

Péter Bozó: Operetta in Hungary, 1859–1960*

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Origins and First Attempts

Like in Vienna and in London, the beginnings of the genre operetta in Hungary are related to the appearance of Jacques Offenbach's (1819–1880) works. It was due to the guest performances of Austrian actors that the Hungarian public was able to get to know the French musician's one-acters featuring two or three characters and his full-evening *opéra-bouffes*: it was in the summer of 1859 that the company of the Vienna Carl-Theater performed *Hochzeit bei Latemenschlein (Le Mariage aux lanternes)* for the first time in the Buda Summer Theatre which served the entertainment of the German-speaking public at that time making up the majority of the Hungarian capital. The Kolozsvár (Cluj/Klausenburg) company of Mihály Havi (1810–1864) performed the same piece in Hungarian already during the same year, first in Brassó (Braşov/Kronstadt), later at the end of that year in Kolozsvár. It is a sign of the popularity of the new musicotheatrical genre that in July 1861 the company of Offenbach's Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens gave guest performances in the Pest Hungarian National Theatre in French. It was almost at the same time as the French operettas that the similar pieces of the first Viennese authors – the Dalmatian Suppé (1819–1895) and the Croatian Zajc (1832–1914) – appeared in Hungary.

The scene of the first Hungarian-language operetta performances between 1860 and 1864 was partly the Pest National Theater, where Kálmán Szerdahelyi (1829–1872) played an important role as translator, stage director and singing actor. The first Hungarian Theater specializing expressly in entertaining genres was the short-lived Buda Folk Theater (1861–1864; 1867–1870) of György Molnár (1830–1891), following Parisian models. Beside Buda and Pest, the major provincial towns – particularly Kolozsvár and Kassa (Košice/Kaschau) – also played a leading role in the formation of the Hungarian cult of operetta at that time. It was mainly in Kassa that the first actor member of the Latabár dynasty, Endre Latabár (1811–1873) worked, also as theater director and translator of operetta books. The first performance of the Hungarian *Szép Heléna* translated by Latabár in Kassa in March 1866 may have been in all likelihood the first Hungarian performance of the piece in Hungary – it should be noted, however, that the German version, *Die schöne Helena* received its premiere already one month earlier in the Pest German Stadttheater.

The authors of the first Hungarian operetta attempts – Géza Allaga (1841–1913),¹ Jakab Jakobi (1827–1882)² and Károly Huber (1828–1885)³ – were pre-eminently theater musicians (although Allaga and Huber were also active as professors at the Pest National Conservatory [Zenede], what is more, Huber as the head of the Violin Faculty of the Budapest Music Academy as well). Their works – if they survive at all – show that they tried to mingle the traditions of the more provincial *népszínmű* (folk play) genre with the foreign models of operetta. For example, Allaga's work, *A szerelmes kántor* (The clerk in love, first perf. in the Buda Folk Theater in 1862) mentioned in the literature as the first Hungarian operetta is nothing else than a funny *népszínmű* with interpolated folk-like songs.

The early Hungarian operettas, however, did not meet with *éclat*, not even at the domestic public. The pieces imported from abroad – particularly those coming from Paris – were far more successful. The repertoire of the 1870s was dominated by a new type of operetta, differing from the Offenbachian satires and parodies: the "historical" operetta, represented first and foremost by the pieces of Charles Lecocq (1832–1918). The Austrian pieces were initially not popular in Hungary, despite the fact that from 1871 Johann Strauss Jr (1825–1899) also composed numerous works of this kind, among them *Der Zigeunerbaron* (first perf. Vienna, Theater an der Wien, 1885; in Budapest in the same year in the Gyapjú Street German Theater [Deutsches Theater in der Wollgasse]), a piece based on a novel by the Hungarian writer Mór Jókai (1825–1904) and reflecting the spirit of the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise. During the 1880s some representatives of the British Savoy opera were also performed in Hungarian; from these pieces only an exotic one playing in Japan, *The Mikado* (first perf. London, Savoy Theatre, 1885; in the Budapest Folk Theater in 1886), by Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) proved to be successful.

The End of the Nineteenth Century

It was with the 1875 foundation of the Folk Theater that Hungarian folk-play and operetta found a permanently independent home in Budapest for the first time. The institutional coexistence of the two genres had a great impact on the burgeoning Hungarian version of operetta: the star prima donna of the Folk Theater, Lujza Blaha (1850–1926)⁴ cultivated both genre, similarly to the majority of the operetta composers active at this institution. The Hungarian operetta composers of the last third of the nineteenth century – Ferenc Puks (1839–1887),⁵ Elek

Erkel (1843–1893),⁶ József Konti (1852–1905),⁷ Lajos Serly (1855–1939),⁸ Dezső Megyeri (1857–1913),⁹ Béla Hegyi (1858–1922),¹⁰ Szidor Bátor (1860–1929),¹¹ Jenő Sztojanovits (1864–1919)¹² és Béla Szabados (1867–1936)¹³ – however, failed to create a specific, exportable Hungarian operetta style. The most successful works were composed by Konti, a Polish-born composer of Jewish origin, earlier also active in Vienna and Salzburg; particularly successful were his *Az eleven ördög* (The living devil; first Hungarian perf. in the Buda Summer Theater [Nyári Színpark], 1884) and *A suhanc* (The stripling; first perf. in the Budapest Folk Theater, 1888). Both pieces are adaptations of French books, and the charm of Lujza Blaha playing the trouser role of a young boy played a decisive role in the popularity in both cases. Nevertheless, the glorious national past did not meet a big success: the pieces playing in the glorious past of the Hungarian nation, following the example of Lecocq's historical operettas – such as Huber's *A király csókja* (The king's kiss, first perf. in the Budapest Folk Theater, 1875), evoking the time of Matthias Corvinus, or *Székely Katalin* by Elek Erkel (first perf. in the Budapest Folk Theater, 1880) whose plot takes place under the reign of Zsigmond Báthory, Duke of Transylvania – did not become popular. It happened only in the second half of the 1890s that operettas by Hungarian authors began to appear on the program of the Vienna theaters. One of the first such pieces were *A kis alamuszi* (The little handdog, first perf. in the Budapest Folk Theater in 1894; in the Vienna Carl-Theater in 1896 as *Der kleine Duckmäuser*) by József Bokor Jr (1861–1911)¹⁴ and *Der Löwenjäger* (The lion hunter; first perf. in the Vienna Theater an der Wien in 1896; in the Budapest Folk Theater in 1897 as *Az oroszlánvadász*) by György Verő (Hugo Hauer; 1857–1941).¹⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century, Budapest had developed to a metropolis with 733 000 inhabitants and became unequivocally the center of the Hungarian operetta production. The assimilation of German-speaking population and the formation of the private theater system took place simultaneously with the process of urbanization. In Buda, German-language performances were banned already in 1870; after this decision the Castle Theater (Várszínház) and the Summer Theater became Hungarian-language theaters. In Pest in the Gyapjú Street, however, a German Theater was working right until 1889, where the stars of Viennese operetta like Marie Geistinger (1836–1939) or Alexander Girardi (1850–1918) regularly appeared. It is a sign of the trend of assimilation that in 1889 the City Park Theater (Városligeti Színpark) of Sigmund Rosenfeld (1849–1939) – who magyarized his name to Zsigmond Feld – also became a Hungarian-language stage. Due to the Hungarian Theater (Magyar Színház) established in 1897 Budapest gained a further Hungarian-language stage and the audience was frequently able to visit operetta performances also in the Gaiety Theater (Vígyszínház) open in 1896.

At the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

The period between 1900 and 1918 can be regarded without doubt as the heyday of Hungarian operetta. The works of the composers active at the beginning of the century – Franz/Ferenc Lehár (1870–1948),¹⁶ Ákos Buttykai (1871–1935),¹⁷ Pongrácz Kacsóh (1873–1923),¹⁸ Jenő Huszka (1875–1960),¹⁹ Albert Szirmai (1880–1967),²⁰ Béla Zerkovitz (1881–1948),²¹ Imre/Emmerich Kálmán (1882–1953),²² Victor Jacobi (1883–1921)²³ – were mostly played also in Vienna. So much so that Lehár and Kálmán can rightly be regarded as representatives of an Austro-Hungarian school of operetta, since the premieres of their works mostly took place in Vienna, and it was only thereafter that they were translated into Hungarian.

The 1905 premiere of *Die lustige Witwe* in the Theater an der Wien preceded the 1906 first Hungarian performance of *A víg özvegy* in the Budapest Hungarian Theater; and *Die Csárdásfürstin* that later became a Hungarian national operetta, was premiered earlier in the Vienna Johann-Strauss-Theater in 1915 than *A csárdáskirályné* in the Budapest Király Theater (Király Színház) in 1916. *Style hongrois* and Gypsy music became an important component part also in the Viennese operetta, and proved very popular. What is more, Lehár Kálmán, Szirmai and Jacobi – the latter three students of the Budapest Academy of Music – made a real international career: some of their works were played even in the New York Broadway theaters.

Not only the Hungarian operetta composers were able to get on abroad: Vilmos (Wilhelm) Karczag (Krammer; 1859–1923),²⁴ who from 1901 was director of the Theater an der Wien, later from 1908 the Raimund-Theater in Vienna, was equally successful as an impresario and as a publisher. Hungarian operetta primadonnas like Ilka Pálmay (1859–1945),²⁵ Juliska Karczag née Kopácsy (1871–1957),²⁶ Sári Fedák (1880–1955)²⁷ and Emmi Buttykai née Kosáry (1889–1974)²⁸ were also popular outside Hungarian-speaking regions. The activity of composers and performers was helped by prolific and accomplished Hungarian librettists and translators: Jenő Heltai (Herzl; 1871–1957),²⁹ Béla Jenbach (1871–1943),³⁰ Jenő Faragó (Frankfurter; 1873–1940),³¹ Miksa Bródy (1875–1924),³² Ferenc Martos (Mittelmann; 1875–1938),³³ Adolf Mérei (Merkl; 1877–1918),³⁴ Árpád Pásztor (Pickler; 1877–1940),³⁵ Károly Bakonyi (1873–1926),³⁶ Imre Földes (Fleischmann; 1881–1958),³⁷ Andor Gábor (Greiner; 1884–1953).³⁸

The first two theater successes of the beginning of the century, *Bob herceg* by Huszka (Prince Bob, first perf. in the Budapest Folk Theater in 1902), and *János vitéz* by Kacsóh (Heroe John, first perf. in the Budapest Király Theater in 1904) still followed the nineteenth-century tradition: the title role of both pieces was created by the primadonna in trouser, Sári Fedák. Trousing roles, however, became more and more outdated and the "dramaturgy of four-in-hand" took increasingly over, in which the plot of the piece centered round two couples, the

primadonna–bonvivant and the soubrette–comic. As Moritz Csáky pointed out, the subject choice of operettas truly reflected the ethnic and cultural variety and the social class differences of the Habsburg monarchy, but unlike the reality the conflicts between the protagonists dissolved in fairy-tale-like happy end. The changes of the Budapest theater landscape show the popularity of the genre: it was in 1903 that the Király Theater specialized for operetta was open; many operettas were given in the Folk Opera (Népopera; from 1917: Municipal Theater [Városi Színház]) founded in 1911; and operettas were regularly performed in the cabarets and music halls of the capital city as well. The Folk Theater, however, was not able to endure the competition and stopped in 1908; the Hungarian Theater in turn became a spoken theater already in 1907.

Between the Two World Wars

The dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy and the historical Hungarian State after the end of the First World War resulted in new conditions also for the operetta. It shows the vitality of the Budapest theater industry that after becoming independent from Vienna, the Hungarian capital was able to become an autonomous center of international entertainment as equal partner of such metropolises as Berlin and New York. The series of operetta theaters was broadened by new ones: in 1919 the Revue Theater (Revü Színház) was established, which also had a summer theater (Scala Theater) and later, between 1921 and 1925 worked as Blaha Lujza Theater. In 1922 the Capital City Operetta Theater (Fővárosi Operettszínház) was established, which also had a secondary theater building between 1929 and 1933 under the name Summer Operetta Theater (Nyári Operettszínház). This is remarkable even if we take into account that in 1936 two institutions of long tradition consecrated to the genre, the Buda Summer Theater and the Király Theater ceased. Operetta acquired, however, new media due to the radio broadcasts started in 1925 and to the sound-films produced from 1931.

The composers starting their career or mostly active in the period between the two World Wars – Dénes Buday (1890–1963),³⁹ Pál Ábrahám (1892–1960),⁴⁰ Mihály Krasznay (Krausz; 1897–1940),⁴¹ Mihály Eisemann (Egresi; 1898–1966),⁴² Lajos Lajtai (1900–1966),⁴³ Pál Gyöngy (1902–1990),⁴⁴ Miklós Brodszky (Nicholas Brodsky; 1905–1958)⁴⁵ and Szabolcs Fényes (1912–1986)⁴⁶ – composed works whose style was decisively influenced by the new international style of entertaining music, the jazz, and by its new dances: the tango, the shimmy, the charleston, the foxtrot and the slow “English waltz”, the valse Boston. Beside the jazz operetta – for example *Miss Amerikaby* Eisemann (first perf. in the Capital City Operetta Theater in 1929) or *Viktória* by Ábrahám (first perf. in the Király Theater in 1930) – the genre called “sad operetta” by Dezső Kosztolányi, in which the obligatory happy end is omitted, and which is characterized by serious, operatic style, can be regarded as a new type of operetta. Several works by the late Lehár can be rated to this type, for example *Das Land des Lächelns* (The land of smiles, revised version of *Die gelbe Jacke* [The yellow jacket]; first perf. in the Berlin Metropoltheater in 1929; in the Budapest Hungarian Royal Opera House in 1930 as *A mosoly országa*). Hungarian operetta remained a saleable item of export abroad also during the 1920s and 30s: world premieres of pieces by Ábrahám took place in Leipzig (*Die Blume von Hawaii* [The flower of Hawaii], 1931), in Berlin (*Ball im Savoy* [Ball at the Savoy], 1932), in Vienna (*Dschainah, das Mädchen im Tanzhaus* [Dshainah, the girl from the dance house], 1931; *Märchen im Grand-Hotel* [A tale in the Grand Hotel], 1934); *Tonton* by Lajos Lajtai was first performed in Paris (1935). Hungarian operetta performers like Gitta Alpár (1900–1991),⁴⁷ Rózsi Bársony (1909–1977)⁴⁸ and Marika Röck (1913–2004)⁴⁹ continued to be popular abroad. It should be noted that the flight from Nazism played an important role in the international career of numerous Hungarian operetta composers and performers of Jewish origin. Much of those who remained at home did not survive the Second World War, like Mihály Nádor (Neubauer; 1882–1944).⁵⁰ who made international success with his operetta entitled *Offenbach* (first perf. in the Budapest Király Theater in 1920).

After the Second World War

The vicissitudes of operetta and its cultivators did not come to an end after the termination of the Second World War. With the establishment of the Stalinist dictatorship theaters were nationalized in 1949 and in Sovietized Hungary operetta from an entertaining genre became a vehicle of propaganda. Following the nationalization, a new operetta theater was created under the name Capital City Gaiety Theater (Fővárosi Vígyszínház, 1951–1954). The Capital City Operetta Theater, which for a short time also acquired a second building (Blaha Lujza Theater, 1954–1960) became the leading workshop of operetta under the directorship of Margit Gáspár (1949–1956).⁵¹ Its productions were regularly performed also in the provincial municipal theaters, and the operetta dump of the solitary rural small villages was provided by the State Village Theater (Állami Faluszínház; from 1955: State Mrs Déry Theater [Állami Dériné Színház]). A number of radio and film operettas were also created, of course likewise reflecting the obligatory optimism of the period – *Zengő erdő* (Resounding forest, 1951) by Ferenc Farkas (1905–2000)⁵² belongs to the first category, *2x2 néha 5* (Two times two is sometimes five, 1954) to the latter. Though regular television broadcasting began only in 1958, an attempt for creating a television operetta (*Eljegyzés lámpafénynél* by Offenbach) was already made in 1957.

The repertoire of the socialized Capital City Operetta Theatre differed significantly from that of the earlier private theatres: from the works by foreign authors only the pieces by Soviet people and those by authors from the Eastern Bloc were played, first of all the operettas (*The Free Wind, Trembita*) by Dunajevsky (1900–1955) and

Milyutin (1903–1968). The new works by Hungarian authors followed pre-eminently the Soviet model. At the same time, however, the productions stood for use and appropriate the undiminished popularity of the stars of inter-World War boulevard theatre tradition (Kálmán Latabár [1902–1970],⁵³ Hanna Honthy [Hajnalka Hügel; 1893–1978]⁵⁴) – as Gyöngyi Heltai has pointed out. The first Hungarian Socialist Realist operetta was *Aranycsillag* [The golden star; first perf. in 1950]; its libretto was largely written by György Hámos (1910–1976),⁵⁵ its music by Endre Székely (1912–1989).⁵⁶ *Boci-boci tarka* (Spotted, spotted cow, cow; first. perf. in 1953), a kolkhoz operetta by Ottó Vincze (1906–1984),⁵⁷ was made in a similar spirit; written by Mátyás Csizmarek⁵⁸ and Ernő Innocent Vincze,⁵⁹ the libretto of this operetta, in which two living calves also acted, treated the subject of class struggle in the village and that of the collectivization of agriculture. A specific feature of Socialist Realist operettas is the simultaneous use of the old operetta style and that of the heroic mass songs, furthermore, in certain cases also that of the folksong arrangements and folkloristic style following Kodály's instruction. Most of them met no success; *Állami áruház* (first perf. in 1952) by János Kerekes (1913–1996),⁶⁰ whose film version mixing didactic and entertaining elements proved to be surprisingly popular, is an exception. The classics of the genre, the works by Offenbach, Lehár and Imre Kálmán were allowed to be performed only after careful rewriting of the librettos. One of them, the adaptation of *A csárdáskirálynő* (The Gypsy princess; perf. in 1954) made by István Békeffy and Dezső Kellér met a tremendous success – not only in Hungary but during the guest performance of the Capital City Operetta Theatre (1955/56) also in Moscow and Leningrad. Operetta continued to be produced under state control for a while after the 1956 revolution as well; for example, *Bástyasétány 77* (Bastion promenade 77) by Mihály Eisemann, first performed in 1957 in Szeged, in which jazz (in earlier years condemned as imperialist and prohibited) played an important role again, was a big success. From the end of the 1950s, however, with the advent of new trends of popular music, operetta became more and more old-fashioned genre; its function was taken over by the musical. During the 1959 production of *La Belle Hélène* in the Capital City Operetta Theatre, the Spartan youngsters already danced rock and roll – for great astonishment of the critics; the 1960 opening of the Petőfi Theatre specialized for musical likewise signaled the beginning of a new period of entertaining music theatre.

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Notes

* This study was written with the support of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA), as part of the postdoctoral research program entitled “Operetta in Hungary” (PD 83524). The English version was prepared as part of the so-called Lendület (Momentum) program (No. 80806) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

¹ *Budai Népszínház másodévi emlénye 1862-ik évről* [Almanach of the Buda Folk Theater for the second year, 1862] (Pest: Herz, 1862); *Vasámapi Újság* 9/17 (27 April 1862), 204.; *A pécsi színház naplója 1865/6* [Almanach of the Pécs Theater, 1865/66] (Pécs: Lyceumi Nyomda, 1865); *Operaház* 1885–1886; Pallas, I, 384.; Révai, I, 373.; *A Zene* 5/7 (September 1913), 149. [obituary]; Schöpflin, I, 41–42.; Lajos Koch, „Allaga Géza. Születése századik évfordulójára” [Géza Allaga. For the centenary of his birth], *A Zene* 22/12 (1 May 1941), 185–190. (Part 1); 22/13 (15 June 1941), 207–214.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 22. [and Supplement, vol. 6.]; Bartha, vol. I, 55.; *MÉL*, 5.; *BR*, vol. I, 37–38.; Székely, 20.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 88–89.

² *Budai Népszínház harmadévi [sic] emlénye 1863-ik évről* [Almanach of the Buda Folk Theater for the third year, 1863] (Pest: Poldini, 1864); Schöpflin, vol. II, 310.; Székely, 332.

³ He is the father of the Violin virtuoso Jenő Hubay. *Zenede* 1852–1886; *ZAK* 1884–1886; *Zenelap* 1/3 (20 January 1886), 22–23. [obituary]; Pallas, vol. IX, 436–437.; Révai, vol. X, 341–342.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 278–279.; *A Zene* 17/5 (1936. jan. 1.), 74–76.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 756.; *BR*, vol. II, 198.; Székely, 317.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 400.; *ÖML*, vol. II, 810.

⁴ Schöpflin, vol. I, 201–206.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 114.; Bartha, vol. I, 255.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 221.; Székely, 97.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 761.

⁵ *Zenede*, 1883–1884; *Zenelap* 2/19 (18 July 1887), 146. [obituary]; Schöpflin, vol. III, 503.; Bartha, vol. III, 162; Székely, 627.

⁶ *NSZ*, 1862–1875; *Operaház*, 1885; Pallas, vol. VI, 358.; Révai, vol. VI, 646.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 441.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 281.; Bartha, vol. I, 572.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 440.; *BR*, vol. I, 526.; Székely, 192.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 417–418.; *Grove*, vol. 8, 299.

⁷ *Zene- és Színművészeti Lapok* 1/13 (1 July 1893), 111.; Pallas, vol. X, 752.; Révai, vol. XI, 868.; *MZSL*, 502.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 9.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 565.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 965.; *BR*, vol. II, 334.; Székely, 403.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 1064.

⁸ Pallas, vol. XIV, 1062–1063.; Révai, vol. XVI, 761.; Schöpflin, vol. IV, 104–105.; Bartha, vol. III, 358.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 621–622.; *BR*, vol. III, 354.; Ágnes Alpár, *Az Óbudai Kisfaludy Színház, 1892–1934* [The Óbuda Kisfaludy Theatre] (Budapest: OSZMI, 1991) = *Színháztörténeti füzetek* 80.; Székely, 681.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. V, 1119.

⁹ *Zenede*, 1874; Révai, vol. XIII, 552–553.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 230–231.; Bartha, vol. II, 571.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 183.; Székely, 500.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 633.

¹⁰ *ZAK*, 1893; Pallas, vol. VIII, 810.; Révai, vol. IX, 666.; *MZSL*, 354.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 227.; Bartha, vol. II, 181.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 697.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 198.

¹¹ *Zenede*, 1876–1877; *ZAK*, 1893; Pallas, vol. II, 731.; Révai, vol. II, 694.; *MZSL*, 94.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 141.; *A Zene* 11/7 (1 January 1930), 120. [obituary]; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 81. [and Suppl., 8.]; Bartha, vol. I, 187–188.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 141.; *BR*, vol. I, 151.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 511.

¹² *Pester Lloyd* 66/25 (29 January 1919), 7. [obituary]; Schöpflin, vol. IV, 322.; *A Zene* 16/4 (15 November 1934), 42–47.; Bartha, vol. III, 471.; *BR*, vol. III, 474–475.; György Kroó, “Emlékezés Sztojanovits Jenő zeneszerzőre halálának 50. évfordulóján” [In memoriam composer Jenő Sztojanovits for the 50th anniversary of his death; typewritten text of a radio program in the Archive of Hungarian Radio, broadcasted: 21 January 1969, Petőfi Channel]; *Muzsika* 12/3 (March 1969), 21. [= the abbreviated version of Kroó’s above mentioned text]; *MÉL*, vol. II, 803–804.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. VI, 530–531.; *Magyar katolikus lexikon* [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon], ed. by István Diós (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2008), vol. XIII, 496–497.

¹³ *ZAK* 1883–1935; Pallas, vol. XV, 328.; Révai, vol. XVII, 266.; *Zenede* 1928–1937; Schöpflin, vol. IV, 206.; Bartha, vol. III, 431.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 671.; *BR*, vol. III, 426.; Székely, 710.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. VI, 12.; *Grove*, vol. 24, 868.

¹⁴ *Zene- és Színművészeti Lapok* 1/13 (1 July 1893), 111.; Révai, vol. III, 465.; *MZSL*, 132.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 219.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 238.; Székely, 105.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 821.

¹⁵ Szinnyei, vol. XIV, 1138–1139.; Pallas, vol. XVI, 794.; Révai, vol. XIX, 171.; *MZSL*, 946.; Schöpflin, vol. IV, 425–426.; Bartha, vol. III, 598.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 989.; *BR*, vol. III, 600.; Székely, 855.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. VI, 1204.

¹⁶ *Zenede*, 1880; Révai, vol. XII, 602.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 105–106.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 22.; Bartha, vol. II, 434.; *BR*, vol. II, 403.; Max Schönherr, *Franz Lehár. Thematischer Index. Thematic Index* (London: Glocken, 1985); Székely, 451.; *Grove*, vol. 14, 490–493.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 159.; *MGG*, vol. 10, 1491–1498.; *ÖML*, vol. 3, 1244–1245.

¹⁷ *Zenede*, 1887–1888; *ZAK*, 1908–1921 and 1936; Révai, vol. IV, 147.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 295.; *A Zene* 17/2 (2 November 1935), 36–36. [obituary]; *Magyar Zenei Szemle* 1/9 (October 1941), 212–216.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 280.; Bartha, vol. I, 318–319.; *BR*, vol. I, 269.; Székely, 123.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 981–982.; *Grove*, vol. 4, 694.

¹⁸ Révai, vol. XI, 104–105.; *ZAK*, 1924; Schöpflin, vol. II, 347–348.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 528–529.; Bartha, vol. II, 288–289.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 833–834.; *BR*, vol. II, 254–255.; *Grove Opera*, vol. 2, 938.; Székely, 347.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 657.; *Grove*, vol. 1, 30.

¹⁹ *ZAK*, 1893–1905; Révai, vol. X, 413.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 365.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 764.; *BR*, vol. II, 206.; *Grove Opera*, vol. 2, 776–777.; Székely, 319–424.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 400.; *Grove*, vol. 11, 894.

²⁰ *ZAK*, 1903–1905; Révai, vol. XVII, 647–648.; *MZSL*, 854.; Schöpflin, vol. IV, 399.; Bónis Ferenc, “Szirmai Alberttal, emlékeiről” [With Albert Szirmai on his memories], *Magyar Zene* 4/5 (November 1963),

²¹ Révai, vol. XIX, 670.; *MZSL*, 973.; Schöpflin, vol. IV, 463–464.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 1070.; Székely, 861.

²² *ZAK*, 1901–1904; Révai, vol. XI, 163.; *MZSL*, 5.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 356–357.; *Színház- és Filmművészet* 4/11 (November 1953), 528. [obituary]; *MÉL*, vol. I, 845.; *BR*, vol. II, 260.; Székely, 350.; *Grove*, vol. 13, 333–334.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 698–699.; *ÖML*, vol. II, 938–939.; *MGG*, vol. IX, 1413–1414.

²³ *ZAK*, 1904–1905; Révai, vol. X, 733.; *MZSL*, 404.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 789.; Székely, 331.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 516.; *Grove*, vol. 12, 732.

²⁴ Pallas, vol. X, 157–158.; Szinnyei, vol. V, 1025–1027.; Révai, vol. XI, 252–253.; *MZSL*, vol. 452.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 371.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 859.; Székely, 356.; *ÖML*, vol. II, 957.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 743–744.

²⁵ Gróf Kinskyné Pálmay Ilka, *Emlékirataim* [My personal recollections] (Budapest: Singer és Wolfner, 1912); Révai, vol. XV, 119.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 433–435.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 347.; Székely, 588.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. V, 69–70.

²⁶ *ZAK*, 1884–1888; Révai, vol. XII, 13.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 10–11.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 967.; Székely, 405.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 1070.; *ÖML*, vol. II, 957.

²⁷ Révai, vol. VII, 232.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 6–7.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 476–477.; Székely, 206–207.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 548.

²⁸ Révai, vol. XII, 67.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 976.; Székely, 409.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 1103.

²⁹ Révai, vol. IX, 714.; *MZSL*, 357.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 230–233.; *MIL*, vol. I, 451–453.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 705–706.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 790–791.; Székely, 297.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 222–224.

³⁰ Schöpflin, vol. II, 331–332.

³¹ Révai, vol. VII, 181.; *MZSL*, 256.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 470–471.; *MIL*, vol. I, 329.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 464.; Székely, 201.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 555.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 498.

³² Révai, vol. III, 754.; *MZSL*, 141.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 238.; *MIL*, vol. I, 187.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 268.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 289.; Székely, 115.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 939–940.

³³ Révai, vol. XIII, 462.; *MZSL*, 580.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 214–215.; *MIL*, vol. II, 198.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 162.; *ÚMIL*, vol. II, 1337.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 559–560.

³⁴ Schöpflin, vol. III, 236–238.; *MIL*, vol. II, 215.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 191.; *ÚMIL*, vol. II, 1359.; Székely, 503.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 666.

³⁵ Révai, vol. XV, 237.; *MZSL*, 685.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 445.; *MIL*, vol. II, 446–447.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 364.; *ÚMIL*, vol. III, 1584.; Székely, 597.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. V, 151.

³⁶ Révai, vol. II, 463.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 98.; *MIL*, vol. I, 81.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 78.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 91.; Székely, 43.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 277.

³⁷ Révai, vol. VII, 759.; *MZSL*, 285.; Schöpflin, vol. II, 61–62.; *MIL*, vol. I, 361.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 532.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 614.; Székely, 231.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 764.

³⁸ Révai, vol. VIII, 286.; *MZSL*, 301.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 87–88.; *MIL*, vol. I, 373.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 558–559.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 637–638.; Székely, 240.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 862–863.

³⁹ *ZAK*, 1907–1912; Schöpflin, vol. I, 242.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 274.; Bartha, vol. I, 310.; *BR*, vol. I, 259.; Székely, 121.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 962.

⁴⁰ *ZAK*, 1908–1909 and 1914–1917; *MZSL*, 5.; *Film, Színház, Muzsika* 4/20 (13 May 1960), [22].; Bartha, vol. I, 20.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 5.; *BR*, vol. I, 11.; Székely, 13.; *MGG*, vol. 1, 59–61.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 26.; *Grove*, vol. 1, 30.

⁴¹ *ZAK*, 1914–1916; *MZSL*, 514.; Bartha, vol. II, 378.; *ÖML*, vol. 3, 1150.

⁴² *ZAK*, 1920–1923; Schöpflin, vol. I, 397.; Bartha, vol. I, 540.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 416.; *BR*, vol. I, 492.; Székely, 182.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 321–322.

⁴³ Schöpflin, vol. III, 76.; *MZSL*, 520.; Bartha, vol. III, 400.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 16–17.; Székely, 440.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 40.

⁴⁴ Bartha, vol. II, 98.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 388.; *Magyar Zene* 23/3 (September 1972), 279–280.; *BR*, vol. II, 86.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 1168.

⁴⁵ Schöpflin, vol. I, 237.; Bartha, vol. I, 301.; *MÉL*, vol. I, 266.; Székely, 115.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 936–937.; *Grove*, vol. 1, 417–418.

⁴⁶ Bartha, vol. I, 615.; Székely, 218.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 619.

⁴⁷ *ZAK*, 1920–1924; *MZSL*, 35–32.; Schöpflin, vol. I, 44–45.; Szabolcsi-Tóth, vol. I, 23.; Bartha, vol. I, 58.; *Grove Opera*, vol. 1, 97–98.; Székely, 20.; *MGG*, vol. 1, 534–535.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 99.

⁴⁸ Schöpflin vol. I, 131–132.; Székely, 65.

⁴⁹ Székely, 659–660.

⁵⁰ *MZSL*, 624.; Schöpflin, vol. III, 309–310.; Bartha, vol. II, 689.; *MÉL*, vol. II, 261.; Székely, 534.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 917–918.

⁵¹ Székely, 249.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 661.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 936.; Venczel Sándor, “Virágkor tövisekkel. Beszélgetés Gáspár Margittal” [Flourish with thorns: An interview with Margit Gáspár], *Színház* 32/8 (August 1999), 16–21. [Part 1]; 32/9 (September 1999), 39–42. [Part 2]; 32/10 (October 1999), 46–48. [Part 3].

⁵² Bartha, vol. I, 601–602.; *BR*, vol. I, 550–551.; Székely, 202–203.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. II, 512–513.; *Grove*, vol. 8, 569–570.; László Gombos, *Ferenc Farkas* (Budapest: Mágus, 2004) = *Hungarian Composers*, vol. 31.

⁵³ Székely, 448.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. IV, 122–123.

⁵⁴ Székely, 308–309.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 327–328.

⁵⁵ *ÚMÉL*, vol. III, 90.

⁵⁶ *ZAK*, 1935–1937; Bartha, vol. III, 440.; *BR*, vol. III, 437.; *Grove*, vol. 24, 878–879.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. VI, 252–253.

⁵⁷ *ZAK*, 1923–1928, 1934 and 1937; Bartha, vol. III, 610.; *BR*, vol. III, 615.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. VI, 1247–1248.

⁵⁸ *MIL*, vol. I, 217.; *ÚMIL*, vol. I, 374.; *ÚMÉL*, vol. I, 1166.

⁵⁹ Székely, 325.; *MIL*, vol. I, 505.; *ÚMIL*, vol. II, 870.

⁶⁰ Bartha, vol. II, 314.; *BR*, vol. II, 283.; Székely, 374.