To Ferenc Liszt, Budapest. Letter of apology.	24 March 1875. Bayreuth.	WBV 7072.	The current location of the original is unknown. Copy: LFZF. Published: Haraszti, pp. 476-77.	WHL-S/38. Published: Haraszti, pp. 395-97. and pp. 476-77.	renamed Károly Weber to Gusztáv. The WBV does not tell about the Hungarian publication. The copy of the letter which was written by Ödön Mihalovich is possessed by the LFZF, in Budapest, with an envelope enclosed to it. Score: ML 1288. <u>First publication.</u>
39. To Peter Dubez, into Budapest. Repeated invitation to play in the orchestra, which is preparing for the concert organised for the opening of Bayreuth, and for the first performances.	28 May 1875, Bayreuth.	WBV 7061.	The current location of the original is unknown. Published: <i>Neuer Budapester Abendblatt</i> , Oct. 1904, <i>Berliner Börsen-Courier</i> , 19 Oct. 1904, Br Künstler, Nr. 102, pp.119-120. Altmann, 2697.	WHL-S/39. Published in <i>Zenelap</i> , 20 Nov. 1888, a 25/III, in Hungarian. Haraszti, pp. 400-401.	The WBV does not talk about the first press publication, which was released in the <i>Zenelap</i> in the Hungarian press, nor the one by Haraszti.
40. To Angelo Neuman. The	11 Feb. 1883.	WBV 8713.	The original: Bayreuth	WHL-S/40.	—

last letter of Richard Wagner. In the letter Pest comes into question as well.	Venice.		RWG, Hs 17/51, with its envelope. Published: Wagner's letzter Brief, in: <i>Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt</i> vom 17. 2. 1883 (Jg. 12, Nr. 46), S. 4 (Aus); Juhász, S. 79 (Aus); AMZ 11 (1884), S. 83 (unv.); MK 6 (1906/07), Bil. zu H. 19 (Facs.); Br. Neumann, S. 281-283, Facs. ebd., nach S. 342; Kapp, Biographie, Anh., Nr. 107-109 (Facs.); Kapp, Bilder, S. 156-157 (Facs); Gregor-Dellin, S. 212-213 (Facs). Altmann, 3143.		
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XI. List of Abbreviations

for the Comparison of WBV with My Researches and the List of WHL-S (Wagner's Hungarian Letters-Selection).

The abbreviations correspond with the ones used in WBV.

Altmann	Altmann, Wilhelm, <i>Briefe Wagners nach Zeitfolge und Inhalt: Ein Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte des Meisters</i> , Leipzig, 1905.
Bayreuth NA	Bayreuth, Nationalarchiv.
Bónis Mosonyi II	Bónis, Ferenc, <i>Richard Wagner und sein Komponistenfreund aus Pest: Mihály Mosonyi</i> , in: <i>Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele</i> 1978, H. 6. Siegfried, pp. 11-13, 54-56.
Bónis Liszt- und Wagner	Bónis, Ferenc, <i>Liszt- und Wagner-Briefe an Mosonyi in Kodály's wissenschaftlicher Bearbeitung</i> , in: <i>Die Musikforschung</i> , 4/39, October-December 1986, pp. 317-334.
Br Breitkopf & Härtel	Altmann, Wilhelm, (Hrsg.-Publisher), <i>Richard Wagners Briefwechsel mit seinen Verlegern</i> , Volume 1, <i>Richard Wagners Briefwechsel mit Breitkopf & Härtel</i> , Leipzig, 1911.
Br Bülow	<i>Richard Wagner: Briefe an Hans von Bülow</i> , Jena, 1916.
Br Freunde	Kloss, Erich, (Hrsg.), <i>Richard Wagner: Briefe an Freunde und Zeitgenossen</i> , Leipzig, 1909.
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The current and previous occurrences of the manuscripts and some certified copies of Richard Wagner's letters in Hungary, 2014.

1. *Richard Wagner's letter, which was probably written to Mrs. Bertalan Szemere, née Leopoldina Jurkovich. Addressee: An unknown lady.*

Theme: There are a few words about *Tannhäuser* in the letter.

16 April 1861, Paris-Paris. (Perhaps WBV 8787). WHL-S/7. Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1195/XII. In German.

2. *Richard Wagner's note. Wagner's order regarding postal matters.*

Theme: In the short note Wagner disposes of sending his letters after him to Pest.

18 July 1863, Penzing. WBV A 214, WHL-S/9.

Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1356/XII. In German.

3. *To János Gayer trumpeter. (The First trumpeter of National Theatre).*

Theme: Wagner's registry to orchestral part.

20 July 1863, Pest. WBV A 215, WHL-S/10.

The Remembrance Collection in Museum and Archive of Hungarian State Opera does not have the relic. The score, in which the recommendation was, has been taken to the Manuscript Collection of SzNL, but the page which has the registry of Wagner is not yet there (in 2014).

4. *To Albin Reinel (Reinl, sometimes Reindl) clarinettist. (The First clarinettist of National Theatre).*

Theme: Wagner's registry to the orchestral part.

20 July 1863, Pest. WBV A 216, WHL-S/11.

The Remembrance Collection of Hungarian State Opera does not have the relic. The score, in which the recommendation was, has been taken to the Manuscript Collection of SzNL, but the page which has the registry of Wagner is not yet there.

5. *R. W. to Sámuel Radnótfáy (Nagy).*

Theme: farewell letter. Wagner explained his thanks as well.

1 Aug. 1863, written in Penzing, sent to Pest. WBV 3626, WHL-S/14.

The original is in Remembrance Collection (Museum and Archive) of Hungarian State Opera, Budapest, 72. 47. 45.

6. *R. W. to Mihály Mosonyi.*

Theme: The letter may be about the potential setting of Wagner in Pest.

12 Oct. 1863, written in Penzing, sent to Pest. WBV 3669, WHL-S/18. Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1192/XII.

CERTIFIED COPY:

7. *R. W. to Mihály Mosonyi.*

Theme: Wagner tells about the 10 and 13 June, 1865 performances of '*Tristan and Isolde*'. Mosonyi did not see those performances.

14 June 1865, written in Munich sent to Pest. WBV 4215, WHL-S/20. Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1193/XII.

8. *R. W. to Sámuel Radnótfáy.*

Theme: Wagner thanks and refuses the invitation to the premiere of *Lohengrin* in Pest.

26 Nov. 1866, Luzern-Pest. WBV 4607, WHL-S/21. Széchenyi National Library (SZNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1194/XII.

9. *Richard Wagner to his Hungarian friends.*

Recipients: Friedrich Altschul, Imre Bellovics, Johann Nepomuk Dunkl, Josef Ellinger, Mihály Mosonyi, Gyula Rózsavölgyi, Rudolf Schweida, (Jenő) 'Szoupper' (Szupper, Soupper).

Theme: thanking letter.

23 May 1869, written in Luzern sent to Pest. WBV 5304, WHL-S/23.

The original is in LFZF, Budapest. Score: ML 1285. The original will be published in the columns of this Ph. D. Thesis the first time in Hungary.

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10. *The addressee of the letter: Venerated King's Councillor!*

Richard Wagner addressed the letter to Sámuel Radnótfáy, but the intendant died on 9 October, 1869.

Theme: Wagner suggests János (Hans) Richter to be the chief music director of the National Theatre.

31 March 1870, written in Luzern sent to Pest. WBV 5543, WHL-S/24. The original can be found in the Manuscript Collection of Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK). Score: Archives (Levelestár)/Richard Wagner's letter to Radnótfáy Sámuel.

11. *R. W. to Ferenc Erkel.*

Theme: In the letter Wagner thanks for the emoluments he got for *Tannhäuser* and explains the reason why he did not let the 'new version' of *Tannhäuser* be performed in the National Theatre.

28 June 1870, written in Luzern sent to Pest. WBV 5611, WHL-S/25. Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1190/XII.

12. *R. W. to Theodor Kafka.*

Theme: There are a few lines about the Wagner-Society in Vienna and Pest.

2 Jan. 1872, written in Luzern sent to Vienna. WBV 6000, WHL-S/26. Széchenyi National Library (SzNL-OSZK), Budapest, Manuscript Collection, Fond 1191/XII.

13. *R. W. to János (Hans) Richter.*

Theme: Thanking letter about the income received from the concert organised for Bayreuth and also thanks for the ministration of the musicians.

12 March 1872, written in Luzern sent to Pest. WBV 6075, WHL-S/27. Remembrance (Memory) Collection of Hungarian State Opera, Budapest, 72. 48. 46.

14. *R. W. to Ödön Mihalovich.*

Theme: The letter was written about the Wagner-Liszt Society concert organised for Bayreuth.

The formation of the letter is unknown. It was probably written in the end of January, 1875 in Bayreuth. Sent to Budapest. WBV 8896, WHL-S/34. The original copy can be found in the LFZF, Score: ML 1287.

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15. CERTIFIED COPY:

R. W. to Franz (Ferenc) Liszt.

Theme: apologetic letter.

24 March 1875, written in Bayreuth, sent to Budapest, WBV 7072, WHL-S/38.

The specimen of the letter with an envelope, which was copied by Ödön Mihalovich, is now in the property of LFZF in Budapest. (ML 1288).

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- The poster of *László Hunyadi*. (Posters in Theatre Historical Section, on the day of the premiere; 27 January 1844).
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- The premiere-poster of *Tristan*. 28 Nov. 1901.
- The premiere-poster of *Parsifal*. 1 Jan. 1914.

Photos and Musical examples

1. Ferenc Erkel's lithography. Ágoston Canzi, from 1861, in Hungarian National Museum. (Add. 1).
2. János Bihari, *Hatvágás verbunk, 'Lassú'*.
Source: *Veszprémi Táncgyűjtemény*, 13/3 June 1824. (Add. 2.).
3. Franz Liszt: *Zum Andenken (Zwei ungarische Werbungstänze von László Fáy und János Bihari)* — Variation allegro molto agitato. Source: *Freie*

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4. Ferenc Erkel: *László Hunyadi; Palotás*. (Add. 3.). Here also see Ex. 1: 'Hungarian scale', Ex. 2: The coriamb, Ex. 3: 'Bokázó cadence'.

5. Photo, Ede Reményi in 1887. Private property. (Add. 4.).

6. Ábrányi's photo in *Irodalom és tudomány* by Ernő Vende in *Magyarország vármegyei és városai*, Budapest, (Arcanum Kiadó), 2004, p. 201. (Add. 5.).

7. Mosonyi's picture. The lithography of Marastoni from 1861 in *Zene és zenekutúra* by Margit Prahács in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet*, Volume V, Budapest, (Arcanum Kiadó), 2003. (Add. 6.).

8. Richard Wagner and his friends. Photo. Sources: Curt von Westernhagen, *Wagner, a Biography*, Translated by Mary Whittal, New York, (Cambridge University Press), 1978, Volume II, chapter 25, *München*, Haraszti, between p. 312. and 313, and Ferenc Bónis, *Richard Wagner und sein Komponistenfreund aus Pest: Mihály Mosonyi* in *Richard Wagner: Des Ring der Nibelungen 1876-1978, Programmhefte der Bayreuther Festspiele 1978*, Hrsg. von Wolfgang Wagner, July 1978, p. 26. (Add. 8.).

9. The poster of Richard Wagner's first Hungarian concert. Pest, 23 July 1863. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 244-45. (Add. 12.).

10. The poster of Richard Wagner's second Hungarian concert. Pest, 28 July 1863. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 264-65. (Add. 15.).

11. The thirteenth composition of the second volume of *Tanulmányok zongorára, a magyar zene előadása képzésére (Studies for the Piano, for the Improvement of Hungarian Music)* by Mihály Mosonyi.

Adagio assai (Andalogva), Melankolisch, in the style of Fatyal (Fatyal modorában). Source: Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Kutatókönyvtára, (The Research-Library of Liszt Academy), RGY(Z) 1622/2, pp. 9-11. (Add. 19.).

12. The poster of the Hungarian premiere of *Lohengrin*. Pest, 1 Dec. 1866. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 332-333. (Add. 25.).

13. The followers and friends of Ferenc Liszt and Richard Wagner. Photo. Source: The photo of Ferenc Kozmata, 1873, Budapest. Source: Archives of Kalocsa Archbishopric. (Add. 28.).

14. The poster of the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in National Theatre on 11 March 1871. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 346-47. (Add. 31.).

15. The poster of the premiere of *Flying Dutchman* in National Theatre Pest, 10 May 1873. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 370-71. (Addendum 37.).
 16. The poster of the premiere of *Rienzi*. 24 Nov. 1874, Buda-Pest. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 378-79. (Addendum 39.).
 17. The poster of Richard Wagner's concert in Budapest. 10 March 1875. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 392-93. (Addendum 42.).
 18. The poster of '*Mastersingers*'. 8 Sept. 1883, Budapest. Source: Haraszti, between pp. 410-11. (Addendum 46.).
 19. The premiere-poster of *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*. 26 Jan. 1889, Hungarian Royal Opera House. Conductor: Gustav Mahler. (In Hungarian). Add. 47.
 20. The premiere-poster of *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*. 27 Jan. 1889, Hungarian Royal Opera House. Conductor: Gustav Mahler. (In Hungarian). Add. 48.
 21. The premiere-poster of *Siegfried*. 9 Apr. 1892, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Conductor: Josef Rebiček (Rebicsek József). Add. 49.
 22. The premiere of the '*Ring*' as a cycle. From 30 Jan. to 4 Feb. 1893 in Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. The premiere-poster of *The Rhine Gold (A Rajna kincse)*. Add. 50.
 23. The premiere-poster of *The Valkyrie (A walkür)*. 31 Jan. 1893, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Add. 51.
 24. The premiere-poster of *Siegfried*. 2 Feb. 1893, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Add. 52.
 25. The premiere-poster of *Twilight of the Gods (Az istenek alkonya)*. 3 Feb. 1893, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Add. 53.
 26. The premiere-poster of '*Tristan*'. 28 Nov. 1901, Hungarian Royal Opera House. In Hungarian. Add. 54.
 27. Mimi Berts as Brangäne on the premiere of *Tristan and Isolde*. 28 Nov. 1901, Hungarian Royal Opera House.
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28. The premiere-poster of *Parsifal*. 1 Jan. 1914. 'Népopera' (Folk Opera). (Today the Erkel Theatre in Budapest). Conductor: Frigyes Reiner. Director: Adolf Mérei(y), scenery: Loeffler. Add. 56.

29. The premiere-poster of *Parsifal*. 1 June 1924, Hungarian Royal Opera House. The translation which was based on the work of István Kereszty was completed by Viktor Lányi. Conductor: István Kerner, director: László Márkus. From the Andor Tiszay-Collection, with the permission of 'Tudásközpont', Győző Csorba Regional Library, Pécs, Music Section, Add. 57.
30. Two scenery-designs of *Parsifal* (1924) by László Márkus.
1. *Varázskert* (*Magic Garden*, I. act, I. scene), KE 4643.
 2. *Tavaszi rét* (*Vernal Meadow*, III. act, I. scene), KE 4646. Both are in Széchenyi National Library, Theatre Historical Section. With the permission of SZNL THS. Add. 58.
31. Recommendation in a *Siegfried's* score. Wagner to Liszt. Mus pr. 9. 867. SZNL, THS. Add. 59.



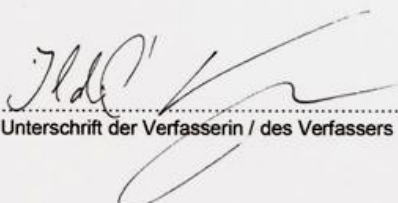
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Erklärung

Hiermit bestätige ich, dass mir der *Leitfaden für schriftliche Arbeiten an der KUG* bekannt ist und ich diese Richtlinien eingehalten habe.

Graz, den 23. Oktober 2014


Unterschrift der Verfasserin / des Verfassers