

The *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* as Source of Music History: Guest Performers in Context of Pest-Buda, 1857

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The present paper examines the operation of the guest performers through the reception of the 1857 issues of the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*, a daily newspaper of fundamental importance for local music history that has not yet been studied. The newspaper highlights gaps, forgotten yet important details and faded trends in Hungarian music history. With the day by day analysis of the newspaper, the research gradually moved towards an examination of the practices of everyday life,¹ and elaborated the structure of musical life in Pest-Buda in the mid-19th century from a variety of perspectives. The paper offers an example of regional research applying microhistory and *Alltagsgeschichte* as an alternative to national historiography, and as a kind of counter-pole, mainly emphasises the local and regional perspective.² After presenting the circumstances of Pest-Buda and an insight into the period's press material, the paper details the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* as a source, providing two examples as well as the structures of concert critics.

Circumstances in Pest-Buda

Recent press and archival research have shown that a high degree of activity characterized the music life of Pest-Buda during the decade following the revolution of 1848/1849.³ After the revolution, partly due to the centralization efforts, Pest-Buda became the political, economic, social, industrial, infrastructural and cultural center of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴ The mixed social and ethnic popula-

¹ Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Los Angeles–Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

² Joachim Kremer, "Regionalforschung," in *Geschichte der Regionalforschung*. MGG Online, ed. Laurenz Lütteken (RILM, Bärenreiter: Metzler, 2016–); article first published in 2008; article published online in 2016, accessed May 06, 2023, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/401423>.

³ Barbara Boisits, *Musik und Revolution: Die Produktion von Identität und Raum durch Musik in Zentraleuropa 1848/49* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2013).

⁴ Károly Vörös, ed., *Budapest története IV. A márciusi forradalomtól az öszirőzsás forradalomig* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978); Vera Bácskai, Gábor Gyáni, and András Kubinyi, *Budapest története*

tion also had an increased demand for quality cultural life. In 1857, Hungarian statistician Elek Fényes published his work, *Statistics and Geographical Description of the Austrian Empire*.⁵ Regarding the population of Hungary of complex nationality and religion was almost 7.8 million this year, of which more than a hundred thousand lived in Pest, one of the largest cities at that time in the Habsburg Empire.⁶

Concerts played an important role in the development of civic culture. The historian Zoltán Fónagy described local concert halls in the first half of the 19th century as “experimental laboratories” in which the norms of behaviour in public spaces began to emerge and the canons of civic behaviour were established.⁷ In relation to the Hungarian context, Fónagy also referred to the stratification of the musical scene, according to which different genres of music were associated with certain social strata and occasions defined by tradition. Research into the manifestations of these in Pest-Buda is still ongoing. However, it can be assumed that, despite the myth of passive resistance prevalent in the literature, there was a lively musical life in the region, accessible to the widest possible range of social strata.

The period’s audience could find information about everyday public musical events through posters, or the press. Of these, the largest amount of survived material is the period’s press, the examination of which was of primary importance. The beginning of the systematic press processing of music history in Hungary can be traced back to Ferenc Bónis and then to Dezső Legány.⁸ In addition to the press research led by them, the publications of ethnomusicologists have to be mentioned.⁹ Under the framework of *Ferenc Erkel Operas Critical Edition*, started again by Tibor Tallián and then continued by Katalin Kim, the systematic press research continued, inspiring new research questions and activities.¹⁰

a kezdetektől 1945-ig (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2000), *Várostörténeti Tanulmányok* 6, 111–124.

⁵ Elek Fényes, *Az Ausztriai birodalom statisztikája és földrajzi leírása* (Budapest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1857), 23–24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 51–52.

⁷ Zoltán Fónagy, “Zenei nyilvánosság és polgári viselkedéskultúra: A 19. századi hangversenyterem társadalomtörténeti látószögéből,” *Történelmi Szemle* 54/4 (2012): 577–598.

⁸ The catalogue cards of the Hungarian Music History Repository have been digitised and made searchable by the Hungarian Music History Department in the framework of an OTKA project: <http://mzo-cedulakatalogus.zti.hu/>.

⁹ Kata Riskó, “100 cigány hegedűjén Beethoven gyászindulója,” *Magyar Zene* 59/1 (2021): 45–61.; Tari Lujza, “Revolution, War of Independence in 1848/49 and its Remembering in Traditional Music,” in *Musik und Revolution. Die Produktion von Identität und Raum durch Musik in Zentral-europa 1848/49*, ed. Barbara Boisits (Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013), 189–190.

¹⁰ E.g., Katalin Kim, “Demythologizing the Genesis of the Hungarian National Anthem,” *Musico-logica Austriaca* (2021): <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/103>; Pál Horváth,

The recent press and archive research have shown that concerts, musical theatrical performances, dances, musical gatherings took place in the Hungarian capital every day, but there were also musical excursions, promenade concerts and other musical events. The research required meticulous work that may seem unnecessary at first glance, but it was inevitable to map the subject. This meticulous work meant a day-by-day review and process of the period's Hungarian and German language press and its comparison with archive materials. The aim of a database created on the basis of the former question was to process the music life of Pest-Buda in 1857 on the everyday level. For this one year I managed to collect almost 6,000 news, advertisements, reports and critiques from the Hungarian and German-language press material,¹¹ narrowing it exclusively to the musical data of the capital and supplementing it by the data from the city council protocols kept in the Budapest City Archives. Based on this data, from a microhistorical perspective, it can be stated that the individual cultural events appeared in the Hungarian and German-language newspapers with different emphasis. This latter feature was also mentioned by Tibor Tallián regarding the stage of opera in Hungary during the former decades.¹²

About listing the guest performers, the National Theater in Pest is an easier case – a list that can be made based on the surviving archive material. In the case of German theaters, the theatre pocket books also can help, besides the period's press, especially the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*. Based on press, a number of performers and guest performers worth mentioning, for example, the visits of traveling national or folk companies, including the performances of the successful Spanish folk dance company at the National Theater in Pest, or the

“Untying the ‘Musical Sphinx’: Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9 in Nineteenth-Century Pest-Buda,” *Studia Musicologica* 61 (2020): 33–50.; Rudolf Gusztin, “Choral Movement and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Hungary,” in *GLAZBA, UMJETNOSTI I POLITIKA: REVOLUCIJE I RESTAURACIJE U EUROPI I HRVATSKOJ 1815.–1860. Uz 200. obljetnicu rođenja Vatroslava Lisinskog i 160. obljetnicu smrti bana Josipa Jelačića / MUSIC, ARTS AND POLITICS: REVOLUTIONS AND RESTORATIONS IN EUROPE AND CROATIA, 1815–1860 On the Occasion of 200th Anniversary of Vatroslav Lisinski and 160th Anniversary of the Death of Ban Josip Jelačić*, eds. Stanislav Tuksar, Vjera Katalinić, Petra Babić, and Sara Ries (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts Department for the History of Croatian Music – Croatian Musicological Society, 2021), 695–712; Zsolt Vizinger, “Beethoven kései vonósnegyeseinek fogadtatása Pest-Budán a 19. Században,” in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2019–2020* (Budapest: BTK Zenetudományi Intézet, 2021), 173–202.

¹¹ Margit V. Busa, *Magyar sajtóbibliográfia 1850–1867. A Magyarországon magyar és idegen nyelven megjelent valamint a külföldi hungarika hírlapok és folyóiratok bibliográfiája* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1996): <https://www.mek.oszk.hu/03500/03546/03546.htm> (last view: 2021. június 21.); Mária Rózsa, *Deutschsprachige Presse in Ungarn 1850–1920* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2003).

¹² Tibor Tallián, *Schödel Rozália és a hívatásos magyar operajátszás kezdetei* (Budapest: Balassi, 2015).

tour of the popular Tyrolean folk music company for several months. Also worth mentioning the supposedly Viennese singing company, marked by the names of Mutzbauer, Honetz and Lasky, which clearly represented the Wienerlied repertoire on the stage of popular cafés,¹³ the guest performances of singer Babette (Betty) Gundy, or Sigismund Thalberg's student, the pianist Rosa Kastner. In the following, I present the context of the period's press and the background of the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*, then I illustrate the guest performances with three examples: café house, opera, and concert.

The Period's Press

The Hungarian musicology were already aware of the Hungarian and German-language music journalism in Hungary that preceded *Zenészeti Lapok*, the first Hungarian-language music journal.¹⁴ Dezső Legány summarised the state of research on the multilingual music press in Hungary between 1800 and 1840 in a short one-page summary, making the task of researching it seem an almost impossible undertaking.¹⁵ Perhaps this could be the reason why no attempt has been made successfully to publish studies on the press of this period from a music historical point of view. The latter phenomenon creates a paradoxical situation, if only because the press of the period is a primary source in almost all 19th-century music history studies and monographs. It is also worthwhile to look at international research in terms of source evaluation. In the context of RIPM, the content and history of periodicals dealing specifically with music or the arts have been studied so far. However, some studies and research have also focused on the history of a particular journalist or newspaper,¹⁶ such as the *Pressburger Zeitung*, *Pester Lloyd* or even the *Wiener Zeitung*.¹⁷

Data on music history in this period and later are not only available in specialist journals. There are thousands of articles on music every year, as we can see in the case of Pest-Buda in 1857. Where research has looked at musical publicity beyond the music journals, it has generally been in support of the construction of the canon, the “great masters,” the significant figures who have been transposed

¹³ Elisabeth Th. Fritz-Hilscher and Helmut Kretschmer, eds., *Wien Musikgeschichte. Teil 1: Volksmusik und Wienerlied* (Berlin–Münster–Wien–Zürich–London: LIT Verlag, 2005).

¹⁴ Legány Dezső, “Hungarian Periodicals 1800–1840,” *Periodica Musica* 2 (1984): 17; Szerző Katalin, “The Most Important Hungarian Music Periodical of the 19th Century: *Zenészeti Lapok* [Musical Papers] (1860–1876),” *Periodica Musica* 4 (1986): 1–5; Zoltan Roman, “Italian Opera Premieres and Revivals in the Hungarian Press, 1864–1894,” *Periodica musica* 6 (1988): 16–20.

¹⁵ See Legány Dezső, “Hungarian Periodicals 1800–1840,” *Periodica Musica* 2 (1984): 17.

¹⁶ Werner Abegg, “Hanslick, Eduard,” in *MGG Online*.

¹⁷ See RIPM: <https://ripm.org/index.php?page=AllTitles&Type=roi&SortBy=date>.

into historical memory, or the arguments relating to the functioning of cultic phenomena.¹⁸ However, there are exceptions in international research.¹⁹

The MGG's "Zeitschriften" article already highlighted the diversity of genres of music published in the newspapers.²⁰ The article by Imogen Fellinger provides a relevant overview of the definition, use and meanings of the term "press," as well as a comprehensive overview of the history of each region and era.²¹ The *Grove's* "Periodicals," partly written by Fellinger, also deals with musical writings in non-musical journals, providing a comprehensive bibliography for the secondary literature, similarly to MGG.²²

On the basis of the above and the observations made during the research, it is important to bear in mind that music journalism in the 19th century was not a purely critical activity: writing stories, recommendations, reports or editing news are also part of it. A specific feature of the research situation is that longer music reviews, music analyses and biographies were typically sought in music and non-music journals. In most cases, therefore, the researcher's interest in longer, analytical articles did not include short news and advertisements reporting on everyday music life, as their source value and the subject matter of the information were often not considered to be of an important one. This complex research phenomenon, and the way in which research topics are structured and questions are posed, has clearly led to an imbalance in the way in which histories are created. Yet it is precisely the news and advertisements found in this type of source that provide the structure of the public musical life in Pest-Buda, or at least the outline of it, since only a small number of programmes and posters from the period have survived.²³

¹⁸ E.g., William Weber, *Canon Repertories and the French Musical Press: From Lully to Wagner* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021).

¹⁹ Edgar Refardt, *Verzeichnis der Aufsätze zur Musik in den nichtmusikalischen Zeitschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925); Stanisław Papierz, *Muzyka w polskich czasopismach niemuzycznych w latach 1800–1830* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawn. Muzyczne, 1962); Clemens Höslinger, *Musik-Index zur "Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode," 1816–1848* (München: E. Katzbichler, 1980); Yolanda F. Acker, *Música y danza en el Diario de Madrid (1758–1808): noticias, avisos y artículos* (Madrid: Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2007).

²⁰ Imogen Fellinger, "Zeitschriften," in *MGG Online*.

²¹ Imogen Fellinger, *Verzeichnis der Musikzeitschriften des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1968).

²² Imogen Fellinger, Julie Woodward, Dario Adamo et. al., "Periodicals," in *Grove Music Online* (2001), <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000021338>.

²³ An exception is the National Theatre, where the quantity and quality of the surviving source material is exceptional, see the Theatre History and Music Collection of the National Széchényi Library.

With the advance of digitisation, the latter problem seems to be simplified, although it is undoubtedly a time-consuming challenge for researchers to collect, organise and analyse data. Despite this effort, it is still worthwhile to systematically process shorter news, reports and small pieces of information, since shorter reviews or a few apt comments can sometimes tell us more about the policy and orientation of a given journalist or newspaper than longer, analytical articles. However, their analysis does require a more comprehensive approach, which sometimes goes beyond the confines of musicology in the narrow sense.

The quantity and quality of information in the newspapers should also be mentioned here. Non-musical newspapers can publish hundreds or even thousands of music-related news, reviews or advertisements per year, as in the case of *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*. The collection of a year's systematic press material and the micro-historical, analytical comparison of the contents of the various periodicals in relation to the history of the city is a further result of this research.²⁴ I will take the 1857 issues of the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* as a starting point to outline the scenes and opportunities of the Pest-Buda guest performers' activities in a comparative analysis.

***Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* as Source for Music History**

More and more is known about the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* and its editor, Gustav Birnbaum, thanks to the research of recent years. Historians Ágnes Deák and Ágnes Tamás made it clear that the *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*, edited by Birnbaum, was essentially a non-political paper, but that the paper itself was on the list of those supported by the empire. Birnbaum had been a supporter of Viennese politics from the very beginning, just as Birnbaum had received financial support from the imperial capital. The beginning of his relationship with the Press Office (Korrbüro) is unknown, but according to Deák and Tamás's research, Birnbaum's Vienna connections continued even after the end of his paper's support: according to an 1869 census, Birnbaum was one of the confidential correspondents of the Vienna State Police in Hungary.²⁵

²⁴ A similar experiment has been done before. The Swedish musicologists Veslemöy Heintz and Kirsti Grinde analysed the content of the Swedish music paper *Ny tidning för musik* between 1853 and 1857 to reveal the press reception of music in Stockholm, but they did not compare the content and structure of other papers in a single study, and thus did not compare the information content of the differently oriented papers. Veslemöy Heintz, "Ny tidning för musik. Introduction to: Kirsti Grinde, *Ny tidning för musik (1853–1857)*," (RIPM Consortium, 1997), <https://www.ripm.org/pdf/Introductions/TIMIntroEnglish.pdf>.

²⁵ Ágnes Deák and Ágnes Tamás, *Sziszifuszok küzdelme – Kormányzat és sajtópolitika Magyarországon 1860–1875* (Budapest: Kronosz, 2021), 298–299.

The *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* was launched on September 1st, 1850 and ran until 1864.²⁶ According to József Szinnyei, its editor, Gustav Birnbaum (1829–?), was a Budapest-born newspaper writer, author of drama reviews and plays, and a skilled editor, educated at the faculties of arts of the University of Pest and Vienna.²⁷ His name is also on the list of members of the Lloyd Trading Society in Pest: according to the 1853 yearbook, he was a full member.²⁸ Birnbaum was also a regular colour critic of the *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*, the predecessor of the newspaper *Pester Zeitung* until 1852, and was therefore well versed in cultural life.²⁹ In 1857, according to a report in *Pester Lloyd*, he was planning to publish a further publication in addition to the paper, which is described below:³⁰

Entitled “Dramaturgische Blätter aus Oesterreich,” Mr Gustav Birnbaum, editor of the local newspaper, published a collection of the latest dramatic products in various newspapers. The dissemination of an idea expressed in the daily press means that there is little new to be found in the book mentioned, so that it is only the clear compilation of various literary phenomena that is of interest, for which reason we recommend the book.³¹

The latter book was indeed published in 1857, the year under review. It contains a selection of plays and their short histories, including plays performed on the stages of Pest, such as *The Orphan of Lowood*, *Ferdinand Raimund*, and *Kemény Simon*. The texts would typically have been familiar to audiences of the time.³²

However, there is no further mention of Birnbaum in the lexicons. Deák's research shows that in 1865 the number of subscribers to the paper was negligible, presumably because of the political stance of its editor. The press office itself described the publication as “completely insignificant,” but we know that the paper's subscribers included cafés – so perhaps the periodical's impact was not insignificant.

²⁶ Mária Rózsa, *Deutschsprachige Presse in Ungarn 1850–1920*, 2. (Theil: Zeitungen. Bibliographie), 62.

²⁷ József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, I. (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), 1079.

²⁸ *A pesti Lloyd évkönyve az 1853-as évre*, szerk. Weizskircher Károly / *Jahrbuch des Pester Lloyd für 1853*, redigirt durch Karl Weizskircher (Pest: Pesti Lloyd, 1853), 37.

²⁹ Pirooska Szemző, “A Pester Zeitung története,” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 65/3 (1941): 50–68.

³⁰ *Pester Lloyd* (May 27, 1857).

³¹ Unter dem Titel “Dramaturgische Blätter aus Oesterreich” hat Herr Gustav Birnbaum, Redakteur des Lokalblattes, eine Sammlung seiner in verschiedenen Breitungsbüchern erschienenen Aufgabe über Die neuesten Dramatischen Produkte erscheinen Taffen. Die Verbreitung, welche ein auf dem Wege der Tagespresse ausgesprochener Gedanke findet, macht es, daß wir in dem erwähnten Buche nur wenig Neues finden, und es hat somit nur die übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen literarischen Erscheinungen ein Interesse, aus welchem Grunde wir auch das Buch empfehlen können.

³² Gustav Birnbaum, *Dramaturgische Blätter aus Oesterreich* (Wien: Prandel und Meyer, 1857).

At this point, the question arises as to how the editor's political stance was reflected in the magazine and how this is reflected in the publications of a periodical that focuses on music and culture. To what extent is the imperial perspective a more objective lens for music history? Or was the editor of the newspaper guided by purely practical considerations in the organisation of its advertising and content, and in his desire to create a comprehensive, all-embracing press organ in order to generate more revenue? Given the history of the newspaper and its editor, it is a fascinating fact that the *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*, especially its advertisements, is one of the richest sources of music history for reconstructing everyday music life in Pest-Buda. While the *Localblatt* did not overemphasise the national specificities, it did provide its readers with additional perspectives through its advertising columns. This is certainly also due to the typically business-oriented operation of the German-language press in Pest-Buda.³³

Birnbaum could, and did, draw on Viennese models: the layout and organisation of his advertising columns and advertisements recalls that of the *Wiener Zeitung*, rhyming with its practices. The paper, written in printed German Gothic script, consists of a two-column text section and a three-column advertising section. Newspaper issues were most often 4 pages long, but could sometimes run to 10 pages.

Typically focused on cultural life, the periodical regularly reported on balls, dance events, concerts and reunions, and published reviews on its first two pages. In the advertisements section, it has the largest number of music-related advertisements of any paper published this year, providing a detailed reconstruction of the scenes and players in the music scene, as well as a tangential overview of the repertoire played. The advertisements do not, however, provide the programme of the concerts – the latter only occurs in reviews or reports. This content does not typically appear in the advertisements of other periodicals and should also be looked for in the short news section. The periodical offers an insight into the truly turbulent daily life of the music scene, beyond the typically biased reporting of the national movement. From this point of view, this journal presents the diversity of Pest-Buda's theatres and entertainment music scene in all its complexity from an imperial perspective, if not impartially.

³³ János Mátyás Balogh, "Apró hirdetések és apróhirdetések Magyarországon 1850–1900," *Médiakutató* 6/4 (2005): 77–93, https://epa.oszk.hu/03000/03056/00021/EPA03056_mediakutato_2005_tel_04.html.

Peter Meister and the “Tyroler Alpensänger”

The advertisements in the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* allow us to reconstruct an urban musical life that goes beyond the theatrical events and those accessible to the most upper classes to everyday events. Almost 1,000 of the 1,699 advertisements in the newspaper relate to music in the catering industry, including dance events, café music and promenade concerts.

The most frequent performances were those of military bands, gypsy bands or mixed ensembles, contracted to certain restaurants and café houses. Besides other bands, including touring singing societies or “folk music societies” (including Schrammel bands), dance bands, were also to be found in the cafés, beer halls, gardens, and restaurants of Pest-Buda hotels. These included reunions or soirées, and other lighter performances of popular compositions, for which a fee was charged.

In Pest-Buda, 1857, café houses were very fashionable, following European trends. On January 22nd, 1857, the *Hölgyfutár* newspaper reported the following about the situation of cafés in the cities. “There are currently forty-one cafés in the capital for billiards, chess, coffee and amusement. Among these, the ‘Korona,’ ‘Queen of England,’ and ‘Europa’ are the most popular, while the ‘Kammon’ and ‘Fillinger’ are the most lively, owing to the attendance of the bubbling youth.”³⁴ In August, the same newspaper, *Hölgyfutár* wrote of the multiplication of cafés: “The happy nests of the *dolce far niente*, the cafés, are multiplying in the capital, and the number of the more ornate ones, by a closer count, is already up to forty-six.”³⁵

This was the setting for the performance of a Tyrolean musical company, who arrived in Pest-Buda in the last weeks of January 1857, under the direction of Peter Meister. According to the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*’s column entitled “Budapest,” they had already performed in several European cities before their arrival. Nothing more is known about the background or the ensemble itself.³⁶ Soon afterwards, they made their first appearance at the German Theatre in Pest, where they performed a “Gesangs-Produktion” after Georg Starke’s two-act comedy *Der Universal-Erbe*. Their programme and the names of the musicians are partly known, based on advertisements in the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt*. According to the advertisement of January 31st, 1857, the pieces performed by Peter Meister, A. Holzeisen, J. Meickl, J. Tirlir, and L. Gritsch were:

³⁴ “A fővárosban jelenleg negyvenegy kávéház áll szolgálatára a billiárd, sakk, kávé és gondüzés kedvelőinek. Ezek közt a ‘Korona’ Angol királynő’ és ‘Europa’ legkedveltebbek, míg a ‘Kammon’ és ‘Fillinger’ a pezsgő ifjúság látogatása miatt a legélénkebbek.” *Hölgyfutár* (January 22, 1857).

³⁵ “A dolce far niente boldog fészkei, a kávéházak, a fővárosban egyre szaporodnak, s a díszesebbek száma – közelebbi összeszámítás szerint, már is negyvenhatra megy.” *Hölgyfutár* (August 8, 1857).

³⁶ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (January 25, 1857). This is also where the news was picked up by *Hölgyfutár*, which announced the arrival of the company two days later.

Die Sänger auf Reisen. Quintett mit Jodler;
Die Gemsenjäger. Quartett (schwedische Melodie);
Vorträge auf der Zither;
Der schöne Jäger Bua. Quintett mit Jodler;
Tyrol mein Vaterland. Solo mit Chor;
Mein Schatz auf der Alpe. Quintett mit Jodler;
Die lustigen Tyroler. Quintett;
Vorträge auf der Eigelira;
Der Tod des Andreas Hofer. Baß-Solo mit Chor.³⁷

Tyrolean musicians and bands, altogether with their repertoire toured throughout the empire in the first half of the 19th century, small bands playing the zither and yodelling, as well as Styrian music was present in the Central European region in forms of touring companies.³⁸

At the end of January and the first week of February 1857, the company led by Peter Meister performed not only at the German Theatre in Pest, but also at the Castle Theatre in Buda,³⁹ but they also played at cafés and restaurants, especially after February 15th and 16th, when they had a performance at the Salon Stippanitz. These performances had an interesting feature: the five Tyrolean performed together with a military orchestra, the k.k. 35 (Khevenhüller) infantry regiment, where a concerto for oboe was also part of the program.⁴⁰ Unfortunately we have no other information regarding the repertoire, nor the reaction of the audience.

We can identify a change in the direction of their venue choice here: the performances of the five Tyrolean musicians in the theatres seem to have been replaced then by music in cafés and restaurants. This also could be a factor of the public interest and its composition, since these venues usually served the wider range of society with a more delightful atmosphere. After a short tour held in the Hungarian countryside,⁴¹ it is reported that the Tyrolean musicians stayed in Pest-Buda for an extended period from April.⁴² It is also a curiosity that the band

³⁷ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (January 31, 1857).

³⁸ *Wien Musikgeschichte*, Teil 1, 45–46.

³⁹ During this period, the cities of Pest and Buda (Ofen) had different administrative system, and they were frequently called “twin cities.”

⁴⁰ “Heute Sonntag und morgen Montag werden sich die fünf Tyroler National-Sänger (Meister, Holzseisen, Meickl, Diller und Gritsch) im Stippanitz’schen Pracht-Salon, Königs- und Fabriksgasse, produciren. Die Musik vom löbl. K.k. Inf.-Regim. Graf Khevenhüller, wird abwechselnd Musikstücke vortragen, wobei ein Concert für die Oboe besonders zu bemerken ist. Anfang um 4 Uhr. Entrée 12 kr. CM. Für die Küche wie Keller werde ich die beste Sorge tragen. Stippanitz.” *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (February 15, 1857).

⁴¹ *Hölgysfutár* (April 28, 1857).

⁴² *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (May 3, October 17–November 15, 1857).

was advertised with a picture, where we also can observe the supposedly used musical instruments: guitar, zither, and supposedly other musical instruments.⁴³



Fig. 1 Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote (February 8th, 1857)

In connection with their activities, it is worth noting that the orchestras that performed as individual programmes on the theatre stage, did not usually go to the restaurants, but rather to the banqueting halls of the more upscale hotels, such as the banqueting hall of the Lloyd Trading Company, or the National Museum in Pest. This perhaps suggests that the repertoire played there, and the performers themselves attracted the interest of a wider social strata, rather than the elite, as we shall see in the case of the pianist Rosa Kastner. From February 1857 and onwards, the Tyrolean ensemble performed in catering venues for the rest of the year: the zum goldenen Anker, or at the very popular Tüköry beerhall, which was typically frequented by military officers.⁴⁴

Babette Gundy at the German Theatre in Pest

The situation of the German Theatre in Pest was exceptional in 1857, when there were several changes in the director's chair: Karl Dietrich succeeded Theodor Witte on April 13th. By September, however, it became clear that Dietrich would not be able to keep his position – the German theatres were in a crisis, citing an inability to pay. The Hungarian and German-language press reported on this:

⁴³ Thomas Nußbaumer and Brigitte Mazohl, eds., *Liedgeschichten. Musik und Lied in Tiroler Politik und Gesellschaft 1796–1848*. Texte von Sandra Hupfaut und Silvia Maria Erber (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2013) (=Schriften zur musikalischen Ethnologie, Band 2).

⁴⁴ Lili Békéssy, "Katonazenekarok Pest-Budán az 1850-es években," *Magyar Zene* 56/3 (2018. augusztus): 274.

The German theatres of Budapest, the former directors of which, due to the inability of Mr Dietrich to pay, had reached a crisis, measures were taken to rescue this institution from its present temporary situation, which was very unfavourable for its artistic aims. From this end, the management of the Pestbuda theatres was finally entrusted to the well-known Pest publisher Treichlinger, who seems to be both financially and mentally capable of managing this artistic institution, which is exposed to adversity, in accordance with the needs of the German public in Pest and to help it to a more secure course, it is rumoured that the new director, Mr. Ernst, who has expertly and skilfully managed the theatre secretariat under the management of Mr. Witte, will be employed in this capacity again.⁴⁵

There was a press discourse that music publisher Treichlinger should take over as director,⁴⁶ but he withdrew his nomination almost immediately after news of the electoral board meeting.⁴⁷ In September, the opera singer Georg Gundy (baritone) took over the management of the theatre,⁴⁸ and in this capacity he announced new opera productions with guest artists from Vienna and a highly innovative plan to stage Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* alongside the popular Italian operas. The semi-official Hungarian-language newspaper of the empire, the *Budapesti Hirlap*, commented on all this as follows:

The fate of the German theatre in Pest, as already mentioned, has entered a new phase. Mr. Treichlinger, before taking over the management of this institution, had to reckon with himself and resigned. Now Mr. George Gundi [!] reports that he will take the reins of this unbridled steed, which has already thrown off so many masters. Mr. Gundy is confident in himself that he will succeed in staying in the saddle. He seems to believe that opera is a very important factor in the revival of this institution, and therefore promises a very varied programme for this season. Wagner's "Tannhäuser" by Richard Wagner, which, despite its mediocre performance in Vienna, was well received, also has a place in this. The "music of

⁴⁵ "A budapesti német színházak, előbbi igazgatójok Dietrich úr fizetési képtelensége miatt válságos állapotra jutván, intézkedés történt, hogy e müintézet jelenlegi ideiglenes és művészeti céljaira nézve is igen kedvezőtlen helyzetéből kiragadtassék. E végből a pestbudai színházak igazgatása véglegesen ismert pesti műáros Treichlinger arra bízott, ki mind anyagi, mind szellemi tekintetben alkalmasnak látszik arra, hogy e hányatásnak kitett müintézetet a pesti német közönség műveit igényeihez képest kezelje és biztosabb révpartra segítse, úgy hallatszik, hogy az új igazgató Ernst urat, Witte úr igazgatása alatt szakértőleg és ügyesen vitte a színházi titkárságot, e minőségben újólag alkalmazni fogja." *Budapesti Hirlap* (September 16, 1857).

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ *Pester Lloyd Abendblatt* (September 16, 1857); *Budapesti Hirlap* (September 17, 1857).

⁴⁸ Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthum Oesterrreichs*, VI. (Wien: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1860), 33.

the future” will therefore be brilliantly represented, and Mr. Gundy has no choice but to stage the “future of the theatre” with the same success.⁴⁹

These opera performances were also reported in the Hungarian and German-language press of the time. Georg Gundy’s wife, Babette (Betty) Gundy, a native of Carlsruhe, who by 1857 was already a renowned opera singer, was engaged for the leading role. Betty Gundy had also worked under Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and in the 1840s she went on tour to German stages in Vienna, Hamburg, Breslau, Munich, Prague, Cologne and later London and Paris.⁵⁰ Although she was often listed as a guest performer on the stage, theatre pocket books show Frau Gundy in the company of German theatres in the 1850s.⁵¹

Let us briefly talk about the criteria for publishing opera reviews in the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*. The “Budapest” and “Theater” columns of the paper were devoted to theatre and opera criticism, covering both Hungarian and German theatres. This periodical provides the most detailed information on the workings of German theatres.⁵² Most often “Cz.” published his reviews in the journal, which is probably the basis on which Birnbaum asked Sándor Czeke to take on the role of critic. The initials Cz. can be attributed to a lesser-known figure in the music scene, Alexander (or Sándor) Czeke (1821–1891), who was born in Pécs and published reviews and reports on music in German in the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* and the *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*. Czeke also published musical writings on Hungarian music in Viennese papers, but the collection and identification of these articles is still a task for future research. His work is only rarely mentioned in encyclopaedias,⁵³ but it would be worthwhile to look into his writings in further research. Contrary to the misleading comment in Szinnyey’s lexicon, he did publish his own periodical, *Aestetische Rundschau*, which was pub-

⁴⁹ “A pesti német színház sorsa, mint már említők, új phasisba lépett. Treichlinger úr, mielőtt ez intézet igazgatását átvette volna, számot vetett magával és viszzalépett. Most már Gundi György ur jelenti, hogy e fékezetlen paripának, mely már annyi gazdját ledobta, ő fogja gyeplőjét megragadni. Gundy úr teljes önérettel bízik magában, hogy neki sikerülene nyeregben maradni. Úgy látszik, ez intézet fölvirágoztatásában az operát igen lényeges tényezőnek hiszi, s ennélfogva e műszakban igen változatos játékrendet ígér. Helyet foglal abban Wagner Richard ‘Tannhäuser’-e is, mely Bécsben középszerű előadása daczára várakozáson fölül tetszett. A ‘jövő zenéje’ tehát fényesen képviselve lesz, s így nincs egyéb hátra, mint hogy Gundy úr a ‘színház jövőjét’ is ép oly sikerral scenirozza.” *Budapesti Hírlap* (September 22, 1857).

⁵⁰ Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthum Oesterreichs*, VI. (Wien: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1860), 33.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² During this period, there were two permanent German theatres and two summer German theatres at the same time as the National Theatre: the German Theatre in Pest (Stadttheater), the Castle Theatre in Ofen/Buda (Burgtheater), the Pest Summer Theatre and the Summer Theatre in Ofen.

⁵³ József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, I. (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), 1079.

lished in Vienna from October 1st, 1866. The presumably short-lived journal was distributed by the Rózsavölgyi company in the Hungarian regions.⁵⁴ The latter's articles include extensive analyses of operas and works, a musical overview of Vienna, concert reviews, news, and essays on Hungary.

Czeke typically signed only his reviews of the National Theatre in Pest, but he must certainly have written some of the reviews of German theatres, many of which were published unsigned. His writings are short and to the point – in opera productions he typically praised the better coloratura, the performance of individual voices, or the apt casting and role modelling.⁵⁵ Most of his reviews of Giuseppe Verdi's operas were published in the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt*, three of them on performances of the *Troubadour* alone, with comments on the casting, the singers' vocal abilities and the factors influencing them (e.g., illness, weather).⁵⁶ The paper also published an anonymous review of the Verdi operas of the German Theater in Pest: the *Troubadour* was performed on July 10th, 1857, under Dietrich, by Italian guest singers. The anonymous reviewer of the performance, which was sold out despite the unbearable heat, praised Azucena, played by Signora Brambilla,⁵⁷ to the skies, for her performance of the role had a "captivating, overwhelming charm" ("ein bestrickender überwältigender Reiz") which also captivated the audience.⁵⁸

We do not know who else may be behind the authors of the opera reviews, or whether Czeke or Birnbaum himself wrote the anonymously published critics. At this point, it is worth noting that 35 of the 40 reviews of German theatre productions were published anonymously, of which four were signed by –g.– (Gustav Birnbaum?) and one by Cz. For the musical productions of the National Theatre the proportion is reversed: of 53 reviews, a total of 43 were monogrammed by Cz. The question arises, were they deliberately concealing their initials in order to publish reviews, which in many cases reported enthusiastic audiences and excellent performances?

It is worth taking a closer look at Alexander Czeke's review of two national theatre performances of Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*.⁵⁹ The opera itself and its composer were clearly highly respected on the stages of Pest-Buda, as Tibor Tallián points out in his study.⁶⁰ During this decade, two revivals of the

⁵⁴ Available online, http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ229387609.

⁵⁵ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (January 6, 1857).

⁵⁶ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (January 6, July 28, August 1, October 29, 1857).

⁵⁷ Perhaps the soprano was Teresa Brambilla, but the Brambilla family had several successful female sopranos during the nineteenth century.

⁵⁸ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (July 12, 1857).

⁵⁹ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (January 20, September 22, 1857).

⁶⁰ Tibor Tallián, "Opern dieses größten Meisters der Jetztzeit: Meyerbeer fogadtatása a korabeli magyar operaszínpadon," in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2004–2005* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, 2005), 1–60.

opera took place on the stage of the National Theatre in Pest, which, according to Tallián, reflects the institution's deliberate programme policy: the revivals took place on December 7th, 1853 and January 17th, 1857. Regarding the revivals, it is worth noting his observation that, although operas by famous composers were regularly revived on the stage of the institution (e.g., *Don Giovanni*, *Fidelio*), this practice was not common for works by contemporary composers.⁶¹ It is worth recalling, in the context of the repeated revivals of *Robert le diable*, that the Hungarian premiere of the opera in 1843 was staged in an extremely poor performance, forcing the director to remove it from the stage. The revised version of 1853 retained some of this failure, but the 1857 production, performed by the regulars and guest artist Jozefa Kaiser-Ernst, seems to have been staged under more fortunate conditions.⁶²

In connection with the Meyerbeer performances published in the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*, it is worth recalling the two performances of *Robert le diable* at the German Theatre in Pest, signed by the as yet unidentified –g.– (the editor Gustav Birnbaum?) in December 1857. As part of a series of opera performances organised by Georg Gundy, –g.– mentioned the challenges of performing the work in his review of the German Theatre's December performances of *Robert le diable*. According to this, the opera, which was performed to an “overwhelmingly full house” (“Erdrückenvolles Haus”), and the second performance of the combined companies, was a success overall, with the performers being called to the stage several times after the performances with applause. “Alice, no less than Valentine in *Huguenots*, requires not only vocal means but also great gifts of mind and imagination, and who would not know that Mrs. Betti Gundy has so often distinguished herself in this respect.”⁶³ With the exception of one less successful performance, which was too well-bred (Mrs. Hoffmann-Mayeranowska's portrayal of the Princess), critic –g.– gave the following overall assessment of the performance:

We refrain from pointing out the difficulties that have already hindered the opera enterprise, and merely wish to praise the energetic spirit of the theatre management and express our pleasant satisfaction that the second opera was a success under the circumstances.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid, 2–3.

⁶³ “Die ‘Alice’ nimmt, nicht weniger als die ‘Valentine’ in den Hugenotten, neben den Stimmmitteln auch große Gaben des Geistes und der Fantasie in Anspruch, und wer weiß nicht, daß eben Frau Betti Gundy schon so oft nach diesen Seiten hin sich rühmlich hervorthat.” *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (December 29, 1857).

⁶⁴ “Wir unterlassen hier noch mals auf die bereits hervorgehobenen dem Opernunternehmen hemmend in den Weg tretenden Schwierigkeiten hinzuweisen, und wollen blos, in dem wir den

In the second performance, the characterization of the princess was also not to the critic's liking, given that her performance was too "uniform" ("Einförmigkeit"), "which makes it almost impossible to give even the most successful characters the necessary degree of light and shadow."⁶⁵ Aside from the character of the Princess, he noted a clear improvement in the company's performance: "the unevenness of the ensemble in the first performance has been partially eliminated this time; this is particularly true of the choruses and orchestra."⁶⁶

Czeke typically followed the practice of the opera critics of his time, and focused mainly on vocal qualities, role formations and casting for compositions already on the programme. He often focused on the audience's reaction and the challenges of the composers and their works, and sometimes reflected on the composers themselves. The performance of the theatre orchestras in opera performances is rarely mentioned or detailed in contemporary reviews – even more often than that of costumes and sets.

Concert Critics

The journalists of the *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* did not ignore the concert performances. The 40 reviews of the music scene reflected on the many events of concert life, from the Philharmonic Society concerts to the concerts in the Lloyd Hall and the hall of the Europa Hotel, as well as the "academies" held in theatres. Czeke published reviews of the Pest-Buda-based Philharmonic Society's concert on March 22nd and of the evening of the Huber family in the Pacht salon,⁶⁷ while Leopold von Rausch praised the concerts and academies of the Viennese pianist Rosa Kastner at the Europa-Hotel and the German Theatre in Pest.⁶⁸ The other reviews and reports on concert life were also typically unsigned.

On the basis of the reviews, a system of criteria can be drawn up which is also characteristic of the reviews published in the magazine:

energischen Geist der Theaterleitung rühmen, unsere angenehme Befriedigung darüber ausdrücken, wie sehr den Umständen gemäß auch die zweite Oper einer sprießliches Resultat zur Folge hatte." *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (December 29, 1857).

⁶⁵ "jedoch scheint uns über den Leistungen derselben eine gewisse Einförmigkeit zu ruhen, mit welches fast unmöglich ist, auch den gelungensten Figuren das nothwendige Maß von Licht und Schatten zu geben." *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (December 30, 1857).

⁶⁶ "zwar in einer Weise, welche den Mitwirkenden vollkommen zur Ehre gereichte, da manche Unebenheiten des Ensembles, welche bei der ersten Darstellung hervor getreten waren, dieses mal zum Theil beseitigt waren; dies bezieht sich besonders auf Chöre und Orchester." *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (December 30, 1857).

⁶⁷ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (March 17 and 24, 1857).

⁶⁸ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (April 23 and 28, 1857).

- first, they define the type of event, usually with a setting, sometimes with a date and time;
- they describe the circumstances of the concert, often the weather, the level of interest, and the habits of the organisers and the reception of the venue;
- they reflect on the habits and composition of the audience, the reception of the plays and the performers by the audience;
- write about plays and their authors, most often from the general perspective of the audience;
- the repertoire performed is gradually revealed, the plays performed are sometimes not clearly or incompletely identified by the critic;
- the performers (instrumentalists and singers) are listed and evaluated, often in relation to the individual pieces, and in the case of foreign performers, the foreign press reception is also assessed;
- draw lessons about the repertoire, the individual compositions, the composer, the performers, the setting or the date;
- in some cases, a description of the readership of the magazine (mostly women) and the situation of women in relation to the performance.

The same criteria also apply to the descriptions of the guest speakers' concerts, of which few have been published in the magazine with signatures. The as yet unknown critic Leopold von Rausch has published two reviews of concerts in the *Localblatt*, both on two guest appearances by the pianist Rosa Kastner.

Rosa Kastner, born in Vienna, gave concerts in Pest-Buda in April–May 1857: she performed at the Europa Hotel (April 22nd), the German (April 24th) and the National Theatres (May 12th) in Pest. Kastner arrived in Pest on April 17th, 1857, the news was published in the *Pest-Ofner Zeitung* that day. After her arrival, she performed on several stages in the capital, which were praised by the *Divatcsarnok*:

And Kastner Róza appears again with a wreathed head at the piano (this faint orchestre), and one minute she charms, the next minute she carries everyone away. Playing with artistic clarity: the notes flow so sweetly under her fingers that it is as if we were listening not to Handel's variations but to a sweetly trickling brook, whose whispering is interspersed with the nesium of the leaves and the trill of the lark. But then Chopin's funeral dirge wakes up with solemn solemnity, and we feel a deep sadness weighing on our hearts. There we saw a smiling blue sky: here a wine-less wine-way, and all with the power of music and imagination. Róza Kastner a.o.k. first performed at the "Europa" on 22 April; on 26 April at the Újtér theatre [German Theatre in Pest], on 2 May at the Lloyd Hall. Her artistic training was most evident in the Beethoven Sonata and the Mendelsohn Trio. However, these immortal creations of the orchestral oeuvre are not the most

influential here. Today's depraved taste finds more edge in a Verdi opera than in Haydn's symphonies, although the glorious, good element here, like homeopathic medicine, acts in a concentrated form, and there, like the alleopaths, it is diluted in glass water.⁶⁹

As an aspiring pianist, she is also tangentially remembered in the diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer: Kastner first visited Meyerbeer on August 19th, 1854, no doubt with an invitation to his concert.⁷⁰ The composer subsequently wrote a less flattering entry in his diary in 1862: Marie Escudier, Kastner's husband, the editor of *La France musicale*, was one of Meyerbeer's greatest critics, and believed that his unusually cordial greeting was more about launching Kastner's career in Germany than a tribute to the composer.⁷¹ Liszt's assessment of Franz Liszt was far more positive and supportive – a reflection of the difference in personality traits between the two composers and their working relationship with Escudier. Liszt first heard Kastner in Prague in 1856 and found him to be an excellent pianist and a very pleasant person. Kastner and Escudier were married in 1860, and Liszt kept in touch with both of them – Escudier published Liszt's volume on Chopin in 1852.⁷²

Kastner was preceded by a good press, when arriving to Pest-Buda, which was reflected in the reviews.⁷³ In her first concert (April 22nd), Rausch, after describing the main details of the event, referred to the composition of the audience and noted that Archduchess Hildegard herself was present at the event, which took place on a Wednesday lunchtime. She mentioned Kastner's reputation in the press, and also described her performer's qualities: a skilful, clear and nuanced playing, a surprisingly great technique, a performer who commands the respect of

⁶⁹ *Divatsarnok* (May 15, 1857).

⁷⁰ Robert Ignatius Letellier, ed., *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer: The years of celebrity, 1850–1856*, Vol. 3. (Madison–Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press/London, Associated University Press, 1999), 283–284.

⁷¹ On July 25, 1862, Gounod's *Faust* was performed in Wiesbaden, and it was during the interval of this performance that the meeting took place. "During the interval Marie Escudier, editor of *La France musicale*, who for the past twenty-four years has attacked and persecuted me in the most brutal way, came to me, pressed my hand, behaved as if it gave him endless pleasure to see me again, indeed as if we were best of friends, and said that he and his wife intend to visit me in Schwabach. He has done this, no doubt, because he has married the pianist Rosa Kastner, and believes that I can be of use to her concert career in Germany. A journalist thinks that he is allowed to treat an author in any way he pleases." Robert Ignatius Letellier, ed., *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer: The last years, 1857–1864*, Vol. 4. (Madison–Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press/London, Associated University Press, 1999), 267.

⁷² Franz Liszt's letter to Agnes Street-Klindworth, April 24, 1859, Weimar. Pauline Pocknell, ed., trans., *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: A Correspondence, 1854–1886* (Hillsdale–New York: Pendragon Press, 2000) (= *Franz Liszt Studies Series* 8), 159–160.

⁷³ Thalberg.

connoisseurs, a subtle playing and a noble manner. The audience was “enchanted” and called out repeatedly with applause after each piece. The repertoire played is only partially revealed here: a Liszt work, a Mendelssohn trio, Variations and subsequent works. He also praised the “equally commendable” performances of the performers who shared the stage with him (Huber, Mrs Ellinger and József Ellinger, who replaced Jekelfalussy).⁷⁴

The circumstances of Kastner’s sold-out concert at the German Theatre in Pest on Sunday noon, April 26th, 1857, were also detailed by Rausch. Archduchess Hildegard was again present at the event. “Noon is always a very unfavourable time for theatre productions here, and it was cold, rainy and inhospitable, and yet – ‘sold out!’ Enough proof of the pleasant atmosphere in which the audience was at the academy.” Although his comment may seem sarcastic, the pleasant atmosphere was certainly provided by the performers, especially Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (1795–1858), an Austrian humorist, writer and newspaper editor, who gave a humorous reading focusing on the “weaknesses” of the female sex. It is worth pointing out that his reviewer did not focus on the pianist but on Saphir’s performance and reception of her concert with Rosa Kastner, saying that “the hostess of the concert has already been sufficiently praised in our periodical.” The text of Saphir’s performance is not yet known, but Rausch has summarised part of its content. In his “always gracious, of course” jibe at the ladies, we also learn an important feature about the paper’s readership: it had a large number of female readers. We do not have sufficient source processing to know what proportions this reflected in practice. Rausch then went on to analyse Kastner’s performance, “whose outstanding virtuosity was most brilliantly displayed today.” As for the repertoire and the performers, we learn that, in addition to a Beethoven piece with orchestral accompaniment, there were “tasteful songs” and “bravura Hungarian songs,” the former performed by Miss Zengraf from the German Theatre in Pest, and the latter by József Ellinger, singer of the National Theatre. Rausch does not say any other detail, he does, however, report that the rich programme meant that Kastner had fewer opportunities for the repetition of each piece – so, the repetition of individual numbers can be another important feature of concert life.⁷⁵

Presumably the real reason for Kastner’s tour in Pest-Buda was her performance at the National Theatre in Pest, as part of a charity concert in honour of the imperial couple, Franz Joseph I and Elisabeth, organised by the Pest Women’s Association. The imperial visit of Franz Joseph and Elisabeth to Hungary also took place in 1857, with a series of grandiose, orchestral events, groundbreaking

⁷⁴ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (April 23, 1857), 2.

⁷⁵ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (April 28, 1857), 2.

ceremonies, and celebrations throughout the country.⁷⁶ The press was particularly pleased to report on May 12th, when the Empress graced the National Theatre twice:⁷⁷ on the day of the viewing of Franz Doppler's opera *Ilka és a huszártoborzó* ("Ilka and the Recruiting of the Hussars"), Elisabeth attended a benefit concert in the morning by the Pest Women's Association. The Habsburg family has supported the associations (both the Buda and Pest Women's Associations), which are at the forefront of the fight against poverty, from the very beginning, from their foundation in 1817.⁷⁸

The women's associations were involved in the organisation of concert life and cultural life as a whole, in an institutionalised way, from a charitable approach.⁷⁹ On the occasion of the 1857 visit, they organised a concert at the National Theatre, the programme and performers of which, in the absence of archival documents, we learn from the columns of the *Budapesti Hirlap*.⁸⁰ The programme of the performance was composed from the National Theatre's hit plays: the "mixture of song, music and dance" performance (academy) was opened by the theatre's orchestra with the overture to Ferenc Erkel's *Hunyadi László*. Excerpts from two of Károly Thern's operas were sung: Mihály Füredi sang an aria from *Képzelt beteg* ("The Imaginary Invalid"), and a choral part from *Tihany ostroma* ("The Siege of Tihany") was performed by the National Theatre's Choir. Károly Huber's chamber piece, *Pesti emlék* ("Memory of Pest"), was played by the composer and the Lemberg-born Doppler brothers, Franz and Karl on two flutes and violin.⁸¹ In the second part, Jozefa Kaiser-Ernst and Mihály Füredi sang

⁷⁶ Lili Veronika Békéssy, "Celebrating the Habsburgs in the Hungarian National Theater, 1837–67," *Musicologica Austriaca* (2021): <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/102>.

⁷⁷ *Dívatcsarnok* (May 15, 1857): "[...] e napok sok szemkápáztató látványa között a legédesebbek egyike volt az, midőn a bájos Fejedelmi Hölgyet kétszer üdvözölte lelkes éljeneivel nemz. színházunk örömmittas közönsége, f. hó 12-én, mely napon a Császárná (!) Ő Fölsége a déli és esti előadást szerencsétlété legmagasb látogatásával."

⁷⁸ For more information on the establishment and the first period of the Women's Association in Pest, see Árpád Tóth, "A társadalmi szerveződés polgári és rendi normái. A Pesti Jótékony Nőegylet fennállásának első korszaka, 1817–1848," in *FONS*, 1998. (V.) 4., 411–479; uő, *Önszervező polgárok: A pesti egyesületek társadalomtörténete a reformkorban* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2005) (= *A Múlt Ösvényén*), 53–94; *ibid.*, 59.

⁷⁹ Tóth, *Önszervező polgárok*, 71.

⁸⁰ See the theater's playbills from May 10 and 11, 1857. There is a dedication, on May 12, 1857: The latter is quoted: "Ma, kedden, május 12-én, **rendkívüli előadásul**: DÉLI 12 ORAKOR: | A pesti jótékony nőegylet javára: | ÉNEK-, ZENE- és TÁNC- | EGYVELEG | 2 szakaszban. [sic] | Melyben KASTNER RÓZA k. a. cs. k. kamaraénekesnő, KAISER-ERNSTNÉ, ARANYVÁRI | EMILIA, DOPPLER testvérek, FÜREDI, CAMPILLI, HUBER nemzeti színházi tagok veendnek részt." For the programme, see *Budapesti Hirlap* (May 12, 1857) and *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (May 12, 1857).

⁸¹ Huber's composition (*Pesti emlék, lassú és friss magyar*) was published by József Treichlinger, probably in 1847. Ilona Mona, *Magyar zeneműkiadók és tevékenységük 1774–1867* (Budapest: MTA

a duet from Act 4 of Verdi's *Trubadour*, followed by a solo piece by Rosa Kastner, Thalberg's student. To close, two distinguished members of the National Theatre's dance troupe, Emilia Aranyvári and Fritz Campilli, performed a double dance entitled "Venice Carnival."⁸² The *Budapesti Hírlap's* critic singled out Kastner's solo.

According to the reports, the charity concert with Kastner's participation was "received by Empress Elisabeth with lively interest and visible pleasure,"⁸³ and the Empress contributed 200 forints to the proceeds of the concert.⁸⁴ The concert was positively reviewed not only by *Pest-Ofner Zeitung*⁸⁵ but also by *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*.⁸⁶

* * *

As far as the research of 19th-century Hungarian musical life is concerned, we can draw attention to a number of unprocessed phenomena and moments, including the functioning of the multi-ethnic network of musicians and institutions. Regardless of the genre (entertainment, folk music, opera, instrumental music), Pest-Buda was part of the circuit of stages in Central Europe. In this study, we have emphasised typically German-speaking performers, such as the five Tyrolean folk musicians, the Hofoperntheater singer Babette (Betty) Gundy and the visit of the Viennese pianist Rosa Kastner, but this does not mean that musicians and composers from other regions did not visit Pest-Buda.

In terms of mapping the local and regional functioning of musicians, the focus can be more on how music life functioned in everyday life, the network of contacts through which musicians could reach this place, and how this was re-

Zenetudományi Intézet, 1989), 85. See Kata Riskó, "A Tisza-parti jelenet és az egykorú magyar népies zene," in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2017–2018* (Budapest: Zenetudományi Intézet, 2019).

⁸² *Budapesti Hírlap* (May 12, 1857).

⁸³ *Budapesti Hírlap* (May 13, 1857).

⁸⁴ *Délibáb* (May 24, 1857).

⁸⁵ *Pest-Ofner Zeitung* (May 13, 1857): "Heute geruhten Allerhöchst Ihre Majestät die Kaiserin die um 12 Uhr in den Räumlichkeiten des ungarischen Theaters in Pest zu Gunsten des Pester wohlthätigen Frauen-Vereines veranstalteten Akademie mit Allerhöchst Ihrem Besuche zu beehren, und schienen in denselben an den zur Ausführung gelangten Gesangs-, Musik- und Tanz-Piecen mit sichtbarem Wohlgefallen lebhaftes Interesse zu nehmen. [...] Am Abend hingegen wurde dem Pester ungarischen Theater erneuert das Glück des Allerhöchsten Besuches Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin zu Theil, es wurde die liebliche Oper Ilka mit sehr gelungenem Erfolge zur Ausführung gebracht. Allerhöchst Ihre Majestät wurden auch bei dieser Gelegenheit sowohl im Theater von dem sehr zahlreich versammelten Publikum, als auch außerhalb des Theaters von der Bevölkerung allenthalben mit regem Enthusiasmus begrüßt."

⁸⁶ *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* (May 13, 1857): "Das schöne Concert war in allen Theilen gelungen ausgeführt, und der wohlthätige Frauenverein erfreute sich einer guten Einnahme."

flected in the sources. The study of guest performers' appearances is clearly linked to advances in research in the contemporary press, the experiences of periodical critics and correspondents, and the study of contemporary performance practice. A combined transnational and microhistorical examination of these can clearly bring us closer to understanding the realities of everyday musical life.

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The *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* as Source of Music History: Guest Performers in Context of Pest-Buda, 1857

Abstract

The paper discusses the importance of micro-historiography in music history research, which involves studying the everyday lives of individuals and events to uncover forgotten details and gaps in traditional historical approaches. Reading the main source, the daily *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* it is especially important to emphasize the significance of shorter news, reports, and advertisements in newspapers as valuable sources of information for reconstructing everyday musical life in Pest-Buda.

The *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* mentions several guest performers on the stages of Pest-Buda, including the visits of traveling national or folk companies, the performances of the successful Spanish folk dance company at the National Theater in Pest, the tour of the popular Tyrolean folk music company for several months, the supposedly Viennese singing company, marked by the names of Mutzbauer, Honetz, and Lasky, which clearly represented the Wienerlied repertoire on the stage of popular cafés, the guest performances of singer Babette (Betty) Gundy, or Sigismund Thalberg's student, the pianist Rosa Kastner. The present paper also discusses the sources that can be used to list the guest performers, such as the surviving archive material of the National Theater in Pest, the theatre pocket books of German theaters, and the period's press, especially the *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*.

By studying the lives of everyday individuals and the events of everyday life, researchers can uncover information that may have been overlooked or ignored by traditional historical approaches. In the context of music history, micro-historiography can help to shed light on the functioning of an entire city or region, as well as the structure of musical life from a variety of perspectives. It can also help to reveal the realities of everyday musical life, including the network of contacts through which musicians could reach their audience, and how this was reflected in the period's sources.

***Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote* jako pramen hudební historie: Hostující interpreti v kontextu Pešť-Budín, 1857**

Abstrakt

Príspevok pojednáva o významu mikrohistoriografie ve výzkumu hudební historie, která zahrnuje studium každodenního života jednotlivců a událostí s cílem odhalit zapomenuté detaily a mezery v tradičních historických přístupech.

Při četbě hlavního pramene, deníku *Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*, je třeba zdůraznit zejména význam kratších zpráv, reportáží a inzerátů v novinách jako cenných zdrojů informací pro rekonstrukci každodenního hudebního života v Pešť-Budíně.

Pest-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote se zmiňuje o několika hostujících účinkujících na pódiiích v Pešť-Budíně, včetně návštěv zájezdových národních nebo lidových souborů, o vystoupeních úspěšného španělského souboru lidového tance v Národním divadle v Pešti, o několikaměsíčním turné populárního tyrolského souboru lidové hudby, údajně vídeňské pěvecké společnosti, označené jmény Mutzbauer, Honetz a Lasky, která na jevišti oblíbených kaváren zřetelně reprezentovala repertoár Wienerlied, hostování zpěvačky Babette (Betty) Gundyové nebo žačky Sigismunda Thalberga, klavíristky Rosy Kastnerové. Předkládaný příspěvek se zabývá také prameny, které lze využít k výčtu hostujících interpretů, jako jsou dochované archivní materiály Národního divadla v Pešti, divadelní kapesní knihy německých divadel a dobový tisk, zejména *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote*.

Studiem životních osudů každodenních jednotlivců a událostí všedního dne mohou badatelé odhalit informace, které mohly být tradičními historickými přístupy přehlédnuty nebo ignorovány. V kontextu hudebních dějin může mikrohistoriografie pomoci osvětlit fungování celého města nebo regionu a strukturu hudebního života z různých úhlů pohledu. Může také pomoci odhalit realitu každodenního hudebního života, včetně sítě kontaktů, jejichž prostřednictvím mohli hudebníci oslovit své publikum, a toho, jak se to odráželo v dobových pramenech.

Keywords

performance; Budapest; Pest-Buda; 19th century; non-musical press; press; Hungary; German; Spanish; Tyrolean; popular music; Unterhaltungsmusik; musical theater; concert; tour; everyday; micro-history; regional music history

Klíčová slova

performance; Budapest; Pešť-Budín; 19. století; nehudební tisk; tisk; Maďarsko; němčina; španělština; tyrolština; populární hudba; Unterhaltungsmusik; hudební divadlo; koncert; turné; každodennost; mikrohistorie; dějiny regionální hudby

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