THE REUNION GENRE: A MICROHISTORY OF THE MUSICAL LIFE OF PEST-BUDA IN 1857

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Abstract

The article presents an ongoing research project which aims to map the everyday musical life of Pest-Buda and outlines the structure of the public musical events of the city. It offers an explanation of the reunion as a concert genre in a regional context. The paper details the background, operation and structure of the musical life of the city based on the analysis of three daily newspapers, the Budapesti Hírlap, the Hölgyfutár and the Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote. More than 5,000 articles relating to the public musical life of the cities appeared in the pages of these newspapers in the 1857 issues alone. The structure of the public concert life of Pest-Buda, based on this microhistorical research, can be divided into the following categories: concerts, opera and musical theatre

performances, church music, promenade concerts and promenade music, music performances in cafés and restaurants, balls and dances. From these categories, special attention has been given to the reunion genre, trying to define it more precisely based on existing research (Kálmán Isoz) and on new research on the period's press material as well as archival musical sources (Eins für Alles. Großes Potpourri by Karl Morelli).

Keywords: Pest-Buda; 19th century; music life; concerts; reunions; military bands; newspapers

Ključne riječi: Pešta-Budim; 19. stoljeće; glazbeni život; koncerti; proslave; vojna glazba; novine

The aim of the little-known concert genre the »reunion« was to promote music of artistic quality to the public, offering opera overtures and excerpts, and dance movements transcribed for instrumental ensembles such as military bands. As a popular concert genre in nineteenth-century Europe, reunions were social gatherings, public concerts for a wider audience. It is however surprising that almost no

literature exists on reunions as a genre.¹ Surprising, because according to the newest research, popular concerts were held almost every day, in multiple venues. While so-called artistic concerts were held only a few times a month, musical theatre and opera were staged four or five times a week. Given the number of performances, it is interesting that this concert genre has not been the focus of scholarly attention. The present study offers an insight into the structure of the public music life of Pest-Buda based on microhistorical research of local press material published over the course of a single year.

The present paper represents an ongoing research project which aims to map the everyday musical life of Pest-Buda. After systematic and ongoing press and archival research, it can be stated that reunions and popular concerts such as promenades² also formed a significant part of the everyday musical life of Pest-Buda during the nineteenth century. Although these concert genres existed in Hungary, too, the status of public musical life was rather provincial compared to Vienna, Paris, or London.³

Studies and monographs which aim to reconstruct the musical practices of everyday life also deal with the striking problem of the parallel existence of *Unterhaltungsmusik* and *ernst Musik*.⁴ Although there were new approaches for understanding their relations from time to time, the lack of systematic basic research meant that a deeper knowledge of nineteenth-century popular concert genres in East-Central Europe, especially in Hungary, could not be developed.⁵ The aim of this paper is to uncover a neglected part of the Hungarian and East-Central European music history, providing a smaller case study as a starting point. This study presents first a short research history and methodology. Then the paper outlines the structure of the public musical events of Pest-Buda, offering an explanation of the reunion as a concert genre in a regional context.⁶

- ¹ Kálmán ISOZ: A művészi zenét népszerűsítő reuniók 1848-ig [Reunions Promoting Artistic Music until 1848], *A Zene*, 14/15 (1 April 1933), 269-272. *MGG* and *Grove* do not have articles detailing reunions as popular concert genre.
- ² ***: Promenade concerts, *Grove Music Online*, 2001, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000022409 (Accessed 24 November 2022).
- ³ Derek B. SCOTT: Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- ⁴ Andreas BALLSTAEDT: Unterhaltungsmusik, MGG Online, 1998, https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/12143 (Accessed 24 November 2022).
- ⁵ The former research had a national focus, dealing mainly with the genres of *csárdás* and *népszínmű*. There is ongoing research on gypsy music in the nineteenth century, too. See e.g. Kata RISKÓ: A cigányzenekartól a népi zenekarig: Rácz Zsigmond és a zenepolitika változásai [From the Gypsy Band to the Folk Band: Zsigmond Rácz and Changes in Music Policy], in: Ádám Ignácz (ed.): *A magyar populáris zene története(i): Források, módszerek, perspektívák* [Historie(s) of Hungarian Popular Music: Sources, Methods, Perspectives], Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa Kiadó, 2020, 109-132.
- ⁶ Sigurður Gylfi MAGNÚSSON István M. SZÍJJÁRTÓ: What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice, London New York: Routledge, 2013.

Microhistories and Macroperspectives. Research History and Method

After the revolution of 1848/1849, Pest-Buda became the political, economic, social, industrial, infrastructural and cultural centre of Hungary, partly due to the centralising efforts undertaken throughout the Empire. As part of the processes of urbanisation, the capital's growing population of mixed social and ethnic origin created a growing demand for quality cultural life which appealed to the aristocratic and wealthy classes, the middle classes and, from the 1850s, increasingly to the lower classes. Daily public musical performances were announced to the public through posters, playbills, and newspapers. However, the readership of the Pest-Buda press did not remain local. In addition to a smaller number of individual subscriptions, associations and casinos, cafés and some restaurants throughout the country subscribed to the newspapers, sometimes advertising themselves with their extensive subscription lists. Description lists.

For example, an advertisement of the »Hotel to the Hungarian King« in the Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote of 29 March 1857 announces a change in ownership of the hotel's café (see Figure 1). In addition to emphasising his commercial connections with Trieste, the new owner of the café lists his newspaper subscriptions: in addition to the major Pest-Buda newspapers such as Hölgyfutár, Budapesti Hirlap, Magyar Sajtó, Pesti Napló, Pester Lloyd, and Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote, he also mentions newspapers from Vienna, Germany, Great Britain and the Czech lands. A special note at the bottom of the advertisement highlights one of the biggest attractions of the Pest-Buda cafés: the regularity of the performing bands they contracted. In this case, the contracted band was the famous gypsy orchestra of Ferenc Sárközi, which enjoyed enormous popularity in the 1850s and

⁷ Károly VÖRÖS (ed.): Budapest története IV. A márciusi forradalomtól az őszirózsás forradalomig [History of Budapest IV. From the March Revolution to the Aster Revolution], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.

⁸ Elek FÉNYES: Az Ausztriai birodalom statistikája és földrajzi leirása [Statistics and Geographical Description of the Austrian Empire], Budapest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1857; Vera BÁCSKAI – Gábor GYÁNI – András KUBINYI: Budapest története a kezdetektől 1945-ig [The History of Budapest from the Beginning to 1945], (Várostörténeti Tanulmányok 6), Budapest: Budapest Főváros Levéltára, 2000, 111-124; Gábor GYÁNI – György KÖVÉR: Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig [The Social History of Hungary from the Reform to the Second World War], Budapest: Osiris, 2001, 11-188.

⁹ Cf. Dorottya LIPTÁK: Újságok és újságolvasók Ferenc József korában. Bécs – Budapest – Prága [Newspapers and Newspaper Readers in the Time of Franz Joseph. Vienna – Budapest – Prague], Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2002; Géza BUZINKAY: A magyar sajtó és újságírás története a kezdetektől a rendszerváltásig [The History of the Hungarian Press and Journalism from the Beginning to the End of Communism], Budapest: Wolters Kluwer, 2016.

¹⁰ Subscription lists from the nineteenth century may have survived, but I have not found any such documents in Budapest libraries and archives for any of the newspapers discussed in this study. See the chapter »A hírlap továbbítója az előfizetőhöz: a posta« [The Transmitter of the Newspaper to the Subscriber: the Post] in G. BUZINKAY: *A magyar sajtó és újságírás története*, 32-35.

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36 geige bem geehrten Publitum hiemit ergebenft an, bag ich bas Raffeehaus "zum König von Ungarn"

ubernommen habe, und daß ich alles Mögliche aufbieten werde, um iene pl. t. Gäste, die mich mit ihrem Zutrauen beehren, zufrieden zu stellen. Ein längerer Ausentholt in England, Frankreich und Deutschland hat mich mit den strengsten Ersordernissen meines Geschäftes bekannt gemacht, und ich hosse, nun meine gesammelten Ersahrungen zu Gunsten meiner pl. t. Gäste auszubeuten. Wegen eines guten Kasse's habe ich bereits mit bedeutenden Teiester Häusern Berbindungen angeknüpst. An Journalen wird dem Zeitungslesenden Publikum vom 1. April angesangen Folgendes geboten: Hölgysutär. — Budapesti Hirlap. — Magyar Sajto. — Pesti Naplo. — Kundschafts-Blatt — Pesth-Osner Zeitung. — Pesth-Osner Localblatt. — Pesther Lloyd. — Wiener Zeitung. — Wandererer. — Ost-Deutsche Post. — Österreichische Zeitung. — Presse. — Fremdenblatt. — Wiener Telegraph. — Theaterzeitung. — Humorist. — Illustr. Novellenzeitung. — Figaro. — Independance Belge. — Weekly Times. — Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung. — Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung. — Leipziger illustrirte Zeitung. — Dorfbardier. — Kladdaradatsch. — Judenthum. — Fliegende Blätter. — Prager Zeitung. — Prazki Noviny. — Bohemia. — Sämmtliche hier angesübrten Zeitungen sind bei der Eassa, aus zweiter Sand zu prämumeriren.

Bente und jeden folgenden Sonntag um 4 Uhr Nachmittags wird sich bas allgemein beliebte Sarközy'iche Musikchor produzieren.

Figure 1: An advertisement of the »Hotel to the Hungarian King«, Pesth-Ofner Localblatt und Landbote, 8 (29 March 1857) 72, 7, < https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=lol&datum=18570329&seite=7&zoom=33> (Accessed 24 November 2022)

gained a reputation that extended beyond the borders of the Habsburg Empire.¹¹ In addition to the promotion of the Sárközi gypsy orchestra, military bands and other town orchestras also worked in the cafés.¹² Advertising as a historical source is of particular importance for research as, apart from the theatre stage material, only a negligible number of wall stickers and posters from the period under study survive.¹³ These advertisements also provide a closer look at the genre of the

¹¹ See Miklós MARKÓ (ed.): Cigányzenészek albuma [Album of Gypsy Musicians], Budapest: Markó Miklós, [1896], 27-28.; Bálint SÁROSI: A cigányzenekar múltja az egykorú sajtó tükrében I. 1776–1903 [The Past of the Gypsy Band in the Mirror of the Contemporary Press I. 1776-1903], Budapest, Nap Kiadó, 2004, 99-101, 106-118, 123-125.

12 Lili Veronika BÉKÉSSY: Military Bands as Symbols in Pest-Buda in the 1850s, in: Stanislav Tuksar – Vjera Katalinić – Petra Babić – Sara Ries (eds.): 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, Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for the History of Croatian Music – Croatian Musicological Society, 2021, 553-564.

¹³ The National Theatre in Pest currently holds a significant amount of archival material in the Theatre and Music Department of the National Széchényi Library and the National Theatre History Museum and Institute in Budapest. The material of the German theatres of Pest-Buda can be also found here.

reunion. Systematic press research is therefore necessary to provide a microhistory of the subject.

Previous large-scale institutional press research, however much it contributed to our knowledge, could only partially cover the operation of the period's musical life: 14 the primary focus was on understanding the process of nation-building. 15 The general picture of the music scene in Pest-Buda has changed a lot in recent years, thanks to a wide range of studies. 16 As a result of ongoing collaborative work and of a renewed systematic press research it became clear that several aspects of the nineteenth-century Pest-Buda music history remained unknown. It also became clear that there is an increasing need to revise our knowledge about the music history of the century, especially the period of Neoabsolutism. 17

¹⁴ One of the reasons for this is that, due to institutional reorganisation, the work of the group led by Dezső Legánÿ was interrupted in 1986. 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/>.

¹⁵ This tendency started in the Department with the work of Kornél Bárdos. Cf. Kornél BÁRDOS: *A tatai Esterházyak zenéje 1727–1846*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978; *Eger zenéje, 1687–1887*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987; *Székesfehérvár zenéje 1688–1892*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993.

¹⁶ E.g. Katalin KIM: Demythologizing the Genesis of the Hungarian National Anthem, Musicologica Austriaca (2021), special issue »Exploring Music Life in the Late Habsburg Monarchy and Successor States«, https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/103; Pál HORVÁTH: Untying the »Musical Sphinx«: Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in Nineteenth-Century Pest-Buda, Studia Musicologica, 61 (2020) 1-2, 33-50; Rudolf GUSZTIN: Choral Movement and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Hungary, in: Stanislav Tuksar – Vjera Katalinić – Petra Babić – Sara Ries (eds.): 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, Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for the History of Croatian Music - Croatian Musicological Society, 2021, 695-712; Zsolt VIZINGER: The Inter-nationality of Late Nineteenth-Century Budapest Quartets and Their not Entirely Prejudice-free Reception in the Press, Musicologica Olomucensia, 35 (2023) 1, 62-72, https://musicologica.upol.cz/pdfs/ mus/2023/01/04.pdf>; Péter BOZÓ: The Butterfly and the Lion: Intersections between the Reception of Wagner and Offenbach in Nineteenth-Century Budapest«, in: Michaela Mojžišová (ed.): Cultural and Artistic Transfers in Theatre and Music: Past, Present and Perspectives, Bratislava: VEDA, 2021, 12-24.

17 Nancy M. WINGFIELD (ed.): Creating the Other. Ethnic Conflict & Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe, (Austrian and Habsburg Studies 5), New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003; Laurence COLE – Daniel L. UNOWSKY (eds.): The Limits of Loyalty. Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy, (Austrian and Habsburg Studies 9), New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007; Ágnes DÉÁK: 'Zsandáros és policzájos idők' – Államrendőrség Magyarországon, 1849–1867 ['Times of Police and Gendarmes': The State Police in Hungary], Budapest: Osiris, 2015; Orsolya MANHERCZ: Bécsi sajtópolitika a forradalom után (1849–1852) [Viennese Press Politics after the Revolution, 1849–1852], In medias res, 4 (2015) 1, 103-127; Orsolya MANHERCZ: Ferenc József főherceg/császár/király Magyarországon, 1843–1867 [Archduke/Emperor/King Franz Joseph I in Hungary, 1843–1867], Aetas, 32 (2017) 4, 96-108; Zsolt K. LENGYEL: Neoabszolutizmus vagy önkényuralom? Megjegyzések a magyarországi Bach-korszak újabb historiográfiájához [Neoabsolutism or Arbitrary? Comments on the Newer Historiography of the Hungarian Bach Era], Aetas, 23 (2008) 2, 237-255.

As I had previously done during my research on Franz Joseph I's visit to Hungary in 1857, ¹⁸ I worked my way through the Hungarian and German newspapers of Pest-Buda, day by day, looking for news and reports about musical events and happenings in the cities. The data collection created in the course of this research was thus intended to cover the year 1857 as fully as possible. ¹⁹ For this single year, restricting the analysis of the capital's musical data, I have so far managed to collect nearly 6,000 news pieces, announcements, reports or reviews, which I have supplemented with archival data from the Budapest City Archives, the National Széchényi Library and the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library of Budapest. On the basis of this data, it can be concluded that the Hungarian and German language newspapers gave different weighting to cultural events. ²⁰

The systematic press research includes a large amount of press material that has not yet been examined and processed, including, for example, the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote*, which used the Viennese press as model for its structure. In the aforementioned paper, it became apparent that its advertising columns provide an unprecedented and structured insight into the everyday musical life of Pest-Buda at the time, more than offered by any other local paper. In addition, a number of methodological questions arose.

The availability of full volumes of newspapers was problematic. The quest for completeness in the analysis of each individual volume still requires in-person library and archival research, yet the digitisation work of online repositories has made a difference to the use and accessibility of press organs. Online repositories facilitate and speed up the process, but nevertheless, systematic research still requires a »hybrid« mode of research, both online and in the library.

Each periodical had a different approach and strategy regarding publishing information and were of diverse quality regarding reliability, wording, richness of information, ideological orientation, political orientation, etc. The press reviews and reports also had a basically personal tone. Subjective aspects such as the advertisements provide a more objective view regarding historical facts.

The press advertisements – as compact versions of the few surviving posters and playbills – preserved the events of everyday life for posterity, occasionally registering the performers and the works played, so they constitute primary sources for the scenes of musical life. At the risk that on any given day there may

¹⁸ Lili Veronika BÉKÉSSY: Az 1857-es magyarországi császárlátogatás zenei reprezentációja [Musical Representation of the Emperor's Visit to Hungary in 1857], in: Katalin Kim (ed.): Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2017–2018. Tallián Tibor tiszteletére, Budapest: BTK Zenetudományi Intézet, 2019, 199-230.

¹⁹ The public database will be available on the website of the Hungarian Music History Department as part of my PhD dissertation, planned for 2023.

²⁰ Tibor Tallián also referred to this phenomenon and the differences between the Hungarian and the German-language press in his monograph on the opera critiques in the reform era. See Tibor TALLIÁN: *Schodel Rozália és a hivatásos magyar operajátszás kezdetei* [Rozália Schodel and the Beginnings of Professional Hungarian Opera Performance], Budapest: Balassi, 2015.

have been a change of programme or cast, or a mistake by the staff of the medium providing the data, we can nevertheless sketch macrohistorical trends in musical life by adopting a microhistorical approach. In this way, we can gain a more refined understanding of the structure, the functioning, and the actors of the period's public music life.

The Period's Advertisements as Source Material

This study presents the background, operation and structure of three daily newspapers, the *Budapesti Hírlap*, the *Hölgyfutár* and the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote*, thus illustrating the different strategies of each press organ. The *Budapest Hírlap* was a semi-official imperial gazette, the *Hölgyfutár* an organ propagating national culture and public life, and the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* was a newspaper with a focus on daily events and cultural happenings, including reviews and advertisements.

On 24 November 1852, the Governorate concluded a new contract with the editor-in-chief of the *Budapesti Hírlap*, Ferenc Szilágyi, to continue the operation as the successor of the official Hungarian-language imperial gazette entitled *Magyar Hírlap*. The increasing administrative measures of the 1850s soon led to the loss of the paper's independence.²¹ The orientation of the *Budapesti Hirlap* is also indicated by its headline, which features the imperial eagle. Following the death of Ferenc Szilágyi, the editorship of the paper was taken over by Lajos Nádaskay on 1 January 1857, who also translated opera librettos for the National Theatre in Pest during the 1850s, including the librettos of the *Huguenots* (1852), *Troubadour* (1854) and *Rigoletto* (1856).²² Among the columns of the journal, the most important are the »Tárca« (Feuilleton), »Napi hírek és események« (Daily news and events) and »Színházi előadások« (Theatre performances), which contain content relating to musical life in Pest-Buda.

The *Hölgyfutár* was published from 15 November 1849 at the expense of the printer Kozma Vazul. The original purpose of the paper was to promote quality Hungarian literature, under the editorship of its owner, Ignác Nagy. From 1852, its work was assisted by the later editor-in-chief, Kálmán Tóth. Ignác Nagy's two-faced politics of the time meant that he was awarded his licence to start a newspaper remarkably early, and the *Hölgyfutár* was launched on the same day as the government's former semi-official newspaper, the *Magyar Hirlap*, on 16 Novem-

²¹ Miklós SZABOLCSI (ed.): A magyar sajtó története [The History of the Hungarian Press], II/1, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985, 340-345.

²² Nádaskay Lajos, in: József Szinnyei: *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [Life and Work of Hungarian Writers], IX, Budapest: k. n., 1891, 509-511, https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexiko-nok-magyar-irok-elete-es-munkaiszinnyei-jozsef-7891B/n-9BA34/nadaskay-lajos-nadaskai-9BB38/ (Accessed 21 June 2021).

ber 1849. This proved to be problematic later on as Hungarian writers committed to the national movement did not support Ignác Nagy as a consequence of his ambivalent position in the events of 1849, which fundamentally affected the quality of the paper.

As press historians recall, and as contemporary literary history and historiographical research seems to confirm, the *Hölgyfutár* »has never been of more than mediocre quality«. This was compounded by the fact that in many cases the paper was an explicit patron of lower-quality Hungarian literature, for which, as press historian Géza Buzinkay put it, »the misinterpretation of the interests of national culture (to support everything that is Hungarian) cannot be a sufficient excuse«.²³ Despite this, the sometimes radical tone of the paper was relatively popular, with a »Hirharang« (News) column similar to the tabloid columns of the day. It is somewhat ironic, then, that it was the »Hirharang« and the »National Theatre« columns that proved most useful for research.

In addition to these two Hungarian-language newspapers, it is also worth mentioning the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote*. About its history we have little information apart from the newspaper numbers. Regarding the German-language press published in Hungary, we must mention the research of Béla Pukánszky and currently Mária Rózsa.²⁴ The *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* was launched on 1 September 1850 and operated until 1864, with Gustav Birnbaum as editor. According to József Szinnyei's lexicon, Birnbaum was born in Pest (1829-?), graduated from the Evangelical School (Augustan Confession), attended the University of Pest for the first year as a liberal arts student, and then the University of Vienna for the second year, after which he lived in Pest-Buda as a businessman. In addition to his literary analyses, he is best known for his *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote*, and its successor periodical, published between 1861 and 1863 entitled *Der Ungar.*²⁵

Among the columns of the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* edited by Birnbaum, the »Budapest« and the advertisement columns provide useful information for music history. The content of the advertisement columns is particularly noteworthy because it contains information not available elsewhere. The *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* is therefore unique in that it publishes the programme and

²³ M. SZABOLCSI (ed.): A magyar sajtó története, II/1, 418-422.

²⁴ Margit V. BUSA: Magyar sajtóbibliográfia 1850–1867. A Magyarországon magyar és idegen nyelven megjelent valamint a külföldi hungarika hírlapok és folyóiratok bibliográfiája [Hungarian Press Bibliography 1850-1867. A Bibliography of Hungarian-language Newspapers and Journals Published in Hungary in Hungarian and Foreign Languages], Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1996, https://www.mek.oszk.hu/03500/03546/03546.htm (Accessed 21 June 2021); Mária RÓZSA: Deutschsprachige Presse in Ungarn 1850-1920, Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2003.

²⁵ Birnbaum Gusztáv, in: József Szinnyei: *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, I, Budapest: k. n., 1891, 1079-1080: https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-irok-elete-es-munkai-szinnyei-jozsef-7891B/b-79D0E/birnbaum-gusztav-7CD20/. Other than that, not much is known about Birnbaum's life and work, neither encyclopaedias nor the period's lexicons mention him.

sometimes the cast of the National Theatre in Pest, the German Theatre (Stadttheater or German Theater in Pest), the Ofner Stadttheater in Buda and, in summer, the Pest Summer Theatre (Pesther Sommer-Theater) and the Ofner Summer Theatre (Ofner Sommer-Theater). It also offers information on dance vigils, balls in the spas, café concerts and sometimes other concerts and reunions.

While the *Hölgyfutár* and the *Budapesti Hirlap* only mention reunions in exceptional cases and prefer to publish reports, the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* publishes more than 500 advertisements of reunions held in Pest-Buda in 1857. The quantity alone justifies some attempt to define this genre of public concert life.

In the case of the former three newspapers of Pest-Buda, more than 4,000 articles relating to the public musical life of the cities appeared in the pages of the 1857 issues alone. Of these, the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* contains more than 2,300 articles on the history of music only in Pest-Buda. The majority of these are advertisements or shorter news pieces and announcements about current musical events and their realisation, but there are also many more detailed reports and reviews, as well as critiques. Compared to other periodicals, the *Budapesti Hirlap* contains more than 600 articles and the *Hölgyfutár* almost 1,400. The *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* therefore published a great deal of information that was not included in the Hungarian-language newspapers, especially the *Hölgyfutár*, which did not fit in with the cultural practices of the national movement. Through the systematic collection of press material, the torso of Pest-Buda musical life is coming into view, and the structure of everyday musical life comes into focus.

The Structure of Pest-Buda's Public Concert Life

In outlining the public concert life of Pest-Buda, we can take as a starting point the *MGG's Konzertwesen* article, which also suggests a sociological approach to the structure of musical life and the possibilities of grouping and using public space.²⁶ In addition to the statistics of Elek Fényes, we can also draw on the composition of the population of Pest-Buda from Károly Vörös, and more recent social history research.²⁷ In the light of the former statements, we can broadly divide the layers of public concert life of the Pest-Buda bourgeoisie according to the nature of different musical event and the audience, using the year 1857 as a sample.

Concerts. Including the performances of the Philharmonic Society's symphonic concerts in the Hall of the National Museum, as well as chamber music evenings,

²⁶ Hanns-Werner HEISTER: Konzertwesen, *MGG Online*, 1996, https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/11495> (Accessed 21 June 2021). See also: Zoltán FÓNAGY: Zenei nyilvánosság és polgári viselkedéskultúra. A 19. századi hangversenyterem [Music Publicity and Civic Culture. The 19th-century Concert Hall], *Történelmi Szemle*, 54 (2012) 4, 577-598.

²⁷ See footnote 8.

concerts by national and foreign guest performers, concerts by students of the National Conservatory [Nemzeti Zenede], the choirs, and other associations. These events usually took place in rented premises, such as the banqueting hall of the Hotel Europa, the Hotel Tiger, the banqueting hall of the Lloyd's Trading Company or the National Museum in Pest. We can also include the so-called "academies", which are concerts mixed of virtuoso pieces, songs and arias, chamber music or orchestra, with a mixed ensemble, sometimes with dance interludes. Such performances can be seen on the stage of the National Theatre in Pest, especially on festive or charity occasions. With an entrance fee.

Opera performances, musical theatre performances, hosted by the National Theatre in Pest, the Municipal German Theatre (Stadttheater or German Theater in Pest), the Buda Castle Theatre (Ofner Stadttheater), and in summer by the Pest Summer Theatre (Pesther Sommer-Theater) and the Buda Summer Theatre (Ofner Sommer-Theater). With an entrance fee.

Church music. In addition to the musical aspects of the ceremonies of the various denominations, we should mention here, e.g. the large-scale requiems (Cherubini, Mozart) and masses (Beethoven) performed at public funeral services in the parish churches of the city centre and in the Church of Our Lady of the Great, now the Matthias Church. No entrance fee is known.

Promenade concerts, promenade music. Usually concerts of popular plays and operas by military orchestras, occasionally by gypsy bands or mixed ensembles of these, on the Széchenyi Promenade, on Margaret Island or on Páva Island in the City Park. Sometimes with an entrance fee.

Cafés and restaurants. Performances by contracted military bands, gypsy bands or mixed ensembles of these, as well as other mixed ensembles, including touring singing groups or »folk music societies« (including *sramla* bands), dance bands in hotel cafés, beer halls, gardens, restaurants. Includes reunions or musical evenings and other catering performances of more popular compositions. With an entrance fee.

Balls, dances. The balls and dances, aimed at different social classes, were held in different venues in the light of the social class targeted. For the more distinguished and wealthy circles, the halls of the Buda Parliament, the National Theater and the Municipal German Theatre in Pest and the banqueting hall of the Lloyd Society were usually used. However, dance parties were also held in catering establishments. The performing bands were military and/or gypsy bands, or smaller or larger bands formed from their members. With an entrance fee.

This study will present the reunions below. However, I do not attempt to list all the reunions that took place over the course of the year, since they took place almost every day. Rather, I will attempt to define the genre of the reunion concert and place it in a regional context.

Reunions

If we ask about the musical history of the concept, we can find the term reunion in the titles of some music pieces, such as Johann Strauss Sr.'s compositions the *Döblinger Reunion-Walzer* op. 2 (1826) and the *Hietzinger-Reunion-Walzer oder Weißgärber-Kirchweih-Tänze* op. 24 (1829), which are probably among the first to appear. From the titles, it is logical to conclude that these works could have been occasional compositions for the wider public. A new direction is thus given to the definition by the composer Johann Strauss Sr. and the musical practice that was his hallmark.

As a genre of public music, the reunion was presumably generally known within the Habsburg Empire and beyond. There are numerous examples from the Austrian territories, especially Vienna, and the practice was known as early as the 1820s. Reunion spread throughout the Empire in the following decades, so that in Pressburg, for example, the genre was probably mentioned from the late 1840s, as we learn from the *Pannonia*:

»New in Pressburg and popular in many cities in Germany, the reunions are a Lenten celebration that brings back memories of a friendly carnival with the latest and most popular dance music. Director Megerle wants to introduce us to this fun, and is organizing several reunions during Lent. The first of these will take place tomorrow, with a programme including a number of very popular pieces of music, starting at 2.30 pm. A large turnout is certainly to be expected at these reunions.«²⁸

In addition to Pressburg, there are examples from the 1850s in Brno, where we can also find similar tendencies. On 15 July 1856, for example, three restaurants held a reunion: Spurny's garden, the Blue Lion, and Funtan's guesthouse, where the orchestra of the 54th Regiment of the Imperial Army performed under the baton of Rzimek.²⁹ However, the genre was not confined to the borders of the Empire. Examples can be found in St Petersburg, too: for an entrance fee of 1 silver ruble, the Hermanns' Orchestra performed at the Vauxhall in the Katharinenhof, an entertainment venue, on 10 March 1840.³⁰ The evening edition of the *Wiener*

²⁸ "Eine in Preßburg neue, in vielen Städten Deutschlands sehr beliebte Fastenunterhaltung sind die Reunionen, in welcher durch den Vortrag der neuesten und beliebtesten Tanzmusikstücke freundliche Faschingserinnerungen wachgerufen werden. Herr Director Megerle will dieses Amusement auch bei uns einführen und wird während der Fasten mehre Reunionen veranstalten. Die erste derselben findet morgen statt, das Programm enthält eine Reihe sehr belibster [!] Tonstücke und beginnt Nachmittags um halb drei Uhr. Ein zahlreicher Besuch dieser Reunionen steht mit Gewißheit zu erwarten.«, ***: Reunion in Redoutensaal, *Pannonia*, 11 (20 February 1847) 21, 83.

²⁹ Neuigkeiten, 6 (15 July 1856) 194, 4, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=neb&datum=18560715&seite=4&zoom=33 (Accessed 21 June 2022).

³⁰ II. Privat-Bekanntmachungen, *Intelligenzblatt der St. Petersburgischen Zeitung*, 33 (8 March 1840) 54, 1. https://www.difmoe.eu/uuid/uuid:73c52d0c-aa5e-49ae-a25a-256dfcdcb149 (Accessed 21 June 2022).

Zeitung of the 1850s reports not only on the Viennese reunions, but also on those in London, in Regents Park.³¹

The Pest-Buda reunion performances of the 1850s could therefore draw on models and even local precedents. For a further definition and a better understanding of its relations, we must turn to the nineteenth century research of Kálmán Isoz. The second volume of his monograph on the musical culture of Buda and Pest (1686-1873) in typewritten and manuscript form was originally intended as a three-volume work, and was published only in fragments before the 1950s.³² In his material, which is based mainly on archival and press research, he also includes a special section on the genre of the reunion, which he published in the journal *A Zene* (Music) and which he included in a separate print in the second volume of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Manuscript Collection, as part of a future chapter on concert life.³³

Isoz defined the genre as follows: »The high quality popular concerts of our time are the superior successors to the 'reunions' of the first half of the last century. Reunions, on the other hand, evolved from the musical performances of carnival dance pieces during Epiphany.«³⁴ In the first half of the nineteenth century in particular, the musical performances of Epiphany were strictly linked to the carnival period, from Epiphany to Shrove Tuesday. Masquerade balls and other dance and social gatherings took place on the moving feast day – a feature still prevalent in the 1850s. The clientele was varied and included the aristocracy, who were in the capital during the winter, the magnates, the wealthy middle classe, the officials, artists and other interested parties.

Isoz pointed out that the local reunion performances were modelled on the Viennese practice, which seems likely indeed. The first mention of reunions in Pest-Buda can be found in the local press in the 1830s, but it is possible that reunion performances had already appeared in the second half of the 1820s. If we want to draw parallels with possible patterns in Vienna, it is worth observing the annual issues of the *Wiener Zeitung*, especially those of the 1830s. The *Wiener Zeitung*, like the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote*, contains a number of reunion events, with performers including Johann Strauss Sr., Joseph Lanner and Franz Morelli. These performers were synonymous with quality entertainment and dance music. On the weekend of 28-29 May 1836, the Viennese public could attend all three orchestras: on the 28th, Franz Morelli gave a reunion in the

³⁴ K. ISOZ: A művészi zenét népszerűsítő reuniók, 269.

³¹ ***: Es waren in London [...], Abendblatt der Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlichen Wiener Zeitung, (5 June 1856) 128, 510 [14].

³² Kálmán ISOZ: Buda és Pest zenei művelődése (1686–1873). I. kötet. A 18-ik század [Musical Culture in Buda and Pest (1686-1873). Vol. 1. 18th Century], Budapest: Budapesti Magyar Népszínházi Bizottmány, 1926.

³³ Kálmán ISOZ: *Buda és Pest zenei fejlődése* [Musical Development of Buda and Pest], typewritten fragment, Manuscript Collection of the Library of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms 5661/41–43.

garden of the *Zum goldenen Vogel* from 7 pm, and on the 29th, Joseph Lanner in the Augarten. Johann Strauss Sr. awaited the audience with »Conversation« in the Dommayer Casino.³⁵

This justifies the question of the difference between a reunion, a dance vigil and an open-air or promenade concert. The borders are not clear: It is problematic that reunions were also held outdoors, or that in some cases they may have been combined with dance events. It would be feasible to imagine dancing at reunions, but this would require further research. It seems therefore worthwhile to think in terms of interrelated categories for the classification of events into the genres of concert life. According to Isoz, "what distinguishes reunions from ballroom music performances is that they also played other pieces in addition to dance music and that they were not exclusively 'promenade concerts'. [...] The financial profit of the reunions, which were held for a modest entrance fee, prompted the owners of the large inns to offer their guests a musical reunion in return for an entrance fee of ten kroner per person [until 1848].«36

For the restaurateurs, there was a clear financial benefit from the reunion, as the popular repertoire of the popular bands certainly attracted an audience. During the 1850s, reunions continued to be popular, requiring permission to employ musicians to be obtained from the city council by the operator of the catering establishment. These entries can be found in the city council minutes kept in the Budapest City Archives. For example, the Tüköry beerhouse and the *Zum goldenen Anker* (re-)obtained their licences on 10 January 1857, after the application had been submitted.³⁷ It is not yet clear how the regulation was subsequently implemented, but it seems certain that the pricing was left to the catering unit.

There are several ways to find out about the repertoire of reunions. In some cases, the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* published the premiers of new popular works. The list of polkas, quadrilles, marches, overtures and waltzes mentioned in the advertisements for 1857 alone is long – some of them were also published as piano transcriptions.³⁸ We can also deduce the works played from the repertoire of the performing bands, including military orchestras, gypsy bands and newer ensembles. Regarding the repertoire played by the gypsy bands, the history and operation of the orchestra of Ferenc Sárközi and the Patikárus brothers was dealt

³⁵ Oesterreich-Kaiserliche privilegierte Wiener Zeitung, (28 May 1836) 121, 674 [6].

³⁶ K. ISOZ: A művészi zenét népszerűsítő reuniók, 269.

³⁷ »Bericht über die Eintheilung der Gastlokalitäten von welchen die Musik [...] gebühren zu ertruhten[?] sind. Die in Vorschlag gebrachte Eintheilung wäre mit dem zu genehmigen, daß der Lokale zum goldenen Anker u die Tükörysche Bierhalle ebenfalls in die 1ste Class eingereicht werden dürfte.«, Budapest City Archives, City coucil minutes of Pest, HU_BFL_IV_1202_a_457, f. 88.

³⁸ See Ilona MONA: *Magyar zeneműkiadók és tevékenységük* 1776–1867 [Hungarian Music Publishers and Their Activities 1776-1867], (Műhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez 11), Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1989.

with in detail by Bálint Sárosi and Csaba Szíjjártó.³⁹ The repertoire played also covers that of the military orchestras, some of whose members were musicians who also played in the orchestra of the National Theatre in Pest or even studied at the National Conservatory. As far as the functioning of the military orchestras is concerned, the research of Károly Galván and Pál Karch should be mentioned in particular for the Pest-Buda aspects.⁴⁰ These aforementioned bands, with their varied training and musical backgrounds, and the repertoire they played, can best be illustrated by an example.

Through an opera potpourri performed in Vienna by the Viennese-born military conductor and composer Karl Morelli, brother of Franz Morelli, who was also active in Pest-Buda, we gain an insight into the repertoire of an orchestra playing at the reunions. Born into a family of musicians, ⁴¹ Karl Morelli and the orchestra of the 9th Regiment of the Imperial Infantry were regular performers first in Vienna and then in Pest-Buda. ⁴² He took over the orchestra in Pest after his brother Franz moved to Bombay in India (now Mumbai) in 1854. ⁴³ He was also employed by the National Theatre in Pest: in the theatre pocket-books he was listed as Károly Morelli, cellist, in 1857 and 1858. ⁴⁴ In the meantime, he regularly performed at balls with the orchestra he led, and also organized reunions. The orchestration of Karl Morelli's highly successful operatic potpourri *Eins für Alles. Großes Potpourri* suggests a larger orchestra (see Table 1).

³⁹ Bálint SÁROSI: *Cigányzene* [Gypsy Music], Budapest: Gondolat, 1971; Csaba SZÍJJÁRTÓ: *A cigány útra ment... Magyar cigányzenészek külföldjárása a kiegyezés előtt* [The Gypsy Went on a Trip... Hungarian Gypsy Musicians Travelling Abroad Before the Settlement], Budapest: Masszi Kiadó, 2002.

- ⁴⁰ Károly GALVÁN Pál KARCH: A katonazenekarok szerepe a magyar városok kulturális életében 1849–1914 [The Role of Military Bands in the Cultural Life of Hungarian Cities 1849-1914], I–V, typewritten manuscript, Budapest: MTA BTK ZTI Magyar Zenetörténeti Osztály, 1983. László MAROSI: Two Centuries Military Music in Hungary: A History of Hungarian Military Music Conductors and Marches, 1741-1945, Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 2015; Emil RAMEIS: Die Österreichische Militärmusik von ihren Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1918, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976; Eugen BRIXEL Gunther MAR-TIN Gottfried PILS: Das ist Österreichs Militärmusik. Von der »Türkischen Musik« zu den Philharmonikern in Uniform, Graz Vienna Cologne: Edition Kaleidoskop, 1982.
- ⁴¹ Christian FASTL: Morelly (Morelli, Morell), Familie, *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_M/Morelly_Familie.xml (Accessed 21 June 2021).
- ⁴² Lili BÉKÉSSY: Katonazenekarok Pest-Budán az 1850-es években [Military Bands in Pest-Buda in the 1850s], *Magyar Zene*, 56 (2018) 3, 274.
 - 43 Divatcsarnok, 2 (10 September 1854) 50, 1170; Budapesti Viszhang, 1 (17 September 1854) 20, 639.
- ⁴⁴ Elemér HANKISS Károlyné A. BERCZELI (eds.): *A Magyarországon megjelent színházi zseb-könyvek bibliográfiája* [Bibliography of Theater Pocket Books Published in Hungary], Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1961, 283: XI, 284: XI. The brothers' activity in Pest-Buda musical life caused a lot of confusion in distinguishing their names: in the 1850s, the names of Franz and Karl Morelli were swapped in several cases in the theater pocket books.

Table 1. Karl Morelli: The orchestration of *Eins für Alles. Großes Potpourri* according to the autograph score, 3 June 1860 (ÖNB Musiksammlung, Mus.Hs.15207 MUS MAG)

Violino 1mo; Violino 2do; Viola; Cello; Basso; Flöte; Picolo; D Klarinett; A Klarinett; Fagotto; F Horn [1]; F Horn [2]; F Tromba [1]; F Tromba [2]; Posaun; Bombard.; Tympani; Tambourin; [B. C.?]

There are string, woodwind, brass and percussion sections, but the exact number of musicians is not known. The surviving manuscript score, which is in the *Musiksammlung* of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, gives an insight into the repertoire that Morelli must have known and that was popular with the public. A careful annotation makes it easy to identify the musical details of the potpourri. The author of the manuscript, presumably Morelli himself, has also indicated the source of the quotation for the sometimes extremely short excerpts, sometimes lasting only a few bars (see Table 2). This allows us to observe several layers of the repertoire known and played by Morelli and his orchestra, and thus to draw up a partial list of his musical experiences. In addition to motifs and excerpts from popular Italian and German operas, popular dances of the period, Austrian melodies and musical evidence of his stay in Hungary are also included among the motifs of the *Eins für Alles* potpourri.

Table 2. Karl Morelli: Musical excerpts in Eins für Alles. Großes Potpourri according to the autograph score, 3 June 1860 (ÖNB Musiksammlung, Mus.Hs.15207 MUS MAG)

- No. 1. All[egr]o maestoso Bellini aus der Oper Norma
- No. 2. Allegretto. Rigoletto v. Verdi
- No. 3. Maestoso All[egr]o Raymund. Ouverture v. A. Müller
- No. 4. Walzer von österreichischen Volksmelodien
- No. 5. Allegretto. Marsch aus Martha v. Flotow
- No. 6. And [an] te maestoso. Fahnenwache v. Lindpaintner
- No. 7. Allegro aus der Oper Lucia v. Donizetti
- No. 8. Hops Polka (Schell) v. Franz Morelly »Lássán« Andante (4 ütem átvezetés)
- No. 9. And[ant]e *Szökött katona* (Ung. Volksstück)
- No. 10. Friss. Ida csárdás
- No. 11. Maestoso *Wo steht der Teufel* (Introduction zum Polka von Karl Morelly) And[ant]e
- No. 12. Quadrille v. J. Strauss
- No. 13. Masur von Franz Doppler von dem Oper Benjovsky
- No. 14. Sperlpolka von Ludwig Morelly. Zepperl Polka

No. 15. Poco And[an]tino. Grande Arie aus der Oper *Robert der Teufel* v. Meierbeer

No. 16. Steyrisch von Jos. Lanner (Vater)

No. 17. All[egr]o mod[era]to. Trovatore v. Verdi.

No. 18. Fin. von Konradin Kreutzer

The research of the everyday musical life of Pest-Buda has been extended with several new results through the microhistorical processing of recent archival and press research. The microhistorical approach provides a much more detailed picture of the structure of musical life in the 1850s. Starting from the level of everyday life, the amount of data collected makes it possible to visualise the macrostructures that allow us to reconstruct the institutional system of music life and its operation. To this end, it would be worthwhile to give preference to the broadest possible overview and systematic processing of sources.

* * *

The study examined the material of three daily newspapers with significantly different concepts and compared them with archival material, presenting the pages of the 1857 issues of the Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote, which has not yet been processed, as well as the *Hölgyfutár*, which is already known to researchers. The latter German-language paper proved to be extremely important in the light of the new research: in hundreds of cases, this single periodical alone recorded certain musical events. If we compare the musical events of the carnival period including the first week of February, the following can be said about the proportions of data. In total, the three papers have 107 music articles linked to the capital for a week. The Budapesti Hirlap published 18 articles (advertisements, news, announcements, reports, reviews, etc.), the Hölgyfutár 23 and the Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote 66. The Budapesti Hirlap reported 5, the Hölgyfutár 10 and the Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote 60 musical scenes, while the Budapesti Hirlap reported 15, the Hölgyfutár 12 and the Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote 59 compositions. In addition to the events at the National Theatre in Pest, the German Theatre in Pest is mentioned a few times in the Hölgyfutár. The Budapesti Hirlap tries to inform its readers as widely as possible in its daily news, and the Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote publishes as many advertisements as possible, which the Hungarian-language press has so far provided little or no information about.

Perhaps this makes it clear to what extent the complete processing of the *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote* serves as a new starting point for understanding and perhaps reassessing the structure of the musical life of Pest-Buda. Furthermore, we can suspect a conscious process between the orientation of the newspapers and the content of the information published. Based on the periodicals

highlighted above, it seems that the aim of the Hungarian-language press in the case of the *Hölgyfutár* was a kind of national indoctrination – that which was not closely related to the interests of Hungarian national music was not published. ⁴⁵ So, what seems to be equally important for nineteenth century Hungarian music history research is what the contemporary Hungarian-language chroniclers of the time refused to remember. The combined use of micro- and macrohistorical approaches thus offers new possibilities for rethinking our current understanding of the institutional system of everyday musical life and its functioning.

Sažetak

ŽANR PROSLAVE: MIKROPOVIJEST GLAZBENOG ŽIVOTA PEŠTE-BUDIMA 1857.

Rad predstavlja tekući istraživački projekt koji ima za cilj mapirati svakodnevni glazbeni život Pešte-Budima i ocrtava strukturu javnih glazbenih događaja u tim gradovima prije ujedinjenja. Također, nudi objašnjenje proslave kao koncertnog žanra u regionalnom kontekstu. U radu se detaljno opisuje pozadina, djelovanje i struktura glazbenog života gradova s pomoću analize triju dnevnih novina, *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Hölgyfutár* i *Pesth-Ofner Lokalblatt und Landbote*. Samo u 1857. godini na stranicama ovih novina izašlo je više od 5000 članaka koji se odnose na javni glazbeni život tih dvaju gradova. Struktura javnog koncertnog života Pešte-Budima na temelju ovog mikropovijesnog istraživanja može se podijeliti u sljedeće kategorije: koncerti, operne i glazbenokazališne predstave, crkvena glazba, promenadni koncerti i promenadna glazba, glazbene izvedbe u kafićima i restoranima, balovi i plesovi. Među navedenim kategorijama posebna pozornost posvetila se žanru proslave u pokušaju da se isti preciznije definira na temelju prijašnjih (Kálmán Isoz) i novih istraživanja novinskoga gradiva tog razdoblja, kao i arhivskih glazbenih izvora (*Eins für Alles. Großes Potpourri* Karla Morellija).

⁴⁵ In this context, it is worth recalling a reflection from Jan Assman's influential volume *Cultural Memory*, in which the historical anthropologist highlights not only the rite of remembering but also the rite of forgetting in the canonization of particular cultural communities. See Jan ASSMAN: *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination, Budapest: Atlantis, 2011, 22, 55, 200.*