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JOHANNESSAAL, 1. STOCK
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SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SCHUBERT RESEARCH CENTER

WOMEN'S AGENCY IN SCHUBERT'S VIENNA

ORGANIZER AND CONTACT:

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PROGRAM

THURSDAY, 3 NOVEMBER

MORNING SESSION: WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

Chair: Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl

- 09:30** **Welcome**
Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl
- 09:45** **Introduction**
Melanie Unseld

10:15 COFFEE

- 10:45** **Natasha Loges**
Defining Agency through Schubert's Female Contemporaries
- 11:30** **Nancy November**
Cultivating Musical Arrangements in Early 19th-Century Vienna: Uncovering Women's Agency in the Domestic Sphere

AFTERNOON SESSION: SALON CULTURE

Chair: Melanie Unseld

- 14:00** **Gundela Bobeth**
Gender Discourses in the Salon: Women's Dignity and Girls' Lamentation
- 14:45** **Eva Neumayr**
Anna (Nanette) Fröhlich and her Music Collection
- 15:30** COFFEE
- 16:00** **Henrike Rost**
Leaves, Curls, Scores: On Musical Memorabilia and Women in Viennese Musical Culture (1815–1848)
- 16:45** **Anja Bunzel**
"The Prague literary gentlemen [...] kindly helped me to collect notes": Intellectual Inspiration, Caroline Pichler, and the Prague Cultural Circles
- 19:00** **Conference Dinner**
Gasthaus "Zu den 3 Hacken", Singerstraße 28

FRIDAY, 4 NOVEMBER

MORNING SESSION: REPRESENTATIONS ON STAGE

Chair: Birgit Lodes

- 9:30 **Martin Eybl**
Female Singers, Virtuosos, Dilettantes in the Music Culture of Vienna: Published Lists of Names and their Interpretation
- 10:15 **Christine Hoppe**
Imagined Virgin and Consecrated Genius on Stage. Schubert's Ave Maria as a Means for Body(re) presentations of Instrumental Virtuosos
- 11:00 COFFEE
- 11:30 **Anno Mungen**
Acting and Singing as Work: Sophie and Wilhelmine Schröder in Vienna (1815–1823)
- 12:15 **Jonathan Kregor**
Remembering Clara Wieck in Vienna

AFTERNOON: SCHUBERT TOUR THROUGH VIENNA

- 18:00 **EVENING: DANCE**
Hannelore Unfried
 The Cotillon. Dance Games in the Magic Circle
 Bockkeller, Gallitzinstraße 1

SATURDAY, 5 NOVEMBER

MORNING SESSION: FEMALE GATEKEEPERS

Chair: Franz Fillafer

- 9:30 **Tina Muxfeldt**
Overcoming Toleranz: Jewish Women's Social Activism
- 10:15 **Birgit Lodes**
Princess Charlotte Kinsky(-Kerpen) as Patron of Lieder: Schubert Composing and Publishing "Die Sterne" (D 939)
- 11:00 COFFEE
- 11:30 **Hester Bell Jordan**
Nannette Streicher-Stein and the Invention of the Woman Piano Maker
- 12:15 **Summary, Desiderata and Farewell**

ABSTRACTS

HESTER BELL JORDAN

Montreal, CAN

Nannette Streicher-Stein and the Invention of the Woman Piano Maker

Nannette Streicher-Stein (1769–1833) was one Vienna’s—indeed Europe’s—most renowned piano makers at the turn of the nineteenth century. Working in collaboration with several family members, she was also the most prominent woman in the industry during her lifetime and long after her death. Despite this, musicologists have yet to consider the socio-historical specificities of Streicher-Stein’s work as a piano maker in relation to her gender. This paper focuses on the intersection of labour and gender in Streicher-Stein’s public image through a range of written sources including articles, advertisements, a piano manual, and private correspondence. I suggest that it was through these sources—many written by her husband and collaborator, Andreas Streicher, and their business associate, Georg Griesinger—that the concept of a “woman piano maker” came into being for the German-speaking musical public. Furthermore, I argue that it was through presenting Streicher-Stein as both a piano maker and piano player that she and her associates sought to reconcile her gender and occupation in the minds of readers and potential customers. Her identity as a maker-player appears to have held significance for Streicher-Stein publicly and privately, shaping how she engaged with the instruments she created. By examining how gender, labour, and pianos interact in representations of Streicher-Stein, this paper brings a new perspective not only to our understanding of the piano maker herself but also presents a multivalent approach to historical women’s engagements with this feminized instrument.

ANJA BUNZEL

Prague, CZ

“The Prague literary gentlemen [...] kindly helped me to collect notes”: Intellectual Inspiration, Caroline Pichler, and the Prague Cultural Circles

In her *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* the Viennese salonnière and writer Caroline Pichler (1769–1843) reminisces that during her stay in Prague the “literary gentlemen, especially professor [Wolfgang] Gerle, also the gentlemen [Ludwig] von Rittersberg, [Karl Egon] Ebert [...] kindly helped me to collect notes” in preparation of her large-scale work *Die Schweden in Prag* (The Swedes in Prague). Besides her connections to these writers and poets, Pichler’s own and other contemporaries’ accounts testify to further personal encounters between Pichler and important Prague cultural protagonists. These include the writer, historian, and politician František Palacký (1798–1876), Count Franz Anton von Kolowrat (1778–1861), baron and baroness von Astfeld (dates unknown), and the composer Leopold Eugen Měchura (1804–1870), all of whom were rooted deeply in Prague’s musical circles.

Pichler’s connections to Prague and Bohemia, however, show also on more subtle, intellectual levels. She found inspiration for *Die Schweden in Prag* or for her ballad “Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen” (The Origin of the Cistercian Abbey of Hohenfurth in Bohemia). Furthermore, her poems inspired musical settings which became a part of Prague’s private musical culture. Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850) set her “Entstehung” in 1817 (op. 62, published with Berra in 1832). Moreover, the music library of Count von Kolowrat includes a Pichler setting by János Fusz (1777–1819) titled “Die Beruhigung” (Reassurance) – it is a setting of the same words as Franz Schubert’s “Der Unglückliche” (The Unhappy One). In this paper I will discuss these settings under the consideration of Pichler’s own personal contacts in and around Prague. In doing so, I will argue that, although Pichler is often described as musically less interested, her literary oeuvre and her cultural presence had an impact on the music-cultural circles surrounding her, even when they were located outside of Vienna.

GUNDELA BOBETH

Hamburg, D

Gender Discourses in the Salon: Women's Dignity and Girls' Lamentation

Although the Viennese writer Justine von Krufft (1775–1832), musically gifted and taught by Maria Theresia Paradis, was as well established as appreciated in her time – her inclusion in Friedrich Matthiessen's *Lyrische Anthologie* (1806) testifies to her widely-accepted canonisation –, she is known today primarily as the sister of the composer Nikolaus von Krufft, who, like Moriz von Dietrichstein, set some of her texts to music and published them in various of his song collections. The paper focuses on Nikolaus von Krufft's setting of *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost*, printed by Mecchetti in 1813, as a particularly remarkable testimony to a siblingly cooperation between composer and lyricist, in which Justine functions not only as author but also as dedicatee. With this text, Justine provides a counterpart, articulated from a female perspective, to a prominent poem that had caused in its time a furore as a paradigm of male ideal concepts of femininity: Friedrich Schiller's *Würde der Frauen*.

Since its first publication in 1795, Schiller's text had been subject to both affirmative acclaim and derisive criticism. The large number of musical settings contributed decisively to bringing the discussion about gender-specific role patterns and power relations, which had been reignited in the course of socio-cultural upheavals, into the intellectual circles of the flourishing salon culture in Vienna and elsewhere. Nikolaus von Krufft had also published a setting of Schiller's *Würde der Frauen* as early as 1798, on the basis of which the perspective reorientation in *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost* seems all the more revealing. Based on a comparison of Schiller's poem and Justine von Krufft's counterpart, the article poses the general question of the extent to which the contemporary song repertoire can be used as a meaningful source of information on time-specific gender role images, and expands the perspective to include other hitherto little-known songs contributed by women of the Biedermeier period.

MARTIN EYBL

Vienna, A

*Female Singers, Virtuosos, Dilettantes in the Music Culture of Vienna:
Published Lists of Names and their Interpretation*

Within little more than a quarter of a century, four books and one essay have been published in Vienna, all of which have institutions of Vienna's current musical culture and the practitioners involved as their sole or essential subject matter. Regardless of whether they purport to be a yearbook (Schönfeld 1796), a status report (Mosel 1808), a handbook (Boeck 1821 and 1823), or an address book (Ziegler 1823), these lists always pursue a twofold goal: on the one hand, they aim to inform interested residents and out-of-town visitors to the city about cultural practices and opportunities, and on the other hand, they form a medium of self-representation for both the musical public of Vienna as a whole and the individuals active in the field.

The surveys offer more than mere biographical details on a host of otherwise elusive persons. Considerations on the methodology of the evaluation include the terminology (virtuoso, dilettante, etc.), the disposition of the lists and their function from different perspectives: from the side of the authors and publishers, the named individuals and institutions, and the users of these directories.

The paper will discuss the sources of information on which these lists are based, their social scope (and the corresponding gaps), as well as the arrangement of entries in which social relations and rankings are mapped. Taken as a series, these lists depict a development in which the wiggle room of women in the field of musical culture changed and, at the same time, the structure of the musical public slowly transformed.

CHRISTINE HOPPE

Göttingen, D

Imagined Virgin and Consecrated Genius on Stage

Schubert's *Ave Maria* as a Means for Body(re-)presentations of Instrumental Virtuosos

Virtuoso instrumental performance on 19th-century- stages posed challenges for musicians, composers, and audience, as their performances shook conceptions of a well-arranged polarised gender world. Their public display and emphasis on the visual aspects of the body as well as the pleasure in physical movement on stage, was met with critical skepticism. Public music-making, more specifically, broke

with existing notions especially of the female body decorum of the time. As one strategy to deal with and perhaps counter such a breaking of gender norms, listeners and reviewers re-imagined the performing female body as “virgin”. In a review on a concert of the violinist Theresa Milanollo in Vienna in 1843, for example, it is the “hand of the angelic tendered girl” which helps transforming “the graceful cheerfulness of a being unfolding into a virgin” (AWMZ (1843), S. 407). In my presentation, I examine how this narrative of the virgin on stage as constructed in reviews, in turn impacts the music performed, as it informs the musicians’ performance on stage as well as the audiences’ perception thereof. In short, I explore how such descriptions of the figure of the virgin influences the musical practice of the time and vice versa. Based on transcriptions of Schubert’s *Ave Maria* I elaborate on how both reviewers as well as (male and female) instrumentalists used the narrative of the virgin in their musicking (Small) practices. Through these interacting practices, they musically relate to and shape gender-discourses of the time. My analysis focuses on the transcription of above-mentioned violinist Theresa Milanollo, who frequently played her version of the *Ave Maria* in her concerts in Vienna in 1853. Focusing on gender-led body(re-)presentations on stage in comparison to a transcription published by August Wilhelmj in the 1870s, I ask: (How) do virtuosos stage their body (images) in and through these (?) transcriptions? To what extent are gender-specific identities of the time negotiated, (re-)constructed and presented on stage in the sounding event documented in this transcription? To what extent do they negotiate the idea of the virgin in the text of the underlying poem? On a meta-level, then, my presentation asks whether and how a “sound of gender difference” (de Nora) can potentially be localized in music. Second, my case study allows me to gain insights into music’s role in the (re) shaping of gender ideologies and practices of the time.

JONATHAN KREGOR

Cincinnati, USA

Remembering Clara Wieck in Vienna

In the winter of 1837–38, the eighteen-year-old pianist Clara Wieck gave a series of concerts in Vienna. As Christopher Gibbs, Janina Klassen, Alexander Stefaniak, and other scholars have shown, Wieck’s visit to the imperial capital proved to be transformational in shaping her image as an emissary of “serious” music, whose repertoire, on-stage demeanor, and behind-the-scenes behavior separated her from competitors like Franz Liszt and Sigismond Thalberg. Less documented, however, are the ways in which her activities engaged local cultural discourse surrounding the ability and suitability of women in the arts. In this regard, arguably the most important moment of Wieck’s time in Vienna came on 7 January 1838, when she performed Ludwig van Beethoven’s “Appassionata” Sonata, Op. 57, before a sold-out audience at the Saale des Musikvereins.

In chronicling how four distinct cultural stakeholders remembered this performance, this paper explores the limits of female artistic agency in the Biedermeier era. Critics like Heinrich Adami and Eduard de Lannoy, citing Franz Grillparzer’s hot-off-the-press poem entitled “Clara Wieck und Beethoven,” questioned Wieck’s value as interpreter of Beethoven’s music. Yet Grillparzer’s other tributes to female artists like Mary Shaw (1839), Jenny Lind (1846), and Lola Montez (1847) suggest that he actually espoused a more nuanced hermeneutics of gender that afforded Wieck a creative capacity unusual for the time. Unfortunately, Grillparzer’s verses were not just open to misreading, but outright corruption, as Johann Vesque von Püttlingen’s radical reinterpretation of “Clara Wieck und Beethoven” reveals. Vesque’s Lied co-opted and deployed musical ideas from Beethoven’s Op. 57 in ways that removed Wieck from public view and consigned her to the domestic sphere. In such a fractious critical environment, Wieck’s *Souvenir de Vienne*, Op. 9, emerges as a powerful counternarrative to these various attempts by male critics and creators to memorialize her.

BIRGIT LODES

Vienna, A

Princess Charlotte Kinsky(-Kerpen) as Patron of Lieder:

Schubert Composing and Publishing “Die Sterne” (D 939)

In 1828, Schubert dedicated a set of four songs (Op. 96) to Princess Charlotte Kinsky(-Kerpen). One of the reasons for this dedication is certainly a gesture of gratitude. Shortly before the princess had mounted a Liederabend in her Palais at the Freyung in Vienna, with the tenor Karl Schönstein singing and Schubert playing his own songs. Rather than considering Princess Kinsky as a mere financial

patron, this paper elucidates a complex network of performative, aesthetic, and commemorative reasons for Schubert's dedication to her. As a well-educated soprano, several composers, including Beethoven, had already dedicated songs to her. Schubert thus joins a prestigious series of figures. Moreover, he opens his song collection with the Lied "Die Sterne," a song composed shortly before his last concert on March 26 1828, which he had put together as a memorial concert for Beethoven. I wish to argue that not only the instrumental pieces on the program (as shown by Rufus Hallmark and Christopher Gibbs, among others), but also "Die Sterne," recollect Beethoven, the deceased model, in manifold ways. When placing this song at the beginning of his Kinsky collection, Schubert knew well that Beethoven had dedicated more songs to her than to any other person. In this sense, Schubert's dedication of Op. 96 publicly acknowledges Charlotte Princess Kinsky as a knowledgeable, highly cultured, and well-connected social and musical agent in Schubert's Vienna.

NATASHA LOGES

Freiburg, D

Defining Agency through Schubert's Female Contemporaries

The notion of "agency" is relatively recent, emerging in the social sciences during the 1990s and increasingly invoked across humanities research. Yet applying this term through a music historian's lens raises many historiographical questions. How is individual agency understood by women when they are so often defined through their relationships as daughters, sisters, wives and mothers? How is agency understood by artists, whose success depends on effective use of networks? And how do scholars today identify the anachronistic concept of agency in historical materials? This paper explores how several of Schubert's female contemporaries in Vienna expressed what we might recognise as "agency" through their writings, with a focus both on their texts and our own interpretation process. Possible inclusions are the music of composer-pianist Josepha Auernhammer, the plays of actor Therese Krones and the poems and letters of Marianne von Willemer.

ANNO MUNGEN

Bayreuth, D

Acting and Singing as work:

Sophie and Wilhelmine Schröder in Vienna (1815–1823)

Sophie Schröder was one of the best known figures in 19th century theater. She arrived with her family in Vienna in 1815 after they had fled from Hamburg for political reasons. There, she was hired as a member of the famous Burgtheater, where she also introduced her two daughters Wilhelmine and Betty to be on stage with her. The elder one made her debut there as a child actress in 1818 and was trained as a singer afterwards. In 1821 she started to perform in operatic parts at the age of 17 presenting Pamina in *Zauberflöte*, Leonore in *Fidelio* and Agathe in *Freischütz* as well as other major roles. In 1823 she left Vienna, as she was hired at the Dresden Court Theater and got married to an actor: Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient became her new name, soon to be some kind of a brand over the next decades for outstanding opera performances. She now started to be one of the most celebrated artists in 19th century history. The fact that women if they were gifted and trained accordingly were able to take these kind of special positions (as mother and daughter Schröder did), was part of the logic of theater, since women were needed for the storytelling of the plots and also served a specific fascination with the audiences, both male and female. The profession of *female singer, dancer, or actress* can be understood at the same time as a great opportunity for women to be able to "go to work," make their own income, and to be "out." As women they attracted a great deal of public interest in 19th century societies as in Vienna in the relevant period from 1815 to 1823. How the private and the public are intertwined especially from a 19th century gender point of view was of great interest for the society. In this case both women played strong women characters on stage, and got divorced twice during their lifetimes, married three times in real life. Both had extremely successful careers and – last but not least – were very well paid for their "work." This paper adds as a specific piece on an intriguing mother-daughter relationship to a biographical project on Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, her art and – also – her political engagement. It will be looking at the years of her early years, in order to discuss Viennese society with regard to her role model, which was her famous mother.

KRISTINA MUXFELDT

Bloomington, USA

Overcoming Toleranz: Jewish Women's Social Activism

For much of Franz Schubert's youth, Austrians lived with a costly war. Vienna was directly bombarded by Napoleon's forces during his first year at the *Stadtkonvikt*, in May 1809. As adult men took up arms for the hereditary Habsburg lands, the city's women mobilized, too. In 1810, a newly formed *Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen* gained approval for strategic planning and fundraising to address unmet needs in the city. The Prussian-Jewish noblewoman Fanny von Arnstein, a founding member, ensured that her community network would be prominently represented in the initiatives, which included support for the Taubstummen Institut, establishment of an infirmary near Baden, expansion of an institute for blind children, and support for the training of ocular specialists. The society's charter stressed that patients should be treated irrespective of religious affiliation. Women coordinated clothing drives, produced bandages, volunteered in sickbays, and organized benefit concerts to raise funds for the wounded. Similar efforts sprang up across the occupied German states, where the writer Helmina von Chézy circulated an *Aufruf* rallying patriotic women to donate their resources and labor. And women's wartime engagement clearly became indispensable to the Austrian state, for in September 1816, a year into the peace, Emperor Franz issued a decree asking that women voluntarily form associations to facilitate the "good and useful." The *Israelitische Frauen-Wohlthätigkeits-Verein* in Wien formed that year.

Despite energetic involvement on and off the battlefield, however, equality between Jewish and Christian subjects remained a distant dream after the war. Short of religious conversion, the mechanisms by which select Jews gained civic rights—through "naturalization" in Prussia, "toleration" in Austria, or ennoblement—carried significant restrictions and financial burdens: even Jewish nobles could only lease, not own, the city homes where cultivated hostesses received diplomats and other guests in their salons during the Congress of Vienna. After hope shattered that the Congress would enact Jewish emancipation, other painful obstacles arose to equality and permanent belonging. This can be glimpsed in a legal decision forbidding Jewish women from residing in Niederösterreich independently of a "tolerated" man. On 13 June 1818 (just days after Fanny von Arnstein's death) the court's commission on Jewish matters ruled: "Einem jüdischen Weibe kann die Toleranz nicht verliehen werden, indem es allen Grundsätzen zuwider wäre, daß das Weib ihren Nahmen in der Familienliste führte." The fragility of rights and basic protections afforded them necessarily shaped both the many public-facing activities of Jewish women and their private lives.

EVA NEUMAYR

Salzburg, A

Anna (Nanette) Fröhlich and her Music Collection

Anna Maria (Nanette) Fröhlich (1793–1880), one of the key figures in music in the Vienna of the first half of the nineteenth century, was the oldest of the Fröhlich sisters, a singer, pianist and voice teacher at the conservatory in Vienna from 1819 to 1854 and one of the centers of a circle of friends which included Franz Schubert and Franz Grillparzer. She bequeathed her musical collection to the to the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum in Salzburg in 1874 where it is now preserved at the Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg as well as at the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Bibliotheca Mozartiana. This paper will discuss the context of this bequeathal as well as how Anna Fröhlich's various musical activities in Vienna (Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Conservatory etc.) are mirrored in her collection.

NANCY NOVEMBER

Auckland, NEZ

Cultivating Musical Arrangements in Early 19th-Century Vienna: Uncovering Women's Agency in the Domestic Sphere

This study takes a novel stance for musicology, prioritising musical arrangements over original compositions, and female amateurs' perspectives over those of composers. A unique window on the otherwise hidden world of nineteenth-century amateur music-making is provided by the study of domestic musical arrangements of public works. These flourished in great variety in early nineteenth-

century Vienna. But scholars tend to ignore them, or dismiss them as second rate, except for selected arrangements of canonical works. My research asks: what cultural, musical, and social functions did arrangements, especially of public music, serve in Vienna c.1790–1830? And what does this culture of musical arrangements tell us about shifting musical and social ideals and agency in this period, in particular as they concern women?

In this paper I focus on the contexts in which arrangements were performed in Vienna, and their functions in advancing sociability, and social and aesthetic understanding. Before 1815, Viennese salons differed from their French counterparts in mixing the social classes. After the Congress of Vienna class-splitting became more prevalent. To what degree were gender mixing and gender equality retained in private and semi-private music-making in Vienna, especially through the vehicle of musical arrangements? I consider female roles in the prominent soirées of Leopold von Sonnleithner, the house concerts of Raphael Kiesewetter, and in the “Schubertiades.” I will compare these soirées to the salons hosted by notable female amateur musicians of the time, such as Fanny von Arnstein and later Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, in terms of music-making, participants roles, and women’s agency in particular.

A key hypothesis is that, in a time of surveillance and social isolation, domestic arrangements—especially those of topical operas—offered the Viennese opportunities for personal expression that were not so readily found in other arts. I explore prevalent plots and themes of arranged works, and analyse their arrangements. In this way I demonstrate how they might have extended the meaning and experience of public music, for example by allowing domestic performers and listeners to engage with prominent aesthetic and social ideas, such as sympathy and the rewarding of virtue.

HENRIKE ROST

Paderborn, D

Leaves, Curls, Scores:

On Musical Memorabilia and Women in Viennese Musical Culture (1815–1848)

How history is remembered depends on the interests of the respective present. The fact that the agency of women in Vienna during the so-called Biedermeier period (ca. 1815 to 1848) hardly seems to play a role in the collective memory and in research is therefore a preliminary finding. Apart from the Fröhlich sisters from Schubert’s circle and the female patrons and interpreters around Beethoven, the perception of Viennese musical culture of this time in particular seems to be characterised by an active exclusion of women. In this respect, the “Ludlamshöhle,” an artists’ society (including Castelli, Salieri, Grillparzer, etc.) based in Vienna between 1817 and 1826, with some of whose members Schubert was in close contact, fits the pattern. Explicitly excluding women, one met for literary and musical exchange, characterised by jokes and ribald jests. In this context, Moritz Gottlieb Saphir’s “Instrumenten-Figur” (“Figure of Musical Instruments”) with her female counterpart, the “Kitchen Woman,” is exemplary – a drawing later published as a supplement to the *Berliner Schnellpost* in 1827. Saphir initially created the “Instrumenten-Figur” for an album leaf, i.e. in a rather private social setting and in the framework of domestic memory culture. A related scenario arises with regard to the Graz pianist and salonnière Marie Pachler (1794–1855), who, among other things, recalled her personal relationship to Beethoven through a curl of his hair. Pachler is also the dedicatee of four Schubert songs. Schubert’s “Ständchen” D 920, which was commissioned by Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880) in July 1827 on the occasion of the birthday of one of her voice students, was certainly a similarly valuable reminiscence. In my paper, I would like to address such “musical memorabilia” – leaves, curls, and scores. In the sense of a turn towards material culture, aspects of Viennese musical culture linked to domestic sociability will be highlighted and typical fields and spaces of women’s activity will be illuminated.