

# The Butterfly and the Lion. Intersections between the Reception of Wagner and Offenbach in Nineteenth-Century Budapest

Péter Bozó

*Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest, Hungary*

**Abstract:** It is strange to find Wagner and Offenbach mentioned together in the reception of their music in nineteenth-century Budapest and measured against one another in the Hungarian press. This study seeks to interpret the before-mentioned juxtaposition in terms of the system of theatrical institutions in Budapest on the basis of contemporary reviews of theatrical performances. The identified factors that directly concern the way the (Austro-)Hungarian public received these two stage composers are: the multinational and multicultural character of the theatre life, the need to distinguish between genres, and the ongoing changes in the institutional theatre system. I point out that Offenbach and Wagner could be compared and measured against each other in contemporary Hungarian press partly because the works of both composers appeared around the same time, partly because they were played in the same institution, the National Theatre, and also because both musicians gave guest performances there within a short span of time.

**Keywords:** Richard Wagner, Jacques Offenbach, reception history, theatrical landscape, Budapest

Why mention Richard Wagner and Jacques Offenbach together – one an author of music dramas of vast dimensions and the other a composer of delicate music for witty operettas? Well, the idea is not mine, inasmuch as the German scholar Peter Ackermann, in the mid-1980s, dedicated a whole study to the relationship of the two composers.<sup>1</sup> His title quotes that of a Wagner play written in 1870, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, in

---

1 ACKERMANN, P. Eine Kapitulation: zum Verhältnis Offenbach–Wagner. In *Jacques Offenbach: Komponist und Weltbürger*. (Eds. W. Kirsch – R. Dietrich). Mainz : Schott's Söhne, 1985, pp. 135 – 148.

which Offenbach himself appears on the scene.<sup>2</sup> It is characteristic that the study in question was written by a German musicologist and it is understandable that, since World War II, the two composers have been seen as antagonistic and antithetical. It is obviously difficult to disregard the fact that Offenbach's music was stigmatized under the Third Reich between 1933 and 1945 and could not be played publicly,<sup>3</sup> while the performances of Wagner's works were employed as vehicles for propaganda.<sup>4</sup> It should be added that Offenbach's works underwent a similar fate in Hungary: between 1939 and 1945, their public performances were prohibited; later, at the beginning of the 1950s, they were drastically rewritten and used as propaganda vehicles.<sup>5</sup>

However, the antithesis between Wagner and Offenbach arose not only in twentieth-century Germany, but also in nineteenth-century Hungary, even if not in so extreme a way. Offenbach was in Pest in April 1872 to conduct his operetta *Schneeball* [*Boule-de-neige*] at the Gyapjú utca German Theatre (Deutsches Theater in der Wollgasse), as he had done earlier that year at Carltheater in Vienna.<sup>6</sup> While in Pest, he saw a performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (or a part of it) at the National Theatre (Nemzeti Színház). The event was reported by the Hungarian journal *Fővárosi Lapok*: "The

- 
- 2 WAGNER, R. Eine Kapitulation. Lustspiel in antiker Manier. In id., *Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. 9. Leipzig : Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912, pp. 3 – 41.
  - 3 STOMPOR, S. Die Offenbach-Renaissance um 1930 und die geschlossenen Vorstellungen für Juden nach 1933. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. Rainer Franke). Laaber : Laaber, 1999, pp. 257 – 258.
  - 4 HAMANN, B. *Winifred Wagner oder Hitler's Bayreuth*. München : Piper, 2005.
  - 5 Both extremes of the reception of Offenbach in Budapest will be described in detail in my book entitled *Orpheus on the Danube: Offenbach Reception in Budapest, 1920 – 1956* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, [to be published in 2021]).
  - 6 On Offenbach's reception in Vienna, see OBERMAIER, W. Offenbach in Wien: Seine Werke auf den Vorstadtbühnen und ihr Einfluß auf das Volkstheater. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. R. Franke). Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 11 – 30; SPOHR, M. Inwieweit haben Offenbachs Operetten die Wiener Operette aus der Taufe gehoben? In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. R. Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 31 – 68; LINHARDT, M. Offenbach und die französische Operette im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Wiener Presse. *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. R. Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 69 – 84; FRANKE, R. Chronologie der Aufführungen der Bühnenwerke Offenbachs in Wien, 1858 – 1900. Programme, Statistiken, Rezensionen. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. R. Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 119 – 182. On Offenbach reception in general, see SENELICK, L. *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2017.

*Tannhäuser* performance last Saturday was in many ways more superb than any so far. ... This time we saw the Pest *haute crème* in the boxes. Offenbach, the prolific operetta composer, sat in one of the ground-floor boxes. The butterfly visited the lion but could not stand the lion's great voice for long: he heard only one and a half acts of Wagner's music, which marks the diametric opposite of his in the music world."<sup>7</sup>

The animal metaphor used here by the anonymous author – for whom Offenbach was evidently a diametric opposite of Wagner – is suspiciously similar to the one used by Robert Schumann when talking of Rossini's encounter with Beethoven: "Der Schmetterling flog dem Adler in den Weg, dieser wich aber aus, um ihn nicht zu zerdrücken mit dem Flügelschlag."<sup>8</sup> (The butterfly crossed the path of the eagle, but the latter turned aside in order not to crush it with its wingbeats.)<sup>9</sup>

Of course, the reviewer of Fővárosi Lapok mentions the two composers together and compares them because Offenbach was present at the Wagner performance. It is all the more interesting, however, that the Wagner–Offenbach antithesis also occurs without any "meeting" of this kind. For example, in December 1866, two weeks after the premiere of Wagner's *Lohengrin* at the Pest National Theatre, the Hungarian music magazine Zenészeti Lapok published a review of it, whose author, in all likelihood the journal's editor, Kornél Ábrányi, compared Wagner's piece to Italian opera in general and, more surprisingly, to Offenbach's operettas. He wrote, among others, the following: "A frequently heard objection to Wagner's music is that there are very few melodies in it, [so] it is incomprehensible, except for musicologists and that too only for the cream of them. Those who talk that way are seeking a reason without finding it. For, if people hear out this opera attentively and are musical connoisseurs, even if only to some degree, or if they merely have some affinity for music, they must recognize the contrary, namely that there are too many melodies in Wagner, even if not in the same sense as the word may be used for Italian operas or Offenbach's operettas."<sup>10</sup>

7 ANONYMOUS. Fővárosi hírek. In *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1872, Vol. 9, Issue 92, p. 399, 23 April 1872.

8 SCHUMANN, R. *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*. Leipzig : Wigand, 1854, p. 210.

9 SCHUMANN, R. *On Music and Musicians*. (Ed. K. Wolff, transl. P. Rosenfeld). Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1983, p. 235.

10 "ák" [ÁBRÁNYI, K.]. *Lohengrin*. Regényes dalmű 3 felvonásban[,] szövegét s zenéjét írta: Wagner Richárd. In *Zenészeti Lapok*, 1866, Vol. 7, Issue 11, p. 164, 16 December 1866.

It is worth noting that Ábrányi was a propagandist for Wagner and his few statements make it clear that he sought to render Wagner's music understandable and acceptable to the Pest audiences of the time.<sup>11</sup> Yet, the paragraph reveals something not only about Ábrányi's relation to Wagner, but also about the place Offenbach held in the system of values at the time. To Ábrányi, Offenbach's music marks the diametric opposite of Wagner's, but stands on the same level as Italian opera.

Ábrányi's equation of Offenbach's operettas with Italian operas surprises today's musicologists, as post-Offenbach operetta in twentieth-century Habsburg and post-Habsburg Hungary moved in a commercially popular direction. Thus, the term "operetta" today no longer means a sub-genre of the opera, but a separate genre distinct from it, although, in the mid-nineteenth century and, particularly, before the European dissemination of Offenbach's works, operetta was seen as such a sub-genre: a musical stage work in which spoken dialogues replaced recitatives. However, the very term betrays this meaning, as documented in detail by Sabine Ehrmann-Herforth in her "Operetta" entry in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, quoting widely from music dictionaries of the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

An objection may be raised that the two press reports quoted above are just two examples taken out of context, but, in fact, there are further cases of the names of Wagner and Offenbach being juxtaposed in music reviews in nineteenth-century Budapest. To take another example: a quarter-century after the *Lohengrin* premiere, in 1890, a review appeared in the music magazine *Zenelap* of the first performance of Offenbach's one-act operetta *Le Mariage aux lanternes* at the Budapest Royal Opera House. The author, who may have been István Kereszty, heavily criticised the Royal Opera House, particularly the programming of Gustav Mahler, who was its music director at the time: "It is nice of him [i. e. of Mahler] to introduce every sub-genre

11 For Ábrányi's role in the Hungarian reception of Wagner, see HARASZTI, E. *Wagner Richard és Magyarország*. Budapest : MTA, 1916, pp. 230 – 232. See also VARGA, I. *Richard Wagner, Hungary, and the Nineteenth Century. Aspects of the Reception of Wagner's Operas and Music-Dramas*. PhD Diss. Graz : Universität für Musik und Dramatische Kunst, 2014. See also BOZÓ, P. Der Fall Wagner: Hans Richter and the Composer's Reception in the Hungarian Satirical Magazine *Borsszem Jankó*. In *Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities*, 2019, [without Vol. No.], Issue 2, pp. 31 – 44.

12 EHRMANN-HERFORT, S. Operette. In *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*. (Ed. A. Riethmüller). Vol. 4. Stuttgart : Steiner, 1972, pp. 1 – 20.

of opera into our Opera House – we have only one Opera House, so the different operatic genres cannot be separated. But he should not go so far as to introduce Offenbach's operettas into the home of this serious Muse, as it is rumoured. We salute Wagner's music with holy horror and listen to it, although not too much, and we would also like to hear Kreutzer's poetic and heart-breaking songs, the witty and fresh music of a Frenchman, and the Hungarian character of our Royal Opera House should be conserved through the cultivation of the works of Hungarian composers."<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to Ábrányi's review, Offenbach and Wagner are mentioned here as two composers falling into the same category, neither being too desirable on the stage of the Opera House. Wagner's music is graded somewhat better and may be allowed, even if not too often, and saluted "with holy horror," but performing Offenbach there is condemned out of hand. Yet, the strongest remark in the quotation is the last sentence, and the national bias becomes even more emphatic in the light of the opening sentence of the review, "One and a half years went by and no Hungarian opera was played at the Royal Hungarian Opera House."<sup>14</sup> That, by the way, is untrue: to quote only one example, Erkel's opera *György Brankovics* was revived there in February 1890. Under the given circumstances, it is clear that the Zenelap review was biased against Mahler and, in that context, it is unsurprising that the two foreign composers programmed by Mahler, Wagner and Offenbach, should be condemned equally. More surprising is that Conradin Kreutzer, a minor German composer whose romantic opera *Das Nachtlager in Granada* was premiered in Budapest under Mahler's directorship, was noted positively. (Even so the reviewer may have confused him with the French Rodolphe Kreutzer, which would explain his remark about the "witty and fresh music of a Frenchman".)

So why do I quote these music reviews? How do they concern the connection between Offenbach's reception and the theatrical landscape? In my view, the aesthetic conclusions of critics and audience members are not unconnected with the kind of institutions in which a composer's works are performed. So, let me try to sketch the theatrical landscape of Budapest and interpret the quoted reviews in the light of the changes in that landscape, pointing out why Wagner and Offenbach would be mentioned together and measured against each other.

13 ANONYMOUS. A m[agyar] kir[ályi] operaház, a magyar opera és még egyéb. In *Zenelap*, 1890, Vol. 5, Issue 3, p. 2, 30 January 1890.

14 Ibid., p. 1.

Even the author of the Zenelap review felt that his aesthetic judgments were not uninfluenced by the institutional background, as he himself noted: “We have only one Opera House, so the different operatic genres cannot be separated.” This was a tender spot in nineteenth-century Budapest music and theatre. At the time of the *Lohengrin* premiere in 1866, the theatrical landscape of Buda and Pest was organized by the language of performance, not by genre. Both cities were multi-ethnic and both had more native German speakers than Hungarian ones. Unsurprisingly, there were more German theatres than Hungarian ones in the middle of the century. Around 1860, German performances took place in three venues: the Pest Municipal Theatre (Pester Stadttheater), the Buda Castle Theatre (called Ofner Stadttheater at the time), and the Buda Summer Theatre – designated as Arena in der Christinenstadt in the German-language press.<sup>15</sup> Their number rose to four in 1860 when the Viennese entrepreneur Karl Alsdorf opened the Thalia Theatre in Pest City Park, which played until 1864. By contrast, there was only one theatre for Hungarian performances up to 1861: the Pest National Theatre (Nemzeti Színház), which differed from the German theatres in being subsidized by the state.<sup>16</sup> For a short while, the number of Hungarian theatres rose by one when György Molnár, director of an itinerant troupe active in the Hungarian provinces, opened the Buda Folk Theatre (Budai Népszínház), where the repertoire focused on lighter entertainment and many operettas by Offenbach and others were performed. This, however, was short-lived, as it went into bankruptcy in 1864 and again, definitively, in 1870.<sup>17</sup> Neither Buda nor Pest had a court opera at the time. The National Theatre and the German theatres were of the multi-purpose type known as *Mehrspartentheater*, offering opera, prose drama, and light entertainment.

Those were the conditions under which the first Offenbach and Wagner performances in Hungarian took place at the same institution, the National Theatre. The cultivation of both had begun somewhat earlier in the German theatres: Offenbach’s one-acters first appeared in the summer of 1859, when

15 For the history of German-speaking theatre in Budapest, see BINAL, W. *Deutschsprachiges Theater in Budapest*. Wien–Köln–Graz : Böhlau Nachfolger, 1972.

16 For the history of the Pest National Theatre, see PUKÁNSZKYNÉ KÁDÁR, J. *A Nemzeti Színház százéves története*. Budapest : Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940.

17 For the history and repertoire of the Buda Folk Theatre, see PUKÁNSZKYNÉ KÁDÁR, J. *A Budai Népszínház története*. Budapest : Magyar Színházi Intézet, 1979, and MÁLYUSZ-NÉ CSÁSZÁR, E. *A Budai Népszínház műsora. Adattár*. Budapest : Színháztudományi és Filmtudományi Intézet, 1957.



Carl Treumann, an actor and stage director at the Vienna Carltheater, gave guest performances at the Buda Summer Theatre.<sup>18</sup> The first Budapest Wagner premiere was *Tannhäuser* at the Pest Municipal Theatre on 6 March 1862. However, the first Offenbach and Wagner performances in Hungarian took place at the National Theatre and, interestingly, some singers took leading roles in both. For example, the soprano Ilka Markovits (1839–1915) sang Elisabeth in the first Hungarian *Tannhäuser*, conducted by Hans Richter, and also rendered Catherine in Offenbach's *Le Mariage aux lanternes*, Susanne in *Un Mari à la porte*, Antoine in *Le Violoneux*, Manuelita in *Pépito*, and Valentin in *La Chanson de Fortunio*. Likewise, the bass Károly Kőszeghy (1820–1891) sang Heinrich der Vogler in *Lohengrin*, Daland in *The Flying Dutchman*, and Cecco in *Rienzi*, while performing Martel in Offenbach's *Un Mari à la porte*, Vertigo in *Pépito* and Dig-dig in *La Chatte métamorphosée en femme* (Table 1).

What is more, both Offenbach's company and Wagner appeared at the National Theatre within a short period of time: the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens came to Pest in summer 1861 for a six-day visit (playing mostly operettas by Offenbach, see Table 2 and Plate 1), while Wagner conducted a selection of his operas in July 1863 (see Table 3 and Plate 2). So, it is no surprise to hear Offenbach described some years later in Ábrányi's review of the *Lohengrin* premiere as Wagner's antithesis.

By the mid-1880s, however, marked changes in the Budapest theatrical landscape had made an impact on the reception of both composers. In 1870, the Pest German Theatre closed down and German performances in Buda were prohibited by the authorities: the Buda Summer Theatre and the Castle Theatre became Hungarian theatres.<sup>19</sup> Yet, for a long time, it remained a problem for Hungarian theatres to attract a mostly German-speaking theatre-going public. Although a new German theatre opened in 1869 in Pest's Gyapjú utca, this Deutsches Theater in der Wollgasse was to be the last German theatre in the capital and it burnt down in 1889. It should be noted that the first Budapest performance of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* took place in this

18 The first pieces by Offenbach played in the Buda Summer Theatre were *Hochzeit bei Later-nenschein* (*Le Mariage aux lanternes*, first perf. on 24 May 1859), *Das Mädchen von Elisonzo* (*Pépito*, first perf. on 31 May 1859) and *Die Zaubergeige* (*Le Violoneux*, first perf. on 8 June 1859). See *Pester Lloyd*, 1859, Vol. 6, Issue 125, morning edition, p. [3], 28 May 1859; *Pester Lloyd*, 1859, Vol. 6, Issue 130, morning edition, p. [3], 1 June 1859; *Pester Lloyd*, 1859, Vol. 10, Issue 130, morning edition, p. [5], 8 June 1859.

19 For the repertoire of the Buda Summer Theatre, see KOCH, L. *A budai Nyári Színkör* (*Adat-tár*). Budapest : Színháztudományi Intézet/Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum, 1966.

**Table 1** The Offenbach and Wagner roles of Ilka Markovits and Károly Kőszeghy in the premieres at the Pest National Theatre

Premiere	Piece	Ilka Markovits	Károly Kőszeghy
21 Nov 1860	Offenbach: <i>Eljegyzés lámpafénynél</i> [ <i>Le Mariage aux lanternes</i> ]	Katalin [Catherine]	
12 Feb 1861	Offenbach: <i>Férj az ajtó előtt</i> [ <i>Un Mari à la porte</i> ]	Zsuzsanna [Suzanne]	Trompeur Márton [Martel]
14 March 1861	Offenbach: <i>A varázshagedű</i> [ <i>Le Violoneux</i> ]	Antal [Antoine]	
30 Sept 1861	Offenbach: <i>Az elizondói leány</i> [ <i>Pépito</i> ]	Manuelita	Vertigo
25 Jan 1862	Offenbach: <i>Fortunio dala</i> [ <i>La Chanson de Fortunio</i> ]	Bálint [Valentin]	
31 Jul 1862	Offenbach: <i>Denis úr és neje</i> [ <i>M. et Mme Denis</i> ]	Nanette	
12 Oct 1863	Offenbach: <i>Az átváltozott macska</i> [ <i>La Chatte métamorphosée en femme</i> ]		Dig-Dig
1 Nov 1866	Wagner: <i>Lohengrin</i>		Madarász Henrik [Heinrich der Vogler]
11 March 1871	Wagner: <i>Tannhäuser</i>	Erzsébet [Elisabeth]	
10 May 1873	Wagner: <i>A bolygó hollandi</i> [ <i>Der fliegende Holländer</i> ]		Daland
24 Nov 1874	Wagner: <i>Rienzi</i>		Cecco

theatre on 23–26 May 1883 when Angelo Neumann’s travelling company gave a guest performance there. As for the Hungarian venues, there were attempts to fill in for the defunct Buda Folk Theatre: a short-lived popular house called István-téri Theatre, built by Gyula Miklósy on Pest’s István tér, which functioned from 1872 to 1874, and a summer theatre called Miklósy Színpark.<sup>20</sup> In 1875, the genres of theatrical entertainment – folk plays and operettas – moved from the National Theatre to the newly opened Folk Theatre (Népszínház) in Pest.<sup>21</sup> In 1884, the Royal Opera House opened so that

20 For the history and repertoire of Miklósy’s theatre, see ALPÁR, Á. *Az István-téri Színház, 1872–1874*. Budapest : Magyar Színházi Intézet, 1986.

21 For the repertoire of the institution, see BERCZELI ANZELM, K. *A Népszínház műsora. (Adattár)*. Budapest : Színháztudományi és Filmtudományi Intézet/Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum, 1957.



opera no longer needed to be played in the National Theatre.<sup>22</sup> Incidentally, the Opera House was built on the site of an earlier German institution, the Fürst-Theater.

Hence, Budapest saw a big change between Ábrányi's *Lohengrin* review of 1866 and the 1890 Mahler attack in Zenelap. The institutional system seems none too favourable to Offenbach, as Budapest had no venue to match Offenbach's Paris operetta theatre.<sup>23</sup> Operetta-styled pieces shared the venue with a more rustic genre, the *népszínmű*, or folk play, a local counterpart of the Viennese Volksstück. I suppose that is why the 1890 critique said Mahler "should not go so far as to introduce Offenbach's operettas into the home of this serious Muse." This may have been a common view and explains why his posthumous *Les Contes d'Hoffmann* was first performed in Budapest as an operetta and not an opera. I say "first," although Offenbach's opera had at least three first performances in Budapest. The very first one was on 14 April 1882 at the Folk Theatre, with spoken dialogues and no Giulietta act. Early in the following year, a more complete, five-act version was staged there.<sup>24</sup> Yet, despite Mahler's plans to mount it at the Royal Opera House in 1890,<sup>25</sup> the full opera version with recitatives had to wait until 15 December 1900.

22 For the history of the Royal Opera House, see STAUD, G. (ed.). *A budapesti Operaház 100 éve*. Budapest : Zeneműkiadó, 1984.

23 On the beginnings of Offenbach's theatrical venue, see YON, J.-C. La Création du Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens (1855–1862), ou la difficile naissance de l'opérette. In *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1992, Vol. 39, Issue 4, pp. 575 – 600, later forming a chapter in his book-length monograph: YON, J.-C. *Jacques Offenbach*. Paris : Gallimard, 2/2010 [1/2000], pp. 128 – 165. See also BRZOSKA, M. Jacques Offenbach und die Operngattungen seiner Zeit. In *Jacques Offenbach und seine Zeit*. (Ed. Elisabeth Schmierer). Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2009, pp. 27 – 36, and EVERIST, M. Jacques Offenbach: The Music of the Past and the Image of the Present. In *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914*. (Eds. M. Everist and A. Fauser). Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2009, pp. 72 – 98.

24 On 12 January 1883.

25 As the Opera House intendant, Ferenc Beniczky, stated in the press after his dismissal, Offenbach's opera was ready for performance when the leading soprano Bianca Bianchi (Bertha Schwartz) fell ill, and the premiere was postponed. See BENICZKY, F. [untitled]. In *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1891, Vol. 11, Issue 25, p. 9, 25 January 1891. In the end, the premiere was cancelled when Mahler resigned from his post in March 1891.

**Table 2** Guest performances of the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens at the Pest National Theatre, 1861

Date	Piece
12 July 1861	Offenbach: <i>La Chatte métamorphosée en femme</i> Offenbach: <i>Mesdames de la Halle</i>
13 July 1861	Offenbach: <i>La Chanson de Fortunio</i> Offenbach: <i>Une Demoiselle en lôterie</i>
14 July 1861	Varney: <i>La Polka des sabots</i> Offenbach: <i>Un Mari à la porte</i>
16 July 1861	Offenbach: <i>Orphée aux enfers</i>
17 July 1861	Offenbach: <i>La Chanson de Fortunio</i> Gastinel, <i>Titus et Bérénice</i>
18 July 1861	Offenbach: <i>Le Pont des soupirs</i>

**Table 3** Wagner's appearances at the Pest National Theatre, 1863

Date	Piece
23 July 1863 (conducted by Wagner)	<i>Tannhäuser</i> overture Elza's Song to the Breezes and Ortrud's Admonition from <i>Lohengrin</i> Prelude and Wedding March from <i>Lohengrin</i> Prelude and Isolde's Love Death from <i>Tristan und Isolde</i> Entrance of the Guilds and Pogner's Speech from <i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> Siegmund's Love Song and the Ride of the Valkyries from <i>Die Walküre</i> Siegfried's Forging Songs from <i>Siegfried</i>
28 July 1863 (conducted by Wagner)	Prelude of <i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> Elza's Song to the Breezes and Ortrud's Admonition from <i>Lohengrin</i> <i>Faust</i> overture Wedding March from <i>Lohengrin</i> Prelude and Isolde's Love Death from <i>Tristan und Isolde</i> Entrance of the Guilds and Pogner's Speech from <i>Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg</i> Siegmund's Love Song and the Ride of the Valkyries from <i>Die Walküre</i> Siegfried's Forging Songs from <i>Siegfried</i>

To sum up, there were peculiarities in the Budapest theatrical landscape and some changes had an impact on Wagner's and Offenbach's reception in the city. In my view, the reviews quoted above should be viewed in the context of the nineteenth-century conditions and the changes that occurred to them.



- BRZOSKA, Matthias. Jacques Offenbach und die Operngattungen seiner Zeit. In *Jacques Offenbach und seine Zeit*. (Ed. Elisabeth Schmierer). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 2009, pp. 27–36. ISBN 978-38-900-7248-7.
- EHRMANN-HERFORT, Sabine. Operette. In *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*. (Ed. Albrecht Riethmüller). Vol. 4. Stuttgart : Steiner, 1972, pp. 1 – 20. ISBN 978-35-150-8836-7.
- EVERIST, Mark. Jacques Offenbach: The Music of the Past and the Image of the Present. In *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914*. (Eds. Mark Everist, Annegret Fauser). Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2009, pp. 72 – 98. ISBN 978-02-262-3928-6.
- FRANKE, Rainer. Chronologie der Aufführungen der Bühnenwerke Offenbachs in Wien, 1858–1900. Programme, Statistiken, Rezensionen. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. Rainer Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 119 – 182. ISBN 978-38-900-7411-5.
- HAMANN, Brigitte. *Winifred Wagner oder Hitler's Bayreuth*. München : Piper, 2005. 688 pp. ISBN 978-18-620-7671-6.
- HARASZTI, Emil. *Wagner Richard és Magyarországa*. Budapest : Magyar Tudományi Akadémia, 1916. 493 pp.
- KOCH, Lajos. *A budai Nyári Színkör (Adattár)*. Budapest : Színháztudományi Intézet/Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum, 1966. 258. pp.
- LINHARDT, Marion. Offenbach und die französische Operette im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Wiener Presse. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheater*. (Ed. Rainer Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 69 – 84. ISBN 978-38-900-7411-5.
- MÁLYUSZNÉ CSÁSZÁR, Edit. *A Budai Népszínház műsora. Adattár*. Budapest : Színháztudományi és Filmtudományi Intézet, 1957. 34 pp.
- BERCZELI ANZELM, Károlyné. *A Népszínház műsora. (Adattár)*. Budapest : Színháztudományi és Filmtudományi Intézet/Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum, 1957. 61 pp.
- OBERMAIER, Walter. Offenbach in Wien: Seine Werke auf den Vorstadtbühnen und ihr Einfluß auf das Volkstheater. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheater*. (Ed. Rainer Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 11 – 30. ISBN 978-38-900-7411-5.
- PUKÁNSZKYNÉ KÁDÁR, Jolán. *A Budai Népszínház története*. Budapest : Magyar Színházi Intézet, 1979. ISBN 963-7601-40-6.
- PUKÁNSZKYNÉ KÁDÁR, Jolán. *A Nemzeti Színház százéves története*. Budapest : Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940. 2 vols., 1459 pp.
- SCHUMANN, Robert. *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*. Leipzig : Wigand, 1854. 4 vols., 1596 pp.
- SCHUMANN, Robert. *On Music and Musicians*. (Ed. Konrad Wolff, transl. Paul Rosenfeld). Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1983. 274 pp. ISBN 978-05-762-8020-4.
- SENELICK, Laurence. *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2017. 354 pp. ISBN 978-05-218-7180-8.
- SPOHR, Matthias. Inwieweit haben Offenbachs Operetten die Wiener Operette aus der Taufe gehoben? In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheater*. (Ed. Rainer Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 31 – 68. ISBN 978-38-900-7411-5.

- STAUD, Géza. (Ed.). *A budapesti Operaház 100 éve*. Budapest : Zeneműkiadó, 1984. 592 pp. ISBN 96-333-0524-1.
- STOMPOR, Stephan. Die Offenbach-Renaissance um 1930 und die geschlossenen Vorstellungen für Juden nach 1933. In *Offenbach und die Schauplätze seines Musiktheaters*. (Ed. Rainer Franke). Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 1999, pp. 257 – 258. ISBN 978-38-900-7411-5.
- VARGA, Ildikó. *Richard Wagner, Hungary, and the Nineteenth Century: Aspects of the Reception of Wagner's Operas and Music-Dramas*. PhD Diss. Graz : Universität für Musik und Dramatische Kunst, 2014.
- WAGNER, Richard. Eine Kapitulation. Lustspiel in antiker Manier. In *Sämtliche Schriften*. Vol. 9. Leipzig : Breitkopf und Härtel, 1912, pp. 3 – 41.
- YON, Jean-Claude. *Jacques Offenbach*. Paris : Gallimard, 2/2010 [1/2000]. 796 pp. ISBN 978-20-701-3097-9.
- YON, Jean-Claude. La Création du Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens (1855–1862), ou la difficile naissance de l'opérette. In *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1992, Vol. 39, Issue 4, pp. 575 – 600.

Péter Bozó  
Institute for Musicology  
Research Centre for the Humanities  
Táncsics Mihály u. 7  
1014 Budapest  
Hungary  
e-mail: pebozo@gmail.com