

Első megjelenés:

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“Ein Tristan von nobelstem stahl...”: The Influence of a czech wagner Tenor on Hungarian Musical Life in the First Half of the Twentieth century¹

1. Karel Burian in Hungary

Karel Burian was one of the best Wagner tenors of the early twentieth century.² Despite his many faults – he was a moody man who often broke his contracts and cancelled his musical engagements on a whim – he was a great singer and, according to Gustav Mahler and Karl Böhm, the best Tristan of their time. The authors of his biographies always mention his Wagner roles and his long presence in New York, and primarily the world première of *Salome* by Richard Strauss, when he played the role of Herod to much acclaim. His reputation and popularity might be measured against that of Enrico Caruso.

Burian performed in Budapest almost annually from 1900 until the year of his death. He was a member of the Royal Hungarian Opera from 1901 to 1902 as a “lyric and heroic tenor, but mainly for Wagner roles,” as is written in his contract.³ Besides his Wagner roles – Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, Siegmund and Walther von Stolzing – he sang in three very important Hungarian premières over the course of that season, appearing as Lensky in Tchaikovsky’s *Onegin*, Loris Ipanoff in Umberto Giordano’s *Fedora* and, in November 1901, as Tristan in Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*.⁴

The much-anticipated Hungarian première of *Tristan und Isolde* was the most important event of the 1901–1902 operatic season, with Italia Vasquez (Isolde), Karel Burian (Tristan), Dávid Ney (Marke), Mihály Takáts (Kurwenal) and Vilma Berts (Brangäne) in the main roles and István Kerner as conductor, all of whom were famous members of the Royal Hungarian Opera. It was a strange performance: according to an old unwritten law, singing in German was not allowed on the stage of the Hungarian National Theatre. Burian had not learnt the role in Hungarian, so he sang in Italian. As a critic wrote after the performance, “Such is the world

¹ This article is based on the paper given at the international conference “Richard Wagner’s Impact on His World and Ours” held in Leeds, 30 May–2 June 2013. I am grateful to Noémi and Lóránt Najbauer for their help with the English text. The author is a member of the “Lendület” Archives and Research group for 20th and 21st Century Hungarian music of the Institute of musicology (RCH HAS) in Budapest and holds the postdoctoral scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

² For an accurate account of Burian’s life, see K. J. Kutsch, L. Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, 3rd expanded edition, vol. I, Bern–Munich, 1997, pp. 509–510.

³ A contemporary certified copy of Burian’s contract can be found in the Archives of the Hungarian State Opera.

⁴ For Burian’s Hungarian connections see my DLA dissertation: F. J. Szabó, *Karel Burian és Magyarország*. [Karel Burian and Hungary] (DLA dissertation, Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of music, 2012). In English: F. J. Szabó, „Karel Burian and Hungary,” in P. Bozó ed., *Space, Time, Tradition. Extracts of Theses Defended at the Doctoral School of the Budapest Liszt Academy of Music*, Budapest 2013, pp. 265–292.

we live in. The Czech tenor sings in Italian, our Italian primadonna [sic] in Hungarian, and some Hungarian singers are unintelligible.”⁵

The libretto of *Tristan und Isolde* was translated into Hungarian by Emil Ábrányi the elder. After the performance, some reviews were published about this translation. The critic István Gergely, who wrote the previous ironical comment, stated that ábrányi’s translation was true to the style of Wagner and was still a “genuine Hungarian poem”.⁶ On the other hand, the critic from the journal *Zenevilág* [musical world] pointed out that there were some mistakes in the translation. As *Zenevilág* critics regularly dealt with the librettos of operas,⁷ Béla Himpfner mentioned that although a good Italian translation already existed (*Tristano e Isotta*. Nuovo traduzione italiana in prosa ritmica da Pietro Florida. Edition Ricordi), Burian sang another version.⁸

According to the press reviews, Burian found the original date of the Hungarian première (16th September) premature, and that is why he did not learn the Hungarian translation.⁹ It is likely that he had learned the Italian text earlier, maybe during his Prague season.¹⁰ Despite the linguistic difficulties, the performance was a huge success. According to the period press, the protagonists got twelve or fourteen curtain-calls after the first act.

Burian broke his contract in 1902, some days before a recording session for The Gramophone Company in Budapest. This is why we have a recording of the “Liebestod” with Italia Vasquez,¹¹ but we do not have any sound recordings of Burian from that time. He only returned to Budapest in 1907, when he was already a world famous singer. Thereafter he sang regularly as a guest in Budapest. His presence made it possible to perform the Wagner repertoire, including *Siegfried*, *Götterdämmerung* and *Tristan und Isolde*, but he also sang at the revival of *Der Evangelimann* by Wilhelm Kienzl in 1912.

From 1913 on he was a standing guest of the Royal Hungarian Opera. In 1913, Burian took up Hungarian citizenship, after having the Opera House tenor Béni Dalnoki adopt him to facilitate the process.¹² The reason for it was a well-known legal institution known as “Hungarian divorce”.¹³ It is less known that Burian gave approximately 30 to 40 performances in Budapest almost every year until his death. He sang Rodolfo on the hundredth performance of *La Bohème* in Budapest and celebrated his thirtieth anniversary as artist in 1921 also in Budapest, at a performance of *Tristan und Isolde*. He also sang in

⁵ „Ilyen a világ mifelénk. A cseh tenorista olaszul zeng, olasz primadonnánk magyarul, egynémely magyar énekesnőnk pedig érthetetlenül.” I. Gergely, „Trisztán és Izolda” [Tristan und Isolde], *Budapesti Napló* 6/329 (29 November 1901), p. 3.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ For example, an unknown Hungarian critic wrote after the première of *Siegfried* in Saint Petersburg that there were no stave-rhymes in the Russian translation, see: *Zenevilág* 2/30 (18 march 1902), p. 317.

⁸ B. Himpfner, „A »Trisztán és Izolda« zenedráma szövegének fordításáról,” *Zenevilág* 2/23 (28 January 1902), pp. 1–3.

⁹ I. Gergely, „Trisztán és Izolda” [Tristan und Isolde], *Budapesti Napló* 6/329 (29 November 1901), p. 3.

¹⁰ [Anonymous], „Burrián nyilatkozata” [The statement of Burian], *Magyar Szó* 2/157 (5 July 1901), p. 12.

¹¹ The gramophone Company, 53246, matr. 1174x. About the 1902 Budapest recordings of The gramophone Company see F. J. Szabó, At the very beginning: The First Hungarian Operatic Recordings on the Gramophone Label Between 1902 and 1905, in: *The Lindström Project* Vol. 4. eds. P. Gronow, Ch. Hofer, Wien 2012, pp. 51–60.

¹² *Magyar színművészeti lexikon. A magyar színháztörténete* [Hungarian Theatre Lexicon. History of Hungarian stage performance], vol. I, ed. A. Schöpflin ([Budapest]: Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézete, [1929]), p. 250. Naturalization was easier if the applicant had himself adopted by an older Hungarian citizen. See the supplement to Act L/1879, § 8, then in force.

¹³ “Hungarian divorce” was a well-known legal institution by the early 20th century, when not all lands in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy allowed divorce. Hungary did so if both parties were Hungarian citizens. It became common for divorcees to take citizenship purely for that purpose. On this see Sándor Nagy, “Osztrák válások Erdélyben, 1868–1895. Otto Wagner »erdélyi házassága«” [Austrian divorcees in Transylvania 1868–1895. Otto Wagner’s ‘Transylvanian marriage’], *Fons* 14/3 (2007), pp. 359–428.

a world première of a Hungarian opera, *Otello mesél* [Otello Tells his Tale] by Jenő Sztojanovits. The latter was unsuccessful; it was performed only three times in 1917. Burian did not always enjoy success in that period in Budapest. As is widely known, he was an inveterate drinker, and he once sang Lohengrin intoxicated in Budapest – it was a scandalous performance.¹⁴ He often threatened to leave the Opera, but he always returned some weeks or months later.

As a summary, Karel Burian was present in the musical life of Budapest almost continuously from 1900 to 1923. He was a central figure of the cult of Wagner in Budapest; also, in a figurative sense, Burian had a profound influence in Hungary, not only in the world of opera but also in musical culture in general.

2. Burian and the Slavic music repertoire in Budapest

Burian was an enthusiastic propagator of the music of his homeland. In 1904 he took part in the first Czech song festival,¹⁵ and in May 1909 he appeared in the Smetana cycle at the National Theatre in Prague.¹⁶ He co-edited a volume titled *Album of Burian*¹⁷ with the Czech composer Jindřich Jindřich. His presence most likely facilitated the revival of *Dalibor* in Vienna in which he sang the title role in the 1912–1913 theatrical season. Czech culture was important to Burian in yet another way: in later years he translated German operas, e. g. *Tristan und Isolde*, into Czech.¹⁸

In his will, written in 1920 in Budapest, he declared that a foundation was to be established after his death under the name “Karl Burians Stiftung für den besten Schüler des Prager čechischen [sic] Konservatoriums.” The foundation was to provide financial support to poor but talented students.¹⁹

Burian frequently performed Czech songs at his concerts in Budapest. According to our recent data he gave 24 concerts in Hungary,²⁰ a good proportion of these, fifteen concerts in all, took place in the inter-war period. At a concert in March 1918 his younger brother, the baritone Emil Burian also appeared with him. Songs by Wagner, Mahler and Richard Strauss and also by Jindřich Jindřich, František Neumann figured as part of Karel Burian’s song repertoire performed in Budapest. The songs *Liebesträume* and *Verwelkte Blüte* by Jindřich were announced on 27 November 1921 as being performed “for the first time in Hungary” but the cycle *Erinnerungen* [Vzpomínky], performed at the same concert, was also most likely a Hungarian première.

¹⁴ James Dennis mentions the episode in his study of Burian. He failed to board the boat drawn by swans and tried to cover up with a remark that became famous: “What time does the next swan leave?” See James Dennis, “Karel Burian”, *The Record Collector* 18/7 (July 1969), p. 162. I heard the same anecdote told of several tenors, including Burian, but failed to find it in the Hungarian press. It may actually have happened to Leo Slezak, whose son Walter included it in his memoirs as about being his father and having occurred in America. It became a classic when the book first came out in 1964. W. Slezak, *Wann geht der nächste Schwan?* Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1971, p. 211.

¹⁵ J. Bartoš, *Karel Burian* Rakovník: Výbor pro jubilejní oslavy v Rousínově, 1934, p. 32.

¹⁶ K. Kolofiková, Burian, Karel, in: *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*, Praha 2010, <http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&action=record_detail&id=7049>. (Downloaded on: 6.12.2010)

¹⁷ K. Kolofiková, Burian, Karel and J. Dennis, Karel Burian, p. 149.

¹⁸ The Czech translation of *Tristan und Isolde* by Karel Burian (Brno: Barvič a Novotný, 1922) is to be read in the National Library in Prague. According to James Dennis, Burian translated all of Wagner’s operas and *Salome* into Czech as well as an opera by František Picka into German, see: J. Dennis, Karel Burian, p. 152. Kolofiková mentions that in addition to the Wagner librettos, he translated some German songs as well.

¹⁹ Burian’s will in the Budapest City Archives, HU BFL – VII.269 – 1920 – 557, pp. 9–10.

²⁰ For the full list of Burian’s concert performances in Hungary see in the appendix of my DLA dissertation.

Although he performed some arias from *Dalibor* and *Hubička* at his concerts in Budapest, out of his Slavic roles, he only had a chance to sing that of Lensky in Hungary.²¹ The reason for this limitation was the repertoire of the Royal Hungarian Opera; prior to his Hungarian season, Burian had been a member of the National Theatre in Prague, where he had evidently sung in many Czech operas, e.g. *Dalibor*, *Prodaná nevěsta*, *Psohlavci*, *Pád Arkuna* and *Rusalka*.²²

The Hungarian reception of the Slavic operas is not discussed in the literature. *Prodaná nevěsta* was performed first in Budapest in 1893, with a total of fourteen performances in its first season. The number of performances fell and the opera was not a part of the repertoire when Burian was a member of the Opera. It was performed some time later, although Burian did not sing the main role.

In January 1902 *Eugene Onegin* by Piotr Tchaikovsky became the first Russian opera on the stage of the Royal Hungarian Opera. The music itself did not meet with much success, but the press praised Burian for his singing and his clear enunciation of the Hungarian text. *Onegin* was the only Slavic opera which was part of the repertoire of the Royal Hungarian Opera for relatively longer, mainly because of Burian's guest appearances between 1907 and 1913. It is surprising that *Onegin* did not remain part of the repertoire of the Royal Hungarian Opera after 1913. While it was performed regularly at the occasional guest appearances of Burian, it was not performed when Burian was a standing guest in Budapest.²³ After Burian's death, *Onegin* remained unperformed until 1932. There were only three performances of *Onegin* in 1932; the next revival came only in 1951.

In April 1902, a Czech operatic ensemble came to Budapest. They performed *Prodaná nevěsta*, *Dalibor* and *Hubička* by Smetana, *Psohlavci* by Kovařovic, *Čert a Káča* by Dvořák, and *Pikovaya Dama* by Tchaikovsky at a small theatre; almost all of the works were Hungarian premières. The tenor of this ensemble was Julius Bochniček, a Czech tenor who was engaged by the Royal Hungarian Opera after these guest appearances. After Burian's departure from Budapest, Bochniček received some of his roles, including that of Lensky.

Dalibor was slated to première at the Royal Hungarian Opera in 1902 and 1903 as well, but in fact it was only premièred in 1909.²⁴ It was performed just twice; the title role was sung by a Hungarian tenor, Dezső [Desider] Arányi.²⁵ A journalist, Izor Béldi, wrote after the death

²¹ In 1909 Burian summed up his role repertoire for the editor of the periodical Smetana. At that time, he listed nine Czech and two Russian opera roles: the title role of *Dalibor*, Jeník from *Prodaná nevěsta* and Lukáš from *Hubička* by Bedřich Smetana, Ctirad from *Šárka* and Jaroměr from *Pád Arkuna* by Zdeněk Fibich, the prince from *Rusalka* by Antonín Dvořák, Kozina from *Psohlavci* by Karel Kovařovic, Vojtěch from *Starý ženich* by Karel Bendl, Vojtěch from *V studni* by Vilém Blodek, Sobinin from *Ivan Susanin* by Glinka and Lensky from *Onegin* by Tchaikovsky. He omitted two Russian roles: Vaudemont from *Jolantha* by Piotr Tchaikovsky and *Sinodal* from *Der Dämon* by Anton Rubinstein. He sang the former in Hannover in 1897 and the latter in Dresden in 1903. Burian's role repertoire and his autobiography were published later in the memoirs of Burian, see: Karel Burian, *Z mých pamětí. I*. Praha: Melantrich, 1913, pp. 3–6. Now also available in Czech, English and German on the homepage <<http://www.karelburian.cz/index.php>>.

²² I compiled the list of Burian's operatic performances in Prague on the basis of the online archives of the National Theatre Prag, <archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz>.

²³ According to an entry on the eighth page of the old cast book of the Royal Hungarian Opera Burian took the vocal score of *Onegin* on 10 March 1920. A revival might have been planned and did not come to fruition. The old cast book is kept in the Archives of the Hungarian State Opera.

²⁴ About the 1902 and 1903 plans see: [Anonymous], „Burrian Károly szerződése az operánál” [Karel Burian's Contract at the Opera], *Egyetértés* 35/193 (16 July 1901): p. 4. and (–Idi) [Béldi Izor], „Az operaház jövő szezonja. II” [The Next Season of the Opera. Part Two], *Pesti Hírlap* 24/166 (19 June 1902), p. 6.

²⁵ According to some sources, Burian sang the title role of *Dalibor* in Budapest in 1909. In fact, Burian only took the vocal score and the role score from the Opera (see in the old cast book mentioned before), but he did not sing the role of Dalibor in Budapest, see [Alfréd Jónás et al.], *[Az] Operaház szereptörténeti adattára [1884–1948]*. [Catalogue of the roles at the Royal Hungarian Opera] Budapest, c1950. (manuscript, National Széchényi Library Budapest, MS 124/1–3) and the inventories in the Archives of the Hungarian State Opera.

of Burian in the newspaper *Pesti Hirlap* that Burian was able to arrange for *Dalibor* to be performed in Budapest.²⁶ This assumption can not be verified on the basis of existing sources.

Burian made many recordings of Czech songs and operatic excerpts as well.²⁷ As he did not sing Czech operatic roles in Budapest, it would be superfluous to analyse these recordings in the present article. However, we do have the opportunity to compare Burian's recording of Lensky's aria with the statements of the Hungarian press about Burian's performance in the role of Lensky in Budapest. Burian recorded this aria in Czech on 27 June 1911 in Prague. This comparison does not give us a definite result because there is an almost ten-year difference between the Hungarian première and the recording.²⁸ Armand Erdős wrote in 1902: "[Burian] sang the farewell-song in the second act with warm feeling and with a virtuoso approach."²⁹ We know from August Beer that Burian was applauded while standing on the stage after the aria.³⁰

We can not know what Armand Erdős meant by a "virtuoso approach"; Burian's recording represents a mature performance style, even more mature than that of his other operatic recordings. It is worth comparing this recording with those of other contemporary tenors. We can observe remarkable differences in the tempi. Burian sang the aria more impetuously than did the other singers from German theatres. His tempo in the first and the middle sections is faster than the tempo of the same section on the recordings of Johannes Sembach and Alexander Kirchner (see the chart below).³¹ We can not confirm that the Hungarian journalist and composer Armand Erdős could previously have heard Lensky's aria performed by other singers, so it is doubtful that this kind of tempo difference would have been the reason for his opinion. At most, it might have been the dynamism of Burian's performance that struck him.

Tchaikovsky: *Onegin* – the aria of Lensky. Dates of the recordings used for comparison.

Singer	Year	Matrix no.	Catalogue no.	Average tempo of the slow section	Average tempo of the middle section
Karel Burian	1911	2253c	G.C.072021	64	82
Johannes Sembach	1909	255ac	G.C.042234	55	77
Alexander Kirchner	1913	402al	G.C.042400	64	75

Furthermore, we can not assert that Burian's Slavic repertoire in itself could have had a profound impact on the musical culture of Budapest. The Hungarian premières of Czech art songs sung by Burian would not have been enough to make these songs widely popular. His 78 rpm discs of Czech and Slovak songs were not circulated in Hungary, mainly for linguistic reasons. Nor was he the only Czech musician in Budapest; besides Julius Bochniček, mentioned above, the tenor František Broulík also sang for many years at the Royal Hungarian Opera at the turn of the century. The inability of the Slavic repertoire to take root

²⁶ –Idi. [Izoz Béli], „Burrian-adomák” [Anecdotes about Burian] *Pesti Hirlap* 46/202 (27 September 1924), p. 10.

²⁷ Burian recorded from his Slavic operatic repertoire some arias from *Onegin*, *Dalibor*, *Dimitrij* and *Psohlavci*. For the most detailed discography of Burian's recordings, see the appendix of my DLA dissertation.

²⁸ There were detailed remarks about the piece and the performers mainly after the first performance. At the later performances the journalists did not record any particular judgements.

²⁹ „A második felvonásban a bucsu-dalt meleg érzéssel és virtuoz [sic] felfogással énekelte.” A. Erdős, „Onegin,” *Egyetértés* 36/30 (31 January 1902), pp. 4–5.

³⁰ A. Beer, „Eugen Onegin,” *Pester Lloyd* 49/27 (31 January 1902), pp. 2–3.

³¹ For the tempo analyses, I used the TAP function of the Seiko DM100 digital metronome.

in Budapest after Burian's death is best explained by political and theatrical considerations. Further Slavic operas, besides *Onegin – Boris Godunov* and *Khovanshchina* by Mussorgsky and *The Queen of Spades* by Tchaikovsky – could be only performed successfully after 1930 when the Royal Hungarian Opera had a homogeneous ensemble to cast these operas.

3. Karel Burian's impact on Hungarian musical culture

At the turn of the century, the cultural life of Budapest was German-based. The head of the composition class at the music Academy was a German composer, Hans von Koessler. In the time, he was mentor to a whole generation of Hungarian composers, including Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, Leó Weiner and the operetta composers Imre Kálmán, Jenő Huszka and Victor Jacobi. Wagner was the most influential composer for them in their school years, whether they looked up to him as an ideal or regarded his work as an example of how not to write music.

As Ferenc Bónis wrote in his study "Bartók and Wagner", one of the most important influences on Bartók were the operas of Wagner in his academic years.³² Bartók listened to all of the operas of Wagner which were on the repertoire of the Royal Hungarian Opera; according to his letters, he was present at Burian's first and third guest performances in 1900, and it is obvious that he was also present at many performances of *Tristan*. In a 1902 letter, he chided his mother for not attending *Tristan* at the Opera, although it was performed thirteen times during the season. "Alas! This absence will pain me forever; I will be vexed with myself and with you forever that I did not have you come and see any of those very notable performances, although several good opportunities presented themselves."³³

Both Bartók and Kodály visited Bayreuth in 1904. Bartók wrote the following about *Parsifal* after the Festspiele: "I am writing these lines under the effect of Parsifal. It is a very interesting work, but it did not have as tremendous an impact on me as did, for example, *Tristan*."³⁴ In 1905 he reckoned the performances of *Tristan* to be among his greatest experiences.³⁵ Kodály was also enthusiastic about *Tristan und Isolde*. According to some contemporaries of his, he played the Prelude to *Tristan* by heart and this deeply impressed his friends in 1906 and in 1907.³⁶

The early compositions of Bartók and Kodály were influenced by those of Wagner, and this influence is obviously connected to Karel Burian's Wagner performances. In his study, Ferenc Bónis demonstrated the strong influence of Wagner on Bartók's early Violin Concerto (op. posth.) and his First String Quartet, and he argued that the stage works by Bartók could also be connected to the ideas of Wagner. The links between the mysteries surrounding Lohengrin and Duke Bluebeard, between the orchestral opening of *Das Rheingold* and of *The Wooden Prince*, and between the main roles of *Parsifal* and *The Miraculous Mandarin* are strong. All of these pieces are about the redemptive power of love. I could only add Bartók's Piano Quintet (1903–1904) to this list, which also bears witness to the influence of Wagner, more specifically, of his *Tristan und Isolde*.

³² F. Bónis, „Bartók and Wagner,” in: T. Crow (comp. and ed.), *Bartók Studies* Detroit: Detroit Reprints in music, 1976, pp. 85–92.

³³ „Ó jaj, Ó jaj, Ó jaj; örökké fájni fog nekem ez a mulasztás; örökre szemrehányást fogok tenni neked és nekem, hogy e nagy-nevezetességű előadások egyikét sem néztem meg veled, mikor oly pompásan kedvező alkalom kínálkozott arra.” Letter of Béla Bartók to his mother from Budapest to Pozsony (Bratislava), 19 May 1902. *Bartók Béla családi levelei* [The Family Letters of Bartók], ed. by B. Bartók jr. and A. Gomboczné Konkoly, Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1981, p. 65.

³⁴ „Nagyon érdekes mű, de oly roppant nagy hatást nem tett rám, mint pl. *Tristan*.” Bartók's letter to Kálmán Harsányi, see: *Bartók Béla levelei* [The letters of Béla Bartók], ed. J. Demény, Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976, pp. 77–78 (hereinafter referred to as “Demény, letters”).

³⁵ Bartók's letter to Irmay Jurkovic from Paris to Nagyszentmiklós, 15 August 1905, see: Demény, letters, p. 95.

³⁶ J. Breuer, *Kodály-kalauz* [A guide to the works of Kodály], Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1982, pp. 332–333.

Kodály's early works are not widely discussed. According to the literature, these are “youthful attempts conceived in the spirit of Viennese Classicism (up to 1900) or of the German Romantics, particularly Brahms (1900–04).”³⁷ However, I would argue that Wagner's influence can be traced in the *Adagio* for violin and piano, written in 1905. The thick chromatic nature of the piece, the upwards bending minor sixths, and the use of the so-called “Tristan-chord” in important places, for example, preceding the pause before the reprise, are striking.

Example 1. Zoltán Kodály: *Adagio* for violin and piano (1905), beginning.

The score shows the beginning of the piece in 3/4 time. The tempo is marked *molto legato* with a metronome marking of ♩ = 48-50. The violin part starts with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and then a half note B4. The piano accompaniment features a thick texture with chords and moving lines in both hands. Dynamics range from *p* (piano) to *mf* (mezzo-forte).

Example 2. Zoltán Kodály: *Adagio* for violin and piano (1905), mm. 76–82.

This section of the score is marked **Tempo I.** It features a more rhythmic and chromatic texture. The violin part has a melodic line with triplets and slurs. The piano accompaniment is dense with chords and moving lines. Dynamics include *piu. f* (pianissimo forte) and *f* (forte).

Later both Bartók and Kodály became estranged from Wagner's music. Their new sources of inspiration became Debussy and Hungarian folk music, but the most important

³⁷ L. Eöszé [et al.], „Kodály, Zoltán,” in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second Edition.* Vol. 13, ed. S. Sadie, London: Macmillan, 2001, p. 719.

influence on their early style was Wagner's music, which was performed with great success during Burian's stay in Budapest.

4. Burian's impact on the operatic culture in Budapest

Burian also influenced many aspects of operatic culture in Budapest. Not only did he represent the gold standard in singing, but the success of the première of *Tristan und Isolde* was also a landmark event. Imre Kálmán wrote after the enormous success of the Hungarian première of *Madama Butterfly* in 1906 that the Royal Opera had not seen such an accurately prepared and excellent performance since the première of *Tristan und Isolde*.³⁸ *Tristan* was so thoroughly woven into the fabric of the repertoire that audience members and critics alike, when listening to the love duet of *Butterfly* and Pinkerton, could not help but compare it with the love duet of *Tristan und Isolde* in the second act.³⁹

Just after Burian's first appearance in Budapest, the critics described his artistic quality as "the style of Bayreuth": "He belongs to that illustrious German school where the heroes are brought up for Bayreuth."⁴⁰ There are similar statements in the press after the performances of *Meistersinger* in 1902, of *Siegfried* in 1908, of *Götterdämmerung* in 1916. Although we can not know what the critics meant by "Bayreuth style", it seems that they typically used that phrase when they liked a Wagner performance. Moreover, Burian appeared only once in Bayreuth and with modest success. This semi-snobbish worship of Bayreuth was widespread in the Hungarian press. At the première of *Tristan und Isolde* the style of the singers, the orchestra, the conductor, the scenery, the direction and the Hungarian translation of the libretto were all judged according to the standards of Bayreuth, or at least, according to the standards the critics attributed to Bayreuth.

As is discussed by many authors, most extensively by David Mahlon Breckbill in his PhD dissertation *The Bayreuth Singing Style around 1900*,⁴¹ the singing style of the operas of Wagner underwent profound change after the death of the composer. During Cosima Wagner's lifetime, the emphasis moved from the music to the text of the drama, from belcanto singing to speech-like declamation. Legato singing was only allowed during arioso sections, portamento was permitted very rarely and only with good reason. One of the most important requirements was to be true to the score.

On the basis of a comparison between recordings of "Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond..." performed by Ernst Kraus, a significant Bayreuth singer of the time, and Karel Burian, it is obvious that Burian's singing style was closer to a belcanto Wagnerian style.⁴² Burian's recording features more portamenti, more flexible rhythms, and broadening (fermata) at two closing places, which make his singing style almost Italianate.⁴³ Ernst Kraus sang the same aria more accurately, with less portamenti and a stricter rhythm. Aside from Burian's not too heroic figure, his almost belcanto Wagnerian style might be the main reason he was invited to Bayreuth on just a single occasion.

³⁸ I. Kálmán, „Pillangó kisasszony” [Madama Butterfly], *Pesti Napló* 57/130 (13 May 1906), pp. 17–18. The operetta composer Imre [Emmerich] Kálmán worked as a music critic for the *Pesti Napló* between 1904 and 1908.

³⁹ A. Erdős, „Puccini – Pillangó kisasszony” [Puccini – madama Butterfly], *Egyetértés* 41/130 (13 May 1906), p. 1.

⁴⁰ „Ahhoz az előkelő német iskolához tartozik, a melyben Bayreuth számára nevelik a hősokeket.” (e. á.), „Opera” *Egyetértés* 34/152 (5 June 1900), p. 2.

⁴¹ D. Mahlon Breckbill, *The Bayreuth singing style around 1900*. PhD dissertation. University of California, Berkeley, 1991.

⁴² I discussed Burian's Wagner style more detailed in my DLA dissertation and in the article in English, see the footnote 4.

⁴³ Burian's recording from Siegmund's Spring Song is available on the homepage <www.karelburian.cz> and also on youtube: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Juszd32ax00>>.

Richard Wagner: *Die Walküre* – „Winterstürme...” Dates of the recordings used for comparison.

Singer	Date	Accompaniment	Catalogue no.	Matrix no.
Karel Burian	2 July 1911, Prague	Orchestra	G.C.2–42473	15512b
Ernst Kraus	27 April 1909, Berlin	Orchestra	G.C.4–42222	954ab

Burian was the first heroic tenor in Budapest who sang at the Royal Hungarian Opera from his youth until his death. All of the later Wagner tenor singers of the Royal Hungarian Opera were measured against him. He became the gold standard but not in all respects. The ideal Wagner tenor was expected to have not only a real heroic tenor voice, but also a heroic figure. Furthermore, he was to be a Hungarian. Burian's influence on Hungarian Wagner tenors is best examined with the help of the recordings of Zsigmond Pilinszky and Zoltán Závodszy. Both sang with Burian at some Wagner performances in Budapest.⁴⁴

Zsigmond (or Sigismund) Pilinszky's debut took place in 1913 at the Royal Hungarian Opera House.⁴⁵ Just one year later, he sang the role of Erik in *The Flying Dutchman*. He enriched his Wagner repertoire later with Siegmund and Lohengrin and, in the late twenties, with Tannhäuser and Siegfried. He also appeared in lyric roles, for example, those of Pinkerton, Wilhelm Meister and Don José. Upon hearing him sing Wagner roles, critics always remarked that he showed great promise but still had a lot to learn. He left the Opera House in 1928 for Berlin, after which time he became well-known as a Wagner tenor; in 1930 and 1931 he appeared in Bayreuth as Tannhäuser.⁴⁶

Zoltán Závodszy's debut was in 1920 in Budapest when he performed Heinrich der Schreiber in *Tannhäuser*.⁴⁷ He sang only smaller roles for years; as he said later in an interview, he specialized in messenger roles.⁴⁸ In 1925, at Pilinszky's debut as Tannhäuser, Závodszy was still singing Heinrich, but a critic mentioned in his review that the *Heldentenor* voice of Závodszy showed great progress.⁴⁹ During the next five years he studied and performed all of the great Wagner tenor roles with great success. The critics praised him for his declamation, stylistic sense, expressiveness and sonorous voice. On the basis of his few recordings, his enunciation must have been outstanding; every word he sings is understandable. His success following his first Tristan was indescribable. It was the first performance of that opera with a fully Hungarian cast, in Hungarian. After Burian's death *Tristan und Isolde* was only on repertoire with the guest performances of foreign tenor singers. Závodszy was the first member of the Opera House who could sing this role in Hungarian and was the first Hungarian tenor who appeared in all of the Wagner tenor roles in Budapest.

Pilinszky was usually fastidiously criticized, but Závodszy was praised in Budapest as a Wagner tenor. Their recordings, however, leave us with another impression altogether. As Burian, Pilinszky and Závodszy also made recordings of “mein lieber Schwan” from

⁴⁴ Pilinszky sang the role of Zorn (*Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*), Heinrich (*Tannhäuser*), Závodszy sang also Heinrich (*Tannhäuser*), Froh (*Rheingold*) and Melot (*Tristan und Isolde*) at the performances of Burian at the Royal Hungarian Opera, see Alfréd Jónás's role catalogue (footnote 25).

⁴⁵ About Zsigmond Pilinszky see Kutsch – Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, Vol. 4, p. 2742.

⁴⁶ Columbia recorded the 1930 Bayreuth *Tannhäuser* with Zsigmond Pilinszky. It was reissued in 2001 on CD by Naxos (8110094-95).

⁴⁷ About Závodszy see Kutsch – Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, Vol. 5, p. 3801.

⁴⁸ M. Meixner, *Nagy magyar előadóművészek. Závodszy Zoltán*. [Great Hungarian Artists. Zoltán Závodszy]. Cover text of the Hungaroton LP (SPLX 12195, 1980).

⁴⁹ [Anonymous], „(Uj Tannhäuser)” [New Tannhäuser] *Magyarország* 6/246 (31 October 1925), p. 11.

Lohengrin, thus it is possible to compare them. On the basis of that comparison, it is not clear why Závodszy became “the” *Heldentenor* in Budapest. Pilinszky had a brighter, more metallic, real *Heldentenor* voice, while Závodszy was rather a darker baritone-tenor and sang with more pathos. Závodszy also sang with more portamenti, broader vibrato, with slower tempi, almost in the style of an oratorio. At the same time, I must emphasize that the recordings of Závodszy were made after 1950, when the singer was over sixty years old. Unfortunately, we do not have earlier recording by him.⁵⁰

As I mentioned above, Burian’s singing style was that of a *Heldentenor* with many belcanto elements. Both Pilinszky and Závodszy used belcanto gestures – portamenti, fermatas – but while Pilinszky had a clear *Heldentenor* voice, Závodszy’s singing was characterized by a sweeter, almost sanctimonious, lyrical singing style. It is worth knowing that Závodszy’s singing teacher was Georg Anthes, a former German tenor of the Royal Hungarian Opera who sang in a similar, but more heroic manner. In his obituary of Burian, Gyula Fodor wrote that Anthes was a priest on the stage and he created mythic heroes, but Burian created real people out of those mythic heroes.⁵¹ The difference between Pilinszky and Závodszy might be characterized in a similar manner.

Wagner: *Lohengrin* – “Mein lieber Schwan”. Dates of the recordings used for comparison.

	Language	Accompaniment	Date	Label	Matrix No.	Cat. No.
Burian	Czech	Orchestra (Unknown)	April 1911	Gramophone Company	12259L	2-72219
Pilinszky	German	Staatskapelle Berlin, Frieder Weissmann	April 1928	Parlophon	2-20736	P.9842-2
Závodszy	Hungarian	Orchestra (Unknown)	After 1950	Hungaroton	–	SLPX 12195

Why did the Budapest press seem to prefer Závodszy? At the time of Pilinszky’s debut Burian was still an active singer. When Pilinszky sang his first Siegmund and Lohengrin, he was Burian’s rival. Závodszy was only one year younger than Pilinszky, but he started to sing the weightier Wagner roles after the death of Burian, and two years after his first performance of Erik, Pilinszky also left the Royal Hungarian Opera House. Závodszy was the only permanent Wagner tenor in Budapest. One further reason for the snobbish behaviour of the Hungarian press concerning Pilinszky could have been that Pilinszky started his career as a singer of a small countryside theatre in Hungary, in Miskolc, and he was soon assigned important roles at the Opera House. By contrast, Závodszy had been in training for much longer: he studied at the music Academy then came to the Opera House, where he first got smaller roles and only later main roles. Závodszy’s interpretation shows an interesting change in tastes and in the prevailing ideas about heroism. He sang the excerpts he recorded much more slowly. This may be, in part, a consequence of the tempo changes during the first half of the twentieth century; as the musical details were finely wrought, the tempi were slower, enabling the details to be heard.

However, Závodszy’s recordings show a strange heroic ideal. His heroes are thoughtful, meditative, highly responsible and serious. They are like the responsible leaders of movements, of countries, of ideas. These characteristics may be linked with the history of the twentieth century as well. It is possible that there was some similarity between the Tristan of Závodszy and that of Burian or, at least, the version of Burian’s performance that lived on in

⁵⁰ The recording is available on Youtube: <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g9Tgs2g-5mI>>.

⁵¹ Gy. Fodor, „Burián Károly” [Karel Burian], *Esti Kurír* 2/202 (27 September 1924), p. 5.

the minds of the people of Budapest. After Závodszy's first performance of *Tristan* the press concluded that Závodszy had "translated" the role into a lyric manner,⁵² although critics described his voice as a sonorous, clearly shining tenor.⁵³ His *Tristan* was a little sad and pensive.⁵⁴

There were similar remarks about the Burian's first *Tristan* in Budapest. He was most successful in the third act, when *Tristan* was wounded.⁵⁵ August Beer wrote the following about Burian's performance: "Ein *Tristan* von nobelstem Stahl, von edler Richterlichkeit und innerer Bewegung."⁵⁶ The atmosphere of Burian's only recording of *Tristan* is statuesque; it is devoid of extreme emotional outbursts.⁵⁷ According to recent data, Závodszy also recorded only one excerpt from *Tristan und Isolde* – the vision from the third act. The interpretation, though not the singing style, is slightly similar to that of Burian.⁵⁸

There was one more similarity between Burian and Závodszy. In Hungary, Burian sang mainly Wagner roles; he did not sing his virtuoso roles, for example, those of Manrico, Rhadames, Johann von Leiden, Masaniello, Turiddu or Cavaradossi. Závodszy also did not sing such roles, but Pilinszky did. Pilinszky appeared in Budapest as Wilhelm Meister, Pinkerton, Turiddu, Rhadames and in the main roles of various nineteenth-century Hungarian operas as well. That is why it is possible that the audience and the critics felt Závodszy reminded them of Burian, the almost ritually esteemed *Heldentenor* of the recent past. Although Pilinszky's singing style was more similar to that of Burian, Závodszy was more popular. That is why the similarities between Závodszy and Burian were more present in the mind of the audience than were the similarities between Pilinszky and Burian.

But in contrast to Burian, both Pilinszky and Závodszy had an appropriate figure for the heroic roles, and so they were better at creating the illusion of being Wagnerian heroes. Burian, by contrast, did not have a very heroic figure; he was stocky, short and thick-built. That is why the reviews about Pilinszky and Závodszy always mention and praise their athletic figure. Perhaps the most important reason for the star cult surrounding Závodszy was that he was the first singer able to sing all of the Wagner tenor roles in Hungarian. Pilinszky and Burian, on the other hand, did not sing all of these roles in Budapest, and Burian sang them in Italian and, after 1915, in German. In this respect Závodszy was 'better' than Burian or Pilinszky, but as the recordings show, only in this respect. Karel Burian's influence was essential in the first half of the twentieth century in Budapest and he remained the gold standard until 1924. Following his death, his memory serves as the yardstick against which great tenors were measured.

⁵² „Herr Závodszy hat den sorgfältig aufgebauten *Tristan* ins Lyrische übertragen". g.m., Neubesezung von „*Tristan und Isolde*". Im Königlichen Opernhaue [New Cast of *Tristan und Isolde*. In the Royal Opera]. Press review preserved in the press collection of the Archives of the Hungarian State Opera with incorrect inscription: *Pester Lloyd* (29 September 1930).

⁵³ (d. f.), „Trisztán és Izolda magyar előadása az Operaházban." [The Hungarian Performance of *Tristan und Isolde*] *Nemzeti Ujság* 12/221 (30 September 1930), p. 14.

⁵⁴ f. gy. [Gyula Fodor], „Az első magyaryelvü Trisztán-előadás." [The First Performance of *Tristan und Isolde* in Hungarian] *Esti Kurir* 8/222 (30 September 1930), p. 11.

⁵⁵ L. T. [Tivadar Lándor], „A nagy előadás. A Trisztán és Izolda bemutatója" [The great performance. The premiere of *Tristan und Isolde*], *Pesti Napló* 52/329 (29 November 1901), p. 8.; mj., „Königl[iche]. Ung[arische]. Oper." *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* 25/330 (29 November 1901), pp. 6–7.

⁵⁶ A. Beer, „*Tristan und Isolde*," *Pester Lloyd* 48/287 (29 November 1901), pp. 2–3.

⁵⁷ „Wohin nun *Tristan* scheidet..." The gramophone Company 2–42474, matrix number: 15513b. In German, with orchestral accompaniment, recorded in Prague on 2 July 1911. The recording is available on the homepage <www.karelburian.cz> and also on youtube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Rpna0_yEBE>.

⁵⁸ The recording can be heard on the portrait LP of Závodszy, see footnote 48.

„Ein Tristan von nobelstem stahl...”: wpływ czeskiego tenora wagnerowskiego na węgierskie życie muzyczne w pierwszej połowie XX wieku Streszczenie

1. Karel Burian na Węgrzech

Karel Burian był jednym z najlepszych wagnerowskich tenorów na początku XX wieku, jak twierdzą Gustav Mahler i Karl Böhm, był to najlepszy Tristan ich czasów. Autorzy jego biografii zawsze wspominają jego wagnerowskie role i jego długą obecność na scenach Nowego Yorku, a przede wszystkim światową premierę Salome Ryszarda Straussa, w której śpiewał partię Heroda, i która dała mu rozgłos. Jego reputacja i popularność mogły być porównywane jedynie do tych, którymi cieszył się Enrico Caruso.

Burian był obecny w muzycznym życiu Budapesztu niemal bez przerwy od 1900 do 1923 roku. Był centralną postacią kultu Wagnera w Budapeszcie, także w znaczeniu przenośnym, Burian miał ogromne wpływy na Węgrzech, nie tylko w świecie opery ale także muzycznej kultury w ogóle. W latach 1901–1902 był członkiem Węgierskiej Opery Królewskiej. Oprócz ról wagnerowskich we wspomnianym sezonie teatralnym śpiewał w trzech węgierskich premierach, pojawił się jako Lenski w Onieginie Czajkowskiego, jako Loris Ipanoff w Fedorze Umberto Giordano, a w listopadzie 1901 roku jako Tristan w Tristanie i Izoldzie Wagnera. W 1902 roku Burian zerwał kontrakt i powrócił do Budapesztu dopiero w 1907 roku, kiedy był już sławnym śpiewakiem, następnie regularnie występował tam gościnnie. Jego obecność umożliwiła wystawianie wagnerowskiego repertuaru w Węgierskiej Operze Narodowej. W 1913 roku Burian przyjął ponadto obywatelstwo węgierskie. Mniej znanym faktem jest to, że Burian aż do swej śmierci dawał w Budapeszcie szacunkowo 30 do 40 przedstawień rocznie. Zaśpiewał także w światowej premierze opery węgierskiej Otello mesél [Otello opowiada] Jenő Sztojanovitsa.

2. Burian i repertuar słowiański w Budapeszcie

Burian, jako śpiewak, wydawca nut i tłumacz librett operowych, był entuzjastycznym propagatorem muzyki swej ojczyzny. Często wykonywał czeskie pieśni na swych koncertach także w Budapeszcie, większość była prezentowana na Węgrzech po raz pierwszy. Choć wykonywał niektóre arie z Dalibora czy Hubička na koncertach w Budapeszcie, ze swych słowiańskich ról na Węgrzech miał okazję prezentować jedynie Lenskiego. W drugim rozdziale mego artykułu rozważam krótko recepcję słowiańskiej opery na Węgrzech między rokiem 1893 (Prodaná nevěsta) a 1909 (Dalibor). Omawiam także gościnne występy czeskiego zespołu operowego w Budapeszcie w kwietniu 1902 roku. Burian nagrał wiele słowiańskich pieśni i partii operowych. W moim artykule analizuję jego nagrania arii Lenskiego w zestawieniu z doniesieniami węgierskiej prasy na temat jego występów w tej roli w Budapeszcie oraz w porównaniu z nagraniami współczesnych mu śpiewaków Johannes'a Sembacha i Alexandra Kirchnera. Nie twierdzę jednak, aby słowiański repertuar Buriana miał jako sam w sobie duży wpływ na muzyczną kulturę Budapesztu.

3. Wpływ Karela Buriana na węgierską kulturę muzyczną

W trzecim rozdziale omówiono wpływ Buriana na węgierską kulturę muzyczną w kontekście kultu Wagnera panującego wśród generacji Béli Bartóka i Zoltána Kodály'ego. Na przełomie wieków kulturalne życie Budapesztu było oparte na tym co niemieckie: Wagner wpływał najsilniej na młodych kompozytorów w ich latach szkolnych, bez względu na to czy spoglądali na niego jak na ideał, czy uważali, iż jest przykładem tego, jak nie należy pisać muzyki. Obydwaj Bartók i Kodály odwiedzili w roku 1904 Bayreuth i ich wczesne kompozycje pozostawały pod wpływem Wagnera, ten wpływ jest w sposób oczywisty związany z wykonaniami Karela Buriana. Jako ilustrację analizuję Adagio na skrzypce i

pianino Zoltána Kodály'ego (1905), który to utwór nosi wyraźne ślady wpływu Wagnera, a konkretnie jego Tristana i Izoldy.

4. Wpływ Buriana na kulturę operową w Budapeszcie

Burian miał także wpływ na wiele aspektów kultury operowej w Budapeszcie. Nie tylko dlatego, że reprezentował najwyższy standard śpiewu, ale też dlatego że sukces premiery Tristana i Izoldy stał się wydarzeniem przełomowym. Styl śpiewaczy Buriana i jego artystyczna jakość były opisywane przez krytyków w Budapeszcie jako „styl Bayreuth”. Choć nie możemy wiedzieć co dla krytyków kryło się pod określeniem „styl Bayreuth”, wydaje się, że używali go gdy spodobała im się jakaś realizacja Wagnera. Co więcej, Burian tylko raz wystąpił Bayreuth i to ze skromnym sukcesem. Jak twierdzi wielu autorów, styl śpiewania oper Wagnera przeszedł znaczącą przemianę po śmierci kompozytora. Za życia Cosimy Wagner nacisk został przeniesiony z muzyki na tekst dramatu, śpiew przeszedł od belcanto do recytatywy. Legato śpiewano tylko w sekcjach arioso, portamento dozwolone było bardzo rzadkie i tylko gdy istniał ku temu dobry powód. Wiernie odśpiewanie nut było jednym z najważniejszych wymogów. W moim artykule ta stylistyczna różnica zademonstrowana jest za pomocą zestawienia nagrań Wagnera w wykonaniu Karela Buriana i Ernsta Krausa.

Burian był pierwszym heroicznym tenorem w Budapeszcie, który śpiewał w Węgierskiej Operze Królewskiej od swej młodości do śmierci. Wszyscy kolejni tenorzy wagnerowscy w Węgierskiej Operze Królewskiej byli z nim porównywani. Stał się najwyższym standartem, choć nie pod każdym względem. Idealny tenor wagnerowski powinien być nie tylko prawdziwie heroicznym głosem lecz sam powinien być postacią heroiczną. Co więcej, powinien być Węgrem. Wpływ Buriana na tenorów węgierskich najlepiej zbadać wykorzystując nagrania Zsigmonda Pilinszky'ego i Zoltána Závodszy'ego. Zsigmond Pilinszky debiutował w 1913 roku w Węgierskiej Operze Królewskiej. Zaledwie rok później zaśpiewał rolę Eryka w Latającym Holendrze. Swój repertuar wagnerowski wzbogacił później partiami Zygmunta i Lohengrina, a późnych latach dwudziestych Tannhäusera i Zygfyda. Słyszając go wykonującego role wagnerowskie, krytycy podkreślali, że jest bardzo obiecujący, lecz ciągle musi się wiele nauczyć. Opuścił Operę w 1928 roku i przeniósł się do Berlina, następnie stał się dobrze znanym tenorem wagnerowskim. Zoltán Závodszy debiutował w 1920 roku w Budapeszcie. W latach 1925–1930 studiował i wykonywał wszystkie największe wagnerowskie role tenorów z ogromnym powodzeniem. Krytycy cenili jego deklamacje, wyczucie stylistyczne, ekspresyjność i dźwięczny głos. Sukces jaki odniósł po swoim pierwszym Tristanie jest nie do opisania. To było pierwsze przedstawienie tej opery w pełnej węgierskiej obsadzie i po węgiersku. Závodszy był pierwszym członkiem Opery, który mógł zaśpiewać tę rolę po węgiersku. Był pierwszym węgierskim tenorem, który wystąpił we wszystkich wagnerowskich rolach dla tenorów w Budapeszcie.

Pilinszky był w Budapeszcie zwykle mocno krytykowany a Závodszy'ego ceniony jako wagnerowski tenor. Ich nagrania jednakże wywierają inne wrażenie. Pokazuję różnice i podobieństwa w stylu śpiewaczym Buriana, Pilinszky'ego i Závodszy'ego na podstawie porównania ich nagrań arii „mein lieber Schwan” z Lohengrina. Styl śpiewaczy Buriana był typowym stylem heldentenera z wieloma elementami belcanto. Obydwaj Pilinszky i Závodszy stosowali rozwiązania typowe dla belcanto (portamento, fermaty) ale podczas gdy Pilinszky miał czysty heldentenerowy głos, śpiew Závodszy'ego charakteryzował słodszy, niemal liryczny styl. Pod koniec czwartego rozdziału mego artykułu próbuję odpowiedzieć na pytanie dlaczego budapeszteńska prasa zdawała się preferować Závodszy'ego jako tenora wagnerowskiego i dlaczego odgrywał role wagnerowskich bohaterów w inny sposób. Niemniej, jak pokazują recenzje prasowe, wpływ Karela Buriana był fundamentalny w pierwszej połowie XX wieku w Budapeszcie. Po jego śmierci pamięć o nim stanowiła miarę, którą mierzono innych wielkich tenorów.