Gyermeknevelés Tudományos Folyóirat, 2025, *13*(2), 134–159.
https://doi.org/10.31074/gyntf.2025.2.134.159

Tanulmány

The development of the artist-ideal in Europe at the turn of the 19th–20th century

Transformations in Hungary and their musical aspects

Dévai, Adrienn[1] *– Pethő, Villő*[2] *– Czabaji Horváth, Attila*[3]

Abstract:

The study examines the image of the artist in society from a historical perspective. From the Renaissance to the turn of the 20th century, it explores how perceptions of artists have evolved. When analyzing the role of the artist in society, the authors use Bourdieu's field theory to discuss the process of detaching from the field of power and achieving independence. They clarify the function of patronage and point out the social influences that elevated the group from a subordinate position to that of independent artists. At the same time, the problem of exposure to market conditions emerged. The study refines and validates findings from the general approach to presenting the artist's image to musicians. Particular emphasis is placed on the ideal of the artist at the turn of the 20th century: the artist who embodies freedom and possesses an exceptional ability to perceive reality. In music, one of the most important art forms of the time, this is how he is regarded. After presenting a broad European picture, the authors present the Hungarian context. An analysis of the concepts of child prodigy and child artist reveals that, in reform pedagogy, the image of the child is linked to the artistic ideal of the time. This pedagogy also emphasizes the importance of artistic education, including music education.

Keywords:

artist, field theory, reform pedagogy, child artist, musician

[1] ELTE Faculty of Primary and Pre-School Education; Department of Music and Singing; devai.adrienn@tok.elte.hu;

[2] University of Szeged Béla Bartók Faculty of Arts Institute for Art Theory Department for Music- and Art History; petho.villo@szte.hu;

[3] ELTE Faculty of Education and Psychology Institute of Education; horvath.h.attila@ppk.elte.hu;

Introduction

The perception of the artist and the interest regarding the person of the artist have manifested in diverse forms throughout the centuries. From the sacred role of the artist to the dependent craftsman relying on patrons, to the autonomous creator and from the bohemian figure to the divine architect, a wide variety of labels and ideals have emerged. A common historical trait is the heroic sentiment, pathos, reverence, and admiration associated with the artist ideal, as well as the notion that artistic creation is not merely an experience but a recurring embodiment of beauty – art itself as the aesthetic.

The objective of our study is to provide a chronological overview of conceptions surrounding the artist, starting with the Renaissance – when genuine interest in the individual artist first arose – through to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Particular emphasis is placed on the ideal that emerged and flourished at the end of the 19th century, which redefined the artist as a central figure in reformist ideas and as an embodiment of the search for freedom.

Focusing specifically on the figure of the musical artist, this study examines their social role in the context of the Hungarian canon. We also investigate the emergence and musical aspects of the child-artist ideal. Notably, no comprehensive summary or directly referable precedent for this specific subject has yet been produced in scholarly research.

The development of the image of the artist and the musician

The Artist and Art

According to the Hungarian explanatory dictionary compiled by Gergely Czuczor in 1862, an artist is a person who practices one of the fine arts – be it painting, sculpture, engraving, or music – and even excels in it. In a broader sense, the dictionary includes actors and dancers *"who perform in a more noble form"* under this definition. The dictionary also emphasizes that manual artisans – those who produce practical, handcrafted items – are to be considered artists as well (Czuczor, 1862).

A separate entry is dedicated to the musician, defined as "an artist who knows music both theoretically and practically; in other words, a musician." Synonyms include *"muzsikus"* and *"muzsikás"* (colloquial forms in Hungarian), and distinctions are made between ecclesiastical, military, theatrical, and last, but not least, amateur musicians (Czuczor, 1874, p. 1210).

In the 20th century, a new academic discipline emerged – art sociology. Vera L. Zolberg, a notable American sociologist in this field, argues that in the Western art world, the artist is perceived as a genius whose exceptional talent disrupts linear development and defies purely sociological explanations (Zolberg, 2010). According to Zolberg, there are two main approaches in

academic discourse regarding artists: the individualist and the sociological. The individualist perspective, rooted in aesthetics and psychology, portrays the artist as someone driven by unconscious impulses – a Freudian view where the artist sublimates internal conflicts into socially acceptable creative expressions. Freud suggested that there is an inherent mystery in artistic creation that defies full explanation.

The other approach, used by cognitive psychologists and sociologists, focuses on the correlation between creativity and intelligence. Here, artistic ability is seen as a projection of intrinsic personal traits. In sociology, social roles are institutionalized, and the artist's role – like any other – is shaped by macro historical processes and micro strategic interactions that unfold within social relationships (Zolberg, 2010).

A fundamental figure in this discourse is Pierre Bourdieu[4], a French sociologist who emphasizes the significance of social environments[5] and their influence on the artist. Bourdieu conceptualizes the world of art as a cultural field of production, where social structures and relations define meaning. According to him, different systems of thought can be interpreted in the social fields in which they develop and exert their influence[6]. The

[1] Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) was a French sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher, regarded as one of the most prominent and most highly esteemed figures in twentieth-century global sociology (Fáber, 2009).

[2] In Bourdieu's sociology, the most essential key concept is the *field*, referring to the notion of the social environment. This constitutes the specially structured state of the social space, composed of distinct, autonomous action and relationship networks in society. It is understood as a space constructed from general and universal relations between social positions (Katona, 2012, p. 122).

[6] According to Bourdieu, social reality can be interpreted in two main ways: The first is the statistical objectivist approach, which aims to grasp objective reality and to construct universal regularities. It seeks to present meaningful rather than random relations. This approach allows for quantification and measurement, similar to the treatment of physical objects, and enables statistical and economic construction of reality. Hence, it allows for the analysis of material properties' distribution on the social stage and the evaluation of individuals in competitive contexts. Advocates of this direction acknowledge the existence of a reality independent of individual consciousness and intent. The second approach is cognitive subjectivism, which aims to interpret phenomena through cognitive operations. Here, the goal is not to construct reality per se, but to define how the agents producing change conceptualize this "reality" for themselves. This perspective pays attention to symbolic attributes, viewing social reality as a product of mental and linguistic structures constructed by agents. (See idealist philosophers, who consider the only reality of the constructed social world to be will and imagination.)

The differences between social groups exist because agents believe in them and persuade others to accept them. "All recognized, legitimate distinctions function as symbolic capital." (Fáber, 2014, p. 13). In everyday terms, symbolic capital refers to prestige, authority, fame, competence, etc., which exist only in relation to distinguishing features, such as the body, language use, clothing, furnishings, and the interrelation of differentiation symbols – e.g., architectural style of houses, color of clothing, dietary habits, rhetorical style of speech, musical taste. These differentiation symbols, shaped by taste, vary according to the social

investigation of the dynamics within this field – interactions among agents and their social positions – offer a framework for the understanding and analysis of any domain of society. Therefore, the artist cannot be understood outside the context of the field in which they operate. It is through this lens that we can grasp the societal mechanisms behind the symbolic power attributed to the artist and the social manifestation of artistic goods (Bourdieu, 1992; Fáber, 2009).

"According to Bourdieu, art becomes an autonomous field when it defines its own stakes, distinct from those of other domains such as politics or economics." (Katona, 2012, p. 122) However, if cultural production is dependent of the rules of these external powers, the artistic field cannot be considered autonomous. Bourdieu situates the artistic field within the field of power, or what he often calls the field of cultural production, until such autonomy is achieved. The emancipation of the artist, he argues, occurs around the mid-1880s, when artists begin to function in society as free agents. (Katona, 2012)

Reflecting on the artist also presupposes the concept of art (Zolberg, 2010). Art is a social structure, and the artist is primarily an entity that emerges from and interacts with social forces, i.e., the artist is also a social and historical structure. An important factor in the role of the artist is that they do not create in isolation, but *"in the context of interactions influenced by social relations"* (Tanner, 2010, p. 42).

Art can be innovative or traditional. Innovative art is the work of unusually talented, rare, and often mission-driven individuals, such as Berlioz, Wagner, Schönberg, John Cage, Bartók, etc. in music. Innovative art is often also an artistic revolution, which is generally innovative and forward-looking, with surprising creations. Traditional art, on the other hand, is the creative process of those who follow tradition. They deal with the old, create a nostalgic connection with the past, or rediscover forgotten values, filling the artistic forms of earlier eras with new meaning (Zolberg, 2010).

Our research focuses on the relationship between social structures, which Bourdieu and Zolberg considered important, and the artist, without neglecting aesthetic aspects. We interpret the artist as the creator of artistic works, the producer of art.

traits they sometimes oppose. They are accepted as symbolic systems (e.g., the symbolic system of residence, sports, or social activity distribution), that is, as systems of distinctive markers concerning the unequal distribution of goods or services. The differentiated manifestations and practices within these symbolic systems – among agents possessing varying amounts and compositions of capital, such as cultural capital – or the lack thereof, carry distinctive value (Fáber, 2014).

The Interpretation of the Artist and its Social Aspects

From the Renaissance to the 18th-Century Genius

A key milestone in the rise of interest in the artist figure is marked by the Italian Renaissance Mannerist painter Giorgio Vasari, referred as one of the world's first art historians (Radnóti, 2010). In the expanded 1568 edition of his book[7], Vasari presents the biographies of over 200 artists spanning three centuries. He portrays the artist as a trained, educated, and inspired designer, primarily characterized by their close dependency on patrons – often appearing as court figures and frequently identified with artisans. In Vasari's writings, the artist's societal significance is elevated, and certain sources[8] even credit him with coining the concept of the artist as a scholarly creator (Radnóti, 2010; Tanner, 2010).

For the next few centuries, the artist's status remained relatively unchanged. A noticeable shift came in the 18th century with the emergence of the genius concept. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart is a quintessential figure of this development. His father described him as a *"miraculous being whom God allowed to be born in Salzburg"* (Sadie, 1987, p. 11). The era also saw the publication of Edward Young's famous essay on genius and genial artists[9] as well as Immanuel Kant's theory of genius[10]. The phenomenon of the genius artist brings about a fundamental shift in the way artists are viewed by society: the distinction between the arts and crafts becomes a central issue, and the definition of these two creative strata becomes an important consideration within the artistic community (Radnóti, 2010; Wessely, 2010).

> *"Who could fail to notice the difference between the Artisan and the Artist when comparing their ideals of happiness and public good? The Artisan's well-being depends on wealth, his social existence is sustained by his property. The Artist, however, is driven by the desire for public esteem: he can only do well through self-sacrifice and earns respect by dedicating his life. His virtues are neither common nor obvious and require extraordinary courage and wisdom. [...] One might say: the Artisan is the matter of the state, but the Artist is its spirit."* (Le Haye, 1782, translated by Wessely, 2010, p. 11)

---

[7] *Le Vite De' Piu Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, E Architettori*, written by Giorgio Vasari, edition of 1568.

[5] As Tanner refers in his study titled *The Sociology of Art*.

[6] His 1759 essay on originality was a frequent point of reference in discussions on genius during that time. In his work, he contrasts imitation and knowledge with originality and genius, comparing the artist to a creator who "builds with invisible divine instruments" (Szegedy-Maszák, 1968).

[7] In Critique of the Power of Judgment, Kant discusses genius and its creations. According to him, the rules by which art is formed are received through the works of genius, meaning the artist's innate capabilities and creative power are of natural origin (Kant, 2003).

As a central actor in Bourdieu's concept of the social field, the artist comes to be defined by distinct traits – appearance, dress, and public behavior – which separate them from other participants in the field of cultural production. These distinctions help accumulate cultural capital, such as the separation of the artist and the artisan.

However, full independence remained elusive. In the 18th century, the production of cultural goods was still governed by the rules of political and economic fields. The evaluation of artistic value was often a prerogative of those in the fields power[11] (Katona, 2012).

In traditional European societies of the time, the low-status artist practiced their craft in the favor of high-status patrons – whether aristocrats or members of a broader elite. As a result of social inequalities, patrons could dictate the specifics of commissioned works – form, materials, themes – and in the case of music, they could influence the character, mood, instrumentation, or even key of a composition. This limited the artist's personal expression and imagination. Beyond the commissioning of their works, contemporary artists were also dependent on the power structure in other ways.

Such dependencies are well illustrated by the careers of composers like Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart[12]. Musical events in 18th-century Europe were typically private affairs held in aristocratic salons and palaces, with audiences composed largely of elite patrons who often commissioned the masterpieces themselves (Dobszay, 1984; Sadie, 1987).

This dependency extended beyond commissions to include monetary compensation, gifts, and the support of collectors and wealthy bourgeois individuals. For instance, in visual arts, patrons supported artists by purchasing their works[13] (Haskell, 1980).

By the late 18th century, growing nationalism and state formation began to broaden the base of patronage. For poets and writers (Wessely, 2010), the patronage of aristocrats was increasingly replaced by the support of a *"book- and journal-reading public, whose patronage was mediated by market interactions"* (Wessely, 2010, p. 11). However, such market conditions were not yet evident in the world of musical arts. The characteristics of the work of musicians diverged from the image of artists in other branches of art at

[8] According to Bourdieu, the *field of power* consists of several autonomous groups that not only possess significant amounts of social capital but also influence the formation of the rules of the field (Fáber, 2017).

[9] Viennese Classicism is a musical period spanning 1750 to 1827, named after its three most significant composers – Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven – due to their prominent careers in Vienna, where all three also died.

[13] In 18th century Italy, for example, a letter to Sasso testifies that Girolamo Manfrin, one of the greatest collectors of paintings and works of art of the time, was considered by the author of the letter to be virtually the only patron in Venice willing to pay for works of art. He was the most important patron and collector of art in early Venice (Haskell, 1980, p. 380).

the end of the 18th Century. Musicians remained reliant on patrons, whether affiliated with the church, the court, or nobility.[14]

Even so, the desire for independence began to surface. Ludwig van Beethoven's career illustrates this transitional phase: although he depended on the financial and social support of patrons like Count Razumovsky and Archduke Rudolph, his work shows growing signs of artistic autonomy. Many of his compositions from this period were "dedication pieces" named after his benefactors (Szabolcsi, 1970). Yet anecdotes suggest that Beethoven valued artistic freedom over conformity, sometimes rebuking inattentive audiences at the risk of losing compensation.

Another example is Johann Nepomuk Hummel[15], a prominent Hungarian composer and one of Mozart's most promising students, whose talent is recognized by his contemporary musical community as equal to that of Beethoven. Known for his refusal to accept interference from unqualified officials, Hummel frequently changed positions and was a *"pioneer in asserting composers' rights".* He was the first to seek protection against the unauthorized copying and plagiarism of musical works and to speak out against the usury of printers and publishers responsible for the publication of compositions. The first retirement system for musicians, which was intended to support the widows and orphans of instrumentalists, was established during his time in Weimar. These phenomena reflect the desire for independence from patrons and the struggle for independence from the power structure. (Jemnitz, 1935).

The desire for independence became a characteristic trait among musicians in Hungary's major cities, creating space for the free expression of artistic music: 1773 marks the opening of the first musical theaters, where the works of the most significant composers of the age were presented. In prosaic theaters, plays were preceded by musical introductions, and the audience was also entertained with music between acts. These „public concerts" were the precursors of classical concerts. From 1787, the first music academies[16] were established, offering public concerts that lasted the entire evening (Friss, 1969).

[14] In Hungary during the 18th century – similar to trends across Europe – musical events and concerts were typically private gatherings, with audiences composed of aristocrats and patrons supporting the musicians. Most musical compositions were commissioned by these patrons (Dobszay, 1984).

[15] A significant four-volume piano manual titled *Ausführliche Anweisung zum Pianofortespiel* was one of the first major pedagogical works for piano instruction. Its principal aim was the development of piano virtuosity techniques (Bokor, 1895).

[16] At the Music Academies, Hungarian music lovers were mainly introduced to Western classical music. Among the first concert artists were Hummel and Beethoven in Pozsony, while Tomasini, Lasser, and Beethoven opened the long line of concert performers in Pest-Buda. An interesting historical document is the decree issued by Joseph II granting "discounted season tickets for military officers and civil servants," which on several occasions included concerts (Friss, 1969; Szabolcsi, 1955).

Although the cultural production[17] in the 18th century was still embedded within Bourdieu's power structure[18], the intention to break free was already palpable – setting the stage for the emergence of the 19th-century artist-ideal.

The Artist and the Musician in the 19th Century

In the 19th century, the artist emerges as an independent creator in the social sphere. Pierre Bourdieu refers to the ideology of the „productive artist" as the most significant "product" of this era (Bourdieu, 1992). The productive artist focuses on the creative process and the skills involved, and their value is determined within the now-independent artistic field, thus establishing their privileged position and status. This position bestows upon them unique protections and quasi-rights, characterizing their professional identity and granting them security in the art market. This particular conceptualization of the artist becomes a unique sociological, cultural, and historical phenomenon. The rhetoric used to describe artists – such as magic, melancholic, miserly, wasteful, ascetic – reflects distinctive artistic traits and occasionally extreme behavior (Tanner, 2010). These labels reinforce the notion of the artist as a distinct and autonomous figure, differentiating them from other actors in society and affirming their role within the field of cultural production (Fáber, 2014).

At the same time, the emergence of new social structures and market-driven systems in this period transforms the artist's economic situation. Whereas former forms of support came from patrons and benefactors, artists are now confronted with consumer demand and the need to succeed in a competitive market. Profit becomes a key driving force, and the talented artist must often compromise in order to sustain their livelihood (Radnóti, 2010; Tanner, 2010; Wessely, 2010).

The development of a separate artistic field is also evident in the growing distinction between composer and performer – especially pronounced in the Romantic era. Though the roles often overlap, this period witnesses the emergence of the performer with no compositional ambitions: solo instrumentalists and vocalists. The genius paradigm continues to flourish, serving as a marker of the artist's symbolic capital. Niccolò Paganini is a well-known example of the virtuoso genius, and Franz Liszt often echoed the motto *"Genius obliges!"* to emphasize the importance of inner artistic drive and humility toward art itself, as opposed to performance aimed at superficial appeal (Walker, 1986; Frank, 2020).

[17] Bourdieu identifies the fields of symbolic production as comprising the intellectual, artistic, and religious fields (Fáber, 2014).

[18] There is a hierarchy among the members of the power structure. Those who are granted decision-making opportunities in the struggle for political, military, or economic power are the most likely to prevail. Their role is significant across all power structures (Fáber, 2017).

Still, despite the artist's growing autonomy, the institution of patronage remains relevant in the Romantic era, though its nature changes. The patron no longer dictates the content of the work but offers support based on respect or admiration. A prime example is Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky. At the beginning of his career, Tchaikovsky struggled with financial difficulties, the improvement of which was due to the patronage of the wealthy Russian widow Nadezhda von Meck, who generously supported the artist and thus also promoted his professional development. However, this patronage did not involve any commissions for compositions, but was rather a sign of respect and friendship towards the artist[19] (Csanda, 2006).

In the cultural life of the 19th century, the public plays a crucial role in shaping the image and success of the artist. The most influential centers of this market-driven cultural sphere were the bohemian literary and artistic circles of Paris and the salon culture[20] flourishing across Europe (Frank, 2020). The audience's own personal impressions are expressed by the modern artist. In 1840s France, the bohemian artist emerges as a transmitter of artistic truths – a figure symbolic of capitalist modernity and higher-order creativity (Bourdieu, 1992; Gluck, 2010). The Bohemian is a typical example of capitalist modernity and also a creator of a higher form of art. Their defiance of conventional norms, bourgeois customs, and social expectations is not merely rebellion or trend-following, but a modern cultural phenomenon anticipating the youth movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Gluck, 2010).

Bohemians, citizens choosing a gypsy lifestyle, appropriate the attitudes, worldview, and everyday experiences of struggling young artists; the artistic lifestyle becomes so popular at the time that contemporaries speak of a so-called *"artistic epidemic"* (Jerrold Seigel, 1986, cited in Wessely, 2010, p. 13). Most artists distance themselves from the bohemian figure, whose lifestyle creates disorderly living conditions (Bourdieu, 1992; Wessely, 2010).

The bohemian is not only the eternal artist but also a symbolic social type, whose activities are shaped by the business imperatives of the emerging cultural market. The artist who promotes their work and prioritizes self-interest becomes dependent on this market; thus, the *"independent artist"* is born (Gluck, 2010, p. 56).

The Artist-Ideal at the Turn of the 19th–20th Century

By the end of the 19th century, profound socio-political and economic transformations – including industrialization and urbanization – had

[19] The September and October 2006 issues of the magazine *Muzsika* feature two excerpts from the fragmentary correspondence between Tchaikovsky and Nadezhda von Meck, translated and annotated by Mária Csanda.

[20] See the later chapters of this study.

fundamentally reshaped European society. Work became bound to regimented factory systems, and individuals experienced a growing alienation from traditional rural life and communal labor. This estrangement was felt as a degradation of the human condition, fragmenting life into specialized tasks and creating emotional and spiritual disconnection (Németh & Skiera, 1999).

These broad societal phenomena exposed the darker sides of capitalism and gave rise to a new life philosophy and cultural critique[21] that fueled reform movements at the turn of the century (Németh, 2002). Within this context, the image of the free, creative artist emerged as both a cultural agent and a symbolic response to the challenges of modernity.

The understanding of the relationship between the perception of the artist and its social context is essential for understanding the ideal of the artist and for the definition of the quasi-new type of artistic perception that emerged at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The artist is no longer integrated into the structures of the productive economy. Instead, their lifestyle embodies a form of independence and spiritual wholeness that industrial civilization had largely lost. Society began to view the artist as a figure of aspiration – envied and admired alike. The artist rejected bourgeois norms both in action and behavior, pursuing the realization of their individuality. Their seemingly liberated and pressure-free existence became an idealized condition.

A key site for artistic expression during this period was salon culture, which flourished not only across Europe but also in Hungary. While salons became internationally established institutions in the 19th century[22], their golden age spanned the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Initially modeled after aristocratic salons, these gatherings soon expanded into the homes of the financial elite[23] and later the urban bourgeoisie. In these semi-formal

[21] In the last third of the 19th century, the perception of new, *"irrational and uncontrollable forces"* operating in the deeper strata of society (Németh, 2002, p. 27) gave rise to novel artistic aspirations and intellectual movements. These were influenced by Nietzsche's romanticism and its life philosophy (centered on development), Schopenhauer's metaphysics, Spencer's ethical and educational philosophy, Darwin's theory of evolution, Rousseau's pedagogical insights, Owen's ideas on childhood and rights, emerging child psychology and pedagogy, and the era's social and emancipatory endeavors (Pukánszky, 2000; Németh, 2002).

[22] *"These social worlds (salons), driven by strategies of ambition and distinction, offer a nearly precise image of a world in which 'social order,' as a product of ongoing creation, appears at every moment as the temporary and uncertain outcome of a class struggle, which is in fact a struggle over classifications – symbolic clashes of strategies aimed at transforming the perception of a given position by manipulating representations. This includes, for instance, strategies that deny the existence of distance (by presenting themselves as 'simple' or 'easily approachable'), only to thereby highlight its existence, or conversely, overtly acknowledge such distances to render their denial easier"* (Fáber, 2014, p. 11).

[23] The term *"aristocrat"* refers to the high nobility (dukes, counts, or barons), while *"financial elite"* denotes wealthy individuals who may have received noble titles from the monarch but belong to a lower-ranking segment of the aristocracy (Lukacs, 1988).

settings, *"artists, writers, statesmen, aristocrats, and socialites"* (Frank, 2020, p. 41) could meet and exchange ideas.

The salon functioned as a platform for the dissemination of bourgeois culture and played a crucial role in the evolution of artistic and musical life.

> "The prestige of a salon," according to Fáber, "depended on its exclusivity [...] and the 'quality' of the people admitted – measured, in turn, by the quality of the salons they could access. These were the stock markets of high society's symbolic capital, as evidenced by the rumors circulating among those involved"

(Fáber, 2014, p. 11). Thus, salons may be viewed as social fields offering valuable networking opportunities and cultural capital to participating artists (Frank, 2020).

Salon culture became a field in which artists could present their exceptional abilities to an audience, displaying the symbolic capital that distinguished them from the average citizen – their talent, musicality, and capacity for spiritual, even transcendent creation (Fáber, 2009).

The cult of the autonomous artist – rooted in the late 19th century – persisted well into the 20th century. This continued presence was evident across all art forms: in literature and visual arts through the avant-garde; in classical music via the emerging genres of impressionism, expressionism, and neoclassicism. These artistic directions encompassed both revolutionary innovation and the rediscovery of traditional forms, now endowed with new meanings.

The avant-garde, in particular, fostered short-lived yet radical movements prioritizing free will, spontaneity, and the primal experience. The emphasis on freedom and expression extended to other artistic movements and educational reforms. In music, national characteristics became increasingly emphasized, symbolizing autonomy and cultural identity. Dance also embraced revolutionary change: improvisation, natural movement, and a return to nature defined the new aesthetic. In education, reformist pedagogies promoted freedom, individual expression, and inner development (Wessely, 2010).

The individualist, free artist found a place in every cultural sphere – capable of expression, emancipation, and connection with both natural and metaphysical forces. This ideal rejected the marginal and suppressed roles of the past. Sometimes defying social conventions, the artist prioritized personal expression above all else. The literary, visual, sculptural, and musical arts – especially music, as a defining art form of the 20th century – all echoed this vision (Bourdieu, 1992).

With the rising significance of the arts, academic and institutional spaces – schools, academies – were supplemented by new platforms for public dissemination (such as publications). These venues popularized artistic and intellectual ideas and reinforced the dominance of the "genius" archetype. With the rise of the arts and the role of the artist in them, alongside

institutional spaces (schools, academies) for the production and circulation of scientific goods, public forums (publications) are also appearing on the scientific scene, with new genres aimed at disseminating scientific-artistic themes. The dominance of the notion of genius, spanning across several centuries, is also featured prominently in writings on music. In addition to portraying the greatness of the artist, the writings also speak of the period, depicting and positioning the individual in the field of artistic production (Bourdieu, 1992; Wessely, 2010; Radnóti, 2010; Fáber, 2009).

The elevation of the artist's role was further supported by the development of arts education (especially in music), the diversity of the burgeoning salon culture and the new artistic movements that emerged as forms of cultural criticism. The contradictory consequences of contemporary civilizational processes also had a supporting function. Society begins to regard the artist as a coveted ideal, and music occupies a central position in this period. Music, which mediates spiritual freedom through artistic performances and also provides an opportunity for sacral experience, is given a high status in concert halls and salons as an *"invisible majesty"* and *"interpreter of the existence of subtler beings beyond the grave"* (Walter, 1941, pp. 19–21 cited in Fónagy, 2013, p. 19). Attending a performance, which is a symbol of segregation (Fáber, 2009), presupposes a spiritual connection and provides an emotional experience, the ritual of attending a concert and the performer interpreting the music, who also evokes a *"paradisiac feeling",* become important means of *"building people"* (Wicke, 1998, p. 39 cited in Fónagy, 2013, p. 20).

The Hungarian Musical Artist in the Lengthy 19th Century

Musical Life

In Hungary, the general upswing of musical life and the emergence of an autonomous artistic field began in the 19th century. Yet, at that time, nearly every domain – music education, musical journalism, instrument-making, concert organization, orchestras, composers, conductors – was still dominated by foreign names. Despite this foreign influence, the ideals of national identity gradually appeared on the musical scene, along with their specific forms of expression.

The verbunkos musical tradition gained obvious prominence – originally a recruitment dance music rooted in Hungarian folk elements such as hajdú (a mercenary foot soldier) and kanász (herdsman) dances, yet stylistically influenced by Islamic, Balkan, and Slavic musical forms. As early as the late 18th century, composers like Haydn and Mozart took note of this new style, and later Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms[24] also integrated its elements. In

[24] The gypsy-style section of Mozart's A major Violin Concerto (1775), Beethoven's *King Stephen* and excerpts from some of his symphonies, Schubert's *Divertissement*, Haydn's

the early 19th century, Hungarian composers like János Bihari, János Lavotta, and Antal Csermák emerged, whose works epitomized the verbunkos idiom, eventually establishing it as the official musical language of Hungarian Romanticism (Szabolcsi, 1955).

This era exhibited a dual musical identity: on one hand, the nationalist elite championed verbunkos as folk music, reinforcing its role in strengthening national culture. On the other hand, the collection of authentic folk songs had already begun. Even though verbunkos music remained the music of the upper classes, it increasingly found its place in the repertoire of performing artists.

The first collections of authentic Hungarian folk songs also appeared in this period, such as *Eredeti népdalok zongora-kisérettel* (Original Folk Songs with Piano Accompaniment, 1834) compiled by composer and music educator András Bartay. However, initiatives related to folk music collecting had not yet attracted widespread commitment (Szabolcsi, 1955).

At that time in Hungary, the boundary between professional and amateur musicians was relatively fluid. Performers from both realms frequently shared the same concert stage. There was also no sharp distinction between domestic music-making and public performance. Certain concert formats, such as salon concerts or larger-scale gatherings, brought private music into public view – sometimes even involving audience participation.

From the early 19th century, musicians' societies played a crucial role in supporting concerts and managing musical life. Their responsibilities included organizing music education, community singing, instrumental performances, and concerts, as well as encouraging the publication of sheet music (Dobszay, 1984). The emergence and function of these societies indicate the formation of organizational structures that supported artistic independence and professional activity. This institutionalization reflects the development of an autonomous artistic field.

In Hungary, as elsewhere, the most defining and desired aspect of artistic existence was the realization of the artist's individuality and the opportunity to live freely – without constraint or pressure. By the end of the 19th century, this ideal began to materialize, embodied most clearly in the figure of the soloist-performer. This development was facilitated by the rapid evolution of Hungary's musical life and the steady rise of its musical institutions and cultural infrastructure.

The emergence of the independent-minded artist, as theorized by Bourdieu, is well illustrated by the example of Ede Reményi, a violinist celebrated as *"the first violinist of the Hungarian nation."* As a prominent soloist and instrumental performer of his time, Reményi popularized Hungarian music throughout Europe and America. He also established

Hungarian rondos, and Brahms's *Hungarian Dances* series exemplify this trend (Szabolcsi, 1955, p. 36).

foundations for important musical and social causes.[25] Even after moving to America in 1878, he continued to tour extensively, relying on the soloist lifestyle as his primary livelihood (Dobszay, 1984; Kenyeres, 1982; Tanner, 2010).

Throughout the 19th century, the repertoire remained dominated by works of German, Italian, and French composers. This influence was reflected in the Hungarian opera tradition, which also incorporated verbunkos elements. The musical content of the operas of Ferenc Erkel, the greatest Hungarian opera composer of the period, is also based on the traditions of foreign opera literature, as well as on verbunkos music and Hungarian folk song lyricism (Szabolcsi, 1955).

Due to the popularity of stage works, the solo performer was not the only model of an independent artist in this period. Alongside actor-musicians, a new figure appeared: the professional vocal artist. Among the celebrated singers of the time were Kornélia Hollósy, a frequent heroine in Erkel's operas, and Rozália Schodelné, a renowned coloratura soprano (Dobszay, 1984, p. 321). Both the professional soloist and the opera singer represent the early manifestations of Bourdieu's concept of the autonomous artistic field.

The autonomy of the artistic field in Hungary during this time laid the groundwork for the development of a new intellectual stratum characterized by free thought and cultural production. The emancipated artist, distinguished by unique social traits and roles independent of political power, became a symbolic representative of this new domain (cf. Katona, 2012).

Salon Culture and the Evolution of the Artist's Role

Following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, Hungary entered a period of modernization, economic growth, and industrialization. The processes of bourgeois transformation began to shape the social landscape, especially in Budapest. Despite the persistence of semi-feudal conditions in rural areas, the capital emerged as the engine of progress, increasingly defined by an urban bourgeois character. According to historian John Lukacs, Budapest was the only city in 19th-century Europe where this diverse social stratum[26] exerted such a powerful influence over the city's development and cultural life (Lukacs, 1988; Hanák, 1997).

[25] Foundations were established for musical and other scholarly purposes – such as for statue erection or museum societies – as well as for social endeavors. The name of the benefactor appears frequently in the contemporary press in connection with monetary donations. Often, these financial contributions and the support of foundations secured the artist's independence and autonomous activity. Thanks to such support, the Pest-Buda Association of Musicians was able to open a vocal school, and a foundation was also established in aid of the planned National Conservatory in Pest (Szepesi, 1988).

[26] The middle class of the 19th century was considered the *"most intelligent and most effective"* stratum of society, the bearer of national ideals. It comprised various groups with significantly

Within this context, salon culture – inspired by Viennese models – gained significant traction, especially in the capital. Hungarian aristocrats, who were already inclined to support artists financially or by funding their studies, now found an additional outlet for patronage by offering artists performance opportunities in their private salons. These gatherings were venues for high quality entertainment, socializing, cultural and political discourse, as well as occasions for providing the invited artists with financial benefits for their artistic interpretations (Eckhardt, 2001; Kenyeres, 1967).

From the artist's perspective, participation in salon culture was essential. It often served as a launching pad for a successful career,[27] granting prestige and symbolic capital. Salons became vital arenas for social distinction, marked by unique behavioral codes, refined manners, cultural literacy, and musical taste. These distinguishing features formed a symbolic system that defined salon events as exclusive social rituals.

In Hungary also, salons represented a social sphere

> *"driven by strategies of ambition and segregation, [...] a symbolic clash of strategies that aim to change the position by manipulating the representations of a given position, as do, for example, those strategies that deny the existence of distances ("presenting themselves as simple", "easily accessible") in order to highlight the existence of these distances, or, on the contrary, conspicuously acknowledge the existence of these distances in order to facilitate their denial."* (Fáber, 2014, p. 11).

Salon culture also played a crucial role in the life of Franz Liszt, one of the most significant musical figures of the 19th century. Though Liszt respected and appreciated salons for their intimate setting, he also criticized their affectation, the inauthenticity of social performances, and the volatility of opinions surrounding artists. The salons, which worship the artists performing there one moment, may even deny them the next. Gradually distancing himself from salon life, Liszt transitioned to large-scale public performances, giving four concerts a week across Europe and effectively establishing the solo piano concerts as a distinct musical genre (Frank, 2020).

different structures, leading to religious, national, political, and organizational divergences. In Hungary, after the Compromise of 1867, the noble class was reduced by nearly half, with many of its members entering the middle class – often as civil servants – or retreating into more modest circles. Throughout the century, civil servants and professionals – i.e., degree holders such as scholars, artists, clergy, and teachers – formed the most populous segment of the middle class. Functioning as a bridge between lower and higher social strata, the middle class was a point of connection and a culturally and structurally heterogeneous community (Hanák, 1997).

[27] Goethe read excerpts of his works-in-progress at Henriette Herz's Berlin salon. In Budapest, prominent salons hosted figures such as Munkácsy, the Ferenczy siblings, Frigyes Karinthy, and Franz Liszt (Frank, 2020).

Women of the emerging Hungarian middle class played a central role in shaping salon culture. These salons were typically hosted by older, educated women – the salonnières – who often played the piano to entertain their guests. Music education became a critical marker of proper upbringing and cultural refinement in upper- and middle-class families, with piano knowledge seen as a sign of good manners and cultivated taste. The piano became not only the centerpiece of domestic music-making but also a status symbol of cultural wealth. While the instrument gradually made its way into concert halls, it remained a central feature of bourgeois and aristocratic homes (Frank, 2020).

Listening to music became a key component of social gatherings, and learning music represented a spiritual aspiration for higher forms of connection. Yet in the increasingly rationalized and industrialized world of the late 19th century, this aspiration often went unfulfilled. Music became a bridge between the human and the transcendent, allowing individuals to feel connected to *"finer beings"* through the mediation of the artist. (Walter, 1941, p. 19, cited in Fónagy, 2013, p. 19). The free artist, capable of evoking this sacred sensation, was elevated into a desired human ideal.

The Emergence of National Culture

The changes in the perception of the artist and their position at the turn of the century can be attributed to the transformations both in the communities and in the spaces in which music is listened to. In the Bourdieuian framework, it is important to discuss the aspect of the emergence of national culture and the transformation of spaces and communities for listening to music, because the evolution of the spaces for music consumption constitutes an important social segment, and thus, by having an impact on the actors and the actors on the spaces, the composition of the symbolic capital of the musician is also altered.

The driving force of cultural existence and musical life at the turn of the century is the revival of national culture. According to Kodály, the music scene of the time can be divided into three parts: on the one hand, there is an educated but very thin stratum, living under the allure of masterpieces which, although of foreign origin, mostly German or Italian in spirit, are also valuable from a musical and artistic point of view and are recognized internationally. Regarding higher music, this stratum finds a Hungarian character - with some condescension - in Erkel's operas and Liszt's rhapsodies, however, they have little prospect of finding Hungarian music of artistic value. The next group - which, according to Kodály, is an audience that can be almost regarded as the entire middle class[28] - considers the folk repertoire of Gypsy

[28] Given the elevated musical taste of the middle class as presented in earlier chapters – particularly those aligned with salon culture – it is surprising to encounter opposing views. Yet, according to Kodály, this contradiction is possible because the 19th-century middle class was a complex and heterogeneous formation comprising diverse bourgeois groups.

music to be of artistic value. Their musical interest does not include higher music, and even if they encounter it, they are unable to interpret it due to the limitations of their education, thus they classify it as something extraneous. The third segment of musical life is the music and art of the unknown and mysterious community of the village. Nobody knows about them, but from a few examples that emerge here and there, it is possible to imagine and perceive, even upon first hearing, that these are unknown but *"wonderful songs"* (Kodály, 2007b, p. 262).

In this period, an audience perceived to be musically literate does not always reflect a sophisticated culture, and the expectations of this audience often influence the work of artists. Among musicians, performers emerge, trying to satisfy the tastes of their audience, even at the cost of making compromises, since their livelihood depends on the audience's enthusiasm and willingness to pay. A performance tends to be more about the technical brilliance celebrated in the era than about the high musical quality of the performance (Dobszay, 1984). The proportion of ‚good listeners', educated music connoisseurs, declines during the period and the proportion of ‚culture consumers', who only pretend to appreciate valuable music and performances, increases. For the latter, listening to a concert is not a real pleasure, but merely a means to show that they are part of the art-loving middle class (Adorno, 1998, pp. 310–311 cited in Fónagy, 2013 p. 20).

The truly educated community in Budapest, which typically consists of families of the art-loving aristocracy and the educated bourgeoisie, thrives mostly in the *"cult of international masterpieces"*. Even at the end of the 19th century, they were already enjoying excellent performances in certain salons and concert halls, and the expansion of music consumption opportunities with the development of technology also favored a qualitative shift in music listening habits.[29] One of the criteria for the emergence of a high quality music scene is the emergence of a production that creates expectations, and a demand that nourishes this production, and this gradually leads to a broad and somewhat *"nationally specific"* musical literacy (Dobszay, 1984, p. 337).

The cult of masterpieces is being fostered by the growing popularity of opera and the burgeoning concert scene. The emergence of famous musicians in domestic circles indicates that there is a demand for their artistry (Dobszay, 1984). The appreciation of the performer and his art began during the careers of Erkel and Liszt, and culminated in the work of

As a result, both the segment favoring gypsy music (as identified by Kodály) and the one supporting high art through salon culture can be associated with the middle class, in line with scholarly consensus. The 19th-century middle class was indeed a highly cultured and diverse community (Hanák, 1997).

[29] With the technological developments, the venues for music listening expanded. The emergence of modern communication tools – such as phonograph records, tape recorders, film, and other sound recording technologies – created new opportunities for music consumption, transforming listening habits (Frank, 2020).

Erkel's sons and the world-famous conductor János Richter, one of the most important figures in the musical culture of the century. In 1884, the Royal Hungarian Opera House opened under the direction of Ferenc Erkel, and Richter paved the way for the meticulous and high artistic work of Gustav Mahler, who was invited to join the Opera Company. Mahler's work also served the contemporary demand for the promotion of Hungarian national culture: he was the first conductor to commission a Hungarian-language performance on the music stage of the Opera House. In conducting the already high quality opera orchestra, Richter was succeeded by the equally world-famous Artúr Nikisch, who was of Hungarian origin, and during his tenure he raised the orchestra to European status. It is to his credit that the orchestra is regarded by the professional public as the best in Central Europe (Dobszay, 1984).

Despite the numerous progressive initiatives that stimulated the development of musical life, there was only a small section of the middle classes of the late 19th century who were interested in music of high artistic value. These higher educated music lovers were also interested in the greats of European music culture and Hungarian national music.

The music-literate segment of the last decades of the century tends to live under the spell of the compositions of the great composers of the late Romantic period and of European music culture. The „verbunkos" tradition of the time, considered as Hungarian, cannot compete with this. In Hungary, the genre of opera is flourishing, and the Hungarian operetta, born of the combined influence of Hungarian operatic culture and Viennese music, is enjoying both domestic and international success.

This period does not give room for the birth of a universal national music and therefore the number of Hungarian musicians who also play an important role in the social sphere is marginal. After the path-finding of the 19th century, the art of the two geniuses of the 20th century, Kodály and Bartók, becomes dominant (Dobszay, 1984).

Musical education at the turn of the century, the ideal of the child artist

Spaces of music education in Hungary at the turn of the century

Following the 1868 law on folk schools, singing and music lessons became a compulsory element of popular education. In the field of music education, the process of institutionalization is clearly visible: the first National Conservatory of Music (Nemzeti Zenede), offering specialized instrumental and vocal training, was established in 1867.

One of the driving forces behind the development of musical life was the rapid Hungarianization of Budapest[30], which led to a reinforcement of national culture at the turn of the century, also influencing other artistic trends. In 1875, the Royal Hungarian Music Academy was founded, which became the seat of artistic and music teacher training by the end of the 19th century. 1884 marks the opening of the Royal Hungarian Opera House (Dobszay, 1984).

In addition to institutional education, there was also a great demand for private tuition: the children of the middle classes and aristocracy were being educated at home by tutors and private music teachers. In the educated aristocratic and bourgeois families, music education was also a social ‚expectation'. Private music teachers usually taught their instrumental pupils to play the piano, which became popular due to the salon culture of the century (Lukacs, 1988). Urban music schools, run by private and non-governmental organizations, also played an important role in music education. In Cluj-Napoca, a local conservatory was set up with the support of the local population, but music schools are also known to have been established in Kassa, Szepes, Keszthely, Pécs, Várad, Buda, Bratislava and Pest (Dobszay, 1984, p. 322). In parallel with the development of private music education, music schools and other institutionalized forms of music education, musical publishing and the publication of a series of music pedagogical publications[31] appeared in the field of both instrumental music education and the singing and music education of elementary schools. These printed materials also discuss new techniques for children's music education, while sharing and criticizing methods that are already in practice but have proven less effective and providing useful methodological suggestions and reform ideas.

The processes of institutionalization of music education, the growing importance of educating and providing children with professionally oriented training, as well as the shifts in other areas of musical life focusing on the child, also had an impact on the development of the child concept of the century.

[30] By the 1870s, native Hungarian speakers already made up 46% of the population of "Jewish Hungarian Pest" and "German Hungarian Buda." The rapid linguistic shift from German to Hungarian occurred with little resistance. By 1900, the percentage of residents who spoke only German had dropped to 4.3%, while those speaking only Hungarian had risen to 38.7%. Most of Budapest's residents were bilingual, yet the period saw significant "Hungarianization." Exclusively German-language theaters disappeared, and only one major German-language newspaper, Neues Pester Journal, remained (Lukács, 1988, p. 162).

[31] Music-focused and music pedagogy-related journals began to appear, such as *Magyar Zenészek Lapja*, *Zenelap*, *Zenevilág*, and *A Zene (Hungarian Musicians' Gazette, Music Journal, Music World, The Music)*. With the founding of music publishers – Rózsavölgyi & Co. in 1850, Rozsnyai in 1889, and Bárd in 1893 – not only the distribution of sheet music but also the dissemination of pedagogical and musical literature was set in motion (EMB.hu, accessed: 2025.03.29).

The child concept of the reform education movement at the turn of the century

Reform pedagogical trends, which can also be interpreted as pedagogical reactions to socio-political changes, based on socio-cultural critical motives, had a great impact on the formation of the concept of the child at the turn of the century (Németh, 2002).

The *spread* of new initiatives and educational concepts of (New School, Montessori, Waldorf, Freinet, New Education, New School, etc.), Reform Pedagogy, "*which can be considered as a unified social movement, can be divided into phases based on a specific inner logic, spanning a major historical period*" (Németh, 2002, p. 24).) has brought a new approach to almost all areas of education: not only in terms of the methods to be used, but also in terms of the spaces built, the use of textbooks and tools, and the interpretation of the child's image (Németh, 2002).

We will not discuss reform pedagogical concepts and school experiments in this study. We investigate the events of the first decades of reform pedagogy, the formation of the child's concept in the reform movements of the 20th century and the emergence of the concept of the child artist (see Németh 2002, 2012, 2017; Pukánszky 2002, 2005; Szabolcs 1995, 2005).

The educational reform ideas that spread in the decades of the turn of the century have shown a growing interest in the education of young and pre-school children. The particular life- and art-concept of the era is reflected in the change of focus in children's education: the creation of freedom and autonomy emerges as a demand, the significance of the child as an individual is emphasized, and the child is considered as the depositary of a better and brighter future. At the same time, this new concept of the child retains the Romantic child ideal, the myth of the sacred child along with the humanist tradition. These aspirations are reflected in the ideas of various school concepts, which shape not only school spaces but also educational content and methods, focusing on the children's self-development, their comprehension and the stages of their physical and psychological development (Németh, 2002). The child concept in various reform pedagogies emphasizes the unique nature of the child's imagination and empathy, which lead their receptive environment into the world behind visible phenomena. In the field of music education, Kodály also draws attention to the talent that is manifested in childhood, which is inherent in every child, and underlines the importance of exploiting the period under the age of 15, when this talent is most evident in everyone, in the arena of education and training (Kodály, 2007a).

Child Prodigy – Child Artist

It is interesting to review the differences in the use of the terms „child prodigy" and „child artist" at the turn of the century, as both terms were intended

to highlight the child's special role and outstanding abilities distinguishing them from their surroundings.

The concept of the child prodigy reflects the manifestation of high-level knowledge associated with the previously discussed genius paradigm, carrying a strong connotation of being a form of „social capital" – potential for social ascension. Defining someone as a child prodigy was not only considered as a means of economic gain in public thinking, but also as a way of distinguishing them from the *„herd of the masses"* (Daru, 2024, p. 68). The term „child prodigy" alludes to the talented child's connection with the transcendental. This sacral sentiment had already appeared in the 19th-century artistic ideal associated with the genius, (Fónagy, 2013) and persisted even amidst the secularization processes of the century as a counter-current preserving the desire for an intimate experience of divine connection. It is therefore not surprising that with the growing emphasis on the importance of child education, social thought reinforced this perspective regarding children: the ideal of the child embodied the intimate, God-like experience once provided by religion – the child symbolized the beginning of life, the renewal of existence, carrying perfection and promising a better world (Németh, 2002). The contemporary press frequently discussed the theme of the genius linked to the concept of the child prodigy. Opinions emerged suggesting that while society idealized the genius from social, cultural, and artistic standpoints, it also interpreted it as a negative *"extreme variant"* from other perspectives (Baloghy, 1931, p. 31). Among the artists of the century, the term „child prodigy" often carried a negative connotation, primarily criticizing the exploitation and misuse of these extraordinary children.

The concept of the „child artist" was employed by advocates of reform pedagogy, symbolizing the aspiration for the realization of the child's individual freedom. During the educational process, both the physical and psychological needs of the child were respected, and great emphasis was placed on the significance of the spirit and soul. For instance, the New School movement treated the findings of child development psychology, the psychology of interest, individual psychology, and intuitive psychology as serious prescriptions when setting educational goals aligned with the developmental stages of children (Domokos, 1926).

The metaphor of creation is also used to describe the human capacity for (formal) creation, and the creative genius is aligned with the Creator, referring to the divine likeness. Reform thinkers believed that the creative genius resided within every person and regarded education as the most suitable tool for evoking it, while art was seen as the domain for its unfolding. Art is therefore a field in which this creative, divine faculty, which is inherent in every human being, can be brought to perfection; the ability to draw and the sense of music are innate in everyone to some extent, and education must be developed and personalized on the basis of these natural activities, which in many ways meet the process of artistic creation. Advocates of

Reform pedagogy regarded children's deep feelings as instinctual creative urges, which could be expressed through artistic work and activities (Buber, 1926). The teacher's task was simply to liberate the *"subconscious artistic soul of the God-gifted child artists"* (S.A., 1926, p. 36).

The concept of the child artist became established, and its education grew in importance. By the turn of the century, music had become the reference point for art (Bourdieu, 1992) and, with the increasing influence of salon culture and the rise of music consumption, the musical education and instrumental playing, including piano training, had become an essential domain of art.

An important element of the child concept of reform pedagogy was the autonomous, unhindered child. Reform pedagogical efforts not only sought to liberate the autonomous child but also allowed the unfolding of free creative processes, defining the child as an artist. Although the child was contrasted with the rational disposition of adults, the soul of the adult artist was compared to the free spirit of the child during the enthusiastic act of creation. The new objective was to reintegrate artistic spirit into education, restoring the artistic vision to children's creative activities so that they might once again see and experience the world as they were born to do – breaking away from the utilitarian constraints of logical order (Domokos, 1927).

Across Europe, excellent music educators embarked on high-quality work in education, experimenting with new methods influenced by the changing cultural and world perspectives (Szőnyi, 1988; Daragó, 2012).

In schools, at the stages of the reform pedagogy, the elements of music education were organized around free experience, the desire for creation, creativity, self-expression, and improvisation, often connecting music with other branches of the arts.

The need to nurture children's artistic talents extended beyond school walls; with the intensification of concert life, children's concerts, organized specifically for young audiences, appeared at the beginning of the 20th century. The periodical *A Jövő Utjain* (On Future Roads) reported several times on such events, not only in the capital but also in major provincial cities. In addition to the selection of musical works appropriate for children, organizers enriched the performances with special features, such as program booklets in place of tickets, containing the scores of all performed pieces. Through these events, the contemporary belief was demonstrated that the objective of music education was not solely the cultivation of musical skills but also the gentle support of psychological factors, aiming at creating a happy childhood. A happily growing child, raised to be a music lover, was expected to make life "more beautiful and bearable" (Elefánthy, 1939; Montessori, 2011).

Conclusion

The development of the image of the artist has been examined within the framework of Bourdieu's field theory. The field (the social environment) influences the actions of the agents operating within it, thus playing a significant role in the transformations of the artist's role. Throughout the reviewed period – from the Renaissance to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries – the artist is predominantly seen in a position of dependency: the artist is a subordinate figure within the field of power, characterized by dependency on the patron. Due to their reliance on the patronage relationship, artists are often referred to as courtiers and are associated with artisans. In Vasari's writings, although the artist is depicted as a divinely inspired creator, their social significance is already being elevated. The emergence of the genius image further strengthened the artist's status, with Mozart serving as its embodiment in the field of music. Despite recognized intrinsic values and occasional outward signs of striving for independence (e.g., Hummel's career), within the field of power, the low-status artist practiced their craft by seeking the favor of higher-status patrons. This dependency influenced every aspect of their life, including livelihood, prescribed content of their works, concert opportunities, publication of their compositions, and the marketing of their artistic products. Freedom from the tastes and whims of the patron was gradually achieved by the 19th century. The manifestations of the quest for freedom appeared as features of distinction, detectable both in form and content. These distinctions became visible in clothing, taste, appearance, and in various forms of expressing individuality, including intellectual protest against societal frameworks and the assumption of behaviors presupposing freedom and free self-expression. The elevation of the artist's role was further supported not only by the flourishing salon culture but also by the development of artistic education at the turn of the century, especially in the field of music education. Music, capable of conveying spiritual freedom and offering opportunities for sacral experience through artistic performances, achieved a central role. Music consumption and attending concerts became core elements of social events, with newly emerging musical academies and prestigious concert halls regularly hosting performances of masterpieces interpreted by instrumental soloists and performing artists. The artist, as an independent creator (productive artist), not only gained autonomy but also was considered as the embodiment of a desired, idealized condition. The artist represented everything that the society of the time longed for: the autonomous creator who, amidst political, cultural, and social changes, found a path to freedom, offering an alternative to the alienation from old traditions and human relationships. The essence of the figure of the artist, which became so important by the turn of the century, can also be perceived in emphasizing the child's individuality and the freedom of their education. The concept of the child artist is thus connected to the creative urge, creativity, self-expression, and improvisation manifested in children's activities.

References

Baloghy, M. (1931). Tehetségproblémák. A Magyar Gyermektanulmányi és Gyakorlatilélektani Társaság Pszichológiai Szemináriumban előadássorozata. *A Jövő Utjain. 6*(1), 31–32.

Berki, T. (2011). Modern hétköznapiság – művészlét a 19. századi Párizsban. – Mary Gluck: Popular Bohemia. Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth Century Paris. *Korunk. 22*(5), 114–118.

Bokor, J. (1895). *A Pallas Nagy Lexikona. IX. kötet.* Pallas Irodalmi És Nyomdai Részvénytársaság.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). *A művészet szabályai – Az irodalmi mező genezise* és *struktúrája.* Budapesti Kommunikációs és Üzleti Főiskola.

Buber, M. (1926). Az igazi nevelő. *A Jövő Utjain. 1*(3), 1–9.

Crow, T. E. (1985). *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Yale University Press.

Czuczor, G. & Fogarasi, J. (1862). *A magyar nyelv szótára. IV. kötet.* Emich Gusztáv Magyar Akadémiai nyomdász.

Czuczor, G. & Fogarasi, J. (1874). *A magyar nyelv szótára. VI. kötet.* Athenaeum nyomdája és nyomdai r.-társulat.

Csanda, M. (2006.) Csajkovszkij mecénása – Válogatás Pjotr Iljics Csajkovszkij és Nagyezsda von Meck levelezéséből (2). *Muzsika. 49*(10), 14–19.

Daragó, R. (2012). Életreform és reformpedagógia – A 20. század alternatív zeneoktatási módszereinek életreform-vonatkozási. *Iskolakultúra, 22*(5), 3–10.

Daru, A. (2024). Életreform*, zene-* és *művészetpedagógiai reformok a 20. század elején, különös tekintettel Bartók Béla munkásságára.* PhD-értekezés. https://orcid.org.10.15476/ELTE.2024.263

Dobszay, L. (1984). *Magyar Zenetörténet.* Gondolat Kiadó.

Domokos, L. (1926). Uj Iskola. *A Jövő Utjain. 1*(2), 14–16.

Eckhardt, M. (2001). Liszt és Chopin. *Parlando.* 3.

Elefánthy, M. (1939). Kis zenebarátok nevelése. *A Jövő Utjain. 14*(3), 64–65.

Fáber, Á. (2009). Pierre Bourdieu: A tudományos mező. *Replika,* 67, 11–36.

Fáber, Á. (2014). Pierre Bourdieu: Szimbolikus tőke és társadalmi osztályok. *Replika, 87*(3), 7–18.

Fáber, Á. (2017). *Pierre Bourdieu „politikai fordulata".* PhD-értekezés.

Fónagy, Z. (2013.) Kislány a zongoránál. A zene a középosztály magánéletében a 19. században. *Korall, 14*(51), 18–40.

Frank, T. (2020). Akadémiai székfoglalója. https://mta.hu/akademiai_szekfogalok/a-polgari-erintkezes-modernizalodasa-a-19szazadban-szalonok-zongorak-nevjegyek-frank-tibor-rendes-tag-szekfoglalo-eloadasa-110624

Friss, G. (1969). A magyar zene története. *Ifjú zenebarát. 8*(3), 8–9.

Gluck, M. (2010). A bohém művész kulturális gyökereiről. *Korunk. 11*(5), 56–62. https://doi.org/10.2118/0110-0056-JPT

Hanák, P. (1997). Társadalmi struktúrák a 19. századi Közép-Európában. *Történelmi Szemle, 39*(2),159–177.

Haskell, F. (1980). *Patrons and painters.* Yale University Press.

Jemnitz, S. (1935). Hummel János Nepomuk, az ember és művészet. *A Zene. 16*(9), 129–130.

Kant, E. (2003). *Az ítélőerő kritikája.* Osiris Kiadó.

Katona, P. (2012).: A művészet és szabályai Bourdieu szociológiájában. In Balog, I., Balogh, P., Jancsák, Cs., Lencsés, Gy., Lőrinczi, J., Rácz, A., & Vincze, A. (Eds.), *A szociológia szemüvegén keresztül – tanulmányok Feleky Gábor 60. születésnapjára* (pp. 122–126.). Belvedere Meridionale.

Kenyeres, Á. (1967, Ed.). *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon I. kötet.* Akadémiai kiadó.

Kenyeres, Á. (1982, Ed.). *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon II. kötet.* Akadémiai kiadó.

Kodály, Z. (2007a). *Visszatekintés I. Összegyűjtött írások, beszédek, nyilatkozatok.* Argumentum Kiadó.

Kodály, Z. (2007b). *Visszatekintés II. Összegyűjtött írások, beszédek, nyilatkozatok.* Argumentum Kiadó.

Lukacs, J. (1988). *Budapest 1900.* Helikon.

Montessori, M. (2011). *A gyermek felfedezése.* Cartaphilus.

Németh, A. & Skiera, E. (1999). *Reformpedagógia és az iskola reformja.* Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Németh, A. (2002). A reformpedagógia gyermekképe. *Iskolakultúra. 12*(3), 21–32.

Németh, A. (2002, Ed.). *Reformpedagógia-történeti tanulmányok.* Osiris Kiadó.

Pukánszky, B. (2020, Ed.). *A gyermek évszázada.* Osiris Kiadó.

Radnóti, S. (2010). A művész életrajza – vázlat. *Korunk. 11*(5), 16–19.

Révay, M. J. (1912/1990). *Révai Nagy Lexikona, 4. kötet.* Hasonmás kiadás. Szépirodalmi és Babits Könyvkiadó.

S.A. (1926). A tudatalatti a művészi nevelés szolgálatában. – Cizek ifjusági tanfolyama Bécsben. *A Jövő Utjain. 1*(3), 36–37.

Sadie, S. (1987, Ed.). *Mozart. Grove monográfiák.* Zeneműkiadó.

Szabolcsi, B. (1955). *A magyar zenetörténet könyve.* Zeneműkiadó Vállalat.

Szabolcsi, B. (1970). *Beethoven – Művész* és *műalkotás két korszak határán.* Gondolat.

Szegedy-Maszák, M. (1969). Csokonai: A magánossághoz. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 73*(2–3), 281–290.

Szepesi, Zs. (1988) Major Ervin gyűjteményének kéziratai. 3. közlemény: Nem kottás kéziratok. In Felföldi, L. & Lázár, K. (Eds.), *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok. 1988.* (pp. 333–347). MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, Budapest.

Tanner, J. (2010). A művész szociológiája. *Korunk, 11*(5), 40–46.

Wessely, A. (2010). Művész-szerepek. *Korunk, 11*(5), 7–15.

Zibolen, E. (1987). *Flóri könyve sok szép képekkel, földrajzokkal és muzsika melléklettel.* Írta: Bezerédj Amália. Faximile kiadás.

Zolberg, V. (2010). Születik-e a művész, vagy azzá lesz? *Korunk, 11*(5), 47–54.

A művész eszményének fejlődése Európa 19–20. század fordulóján

A tanulmány a társadalom egy sajátos aktoráról, a művészemberről alkotott képet vizsgálja történeti megközelítésből. A reneszánsz időszakától a *19–20. század* fordulójáig tekinti át hogyan változott a művésszel kapcsolatos vélekedés. A művész társadalmi szerepének elemzésénél Bourdiue mezőelméletére támaszkodva tárgyalják a szerzők a hatalmi mezőről való leválás, a művész függetlenedésének folyamatát. Tisztázzák a mecénatúra funkcióját, rámutatnak arra, hogy milyen társadalmi hatások következtében került a vizsgált csoport alárendelt helyzetből az önálló művészember pozíciójába, miközben megjelent a piaci viszonyoknak való kitettség problémája. A tanulmány a művészkép bemutatásánál az általános megközelítésből a zeneművészekre pontosítja, érvényesíti a megállapításait. Külön kiemelést kap a 19-20. század fordulójának ideálja, a szabadságot megtestesítő művész, aki a valóság kivételes észlelésének képességével rendelkezik. Így tekintenek rá a kor egyik legfontosabb művészeti ágaként definiált zeneművészetben is. Az átfogó európai képet követően bemutatásra kerülnek a magyarországi viszonylatok is. A csodagyerek – gyerekművész fogalmak elemzése rávilágít arra, hogy a reformpedagógia gyerekképe kapcsolatot mutat a kor művészideáljával és ez a pedagógia fontos szerepet tulajdonít a művészeti és benne a zenei nevelésnek.

Kulcsszavak

művész, mezőelmélet, reformpedagógia, gyerekművész, zeneművész