VIENNA SCHUBERT STUDIES

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Birgit Lodes, Melanie Unseld (eds.)

WOMEN'S AGENCY IN SCHUBERT'S VIENNA



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Women's Agency in Schubert's Vienna

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Preface

The present volume is the first in a new series of books titled "Vienna Schubert Studies". It is closely related to the Schubert Research Center at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which was founded in April 2021. The Center is dedicated to the study of the composer Franz Schubert (1797–1828) and Viennese cultural life in the first half of the nineteenth century. A broad interdisciplinary approach will focus on cultural, social, and political developments that were central to the Habsburg Monarchy. The aim is to uncover social networks, to identify connecting and dividing factors across borders and disciplines, and, in general, to understand the world in which Schubert and his contemporaries lived and worked in a more differentiated and comprehensive way than has been possible in Schubert research to date.

The accompanying book series documents ongoing research and brings together selected papers from our annual conferences, enriched by contributions from various experts in the field. We set high standards for the quality of the contributions, provide careful editorial work as well as language support for non-native speakers. An external double peer review process and a final review by a panel of the Austrian Academy of Sciences ensures the international relevance of the publication. I am grateful to the same institution for funding the book series.

The chapters of this volume were editorially prepared by Karina Zybina and copyedited by Shane McMahon. The legal terminology in the contribution by Andrea Griesebner was reviewed by Jennifer Blaak.

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl
Vienna, Spring 2024

Introduction

Women's Agency in Vienna around 1800

Natasha Loges and Melanie Unseld

This Introduction sets the stage for examining "Women's Agency in Vienna around 1800," a period in Vienna's history characterized by political, social, and cultural changes. Despite the city's vibrant cultural scene, questions arise about women's agency during this era, considering their social status, religion, and profession. The roots of the concept of 'agency' in the Enlightenment are explored, alongside its more current definition as the ability to act and pursue personal goals, albeit within societal structures and connections. The praxeological method is proposed, focusing on everyday practices and their governing rules to reveal the extent of women's involvement in musical culture. However, this essay acknowledges the challenges of studying historical agency due to limited sources and biases. It also emphasizes the importance of acknowledging historical injustices and striving for greater gender visibility and equality.

The case of the pianist Josepha Barbara Auernhammer highlights the struggle to reveal the agency of women in Vienna's so-called Classical era. Despite being a talented musician associated with Mozart, with considerable visibility and agency, Auernhammer's historic accomplishments were subsequently overshadowed by gender biases within the scholarly literature. Her determination to continue performing in public despite societal expectations nevertheless demonstrates her agency. She can be historically repositioned within an increasingly recognized network of women pianists, rather than only in association with Mozart.

Conversely, Irene Kiesewetter's agency as a pianist took a different path, centered around hosting musical gatherings in a domestic setting. While Auernhammer was publicly recognized, Kiesewetter's agency two generations later was focused on the communicative aspect of the Schubert circle. Despite her considerable musical abilities, Kiesewetter's agency as a pianist remained within the domestic sphere, possibly influenced by societal expectations after her marriage. Unraveling these women's agency requires considering broader networks and challenging historical biases.

Around 1800, Vienna was a European metropolis, not only the locus of political and diplomatic power within the sprawling Habsburg Empire, but of social and cultural discourses.[1] Alongside other Europeans, the Viennese played their part in questioning, increasingly vociferously, antiquated power structures; those structures were constantly threatened by wars on the continent itself, and – as is increasingly recognized – positioned within regional, continental and global contexts by colonial and other constellations.[2] Moreover, like all metropolises, Viennese life forced men, women and children of differing social status, religious affiliations, and various income levels and professions into close proximity.[3] The political context was unstable, especially between the reigns of Joseph II and Franz II/I: the American War of Independence rumbled in the background, while the turmoil of the French Revolution nearer to home had direct consequences in Napoleon's aggression, the Wars of Liberation, new coalitions, and the Metternich era. But notwithstanding those broader forces, Vienna remained a city with a thriving theatrical and musical culture that stretched into the suburbs and was characterized by a diversity of classes, religions and languages. And culture, especially music, is not understood here as extraneous to society – as *l'art pour l'art*, so to speak – but as a laboratory for social and political change.

This is the background to the questions of women's agency considered in this collection of essays: what was possible for women in Vienna around 1800, and of what status, what religion, what profession? Who could actively participate in and contribute to cultural life, and under what conditions? What music-related activities could women independently or collaboratively establish, take over or maintain? One might assume that in view of the great political upheavals of the time, European women gained greater opportunities for participation in the public sphere, as part of the overall reorganization of political action in society, though it is questionable whether those opportunities continuously grew, in a tidy teleology. We choose the term 'agency' to examine these questions, as it focuses on the process of possible action as well as the dependency upon, or connection to other groups and social structures.

1 For a general background, see Franz Leander Fillafer, *Aufklärung habsburgisch. Staatsbildung, Wissenskultur und Geschichtspolitik in Zentraleuropa 1750-1850* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020).

2 It is important to recognize that there were various forces of globalization alongside colonization; individuals, populations and goods migrate for many reasons, primarily economic.

3 Obviously, there were limits to this phenomenon. Erica Buurman's recent study of Viennese ballroom culture reveals how tenaciously the upper classes sought to segregate themselves from wider society, even as Viennese dance culture evolved towards greater inclusivity. See Erica Buurman, *The Viennese Ballroom in the Age of Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

Our article proceeds in several steps: we first offer a brief definition of 'agency'; we then address the question of what was thought of as a 'subject' around 1800, and how this influenced gender discourse. We then focus on Vienna circa 1800, combined with some methodological considerations. Finally, two case studies (Josepha Auernhammer and Irene Kiesewetter), framing the lifespan of Franz Schubert, will exemplify our overarching considerations.

What is 'agency'?

The notion of agency dates back to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Ideas related to modern understandings of agency can be found in the writings of John Locke and Immanuel Kant.[4] In the nineteenth century, Karl Marx significantly enriched understanding by recognizing that agency is constrained by external forces and ideology. Subsequent figures such as Judith Butler, Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault have questioned the extent to which human agency is conscious, or arises from logical reasoning. Although the philosophical meanings of agency are complex and contested, one general understanding has emerged from social science research of the 1990s to suggest that agency is the capacity to act or cause change, generally in pursuit of one's own goals and/or wellbeing; its antithesis might be helplessness or disempowerment.[5] Agency attracts a cluster of associated concepts, for example, autonomy, empowerment, efficacy, self-determination, action and practice, all desirable things from a Western societal perspective. The economist Amartya Sen defined agency in the 1980s as a person's ability to act in ways which are congruent with their values.[6] But agency is also understood as *processual*, associated with development and emerging goals, not discrete events – and in that sense, is a particularly useful concept in artistic contexts,[7] in which performances or compositions are just staging posts within longer, evolving creative

4 See, for example, John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*: "A man on the rack is not at liberty to lay by the idea of pain, and divert himself with other contemplations [...] But as soon as the mind regains the power to stop or continue, begin or forbear, any of these motions of the body without, or thoughts within, according as it thinks fit to prefer either to the other, we then consider the man as a FREE AGENT again." John Locke, "Of Power," in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* vol. 2, paragraph 12, (London: Eliz. Holt for Thomas Basset, 1690).

5 See Joshua Gunn, "Agency," in *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory,* ed. Stephen W. Littlejohn and Karen A. Foss (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009), 27–30.

6 See Amartya Sen, "Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984," in *The Journal of Philosophy* 82, no. 4 (1985): 169–221; for a fuller introduction, see Amartya Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 56, in which Sen points out that people exercise agency for many reasons other than the pursuit of well-being.

7 Anke Haarmann and Harald Lemke, "Kunst als Praxis/Praxologie der Kunst," in *Handbuch Kunstphilosophie*, ed. Judith Sigmund (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2022), 59–66.

processes and careers.[8] As Sen pointed out, it is also *interdependent*, because we do not act in isolation but in relation to others, as part of communities.

Identifying agency in history raises challenges. Without being able to speak directly to a participant, how can agency be observed in an individual, or even an entire gender? If one observes agency over a given period, one must ask how premises of agency change, and to what extent. By 1848, the end of the period under scrutiny, it was recognized within philosophy that agency is contextual and circumscribed – recall Marx's famous dictum "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past."[9] Marx, like everyone else, was a child of his time, and one need only consider the dismal fate of his daughter Eleanor Marx to see the potential influence of gender in the making of one's 'own history'.[10] Women's agency was constrained, but inconsistently so; one might have considerable power in private spheres but remain invisible in public ones; one might lead a women's association, or host an influential salon, but be unable to own property, access children after a divorce, or stand for government. These barriers should not be overlooked in our attempt to observe, or indeed celebrate the power which certain – admittedly, often socially and financially privileged – women managed to exert, because it risks distorting history by obscuring the many situations in which women were deprived of power. Still, while women's movements in German and Habsburg lands emerged somewhat later than in France and England, various seeds were sown during the decades considered in this book.[11] Altogether, agency is inevitably invoked in situations of inequality, so studies tend to cluster around children, racial minorities, the poor, the disabled, and of course – women. No studies have explored white male upper-class agency, as it is taken for granted as the norm, expressed in the racialized patriarchal, structures which still underpin much human endeavor today. So,

8 For the concept of composition as working process, see Ina Knoth, *Paul Hindemiths Kompositionsprozess* Die Harmonie der Welt: *Ambivalenz als Rhetorik der Ernüchterung* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 2016).

9 Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *The Marx-Engels Reader,* edited by Robert C. Tucker, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 595.

10 See, for example, Rachel Holmes, *Eleanor Marx: A Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). This and other recent studies examine Marx's sense of agency in relation to her father, her exploitative partner Edward Aveling, and other figures in her life, as well as her political activism within mid-nineteenth century London. She took her own life aged 43.

11 See, for example, Elisabeth Guschlbauer, "Der Beginn der politischen Emanzipation der Frau in Österreich (1848–1919)" (PhD diss., University of Salzburg, 1974), 28–29 for a brief background. See also Gabriella Hauch, *Frau Biedermeier auf den Barrikaden. Frauenleben in der Wiener Revolution 1848* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1990), and Angelika Schaser, Sylvia Schraut, and Petra Steymans-Kurz, eds., *Erinnern, vergessen, umdeuten? Europäische Frauenbewegungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2019).

the notion of agency is intrinsically self-obliterating, since true agency results in the redistribution of power to make itself redundant (those who have agency do not need to ask if they do). Any exploration of agency is therefore rooted in an acknowledgment of fundamental power imbalances.

Agency is associated with numerous discourses and fields of action which cannot be fully discussed here, but must nevertheless be mentioned, if only to render visible the rich complexity of the contexts. These include, firstly, the question of who was considered a 'subject' (as 'subject of doing') in the period around 1800 (ethically, morally, and legally), and secondly, the gender discourse, which did not follow a neat trajectory of growing emancipation, but underwent some regression, ultimately cementing a heteronormative division that ultimately limited women's options for action during the century.[12]

Who is the subject?

Agency is closely linked to an understanding of the subject, or "a perceiving human being who is conscious."[13] The Enlightenment era witnessed a fundamental change in approach to questions such as: what is man? Who possesses individuality? Who is part of society? What is the ego, the self?[14] These questions were discussed in ethical and philosophical terms, but the implications were far from abstract. For instance, who was regarded to have legal capacity and therefore sign a contract? Who was permitted to own, control and inherit property and wealth? And particularly relevant for many women, who was permitted to marry or indeed divorce,[15] and in the latter case, who could retain custody of children? What forms of religious freedom were possible?[16] Who was regarded as legally free, as opposed to being a slave or a serf? The answers to these questions evolved in tandem with shifting political systems: while, for example, the premodern societal hierarchy proposed a hierarchical legal separation of subject between those 'above' and those 'below', the bourgeois order was based primarily on a separation of the sexes. Alongside this, the 1787

12 As observed above, the *Frauenbewegung* in German-speaking and Habsburg lands emerged at the time of the 1848 revolution, but it was brutally suppressed. Legal shifts clawed back rights from female spouses, ultimately reducing their agency. As late as 1869, Austrian women were legally subservient to their fathers, could not receive advanced education, run businesses independently, or participate in political life. See Guschlbauer, *Der Beginn der politischen Emanzipation*, 29.

13 "Agency," in *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, ed. Stephen W. Littlejohn and Karen A. Foss (Sage: Thousand Oaks, California, 2009), 27 col. 2 / 28–32.

14 For a fuller discussion, see Andreas Reckwitz, *Das hybride Subjekt: eine Theorie der Subjektkulturen von der bürgerlichen Moderne zur Postmoderne*, rev. ed. (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2020).

15 See the chapter by Andrea Griesebner in this volume.

16 See the chapter by Kristina Muxfeldt in this volume.

United States Constitution and the 1789 *Declaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* fundamentally changed the perception of European subjects. Such discourses penetrated deep into daily lives.

Moreover, the question of who was the subject did not remain purely political. Individual affirmation of one's own subject position became all the more necessary, the more controversial the issue was (for example: the aristocratic vs. the bourgeois subject). Therefore, 'Subjektkultur' – the doing and showing of the individual as subject – as Andreas Reckwitz terms it, changed and intensified before and around 1800. For Reckwitz, that doing and showing manifests itself in three areas in particular: at work, in personal relationships (kinship, friendship, etc.), and the technologies of the self.[17] These interconnected areas also span the concept of public/private: for bourgeois subject culture, 'public' connotes something distinct from the representative public sphere. Finally, because the spatial context of employment and thus the social space of the 'home' changed fundamentally,[18] the private became a new, highly contested terrain with significant implications for gender discourse.

What was the gender discourse?

The gender discourse in Europe and North America, as it tends to be recognized today, had been going on for several decades by 1800. (We use the term 'gender' *avant la lettre*; in the eighteenth century and still around 1800, one referred to the *Geschlechterdebatte/Krieg der Geschlechter* or the *querelle des femmes*). Gender had been intensively discussed by thinkers, writers, philosophers, translators, scientists and artists – of all sexes – at least since the second third of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment, and the establishment of the 'two-sex-model' which emerged alongside bourgeois self-cultivation, had an immense impact on gender discourse (and arguably still does).[19] In brief: the linked concept of sex and gender is important to all societies, not only because biological survival depends upon it, but also because of fundamental questions of power. The belief in the monarchy eroded with the French

17 Reckwitz, *Das hybride Subjekt*, particularly the chapter on 'bürgerliche Subjektkultur,' 111–281. In the context of 'becoming a self' it is worth also noting the changes, observed by scholars in media studies, in the consumption and usage of media in processes of self-fashioning.

18 Cornelia Klinger, "1800 – Eine Epochenschwelle im Geschlechterverhältnis?" in *Revolution und Emanzipation. Geschlechterordnungen in Europa um 1800*, ed. Katharina Rennhak and Virginia Richter, (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), 17–32, esp. 26–27.

19 See for example Klinger, "1800," as well as Klinger, "Die Dialektik der Aufklärung im Geschlechterverhältnis," in *Aufklärung und Aufklärungskritik in Frankreich. Selbstdeutungen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Zeitgenossen*, ed. Sonja Asal and Johannes Rohbeck (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003), 199–229.

Revolution (albeit gradually and with repeated resistance) resulting in a power vacuum which provoked the question: what category of humanity is so stable that it can replace the God-given authority of the monarchy? With astonishing rapidity, and relatively unchallenged, the category of sex became essential, for it could be argued that the 'natural' human state can be separated into two sexually distinct spheres and, as a consequence, two gender spheres. This division became so fundamental that it operated from the highest to the humblest tiers of society and resulted in fundamental power imbalances. To quote just one of numerous voices: "The legacy of men to their daughters," according to Charlotte von Kalb in 1799, "reads roughly as follows: [...] You must love and bring happiness to only one person, but you may have neither intelligence nor will; you are not allowed to express any desires, joys, or sympathy [...]."[20] Similarly, as Abigail Adams (née Smith) wrote to her husband, U.S. statesman John Adams, "I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies; for, whilst you are proclaiming peace and good-will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives."[21] In sum: gender discourse around 1800 operated within an unambiguously dichotomous framework. And Karin Hausen's still relevant essay from 1976 shows that this polarization runs through the theoretical-philosophical foundations of thought, shaping practical questions of work, participation, and agency.[22]

Thinking in dichotomies was inherent in the discourse on sex and gender from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte to Wilhelm von Humboldt and many others.[23] Despite the consensus with which mostly male philosophers affirmed the natural difference in the thinking of men and women, various contemporary women active as thinkers, philosophers, scientists, translators, etc., contradicted their theories. To name only a few within Europe: the mathematician, philosopher, translator and scientist Émilie du Châtelet (1706–1749), intellectual companion and confidant to Vol-

20 "Das Testament der Männer an ihre Töchter lautet ungefähr so: [...] Ihr müßt lieben und einen einzigen beglücken, aber ihr dürft weder Verstand noch Willen haben; keinen Wunsch, keine Freude und Teilnahme dürft ihr bezeigen [...]." Cited in Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter. Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib 1750–1850* (Munich: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1991), 46.

21 Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, May 7, 1776, in *Adams Paper/Digital Editions,* https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-04-01-02-0259#sn=12, accessed 3 August 2023.

22 Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der Geschlechtscharaktere. Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1976), 363–93.

23 See Melanie Unseld, "When Heroes Sigh: Sentimental Heroism in Opera Culture Around 1800," in *Tracing the Heroic Through Gender*, ed. Carolin Hauck, Monika Mommertz, Andreas Schlüter and Thomas Seedorf, Helden – Heroisierungen – Heroismen, vol. 8 (Baden-Baden: Ergon, 2018), 157–76.

taire; Laura Bassi (1711–1778), philosopher and physicist, who held a professorship at the University of Bologna from 1745, Luise Gottsched, née Kulmus (1713–1762), writer and translator of literature as well as scientific papers, Johanna Charlotte Unzer (1725–1782), who fought for women's education and in 1751 published the *Grundriß einer Weltweisheit für das Frauenzimmer*, Elizabeth Montague, née Robinson (1718–1780), the English writer, arts patron and center of the intellectual circle of the bluestocking society, and others. Notably, all women philosophers – alongside their various other fields of expertise – repeatedly had to confront the issue of education, since women were excluded from both the academic system as well as trapped in the heteronormative conception of 'man as intellectual'.[24]

Notwithstanding all this, a glance at history around 1800 shows that this heteronormativity could also be challenged, albeit with caveats and restrictions. A few examples: a widow[25] could still legally do business, oversee a factory, manage a business and sign contracts – in Vienna, for example, the copyist Therese Ziss (ca. 1702–1777) successfully maintained her deceased husband's copyist workshop for years (probably 1760–1773),[26] even if a philosopher like Johann Gottlieb Fichte stated in his *Eherecht* (marriage law) some years later that business ability was the purview of men.[27] The pianist, singer and composer Sophie Westenholz (1759–1838) could be appointed Kapellmeister in Ludwigslust in 1792, even if the profession was ostensibly limited to men and her colleagues repeatedly reminded her of this.[28] And Regina Strinasacchi (1761–1839) led a successful international career as a violinist, before and after marriage and motherhood, including extensive concert tours and, later, a permanent position.[29] Female soldiers could smuggle themselves into the army of the Wars of Liberation, and then appear as (anti-)role models in the thea-

24 For more detail, see Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter*.

25 For research on the socio-economic and social status of widows see Heide Wunder, *Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond. Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1992); Gesa Ingendahl, *Witwen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eine kulturhistorische Studie* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus 2006).

26 See "Ziss, Theresia" in database *Paper and Copyists in Viennese Opera Scores. Current Period: 1760–1775,* https://www.mdw.ac.at/imi/ctmv/p_und_c/copyists_detail.php?kop=WK71Pm, accessed 3 August 2023.

27 See: Marion Heinz, "Liebe und Ehe. Untersuchungen zu Fichtes Eherecht," in *Fichte-Studien* 18 (2000): 49–63.

28 Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 158–89; see also Ruth Heckmann, *Tonsetzerinnen: Zur Rezeption von Komponistinnen in Deutschland um 1800* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 223–60.

29 Volker Timmermann, "Strinasacchi, Regina," in *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/strinasacchi-regina, accessed 3 August 2023. See also the chapter by Christine Hoppe in this volume.

tre.[30] Many other examples which challenge gender duality can be found in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. And alongside the 'heroic age,' the idea of sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*) also seeped into contemporary ideas of masculinity. Thus, scholars such as Martina Kessel, Andreas Reckwitz, and Cornelia Klinger also rightly argue for a more nuanced approach to historical discourses.[31] Were it otherwise, stage heroes such as Tamino could not have fainted from fright, nor could a heroine like Leonore have rescued her husband from jail. And in Louis Spohr's opera *Der Zweikampf mit der Geliebten*, first performed in 1811, the lady wears trousers and duels with her fiancé. In short, despite gender essentialization in theory, there existed both diversity of practice and thought, as Reckwitz argues:

> There are several indications that early bourgeois society before 1800 tended towards a form of degendering, and the process of emotionalization, within this context, was directed towards a specific bourgeois-modern strategy of universalization, targeting the subject in a gender-neutral manner and addressing both women and men equally.[32]

Gender discourse around 1800 is therefore contradictory. Binary heteronormativity is repeatedly reaffirmed, but it is full of permeabilities, ambiguities and frictions which inflect possibilities of agency.

Some methodological remarks

Around 1800, Vienna embraced women of widely diverging life situations and ages, class and religious affiliations, abilities, and financial and family circumstances. However, given the sparse sources,[33] it is rarely evident exactly

30 Anke Charton, "Francesca, Leonore, Eleonore. Transgressive Weiblichkeitsentwürfe zwischen Französischer Revolution und Wiener Kongress," in *Beethoven.An.Denken: Das Theater an der Wien als Erinnerungsort*, ed. Julia Ackermann and Melanie Unseld (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2020), 109–21.

31 Martina Kessel, "Heterogene Männlichkeit. Skizzen zur gegenwärtigen Geschlechterforschung," in *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, eds. Friedrich Jäger et al., vol. 3: *Themen und Tendenzen* (Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2004), 372–84; Andreas Reckwitz, "Umkämpfte Maskulinität. Zur Transformation männlicher Subjektformen und ihrer Affektivitäten," in *Unscharfe Grenzen. Perspektiven der Kultursoziologie* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008), 177–96; Manuel Borutta and Nina Verheyen, "Vulkanier und Choleriker? Männlichkeit und Emotion in der deutschen Geschichte 1800–2000," in *Die Präsenz der Gefühle. Männlichkeit und Emotion in der Moderne*, ed. Manuel Borutta and Nina Verheyen (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2010), 11–40.

32 "[Es spricht] einiges dafür, dass die frühe Bürgerlichkeit vor 1800 zu einem degendering tendierte und die Emotionalisierung sich in diesem Kontext im Rahmen einer spezifisch bürgerlich-modernen Universalisierungsstrategie entsprechend an 'das' Subjekt richtet, sie geschlechtsindifferent an Frauen und Männer gleichermaßen adressiert ist." Reckwitz, "Umkämpfte Maskulinität," 185, our translation.

33 See the chapter by Martin Eybl in this volume.

what agency those women had. Schubert certainly knew and interacted with numerous women, not only in private rooms and salons,[34] but also on stages of every size and type, in workplaces, and through media such as the press. A swift glance at the literature reveals mentions of, for instance: the soprano Therese Grob, a student and friend; Caroline Esterházy, patroness, student and supporter of Schubert; Princess Charlotte Kinsky, who engaged Schubert as musician in her domestic gathering;[35] Irene Kiesewetter (discussed below), a fine pianist and the daughter of the influential music historian and promoter Raphael Georg Kiesewetter; Caroline Pichler, the famous writer and salonière in Vienna;[36] the singer Anna Milder-Hauptmann who collaborated with Schubert and was an influential exponent of his vocal works; as well as the singer, pianist and teacher Anna Fröhlich,[37] the sopranos Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient[38] and Henriette Sontag, and the mezzo soprano Caroline Unger-Sabatier; there are doubtless many more.

To situate these women appropriately, some methodological reflections are necessary. If we are interested in the relationship between discourses and social structures on the one hand, and individual agency on the other, we can use praxeological methods.[39] They have several advantages with respect to our research perspective: first, they observe processes rather than isolated events, bringing everyday practices into view. Rather than centering compositions, they focus on "bundles of practices" that constitute musical culture: rehearsing, practicing, experimenting, improvising, composing, interpreting, writing about music, publishing it, dancing, pantomimes with music, designing music salons and participating in them, and much more.[40] In Viennese music culture

34 In addition, some recent publications on the subject of musical salons around 1800 (not only with a focus on Vienna, but in a European context): *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019); *Klingende Innenräume. Gender Perspektiven auf eine ästhetische und soziale Praxis im Privaten*, ed. Sabine Meine and Henrike Rost (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2020); Rebecca Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022) and Melanie Unseld, "*Beethoven, 'Salon Music' and Musical Sociability in Vienna around 1800*," in *Beethoven-Geflechte. A Beethoven Tapestry. Networks and Cultures of Memory*, ed. Birgit Lodes and Melanie Unseld (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2024), 201–226.

35 See the chapter by Birgit Lodes in this volume.

36 See the chapter of Elisabeth Grabenweger in this volume.

37 See the chapter by Eva Neumayr in this volume.

38 See the chapter by Anno Mungen in this volume.

39 The literature on this topic is extensive. For an introduction, see Lucas Haasis and Constantin Rieske, "Historische Praxeologie. Zur Einführung," in *Historische Praxeologie. Dimensionen vergangenen Handelns*, ed. Constantin Rieske und Lucas Haasis (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015), 7–54.

40 Theodore Schatzki, "Art. Bundles," in *Artistic Practices. Social Interactions and Cultural Dynamics*, ed. Tasos Zembylas (London: Routledge, 2014), 17–31.

around 1800 (and arguably beyond), this perspective on 'musicking' embraces far more women than a purely compositional perspective would. [41] It is not that women did not compose (see the first case study below), but gender discourse coded composition as masculine, and women were also particularly active in other areas (e.g., playing the piano or organizing music salons), as the second case study will show.[42] Although sources for musicking are difficult to identify, and sources by or about women are more likely to be lost, a praxeological approach affords insight into the multiple practices that, only when combined, reveal the breadth of musical culture.

The concept of agency comes into play here: praxeologically, we would call it 'practices', meaning acting between the given 'rules of the game' (i.e., legal foundations, moral rules, habitus, etc.) and contingency.[43] A music history which transcends composition usefully embraces spaces in which music is played and sung, in which dancing takes place or parlor games are played, in which all attendees are engaged with performing lyrics, dance, theatre, and music. Though such spaces were generally not homosocial, the paucity of surviving data prevents us from painting a comprehensive picture of how much of Schubert's social engagement involved women as active agents. We must be wary of the temptation to paint too positive a picture because of a historical bias towards him as a central – moreover, a vulnerable and often feminized – figure;[44] after all, there is no evidence that Schubert concerned himself with actively supporting women, so evidence of women's agency that *surrounds* him cannot be *attributed* to him.

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41 See Christopher Small, *Musicking. The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998). Susanne Rode-Breymann's concept of 'musikkulturelles Handeln' proposes that we perceive music not only as a composed artefact, but as a collection of many contexts, actions and participants that make up music culture. Susanne Rode-Breymann, "Überlegungen zum Konzept 'kulturellen Handelns'," in *"La cosa è scabrosa": Das Ereignis "Figaro" und die Wiener Opernpraxis der Mozart-Zeit*, ed. Carola Bebermeier and Melanie Unseld (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), 21–30.

42 See, for instance, the essays collected in *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), particularly the Introduction.

43 See Thomas Alkemeyer, Nikolaus Buschmann, and Matthias Michaeler: "Kritik der Praxis," in *Praxis denken. Konzepte und Kritik*, ed. Thomas Alkemeyer, Volker Schürmann, and Jörg Volbers (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2015), 25–50.

44 See Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Kein grollender Titan – Franz Schubert, der Österreicher," in *Das Andere. Eine Spurensuche in der Musikgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,* ed. Annette Kreutziger-Herr (Frankfurt, Berlin, and Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), 191–201; Marie-Agnes Dittrich: "'Jenem imponierenden Heroismus entzogen' – Franz Schubert und das Österreich-Bild nach Königgrätz," in *Schubert-Jahrbuch 1999. Bericht über den internationalen Schubert-Kongreß Duisburg 1997. Franz Schubert-Werk und Rezeption.* Teil III: *Ästhetik, Rezeption und Methodenfragen,* ed. Dietrich Berke, Walther Dürr, Walburga Litschauer, and Christiane Schumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 3–21.

Equally, we do not intend to offer a hagiography of a series of victims. Rather, this book considers women within their "bundles of practices." In other words, borrowing a metaphor from Karin Hausen, we aim to rebuild the house of history. Hausen compares the writing of history to building a house which follows the designs and reflects the ideas and values of a society that is clear about the categories that form its identity.[45] Historiography without women was committed to categories focused on great men and their works (especially national and heroic trends in historiography). How women and their actions can be made visible in these histories has been discussed since the 1970s. Hausen argues that women's history should not be placed in an annex to the house of history because the existing building continues to 'function' undisturbed. She therefore argues for rebuilding the house under the categories of a gender history, not least because the perspective on the previously dominant inhabitants of the house (that is, men and their works) also changes. (Hausen's metaphor surely recalls the powerful words of the Black activist and poet Audre Lorde, who in 1979 famously declared that the "Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's House"[46]). Thus, this volume does not tack an annex onto Schubert research, but rather attempts the transformation of the entire 'Schubert room'. Exploring 'women's agency' does not generate 'women's history', but rather illuminates the broad cultural situation in early nineteenth-century Vienna by actively including the perspective of gender.

Energizing though Hansen's argument is – and even more so Lorde's decolonizing, feminist challenge – this endeavor is limited by the state of a 200-year-old historical record shaped by gendered, racial and class-based values, as well as its subsequent interpretation through the same lens. The unearthing of evidence of women's agency is no reason to exonerate history's biases, but to remind us, repeatedly, of the precious gains that have been made in terms of gender visibility, and of the progress that must still be made before such a special issue is no longer necessary, i.e., before the clear evidence and understanding of gender agency cancels out the need to enquire after it. Documents of cultural activity today face the same risks: namely, the existence of numerous visible, active, professional women in the musical world should not obscure the continuing discrimination against women, nor the complex intersectional

45 Karin Hausen, "Die Nicht-Einheit der Geschichte als historiographische Herausforderung. Zur historischen Relevanz und Anstößigkeit der Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Geschlechtergeschichte und Allgemeine Geschichte. Herausforderungen und Perspektiven*, ed. Hans Medick and Anne-Charlott Trepp. Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft 5 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1998), 15–55.

46 Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Berkeley: Crossing Press, 1984), 110–14.

nature of that discrimination, e.g., the difference between working- and middle-class women's possibilities, or women with and without children, to name but two examples. Historical scholarship should strive to illuminate historical injustice and oppression, but it cannot erase it.

The case of Josepha Barbara Auernhammer (1758–1820)

As suggested above, the challenges of redressing historical balance do not simply arise from the state of the archive, but also how that archive has been subsequently handled. Various women, such as the pianists Barbara Ployer (1765–1811), the Frankfurt-born Dorothea von Ertmann (1781–1849), Marie Pachler, living in Graz, or Irene Kiesewetter (1809–1872), could be used to illustrate this, but we will first focus on a different figure adjacent to, yet not directly connected with Schubert. Josepha Barbara Auernhammer was a Viennese pianist nearly forty years older than Schubert. Nevertheless, she is showcased here for two reasons: firstly, to remind us that there was no such place as 'Schubert's Vienna', but that he was only one of many musicians, certainly not a central figure during his lifetime. Secondly, older, married women are more likely to be 'disappeared' in history through a series of factors: their changes of name, for instance, which makes them harder to trace, but more pertinently, the considerable restrictions most experienced upon marriage, including the expectation – or demand – to withdraw from the public stage. Focusing on Auernhammer allows us to confront the historical bias towards female youth and public success.

The first question is why we know of Auernhammer at all. In the 1796 *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, Auernhammer is mentioned as not only an excellent teacher but a "great pianist, [with] taste and feeling, and it is now up to her to make her art truly distinguished."[47] But this would not be enough to draw attention to her; the real answer challenges Hausen's and Lorde's imperative, since Auernhammer is mainly recalled because of her famous teacher, Wolfgang Amadé Mozart. The families were friendly; when Mozart moved to Vienna, he taught Auernhammer regularly in her parents' home latest from 1782, and her family also hosted a salon. Auernhammer played several concerts

47 See the entry for "Madame Bösenhönig," in *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796), 8–9. ('Bösenhönig' was her name after marriage). "Schülerinn (sic) von Richter, Kozeluch und Mozart. Diese Meister lassen Vieles erwarten. Sie ist auch wirklich eine große Klavierlehrerinn (sic) geworden. Sie hat Geschmack und Gefühl, und es kommt bloß auf sie an, die Kunst auf eine ausgezeichnete Höhe zu bringen [...] Sie hat verschiedene Variationen und andere Galanteriestücke fürs Klavier komponirt, welche Feuer und Geschmack verrathen."

with Mozart between 1781 and 1785; he wrote the *Sonata for Two Pianos* K. 448 for her; he played a two-piano concerto with her in 1782; and he dedicated six violin and piano sonatas to her, an edition she oversaw.[48] Might destroying the house – in this case the vast edifice of Mozart studies – risk burying Auernhammer altogether?

And how do we identify agency in Auernhammer's life and career? Her initial wishes, as relayed by Mozart, were to continue her studies for a few more years and then go to Paris to be a pianist. Interestingly, she declared herself ugly at the age of twenty-three, according to Mozart, and she did "not want to marry a hero from a legal office with 300 or 400 guldens, and [...] will not get anything else; therefore I prefer to remain as I am and wish to live for my talent."[49] This suggests that Auernhammer attempted to exercise some degree of self-determined agency, albeit within a circumscribed sphere. (Moreover, it was dismaying to us as authors to wonder whether Auernhammer's self-confessed physical unattractiveness, combined with the need to earn a living, actually afforded her *more* agency than if she had been attractive). In fact, Auernhammer did marry in 1786 at the relatively mature age of twenty-eight. From 1793 to 1806, she regularly performed annual concerts under her maiden name in the National-Hoftheater, often featuring Mozart's music.

Can we regard Auernhammer's determination to continue performing in public as a trace of agency? Yes, to a large extent. Tia DeNora in her essay "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna" reminds us that in 1805–1809, the number of performances by female pianists "equalled and perhaps [...] even slightly exceeded those by men."[50] Kordula Knaus affirms DeNora's claim but demonstrates that

48 *Violin Sonatas* K. 296 and K. 376–380. Auernhammer was involved in the edition of other later works, too. One documented joint performance took place on 26 May 1782 of the *Concerto for Two Pianos* K. 365; Melanie Unseld, "Josepha Auernhammer," in *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, ed. Beatrix Borchard and Nina Noeske, Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000027, accessed 5 August 2023. For the sonatas see also Silke Leopold, ed., *Mozart-Handbuch* (Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2005), 535–37.

49 *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – online Edition.* A Project of the Mozarteum Foundation Salzburg and The Packard Humanities Institute. Salzburg–Los Altos 2006–. # 0608. Mozart to his father, Salzburg; Vienna, 27 June 1781 (https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1174&cat=). Original: "[...] einen kanzley Helden mit 3 oder 400 gulden mag ich nicht heirathen, und keinen andern bekomme ich nicht; mithin bleib ich lieber so, und will von meine talent leben." (https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1174&cat=).

50 Tia DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 185–97, here 188.

women were less likely to perform with improvisation and free fantasy.[51] As DeNora points out, playing the piano did not involve distorting the idealized female body; it allowed the preservation of modesty, seated sideways to the audience, and the elegant display of arms, moreover with a close technique, based on the use of the hand and the still, low arm.[52] The physical posture of playing and the attitude toward playing the piano as an interpretation of composed works (rather than free fantasy) corresponds to that counter-gendered subject culture, in that women could perform as *reproducing* artists. The idea that the pianist who, through free fantasy, reveals his ego was reserved for men; women pianists – even those regarded as exceptionally accomplished – were believed to be simply incapable of such self-expression. Instead, they were lauded as outstanding *interpreters,* e.g., of Beethoven (Ertmann, Bigot), Mozart (Auernhammer), Haydn (Auenbrugger), and so forth. The dichotomy between creation and recreation, between creative genius and reproductive interpreter, which became the defining model for the bourgeois nineteenth century, was already established. Fantasy notwithstanding, DeNora persuasively argues that early nineteenth-century public piano performance was increasingly male-gendered with respect to Beethoven, showing that between 1793–1810, 79% of all performances of Beethoven's piano works were by men, and 84% of his concertos.[53] The piano teacher Andreas Streicher told a pupil that "ladies do not wish to play" [Beethoven] because the sonatas were "incomprehensible and too difficult."[54] DeNora quotes Katharine Ellis, stating that although women could perform on the stage, they played only "Baroque music, Haydn, Mozart and even Hummel," "within a stereotypically feminine world of decorative and sweetly plaintive expression."[55] Between 1803 and 1810, there is no record of a woman performing a Beethoven concerto, and DeNora attributes this to the perception of Beethoven and the demands his music made on the performing body.[56]

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51 See Kordula Knaus, "Fantasie, Virtuosität und die Performanz musikalischer Inspiration: Pianistinnen und Pianisten in Wien um 1800," in *Virtuosität*, ed. Patrick Boenke, Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, and Markus Grassl (Vienna: Mille-Tre-Verlag, 2013), 57–73.

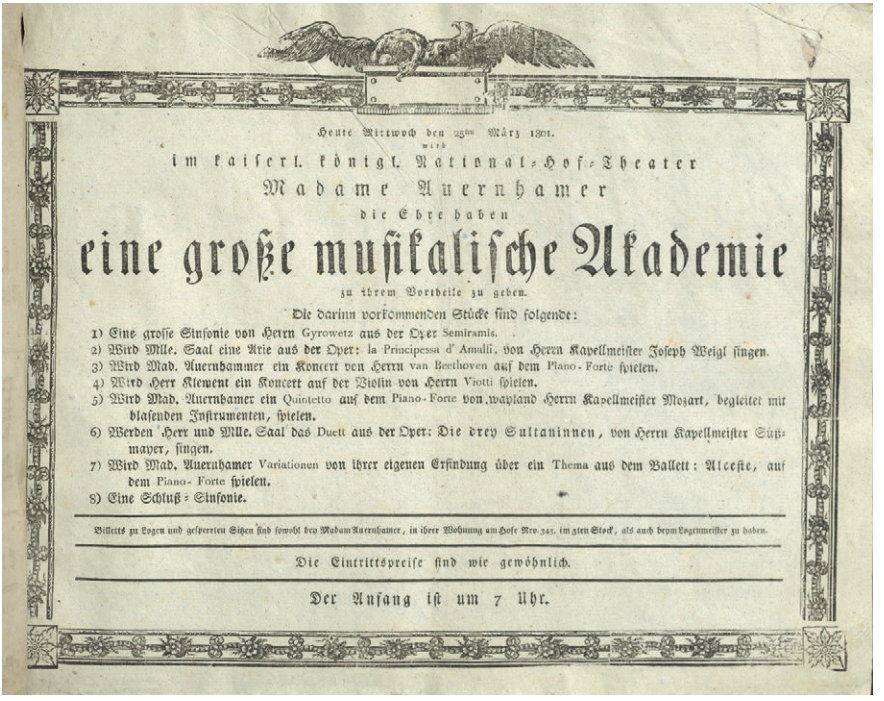
52 DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity," 187.

53 DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity," 188.

54 "One day Streicher put some things by Beethoven in front of [me]...He told [me] that *there are some new things in them which the ladies do not wish to play* because they are incomprehensible and too difficult." H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works,* vol. 4 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 67, cited with emphasis by Tia DeNora, "Music as Agency in Beethoven's Vienna," in *Music-in-Action: Selected Essays in Sonic Ecology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 113.

55 DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity," 185.

56 Clara Wieck is a special case in this context, for this see, for example, Janina Klassen, *Clara Schumann: Musik und Öffentlichkeit* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009). See also the chapter by Jonathan Kregor in this volume.



Heute Mittwoch den 25ten März 1801.
wird
im kaiserl. königl. National-Hof-Theater
Madame Auernhamer
die Ehre haben
eine große musikalische Akademie
zu ihrem Vortheile zu geben.
Die darinn vorkommenden Stücke sind folgende:
1) Eine grosse Sinfonie von Herrn Gyrowetz aus der Oper Semiramis.
2) Wird Mlle. Saal eine Arie aus der Oper: la Principessa d' Amalfi, von Herrn Kapellmeister Joseph Weigl singen.
3) Wird Mad. Auernhammer ein Koncert von Herrn van Beethoven auf dem Piano-Forte spielen.
4) Wird Herr Klement ein Koncert auf der Violin von Herrn Viotti spielen.
5) Wird Mad. Auernhamer ein Quintetto auf dem Piano-Forte von wayland Herrn Kapellmeister Mozart, begleitet mit blasenden Instrumenten, spielen.
6) Werden Herr und Mlle. Saal das Duett aus der Oper: Die drey Sultaninnen, von Herrn Kapellmeister Süßmayer, singen.
7) Wird Mad. Auernhamer Variationen von ihrer eigenen Erfindung über ein Thema aus dem Ballett: Alceste, auf dem Piano-Forte spielen.
8) Eine Schluß-Sinfonie.
Billetts zu Logen und gesperrten Sitzen sind sowohl bey Madam Auernhamer, in ihrer Wohnung am Hofe Nro. 345. im 4ten Stock, als auch beym Logenmeister zu haben.
Die Eintrittspreise sind wie gewöhnlich.
Der Anfang ist um 7 Uhr.

Illustration 1. Programme of Auernhammer's Akademie, 25 March 1801. Theaterzettel der beiden k.k. Hoftheater und des k.k. priv. Theaters an der Wien und ihrer Nachfolgerinstitutionen (tit. fict.), 25 March 1801.

However, in 1801–1802 there were four performances of a Beethoven concerto, and of these, three were by Auernhammer, of the *Concerto no. 1* (*C major*), op. 15 (see Illustration 1). This achievement can be read as evidence of significant agency. Auernhammer, in her forties, could hardly exploit the trope of the girlish pianist, dressed in virginal white, which would still apply to Clara Wieck, performing in Paris three decades later.[57] Yet she persisted with this unconventional repertoire, even when critics turned against her, a decision which might be regarded as unwise but certainly reveals an independent will. Moreover, although DeNora claims that Auernhammer never played another Beethoven concerto after 1803, she in fact played the *Piano Concerto* no. 3 (*C minor*) in 1813, a work which had been published in 1804. However, the reviews were viciously negative. The *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* of 27 March 1813 criticized her lack of

57 "Clara muß immer ganz weiß gehen." Friedrich Wieck, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1830-1838*, ed. Käthe Walch-Schumann (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, 1968), 43–46, here 46. See also the chapter by Christine Hoppe in this volume.

clarity, precision and delicacy of delivery, the shallow tone of her instrument, and her excessive pedaling.

> All these deficiencies were even more noticeable in Beethoven's great *Concerto* in *C minor*. Mademoiselle [sic] Auernhammer showed in her performance that the refined taste of the time had little influence on her playing.[58]

The critic continues that her playing is polished and secure ("fertig und sicher"), as to be expected from such an experienced pianist, but "without light and shade, lacking nuance, merely diligent, and *not commensurate with this ingenious composition*."[59] Overall, reviews of Auernhammer are contradictory, sometimes praising her excellence, sometimes criticizing her for rushing, weakness, and so forth. Such observations naturally reference not only wider debates around interpretation, but also piano construction, which was rapidly evolving at the time. Mozart had declared that she "spielt zum Entzücken" (plays enchantingly) but also felt her playing was choppy ("sie verzupft alles"; she plucks everything apart).[60] By the early nineteenth century, reviews suggest that Auernhammer was out of touch with the more legato, long-breathed fashions of Schubert's day. After 1813 she retired into private life, and one has to admire her courage not only in continuing to play in public so long after her marriage, but also in playing repertoire that critics would be particularly harsh about, possibly also on instruments which had fallen out of favor. Financial need may have been the motivation for this activity, as well as explaining her use of outdated instruments.

The entry in the *Jahrbuch* cited above reminds us that agency could be exercised in different ways, observing that Auernhammer was an outstanding teacher. This form of agency is often overlooked, although teaching was a sphere in which many women could thrive and exert considerable influence. It also noted that Auernhammer "has composed variations and fashionable pieces for the piano which reveal fire and good taste."[61] However, by 1799, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* suggested that Auernhammer was becoming too ambitious for a woman, playing on the double meaning of the word 'Beruf'

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58 "Alle diese Mängel waren in Beethovens großen Konzerte in *C moll* noch mehr fühlbar. Mad. Auernhammer zeigte in dessen Vortrag, daß der veredelte Zeitgeschmack auf ihr Spiel wenig Einfluß genommen habe." *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 27 March 1813, 191–92, our translation.

59 *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 27 March 1813, "ohne Licht und Schatten, ohne Nüance, blos schulgerecht, mithin *der genialischen Komposition nicht entsprechend*." our italics.

60 *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – online Edition.* # 0608 Letter from Mozart to his father, Vienna, 27 June 1781, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1174.

61 See footnote 47.

as 'profession' and 'calling'/ 'dedication': "The 63rd opus? – Ei, ei, that is somewhat excessive for the external profession of a lady, even one with such an inner dedication to the arts!"[62] Notably, Auernhammer did not only write fashionable variations; her works included sonatas for keyboard and violin.[63] Both during her lifetime and subsequently, such ambition was regarded as unseemly.

But there is a greater challenge in approaching Auernhammer, namely that we are reliant on Mozart's letters for the most detailed accounts of her, and he – like Schubert – espoused the prevailing gendered views of his day. Mozart's own view of women, as evinced in surviving letters, seems fairly stereotyped; he wrote on 15 December 1781 "I, who from my youth on was never accustomed to taking care of my things as far as linen, clothing etc. are concerned – cannot imagine anything more necessary to me than a wife."[64] This letter draws a revealing comparison between Auernhammer and the agency of Mozart's sister Maria Anna ('Nannerl') as pianists, the latter severely impeded by the Mozart siblings' father.[65] Regarding Auernhammer, his letters turn her into an object of ridicule, notwithstanding his respect for her musical ability. In the same letter (cited above) to his father of 27 June 1781 in which he described Auernhammer's playing as enchanting, he declared that "the Fräulein is a monster!"[66] Two months later, he declared to his father, "If a painter wanted to paint the devil very realistically, he would have to resort to her face," and dismissed her as Johann Auernhammer's "chubby daughter," "fat as a peasant

62 "Das 63te Werk? – ey, ey, das ist für den äussern Beruf einer Dame, auch von noch so vielem innern Berufe zu den Musenkünsten, etwas viel!" *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1799/1800, Sp. 90–91, also quoted in Melanie Unseld, *Mozarts Frauen: Begegnungen in Musik und Liebe* (Reinbek: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verl., 2006), 117.

63 A catalogue of Auernhammer's works can be found at *MUGI. Musik und Gender im Internet*: https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000027?XSL.back=A#Werkverzeichnis, accessed 23 June 2023. It includes three sonatas, two for piano and one for violin, various sets of *Variations*, and six songs.

64 *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – online Edition.* # 0648. Mozart to his father, Salzburg; Vienna, 15 December 1781. https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1214&cat=. Original: "ich der von Jugend auf niemalen gewohnt war auf meine sachen, was Wäsche, kleidung etc. anbelangt, acht zu haben – kann mir nichts nöthigeres denken als eine frau." This is part of a longer letter concerning Mozart's wishes about marriage.

65 See Melanie Unseld, "'Studiren [...] und Metier davon zu machen'. Mozarts Schülerinnen Josepha Auernhammer und Babette Ployer," in *"Ein unerschöpflicher Reichthum an Ideen..." Komponistinnen zur Zeit Mozarts*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Gabriele Dorffner. Frauentöne 6 (Strasshof and Vienna: Vier-Viertel-Verlag, 2006), 41–52.

66 *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – online Edition*. # 0608. Mozart to his father, Salzburg; Vienna, 27 June 1781 (https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1174&cat=). Original: "– die freulle ist ein scheusal! – spiellt (sic!) aber zum entzücken."

wench".[67] He also claimed that she was infatuated with him, though as Unseld points out, we have only his word for this, and Mozart would hardly be the first man to incorrectly assume that a woman found him attractive.[68]

So much for Mozart's heedless words; more troubling is their legacy. In the subsequent two centuries, numerous mentions of Auernhammer, both in Mozart scholarship from Otto Jahn to Eduard Hanslick and beyond, and in contemporary classical music media, repeat his account unquestioningly, including his mocking of her appearance (an exception is the article on her in the *Musik und Gender im Internet* Lexicon).[69] Equally, apart from DeNora and Unseld, almost no scholar mentions Auernhammer's near-unique Beethoven concerto performances, nor offers detailed consideration of her compositions apart from mentioning that she wrote fashionable theme-and-variation sets.[70] Exploring Auernhammer's agency involves establishing not only her own history, but determined historiography to excavate her from 200 years of accreted gender bias hard-baked into the scholarship of both male and female writers. Our ability to perceive agency in historical figures is hampered not only by archival practices, but by the misogyny of history itself.

A second case study: Irene Kiesewetter (1809–1872)

Compared to Auernhammer's pianistic career, that of Irene Kiesewetter was much less public: no academies of her own, no publications, no mentions in newspapers. The agency available to Kiesewetter was thus differently con-

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67 *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – online Edition*. # 0619. Mozart to his father, Salzburg; Vienna, 22 August 1781 (https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1185&cat=). Original: "von der Tochter also; wenn ein Maler den Teufel recht natürlich Malen wollte, so müste er zu ihrem gesicht zuflucht nehmen. – sie ist dick wie eine bauerdirne; schwizt also daß man speien möchte; und geht so bloß – daß man ordentlich lesen kann. – ich bitte euch schauet hier her; das ist wahr, zu sehen ist genug; daß man blind werden möchte; aber – man ist auf den ganzen tag gestraft genug wenn sich unglückseeligerweise die augen darauf wenden – da braucht man Weinstein! – so abscheulig, schmutzig, und grauslich! – pfui Teufel!"

68 "...in der ganzen stadt sagt man das wir uns heyrathen, und man verwundert sich nur über mich, daß ich so ein gesicht nehmen mag. sie sagte mir daß wenn so was zu ihr gesagt würde, sie allzeit dazugelacht habe; ich weis aber von einer gewissen Person daß sie es bejahet habe, mit dem zusatz, daß wir alsdann zusamm Reisen werden. [...] sie ist nichts als eine verliebte Närrin" (*Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – online Edition*. # 0619). "Sicher ist: wir kennen zu diesem Punkt nur die Aussage Mozarts seinem Vater gegenüber." (Unseld, Melanie. "Josepha Auernhammer." In *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, edited by Beatrix Borchard and Nina Noeske, Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000027.

69 In general media, see for example Hadya Nassan-Agha/Kurt Palm, 'Wolfgang Amadeus und die "Mozartinnen," *Der Standard*, 12 January 2007. https://www.derstandard.at/story/2720394/wolfgang-amadeus-und-die-mozartinnen , accessed on 4 September 2023.

70 An exception is Iris Bubenik-Bauer and Ute Schalz-Laurenze, ed., *Frauen in der Aufklärung: – ihr werten Frauenzimmer, auf!* (Sulzbach: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 1995).

toured.[71] Had the emancipatory window that had opened up for women musicians at the end of the eighteenth century already closed for the next generation?

First of all, in the comparison between Auernhammer and Kiesewetter, Auernhammer's name is closely associated with that of Mozart, while Kiesewetter is repeatedly mentioned as a pianist of the Schubert circle.[72] In 1896, her son Anton records the following reminiscences: "[...] my mother often told me [...] that Schubert [...] frequently visited the house of her father Kiesewetter, and that she – (an excellent pianist) – had often accompanied Schubert."[73] Apart from the extent to which both canonized names serve as pillars for historiographical reconstruction, the *musical function* is different in each case: while Mozart as a piano teacher, and even as a renowned pianist, stands to a certain extent for elite pianistic professionalism, the pianistic appearance of Kiesewetter is one that emphasizes the communicative moment of the Schubert circle and is specifically *not* aimed at a competitive public: Kiesewetter accompanied newly composed Schubert songs or played during musical social gatherings – occasions, in other words, that could best be reconciled with the bourgeois subject culture modeled for women.

Let us therefore briefly outline Kiesewetter's agency as a pianist against the background of how it differs from Auernhammer. She was the daughter of Jakobine (née Cavallo) and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, who was closely involved in the development of Viennese music institutions. Raphael Kiesewetter's music collection was both vast and famous, his expertise was in demand in Vienna and beyond, and his home was the site of regular concerts, which not only sought to cultivate a sense of musical conviviality, but also to pursue research and pedagogical aims. Last but not least, Kiesewetter was vice-president of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde for over twenty years. In the Kiesewetter house, music was collected and archived, selected and performed,

71 On Irene Kiesewetter see in particular: Ingeborg Harer, "Irene Kiesewetter verh. Prokesch-Osten (1811–1872) – 'eine der ersten Klavierspielerinnen Wiens'," in *Musik im Zusammenhang. Festschrift Peter Revers zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Klaus Aringer, Christian Utz, and Thomas Wozonig (Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2019), 257–77; Ingeborg Harer, "Neue Dokumente zu Irene Kiesewetter und den ihr gewidmeten Werken von Franz Schubert," in *Jahrbuch des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs* 2/2019, 161–71; Ingeborg Harer, "Irene Kiesewetter," in *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, ed. Beatrix Borchard and Nina Noeske, Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000420, accessed 3 August 2023.

72 See Deutsch, DDok, 461 and 486.

73 "meine Mutter erzählte mir nur öfters, daß Schubert [...] häufig im Hause ihres Vaters Kiesewetter verkehrte, u. daß sie – (eine vorzügliche Pianistin) – öfters Schubert accompagnirt habe". Letter from Anton Prokesch von Osten to the directorate of the Bibliothek und Historisches Museums der Stadt Wien; Gmunden, 22 May 1896, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Inv.-Nr. 204.364.

heard, and communicated about (including advocating for the need for good musical education), and though the practices took place in the family residence, they were hardly private.[74] This supports Ingeborg Harer's claim that Kiesewetter could receive a high-level music-related education at home, even though this is not evident from the sources:

> The Kiesewetter house was one of the most important meeting places for the music world in Vienna in the 1820s. There is no information about Irene Kiesewetter's musical education. There is no indication from whom, when and where she might have received her thorough piano lessons. She probably received the best training from the music evenings in her parental home.[75]

Kiesewetter's home was replete with the actors and discourses of the Viennese musical culture, but – at least in her generation – offered no breeding ground for a *professional* pianistic career.[76] This could not have been due to the quality of her piano playing as contemporary sources are full of praise for her abilities. She was considered an outstanding pianist ("one of the foremost [female] pianoforte players in Vienna").[77] And within the circle of friends around Schubert, she was considered an important pianist and lied accompanist.[78] She was also highly esteemed as an interpreter of Beethoven, as well as a chamber music partner, playing four hands with the pianist Johann Baptist Jenger.

But why does the agency of Kiesewetter, whose educational conditions were probably much more sophisticated than those of Auernhammer, present itself so differently? It is not clear from the sources whether Kiesewetter herself strove for a professional career as a pianist. There were certainly examples of female professional musicians, singers, pianists, etc. in her environment, so there would have been role models. A key moment seems to have been her marriage: in 1832 she married the lawyer, diplomat, travel writer and Oriental expert Anton Graf Prokesch von Osten (also involved in the Schubert circle

74 See also the chapter by Eva Neumayr in this volume.

75 "Das Haus Kiesewetter war im Wien der 1820er-Jahre einer der wichtigsten Treffpunkte für die Musikwelt. Über Irene Kiesewetters musikalische Ausbildung gibt es keine Informationen. Es fehlen jegliche Hinweise bei wem, wann und wo sie ihren wohl fundierten Klavierunterricht erhalten haben könnte. Die beste Schulung erhielt sie wohl durch die Musikabende in ihrem Elternhaus." Harer, "Irene Kiesewetter," MuGi. See also Melanie Unseld, "Familien-Netzwerke und musikalische Wissensproduktion: Die Familien Kiesewetter und Ambros," in *Paare in Kunst und Wissenschaft*, ed. Christine Fornoff-Petrowski and Melanie Unseld (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2021), 291–312.

76 On the later generations of the Kiesewetter family and the agency of the female family members, see Unseld, "Familien-Netzwerke und musikalische Wissensproduktion."

77 Letter from Johann Baptist Jenger to Marie Pachler, Vienna, 29 January 1828, quoted in Deutsch, DDoc, 726. ("eine(r) der ersten Klavierspielerinnen Wiens", Deutsch, DDok, 486.)

78 Schubert dedicated the cantata *Der Tanz* to her, and in 1827 composed the *cantata celebrating the recovery of Frl. I.v. K. (Alla nostra* cara *Irene).*

around the Graz pianist and salonière Marie Pachler).[79] In her new identity as Irene Prokesch von Osten, she ran a musical salon at changing locations ("music was played almost daily in Vienna, in the house of Kiesewetter and Prokesch as well as in other salons").[80] In the 1830s, however, these musical gatherings were arguably evolving into a phenomenon of a bourgeois-aristocratic class from which public musicking was increasingly distanced.[81] Kiesewetter thus belongs to a female subject culture in which her activity as a pianist existed exclusively within the framework for a prospective wife. A family friend observed this setting in 1830, two years before her wedding, and reported sympathetically on it to her future husband:

> I know Kiesewetter's house, Mr. and Mrs., and Irene's fair uniting power, as well as if I had been present at all the evenings. How tenderly and strongly the dear girl played, how moved and delightedly the dear father listened, how sensibly and busily the good mother ordered everything around [...].[82]

The ideal picture of a bourgeois musical household could not be drawn more vividly.

Conclusion

What might an exploration of Kiesewetter's and Auernhammer's differing types of agency entail? This involves not only establishing as much concrete detail as possible, as various scholars have attempted, but destabilizing the considerable agency of the subsequent historic legacy. Mozart's letters about Auernhammer sharply remind us that agency is interdependent, contextual, circumscribed – and linked with inequality. But detaching Auernhammer from Mozart does not risk obliviating her because she can be placed in new net-

79 *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, Ingeborg Harer, article "Pachler, Familie," https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_P/Pachler_Familie.xml

80 "beinahe täglich [wurde] in Wien musiziert, im Hause Kiesewetter und Prokesch sowie in anderen Salons", Harer, "Irene Kiesewetter verh. Prokesch-Osten," 260.

81 Nevertheless, the synergy between public and private middle-class music-making endured throughout the century. See various essays in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Private and Public Performance*, ed. Katy Hamilton and Natasha Loges (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

82 "Kiesewetters Haus, Herr und Frau, und Irene's holde verbindende Kraft kenne ich, als wäre ich bei allen Abenden gegenwärtig gewesen. Wie zart und stark das liebe Mädchen spielte, wie gerührt und erfreut der liebe Vater zuhörte, wie sinnig und geschäftig die gute Mutter alles ringsum ordnete [...]." Julius Schneller, letter to Anton Prokesch von Osten, Freiburg/Br., November 23, 1830, quoted from Ingeborg Harer, "Irene Kiesewetter verh. Prokesch-Osten," 271.

works. Some studies associate her with her fellow-musician Maria Theresia Paradis, and this transforms her from the fat, ugly girl who fancied Mozart to one of the pioneering women pianists who played Beethoven in public. In addition to Paradis, there are many other figures, including Marianna Auenbrugger, Marie Bigot, Dorothea von Ertmann, Marianna Martines, and new names are constantly being discovered, encouraging us to reconceive agency in terms of alternative networks.[83] Their agency is related to and strengthened alongside hers, and they overcame many barriers for future professionals like Leopoldine Blahetka, Maria Szymanowska, Marie Pleyel, Louise Farrenc and Clara Wieck. At the same time, bourgeois subject culture for women could flourish where pianistic skills were not publicly displayed. Kiesewetter's pianistic abilities, which were universally praised, did not unfold on the public stage, but in private circles. In this sense, she can be regarded as a representative of a new, bourgeois subject culture. Not presenting herself in public corresponded with the ideal of the woman as housewife. Models from Fichte to Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl[84] celebrate precisely this ideal, which precluded public appearances by women, indeed they celebrate this ideal as an exemplification of modernity and progress. From today's perspective, we may perceive this as a restriction of women's agency, yet Kiesewetter herself probably did not interpret her circumstances in this way. Perhaps the challenge of such history is embracing the vast range of ways in which women shaped their agency within the bounds of their possibilities, and identifying and celebrating achievement even when it does not conform to current ideas. Such work might, in turn, prompt a parallel broadening out of the reappraisal of men's achievements through comparable lenses.

The examples of Auernhammer and Kiesewetter can be seen as an experiment in the decentering, destabilizing and rebuilding necessary to identifying traces of women's agency. Rediscovering historic agency is an ongoing process; publications like these are an opportunity to alleviate historic damage and construct new frames for both women and men in early nineteenth-century Vienna (further research might unearth historic figures who identified with neither, but this must be a separate endeavor). However, from a historical perspective, it is not so much a case of dispensing entirely with the Master's tools, nor, indeed tearing down the Master's House and rebuilding anew; a metaphor of repurposing and redesigning would be more accurate. The resources around

83 See for example: Martin Eybl, *Sammler*innen. Musikalische Öffentlichkeit und ständische Identität, Wien 1740–1810* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2022), see especially the table of relevant names, pp. 346–48.

84 See Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Familie* (Stuttgart: Cotta'scher Verlag, 1861).

these women survive at least in part due to historically patriarchal structures, yet the materials can be aligned and interpreted differently, and this work is likely to continue for some time.

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Women in Viennese Society

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

Martin Eybl

In the 1820s, a few years after the founding of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, two books appeared which detailed both the institutions of Vienna's musical culture and the practitioners involved: Franz Heinrich Böckh's *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler und Dilettanten im Kunstfache* (1821, revised edition 1823) and Anton Ziegler's *Addressen-Buch von Tonkünstlern* (1823). Both pursue a twofold goal: on the one hand, they aim to inform interested residents and 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.

Although earlier lists of this kind demonstrate that from the 1760s women played an important role in Vienna's musical culture, Böckh's and Ziegler's books clearly show how the newly founded society further fueled the musical activities of the middle class in particular. Ziegler's *Addressen-Buch* contains details of about 400 women and girls with high musical competence. Many of them were involved in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. The weekly concerts at the society's premises on the Tuchlauben created a space for many women to perform. Böckh and Ziegler further mention four women who in the 1820s regularly invited people to 'musical entertainments' (salons) in their private homes: Theresia Paradis, Katharina Hochenadl, Susanna von Wetzlar, and Sophie Linhart. The directories contain rare information about individual women musicians, the gendered assignment of instruments, and the musical opportunities offered to women, above all in singing and at the piano.

Lists of professional and non-professional musicians are important documents of bourgeois musical culture. During the 1760s, the activities of the upper middle class, which until then had played a subordinate role in Viennese musical culture, became visible. This upper middle class stratum was called 'second society' (Zweite Gesellschaft) by contemporaries – a group of higher civil servants, academics, and entrepreneurs who in cultural matters increasingly caught up with the high nobility (the so called 'first society') and entered into

competition with them. Following the example of the aristocracy, they organized musical entertainments and house concerts.

As early as 1766, the publicist Johann Adam Hiller published in his Leipzig music journal *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (Weekly news and notes concerning music) a description of the state of Viennese musical life with a list of performers that included not only permanently employed musicians, but also musically active women of the first and second societies.[1] Thirty years later, the year before Franz Schubert was born, Johann Ferdinand Schönfeld published with encyclopedic pretensions the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, an entire book on the musical institutions of the two cities and many of the people who practiced or promoted music.[2] This paper will focus on similar extensive publications which appeared in the early 1820s: Franz Heinrich Böckh's *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler und Dilettanten im Kunstfache* (Vienna's contemporary writers, artists and dilettantes in the art world), subtitled *Handbuch für Einheimische und Fremde* (A handbook for locals and strangers) and Anton Ziegler's *Addressen-Buch von Tonkünstlern* (Musicians' address book).[3] Schönfeld, Böckh and Ziegler wanted to create a series with their publications, and sequels to each of them were planned, but only Böckh succeeded in publishing a supplementary volume.[4] One more list from the first decade of the nineteenth century can be added, a description of the state of local musical life comparable to Hiller's, published in the form of a

1 "Von dem dermaligen Etat der kaiserl. königl. Hof- und Kammermusik," *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, ed. Johann Adam Hiller, September 23 (1766): 97–100, facsimile in: Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York: Norton, 1995), 122–25. Cf. Martin Eybl, *Sammler*innen: Musikalische Öffentlichkeit und ständische Identität,* Vienna *1740–1810* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2022), 309–16.

2 *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796); reprint ed. Otto Biba (Munich/Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1976). Cf. Eybl, *Sammler*innen*, 312–14.

3 Franz Heinrich Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler und Dilettanten im Kunstfache; dann Bücher- Kunst und Naturschätze und andere Sehenswürdigkeiten dieser Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt; ein Handbuch für Einheimische und Fremde* (Vienna: Bauer, 1821); Anton Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch von Tonkünstlern, Dilettanten, Hof-Kammer-Theater- und Kirchenmusikern, Vereinen, Lehr- und Pensions-Instituten, Bibliotheken zum Behufe der Tonkunst; k.k. privil. Kunst- und Musikalien-Handlungen, Instrumentenmachern, Geburts- und Sterbtagen vorzüglicher Tonkünstler &c., in Wien* (Vienna: Strauß, 1823).

4 Franz Heinrich Böckh, *Merkwürdigkeiten der Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien und ihrer nächsten Umgebungen. Ein Handbuch für Einheimische und Fremde*, Zweyter Theil (Vienna: Bauer, 1823). How strong the need for such lists was among contemporaries is shown by the fact that the composer and music publicist Friedrich August Kanne sent out an announcement in 1824, only one year after the publication of Ziegler's book, asking for biographical material in order to compile another overview of the state of music in Vienna. See *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, August 7, 1824, 252. I am grateful to Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl for bringing this announcement to my attention.

magazine article. Its (unnamed) author was the imperial civil servant, musician and music writer Ignaz Franz Mosel.[5]

All of the publications mentioned had, more or less explicitly, a fourfold goal: they (1) provided foreign travelers seeking connections in the field of music with relevant data; they (2) provided locals with information on music lessons, publishers and instrument makers; they (3) underlined before the whole world the importance of Vienna as a city of music, and finally (4) the publications served as a forum for self-representation like Twitter, Instagram and Facebook today: here, the nobility and the bourgeoisie could present themselves as strong drivers of musical life by enumerating their representatives and their special qualities in large numbers.

After briefly addressing the methodological approach and terminological peculiarities, in this chapter I will describe the books by Böckh (1821) and Ziegler (1823) comparatively, and evaluate specifically the most detailed list among them, that by Ziegler, with regard to female agency. I will conclude with some case studies of salons in Vienna.

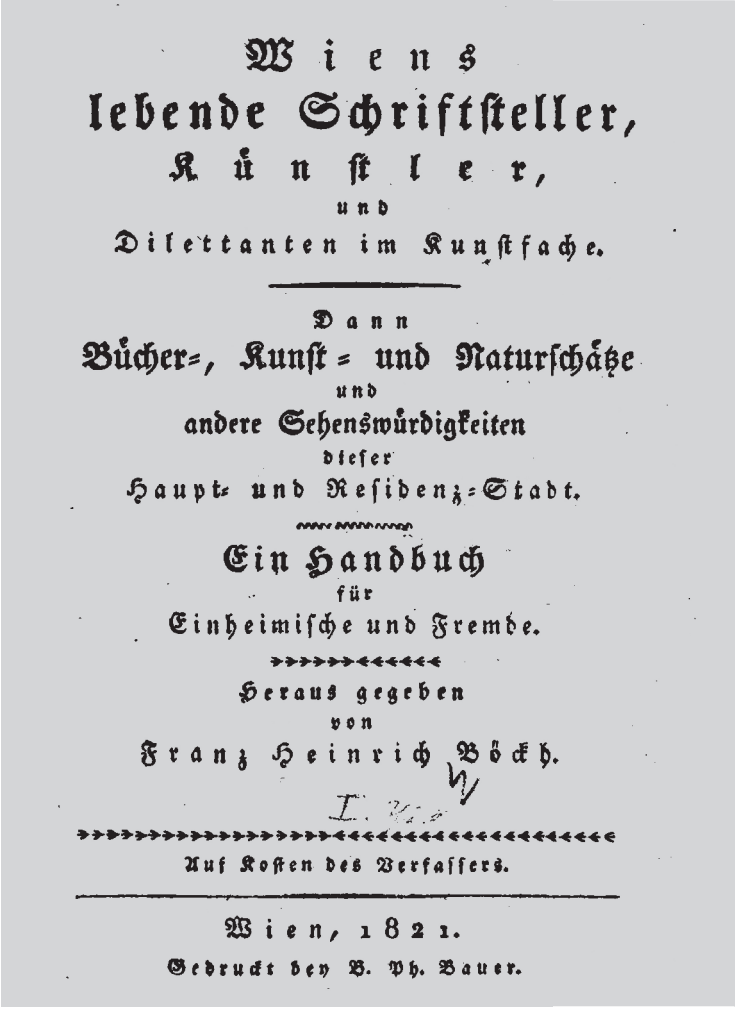
Methodological issues and terminology

In interpreting the above lists, three areas may be of primary concern. Firstly, the question of the origin of the information: Does it come from the people portrayed or from the author (publisher) based on information provided by third parties? Who decides on who is included in the list, and according to which criteria? A second field concerns the concept of the publication: What principles does the arrangement of the information obey? Is it arranged according to groups and subject areas, alphabetically, or according to other principles? What biographical data is included and how evenly is this done? Finally, a third field is the statistical analysis of the data: What is the ratio of the social groups represented, the ratio of men and women and of professional musicians and amateurs? What is the relationship between singing and instrumental playing? Which instruments appear frequently, which rarely, and do intersectional references result from this?

The pair of terms most frequently encountered in the lists are virtuosos and dilettantes. Around 1800 in Vienna, 'virtuosi' was understood to refer to those who made music their profession. The term is not primarily aimed at describing the special technical finesse of these musicians, as it is today, but simply to indicate the fact that they earned money with music. Occasionally,

5 [Ignaz v. Mosel], "Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien," *Vaterländische Blätter*, May 27, 1808, 39–44, and May 31, 1808, 50–54.

one also finds in the lists the term 'artist' (Künstler), 'musical artist' (Tonkünstler) and, when the musicians also act as teachers, 'professor' and 'master' (Meister). 'Dilettantes,' on the other hand, referred to people who perform music for pleasure, regardless of their technical ability. However, the corresponding characterizations suggest that only those dilettantes were named in the lists who displayed high ability. Ignaz Franz Mosel attests to the special artistic level of the dilettantes in Vienna. He wrote that nowhere else would one find "so many accomplished performers on almost all instruments among the amateurs (dilettantes), some of whom may be placed alongside the profes-


Wiens
lebende Schriftsteller,
Künstler,
und
Dilettanten im Kunstfache.

Dann
Bücher-, Kunst- und Naturschätze
und
andere Sehenswürdigkeiten
dieser
Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt.

Ein Handbuch
für
Einheimische und Fremde.

Heraus gegeben
von
Franz Heinrich Böckh.

Auf Kosten des Verfassers.

Wien, 1821.
Gedruckt bey B. Ph. Bauer.

Illustration 1: Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* titlepage.

sors of this art, indeed some may even surpass them."[6] Alternatively, this group is also called 'music lovers' (Liebhaber), a term that slowly became obsolete in the nineteenth century – Böckh and Ziegler at least no longer used it.

Comparing Böckh (1821) and Ziegler (1823)

According to the writer Franz Heinrich Böckh (1787–1831), the first inspiration for his *Auskunftsbuch* (Directory) (see Illustration 1) came from the civil servant and publicist Franz Sartori (1782–1832), the author of numerous studies on regional history and editor of the patriotic (i.e. pro-Habsburg) journal *Vaterländische Blätter*.[7] The patriotic impulse is also inscribed in Böckh's book. The author enthusiastically underlines the beneficial promotion of science and art by the imperial house; "our beloved monarch" Emperor Franz I persistently demonstrates "great love for the sciences"; the information gathered in the book is "highly honorable" for the Austrian Empire: more than 700 artists of all kinds live there and music takes a special status. "Vienna has the fame, before all of Germany, of being a careful nurturer and protector of the art of music. Who would therefore be surprised to find here, in addition to the large 'Gesellschaft der Musik-Freunde', consisting of 450 members, another 350 excellent music artists and dilettantes [...]."[8]

In three advertisements in the *Wiener Zeitung*, Böckh had asked for information to be sent in, but, as he himself wrote, with "very little effect". Sometimes he resorted to brokers, but often he gathered the information through personal research: "To many a collection, because of many a writer or artist, I must have had to wander ten times, or even more, to find out as much as I needed for my purpose."[9] The goal of his selection was completeness while maintain-

6 "[...] nirgends wird man unter den Liebhabern (Dilettanten) auf fast allen Instrumenten so viele vollendete Ausübende finden, deren manche sich den Professoren dieser Kunst an die Seite setzen dürfen, ja wohl einige sie sogar noch übertreffen." Mosel, "Uebersicht," 39.

7 Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* vi; for Sartori see ÖBL 9 (1988), 427–28.

8 "Man wird es hier auf eine einfache und schmucklose Weise nachgewiesen finden, wie seine Majestät Franz der I., unser angebetheter Monarch, die öffentlichen wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen begnadiget; wie Seine hohe Liebe zu den Wissenschaften sich auch in dem herrlichen Zustande seiner Privat-Bibliothek und seiner botanischen Gärten ausspricht [...]." Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* v. Böck's tireless work produced results, "welche nicht bloß für unsere Residenz, sondern für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat überhaupt, höchst ehrenvoll sind" (iii). "Wien hat vor ganz Deutschland den Ruhm, eine sorgsame Pflegerinn und Schützerinn der Tonkunst zu seyn. Wen wird es daher befremden, hier, nebst einer großen, aus 450 Mitgliedern bestehenden Gesellschaft der Musik-Freunde, noch 350 vorzügliche Tonkünstler und Dilettanten zu finden" (iv–v).

9 "Zu mancher Sammlung, wegen manchen Schriftstellers oder Künstlers habe ich wohl zehn Mahl, ja noch öfter wandern müssen, um so viel zu erfahren, als ich zu meinem Zwecke bedurfte." Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* vi–vii. The advertisements appeared in *Wiener Zeitung,* 30 March 1821, 11; 5 April 1821, 10–11; and 12 April 1821, 5.

ing a certain "symmetry of the whole."[10] If, on the one hand, he occasionally noted the reluctance of some to contribute, and thus had difficulty obtaining any material at all, he had also to prevent an excess of richness, where he had to "deal with the wishes of many people" who flooded him with information.[11]

In addition to music, Böckh included the fields of science, fine arts, as well as corresponding trade and commercial enterprises. The section on music comprises less than 8% of the total volume. It consists of an extensive description of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and all its members as well as a "directory of the most excellent music artists and dilettantes" (members of the Musikfreunde are generally excluded here). In addition, there are sections on instrument collections and inventors of new instruments. The list of musicians is arranged alphabetically; biographical information includes professional position, musical competence, and home address. Family relationships are not mentioned, as for example in the case of the Schubert brothers (see Illustration 2).

Anton Ziegler (1793–1869) is certainly the most enigmatic figure among the authors of musician's lists. His *Addressen-Buch* (1823) is, as far as we know, the first book he published. He was thirty years old, a civil servant in the Lower Austrian provincial government, and ran a 'private music society' with which he organized charity concerts.[12] Later he changed profession, became a cartographer, writer and publisher, and created lithographs and paintings. During the revolution of 1848 he sided with the rebels.[13] The Wien Museum owns a painting by him from 1848 which depicts "The Barricade on Michaelerplatz."[14] He died impoverished and is largely forgotten today.

There is no trace of effusive praise for the imperial house in Ziegler's address book. The author dedicated his book to the then owner of the Theater

10 Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* vi and x ("Symmetrie des Ganzen").

11 Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* vii ("Willfährigkeit derjenigen, deren Vortheil doch die Öffentlichkeit zu seyn scheint") and x (hatte "mit den Wünschen vieler Menschen zu thun").

12 *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthums* [...] (Vienna: k.k. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey, 1823), 386; Anton Mayer, "Das niederösterreichische Landhaus in Wien," *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertums-Vereines* 38 (1906): 1–133; at 52: "Am 5. März 1820 veranstaltete Anton Ziegler, k.k. Taxamtsoffizier und Unternehmer eines Privatmusikvereines, [im landständischen Saal] ein Gesellschaftskonzert zu Gunsten der Überschwemmten [...]" (On 5 March 1820, Anton Ziegler, officer in the k.k. tax office and founder of a private music society, organized a concert of his society for the benefit of the flooded people.) (Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv Fasc. 19, Z. 191).

13 "Anton Ziegler," Deutsche digitale Bibliothek, accessed 17 April 2023, https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/person/gnd/130812609; very negatively tinged is the entry in Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* 60 (Vienna: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei L. C. Zamarski, 1891), 45. Ziegler would deserve a detailed tribute.

14 "Die Barrikade auf dem Michaelerplatz in der Nacht vom 26. auf den 27. Mai 1848," akg images, accessed 17 April 2023, https://www.akg-images.de/archive/Die-Barrikade-auf-dem-Michaelerplatz-in-der-Nacht-vom-26.-a-2UMDHUWYYUU6.html.

Schmiedel Joseph (Violin).

Schneider Matthäus, Lehrer an der Hauptschule des k. k. Waisen-Institutes, Clavier- und Violin-Spieler. In der Alservorstadt Nr. 259.

Schober Hermann, Blumenmahler in der k. k. Porzellan-Fabrik, Dilettant im Violin-Spielen. Im Lichtenthal Nr. 30.

Scholl Joseph, Tonsetzer (Flöte).

Schröder Wilhelmine, k. k. Hof-Opern-Sängerinn.

Schroth Franz, Tonsetzer.

Schubert Ferdinand, Lehrer an der öffentlichen Schule im Alt-Lerchenfeld, Tonsetzer, Organist und Violin-Spieler. Im Alt-Lerchenfeld Nr. 234.

Schubert Franz, Tonsetzer. In der Wipplingerstraße Nr. 350.

Schubert Ignaz, Lehrer an der öffentlichen Schule in der Rossau, Clavier- und Violin-Spieler. Im Schulhause Nr. 147.

Schulz, Virtuos auf der Guitarre. In der Riemerstraße Nr. 817.

Schunke Carl, Virtuos auf dem Pianoforte.

Schuster Anton, Sänger im k. k. privil. Theater in der Leopoldstadt. In der Leopoldstadt Nr. 551.

Schuster Ignaz, k. k. Hof-Bassist und Sänger im k. k. privil. Theater in der Leopoldstadt. In der Leopoldstadt Nr. 452.

Schütz Amalia (Mad.), Sängerinn im k. k. privil. Theater an der Wien. Auf der Laimgrube in der Pfarrgasse Nr. 60.

Schütz Carl, Sänger im k. k. privil. Theater an der Wien. Auf der Laimgrube in der Pfarrgasse Nr. 60.

Schwanenberg Joseph Franz Ignaz, gewesener Tonkünstler der beyden k. k. Hof-Theater und des k. k. privil. Theaters an der Wien, vormahliger fürstlich Kurakin'scher Kammer-Virtuos und anderer hoher Herrschaften auf der Pedal-Harfe, Lehrer im Gesange, auf der Violin und dem Pianoforte, auf der Pedal- und Hackenharfe,

Illustration 2: Biographical information in Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller*, p. 379.

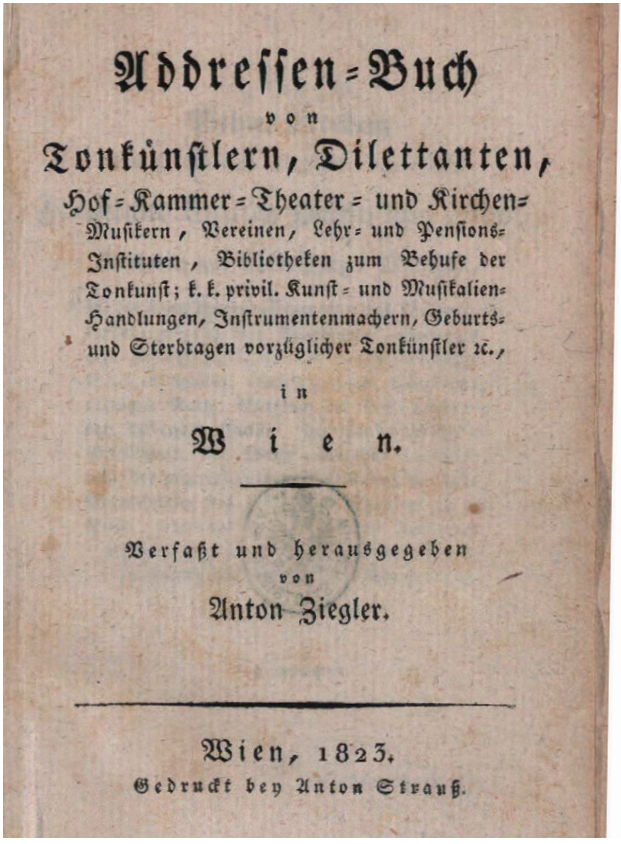

Addressen-Buch
von
Tonkünstlern, Dilettanten,
Hof-Kammer-Theater- und Kirchen-
Musikern, Vereinen, Lehr- und Pensions-
Instituten, Bibliotheken zum Behufe der
Tonkunst; k. k. privil. Kunst- und Musikalien-
Handlungen, Instrumentenmachern, Geburts-
und Sterbtagen vorzüglicher Tonkünstler ꝛc.,
in
Wien.
Verfaßt und herausgegeben
von
Anton Ziegler.
Wien, 1823.
Gedruckt bey Anton Strauß.

Illustration 3: Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch,* titlepage.

an der Wien, Ferdinand Count Palffy von Erdöd (1774–1840), as a great patron of art, music and literature. He probably collected his information in a similar way to Böckh, through inquiries with institutions and personal research with individuals (and possibly also through agents). Ziegler does not mention anything more specific about his sources in the preface; there is only mention of "collected essays and submissions."[15] While Böckh devoted only thirty-five pages of his book to music (pp. 349–384), Ziegler dedicated his entire book to it (310 pages). His materials are correspondingly extensive. The selection of additional institutions and individuals was probably made by him alone. Where Ziegler's information coincides with Böckh's, Ziegler made use of the latter and adopted details and text passages almost literally. Compare for example

15 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, Vorrede (without page numbering): "gesammelten Aufsätze und Einsendungen."

the introductions to their lists of private salons: "Vienna has the fame, before all of Germany, of being a careful nurturer and protector of the art of music. [...] This statement is confirmed by the frequent musical entertainments that regularly take place in Vienna" (Böckh).[16] In Ziegler it reads: "Vienna has the fame, before all of Germany, of being a careful nurturer and protector of the art of music, a fact confirmed by the frequent musical entertainments that, apart from the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates, regularly take place in Vienna".[17] Ziegler also retained Böckh's format for the biographical information. The structure of the volume is very clear. It comprises individuals, institutions, music business, and a calendar (see Table 1).

Table 1: Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch,* table of contents

[A. Individuals]	
001	"Tonkünstler und Dilettanten" (alphabetical list including biographical information, in the present paper called "list A")
227–28	"Tondichter und Schriftsteller" (names only)
[B. Institutions]	
061	Court institutions (Hofkapelle, Kammermusik, Hoftheater)
082	Further theaters
098	Church music
107	Music associations (Vienna, Graz, Prague)
203	Conservatories (Milan, Vienna)
211	Pension institutions (Vienna, Prague)
218	Libraries, collections of (music relevant) paintings and instruments
229	Newspapers concerning music
[C. Music business]	
233	Sellers of art and music, music publishers
239	Instrument makers and sellers
265	Further services (piano tuning, engravers, printers, etc.)
[D. Calendar]	
274	Birth and death dates of excellent musicians ("vorzüglicher Tonkünstler")

16 Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* Vorrede, iv: "Wien hat vor ganz Deutschland den Ruhm, eine sorgsame Pflegerinn und Schützerinn der Tonkunst zu seyn. [...] Diese Angabe bestätigen die häufigen *musikalischen Unterhaltungen*, welche in Wien regelmäßig Statt finden [...]."

17 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, 191: "Wien hat vor ganz Teutschland den Ruhm, eine sorgsame Pflegerinn und Schützerinn der Tonkunst zu seyn. Dieß bestätigen die häufigen musikalischen Unterhaltungen, welche in Wien außer der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates regelmäßig Statt finden."

Female agency

The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, founded in 1813,[18] offered women many opportunities for musical activity. Ziegler's address book paints a detailed picture of this. Four large 'Society Concerts' were scheduled annually. The concerts were open only to members as both performers and listeners; they served the "self-practice and self-enjoyment of music."[19] In addition, there were weekly concerts during the winter months, mainly with chamber music and songs, organized by a 'Private Music Society' which also consisted of members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. These concerts were similarly reserved exclusively for members. They took place in the society's premises, the *Haus zum roten Igel* on the Tuchlauben, which had a capacity of 250 people. "Excellent talents in singing and on instruments," even if they came from outside, were welcome. Women ("praiseworthy dilettantes") were specifically addressed. The highest quality was required: "One finds here a highly refined assembly consisting only of connoisseurs"; the concerts were "among the most excellent."[20] A brochure published in 1818 about the musical evening entertainments of the society ("musikalische Abend-Unterhaltungen") confirms Ziegler's information. Here it says: "Women who are able to play instruments or sing are not invited as actual [paying] members, but as very honored guests and ornaments of the society, without the imposition of contributions, and, as the need arises, are requested to kindly participate."[21]

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18 As Ziegler correctly mentions (p. 107), 1813 is the year in which the foundation of the Society was officially requested and approved by the Emperor. The founding was preceded by a large-scale performance of Handel's *Timothy* in November 1812 which was soon understood as the initial moment for the founding of the society. Accordingly, the society celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary as early as 1837, so that the narrative of its founding in 1812 became more and more accepted over time.

19 "Die Gesellschafts-Concerte haben den Selbstbetrieb und Selbstgenuß der Musik zum Zwecke, sie sind nur für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft bestimmt, und wurden vorläufig auf vier des Jahres festgesetzt." Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, 109, cf. a similar wording on 195. These concerts took place at the Große Redoutensaal and were publicly announced in the Viennese newspapers.

20 "Bey diesen Concerten finden vorzügliche Talente im Kunstgesang, und auf den Instrumenten Gelegenheit, sich hören zu lassen." Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch,* 195. "[...] rühmlich bekannte Dilettantinnen, die sich durch Mitwirkung verbinden, erhalten freyen Eintritt. [...] Man findet hier eine höchst gewählte, bloß aus Kennern bestehende Versammlung, und kann diese Concerte zu den vorzüglichsten zählen" (193).

21 "Frauenzimmer welche auf Instrumenten oder im Gesange mitzuwirken im Stande sind, werden nicht als eigentliche [bezahlende] Mitglieder, sondern als sehr geehrte Gäste und Zierden der Gesellschaft, ohne eine Zumuthung von Beyträgen eingeladen, und, je nachdem es nöthig wird, um gefällige Mitwirkung ersucht." *Kurze Nachricht über Zweck und Verfassung der Anstalt der wöchentlichen musikalischen Abend-Unterhaltungen* (Vienna: Anton Strauß, 1818), 4. Again, I am grateful to Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl for drawing my attention to this source.

The large number of women who actively participated in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde is impressive. The highest position was held by the singer Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880)[22] as the only woman on the teaching staff of the affiliated conservatory; in 1823 fifty-nine girls were taught to sing there in three classes.[23] The 'performing' members, i.e. those active in the concerts of the Society, included sixty-one women in singing and piano. In addition, there were several female 'supporting' members who formed the audience of the concerts.

Ziegler also records a large number of women who were musically active outside of the Society. The court harpist and chamber virtuoso Josepha (Müllner-)Gollenhofer (1768–1843), for example, and the court singers Therese Grünbaum (1791–1876) and Anna Kraus, née Wranitzky (1799–1851),[24] belonged to the Hofmusikkapelle and were part of the imperial court. More than seventy women sang in Viennese theaters (see Table 2), and Ziegler includes more than 200 women in the extensive lists of musicians that make up the first section of his book (list A). In sum, in Vienna a total of about 400 women and girls had developed their musical competence in the early 1820s to such an extent that they were included in Ziegler's representative directory.

Table 2: Female Singers in Viennese theaters 1823 (after Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch,* pp. 73–95)

Venue	Soloists	Chorister
Hofoper	9	17
Theater an der Wien	6	17
Theater in der Leopoldstadt	3	8
Theater in der Josephstadt	1	12

In addition to the high number of women, the social classification is also striking. In Ziegler's address book, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde presented itself as an institution of a clearly middle-class character. The women involved also make this evident. Of those named as performing members only one person is of high nobility (Countess Theresia von Fürstenberg, a singer), while all the others come from the middle class, mostly without a title and

22 Cf. ÖBL 1 (1956), New Grove^2 9, Oeml (2001), MGG^2 7 (2002), MUGI (2015/2018) and the chapter by Eva Neumayr in this book.

23 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch,* 119–20.

24 Josepha Gollenhofer, née Müllner: Wurzbach 19 (1868), Marx/Haas, Oeml (2004), SDI (2008/2022); Therese Grünbaum, née Müller: ÖBL 6 (1975), New Grove^2 10, Oeml (2003); Anna Kraus, née Wranitzky: Oeml (2020), ÖBL 16 (2021).

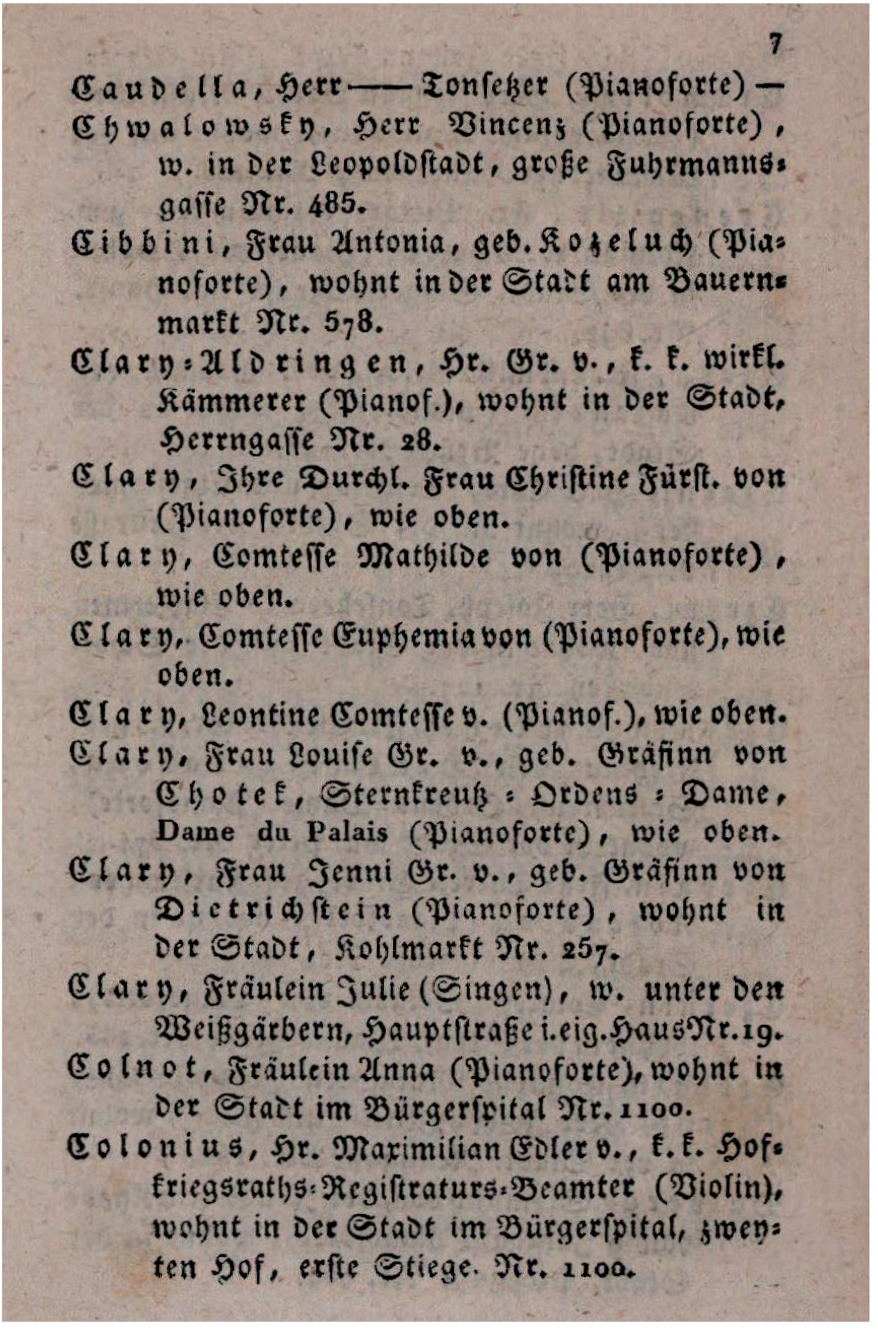
sometimes from the lower nobility. Conversely, the musicians' list (list A, musicians outside the society) includes a surprisingly high number of aristocratic women. I mention, for example, the Arenberg, Estérhazy, Liechtenstein, Auersperg, Batthyani, Czaky, Czernin, Fries, Harrach, Hoyos, Palffy, Pallavicini, Palm, Schallenberg, Schönborn, Stadion, and Windischgrätz families. No fewer than six women from the family of Count Karl Joseph von Clary und Aldringen (1777–1831) are listed as pianists, among them his mother, his wife and his three daughters (see Illustration 2). The count and later prince was very fond of art; he owned an exquisite library, a rich collection of engravings, and he wrote and drew. Further details about the musical activities of his family who lived in the Palais Mollard-Clary, today the location of the music collection of the Austrian National Library, are not known.

Obviously, there was a desire among the high nobility to publicly document their own musical competence, especially in the field of piano playing. Without their input and approval, Ziegler would certainly not have included their names in his directory. The supplementary volume by Böckh, published in 1823, also proves this interest, where the names of four bourgeois women and four countesses are added – a very high number from the high nobility if you compare the ratio of the small group of aristocracy and the much larger group of middle class.[25] The musical competence of the high nobility had been self-evident in past centuries. Now, however, when the bourgeoisie accounted for an ever larger share of musical life and had found in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde an institution to increase this share even further, aristocratic families documented their musical practice even in a bourgeois publication where their names were not listed according to their rank, as they had been accustomed to, but mingled alphabetically with those of bourgeois women.

Besides the large number of women involved and the separation by class (visible in the mostly bourgeois character of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde), a third conspicuous feature should be mentioned, namely the gendered assignment of the instruments. With a few exceptions, such as the harpist Gollenhofer mentioned above, Leopoldine Blahetka's mother Barbara ("Babette"), who played the glass harmonica,[26] or individual women who performed on the guitar, the women mentioned in Ziegler's list either played the piano or they sang. String or wind instruments were reserved for men alone. Against this background, Caroline Krähmer, born Schleicher (1794–1873?), a virtuoso on

25 Cf. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll, eds., *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 3: *Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 26–44.

26 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, 5; see SDI (2009/2022). On Leopoldine Blahetka see below.



7

Caudella, Herr —— Tonſetzer (Pianoforte) —
Chwalowsky, Herr Vincenz (Pianoforte), w. in der Leopoldſtadt, große Fuhrmanns-gaſſe Nr. 485.
Cibbini, Frau Antonia, geb. Kozeluch (Pia-noforte), wohnt in der Stadt am Bauern-markt Nr. 578.
Clary-Aldringen, Hr. Gr. v., k. k. wirkl. Kämmerer (Pianof.), wohnt in der Stadt, Herrngaſſe Nr. 28.
Clary, Ihre Durchl. Frau Chriſtine Fürſt. von (Pianoforte), wie oben.
Clary, Comteſſe Mathilde von (Pianoforte), wie oben.
Clary, Comteſſe Euphemia von (Pianoforte), wie oben.
Clary, Leontine Comteſſe v. (Pianof.), wie oben.
Clary, Frau Louiſe Gr. v., geb. Gräfinn von Chotek, Sternkreuz-Ordens-Dame, Dame du Palais (Pianoforte), wie oben.
Clary, Frau Jenni Gr. v., geb. Gräfinn von Dietrichſtein (Pianoforte), wohnt in der Stadt, Kohlmarkt Nr. 257.
Clary, Fräulein Julie (Singen), w. unter den Weißgärbern, Hauptſtraße i. eig. Haus Nr. 19.
Colnot, Fräulein Anna (Pianoforte), wohnt in der Stadt im Bürgerſpital Nr. 1100.
Colonius, Hr. Maximilian Edler v., k. k. Hof-kriegsraths-Regiſtraturs-Beamter (Violin), wohnt in der Stadt im Bürgerſpital, zwey-ten Hof, erſte Stiege. Nr. 1100.

Illustration 4: Female members of the Clary family in Ziegler's list of dilettantes (Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, p. 7).

the clarinet and violin, was a rare exception.[27] She had grown up on Lake Constance, her parents were musicians, and her mother also played the clarinet and violin. When she arrived in Vienna on one of her concert tours in 1822, newspaper reviewers marveled at the high quality of her performances: "One must confess," reads the *Wiener Theaterzeitung*, "if it is interesting in itself to see a female treat instruments usually played only by men, it is even more interesting when they appear, as Dem. Caroline Schleicher did, with such grace and virtuosity."[28] The otherwise strict assignment of female musicianship to singing and piano has a tradition in Vienna and can also be traced in the earlier lists from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries mentioned above. Here an aristocratic model is at work, as the assignment reflects a practice of the Viennese court. The children of Maria Theresa and of Emperor Franz Stephan also followed the principle that girls would sing and play the piano, while boys could also take string or wind instruments.[29]

Private concerts

Ziegler's address book offers a rich treasure trove of information which connects with known data and also offers new insights which are worth further research. Among the performing members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, whose main focus is piano playing, we find a certain Franz Schubert. The six women mentioned in the same list include Katharina Hochenadl (1785–1861), Therese Laßnig (c. 1806–??) and the thirteen-year-old Anna Rzehaczek (1810–after 1843), already known in the relevant research literature.[30] But there are also unknown names, such as Louise Pockh, Louise Pohl and Rosa Heger.

In the musicians' list (list A) Ziegler names the fourteen-year-old prodigies Leopoldine Blahetka (1809–1885) and Fanny Sallamon (1809–after 1839), the seventeen-year-old Josephine Keil (Khayll, 1806?–1834), but also older and renowned female pianists such as Leopold Kozeluch's daughter Antonia Cibbini (1785–1858), Mozart's pupil Babette von Jacquin, married name von Natorp (1769–1844), Nanette Stein-Streicher (1769–1833) and the widely praised Magdalene von Kurzböck (1770–1845). Some research has been carried out so far

27 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, 27.
28 *Wiener Theaterzeitung* 1822, 94, quoted from Anja Herold and Christiane Barlag, "Krähmer, Karoline," in SDI (2009/2023), https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/kraehmer-caroline.
29 Eybl, *Sammler*innen*, 180–84.
30 Katharina Hochenadl: Oeml (2003), ÖBL^2 (2016), SDI (Hohenadl, 2008/2022); Therese Laßnig: SDI (Lassnig, 2008/2022); Anna Rzehaczek: SDI (2009).

on all the women mentioned.[31] In addition, we encounter a certain "Madame De la Comte", the widow of a colonel, according to Ziegler a piano virtuoso and composer for this instrument.[32] She is the only female composer mentioned as such. Further information on her is still to be discovered.

Under the heading "musical entertainments" (Musikalische Unterhaltungen), both Böckh and Ziegler mention persons who regularly held salons in their private homes (see Table 3).[33] The comparison shows how extensive Ziegler's details are compared to those of Böckh. In addition to men from the field of arts and crafts, businessmen, lawyers, and civil servants, four women stand out who ran salons or were involved in them. (Maria) Theresia Paradis (1759–1824), sixty-four years old at the time, who does not appear in any of the other lists of Böckh and Ziegler, is listed among them. After the death of her father, the blind pianist and composer had opened a private music school in her apartment on Rotenturmstraße in 1808, where she gave young girls lessons in singing, piano playing and basso continuo. Most of them were blind. Starting in 1809, she organized house concerts during the winter season and every Sunday in Advent and Lent, at which her students played and sang for invited guests. In addition, professional musicians and amateurs who were friends also performed.[34]

The name of Katharina Hochenadl, mentioned in Böckh side by side with Theresia Paradis, was replaced by the name of her father in Ziegler's book.

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31 Leopoldine Blahetka: Wurzbach 1 (1856), ÖBL 1 (1957), *MGG*^{2} 3 (2000), Marx/Haas 78–82, *New Grove*^{2} 3, LMG 149–50, Oeml (2018); SDI (2007/2022); Fanny Sallamon: SDI (2006/2023); Josephine Keil: Wurzbach 11 (1864), Oeml (2016), SDI (2007/2022); Antonia Cibbini: Wurzbach 2 (1857), Marx/Haas 235–38, *New Grove online* (Cibbini-Kozeluch, 2001), Oeml (2002), SDI (2007), LMG 172–73; MUGI (2011), *MGG online* (Koželuh, Juli 2018); Babette von Jacquin: Oeml (Natorp, 2001); Nanette Streicher: Wurzbach 40 (1880), Marx/Haas 348–51, *New Grove*^{2} 24, *MGG*^{2} 15 (Stein, 2006), SDI (2008), LMG 482–83, MUGI (2018), Oeml (Stein, 2017); Magdalene von Kurzböck: Wurzbach 13 (1865), Marx/Haas 248–50, Oeml (2004), SDI (2010).

32 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, 9: "De la Comte, Fr. von, k.k. Obersten-Witwe, Tonsetzerinn für das Pianoforte und Virtuosinn auf demselben."

33 Recent books on musical salons include Anja Bunzel, Natasha Loges (eds.), *Musical salon culture in the long nineteenth century* (Woodbridge / Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2019); Rebecca Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022); Evelyn Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis. Johann Sebastian Bach zwischen 1750 und 1829 in Berlin* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2018); for Vienna see Eybl, *Sammler*innen*, chapter 10, pp. 305–361. A comprehensive study on bourgeois as well as aristocratic musical salons in Vienna has not yet been conducted.

34 See Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen aus Alt-Wien (1861)," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 16 (1961): 50–62, 97–110, and 145–57; here 97–101, and Marion Fürst, *Maria Theresia Paradis. Mozarts berühmte Zeitgenossin* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), 177–78, and 183–95. Sonnleithner's memories, which were obviously based on detailed notes, appeared in loose succession between 1861 and 1863 in the journal *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik*. They contain extensive lists of performers and concert programs for concerts beginning in 1815.

Table 3: "Musical entertainments" in private houses (salons)

Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller,* iv, fn	**Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch,* 191–92**
Mad. [Katharina] Hochenadel, Clavier-Meisterinn, Bürgerspital Nr. 1100	Joseph Hochenadel, Buchhalter des k.k. Hofkriegsraths, Bürgerspital Nr. 1100
Herr Kindermann, Krebsgasse Nr. 447	Herr Kindermann, Krebsgasse Nr. 447
Hr. [Heinrich Christian] Krippner [Großhändler], Preßgasse Nr. 454	
Fräulein [Theresia] von Paradis, Schabdenrüssel Nr. 482	Frl. Paradies, Rotenthurmstraße Nr. 482, Zum Schabenrüßel
Herrn Sonnleithner, Gundelhof Nr. 588	Ignatz Sonnleithner, Advocat, Bauernmarkt Nr. 588, Gundelhof
Herrn C[aspar] Pfaff, Riemerstraße Nr. 817: musikalische Übungen	C[aspar] Pfaff, Clavierinstrumentenmacher, Riemerstraße Nr. 817
	Raphael Georg von Kiesewetter, Hofrath, Salzgries Nr. 184
	Anton Röhrrich, Handelsmann, Wieden Hauptstraße Nr. 309, Zur goldenen Presse
	J[oseph] Mozzatti, Gesanglehrmeister, Teinfaltstraße Nr. 74
	Friedrich Warsov, Kalligraph, Spiegelgasse [1097]
	Herr [Ignace] von Duvivier [Landschaftsmaler], unter der Leitung von Ignaz von Freytag (Appellations-Secretär) und Hofkapellmeister von Salieri
	Frau Freyinn von Wetzlar
	Frl. Sophie Linhart, Judengasse 459
	Joh. Pensel, Claviermeister, und Dominik Perlaska, bildender Künstler, Josephstadt, Florianigasse 82, Zum schönen Garten

They were also remembered by the lawyer Leopold von Sonnleithner (1797–1873), who visited both salons frequently. Katharina Hochenadl, he writes in his memoirs, "promoted with devotion her father's desire to cultivate genuine art in his house by regularly recurring performances."[35] Both worked together: he provided the space and copied the music, she contributed her artistic expertise as an excellent pianist. Katharina Hochenadl, who had studied with the pianist

35 Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen," 52–62; quote 53: Katharina Hochenadl "förderte [...] mit aller Hingebung den Wunsch des Vaters, in seinem Hause die echte Kunst durch regelmäßig wiederkehrende Produktionen zu pflegen."

Anton Eberl (1765–1807), repeatedly performed in public concerts, and gave lessons like Paradis. In her father's modest apartment in the Bürgerspital, she regularly held Sunday noon house concerts from November to Easter between about 1810 and 1826 in which she was joined by professional musicians and amateurs, among them Anna and Barbara Fröhlich and other musicians from the Schubert circle. They performed chamber music, arias and Lieder (including some by Schubert), but even oratorios and operas with small instrumental accompaniment (cello and piano).[36]

Little is known about the musical activities of Susanna Freifrau (Freyinn) von Wetzlar (1782–1856). Born as Susanna Michaela Maria von Eyb in Vienna in 1782, she married Franz von Wetzlar (1768–1820), a younger brother of Raimund von Wetzlar (1752–1810), the well-known patron of Mozart, in 1800.[37] A Viennese newspaper reports on a chamber music concert that took place in early 1818 at the Wetzlar house in Schottengasse and featured Ignaz Moscheles 1794–1870 and a demoiselle Klieber in addition to up-and-coming orchestral musicians.[38] Whether Baroness Wetzlar was the mother of the pianist Sigismund Thalberg (1812–1871) is controversially discussed in biographical and musicological literature. In the detailed biographical entry on Thalberg that appeared in Constant von Wurzbach's *Biographisches Lexikon*, the question is answered affirmatively. It says here that the baroness spent her later years in Venice, where she was "one of the most popular personalities." "An accomplished connoisseur of music and especially a perfect pianist, she had, along with her son's masters, the most essential share in the training of his talent."[39]

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36 See Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen," (which includes detailed information on programs and performers) and ÖBL^2 (Hochenadl, 2016).

37 Vienna, Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch 01–098 (1782–1785), fol. 48, 29.09.1782; Trauungsbuch 02–080 (1800–1803), fol. 15, entry 10.05.1800, wedding 12.05.1800.

38 The report names the violinists Joseph Böhm (1795–1876) and Franz X. Pecháček (1793–1840), the cellist Josef Merk (1795–1852) and the oboist Joseph Sellner (1787–1843), see *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, 10 January 1818, 14. Demoiselle Klieber is most likely the singer Therese Klieber, who appears in Ziegler's directory among the performing members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (121); she was married to Mr. Flatz, a civil servant. In 1814, she sang a solo part in a performance of Beethoven's oratorio *Christus am Ölberg* under the direction of the composer, see Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen," 151–52.

39 "Eine vollendete Musikkennerin und namentlich perfecte Pianistin, hatte sie neben den Meistern ihres Sohnes den wesentlichsten Antheil an der Ausbildung seines Talentes." "Thalberg, Sigismund," in Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon* 44 (1882), 118–32, at 118. – Cf. Alan Walker, who disputes the veracity of the claims that Prince Dietrichstein and Baronesse von Wetzlar were Thalberg's parents, and instead presents Joseph Thalberg and Fortunée Stein as Thalberg's true parents: Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, vol. 1: *The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 232. I am preparing an essay on the activities of Susanna von Wetzlar, to be published in 2025 ("'Vollendete Musikkennerin und perfecte Pianistin': Die geheimnisvolle Baronin von Wetzlar und ihre Salons,")

The career of the soprano Sophie Linhart (1788–after 1837) also requires further research. Ziegler lists her among the performing members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.[40] As a talented singer she frequented the salons of Hochenadl, Kiesewetter and Sonnleithner.[41] That she herself ran a salon, we learn only from Ziegler's address book. Born in Ljubljana in 1788, she went to Vienna with her mother and sister in 1798 after her father's death. She took singing lessons with Antonio Salieri and the tenor Josef (Giuseppe) Tomaselli. After her mother's death, she returned to Ljubljana in 1826 and married the private teacher Joseph Heuschober there in 1831. Together with him she ran a boys' educational institution. In 1837 the couple moved to Graz. After that, their traces are lost.[42] Sonnleithner reports that she married and took the family name Schuller. If he is not mistaken, Linhart must have married a second time. She seems to have still been alive when he published his memoirs in 1861.[43] Through Anselm Hüttenbrenner, with whom she was friends, she maintained close contacts with the Schubert circle. At Sonnleithner's house concerts, she sang *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, D 118, on 2 March 1821, and four weeks later, on 13 March, she also performed there the song *Der Jüngling auf dem Hügel*, D 702, most probably accompanied by the composer. At least on this occasion, there was direct contact with Schubert; Sonnleithner had made sure that the composer and the singer rehearsed the song prior to the performance.[44]

Sophie Linhart also performed in public concerts. Motnik records several performances in the period between 1813 and 1827.[45] However, an excursion to the opera stage, to a production of Rossini's *Tancredi* at the Theater an der Wien, in which Linhart participated in November 1817 as Amenaide, was not quite successful.[46] An undated letter to Ignaz Sonnleithner, in which she invites him to participate in a house concert, sheds light on her activities

40 Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch*, 122.
41 Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen," 55, 60, and 149.
42 All biographical information on her is based on Marko Motnik, "'Weilet die Muse mit dir, ihrem Liebling'. Die Freundschaft zwischen der Sängerin Sophie Linhart und Anselm Hüttenbrenner," in *Drehscheibe Graz: musikkulturelle Verbindungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ingeborg Harer (Graz: Leykam, 2022), 61–74. See also Marko Motnik, *Glasbena pot Sophie Linhart. Po sledeh družine Antona Tomaža Linharta* [Sophie Linhart's Musical Career: In the Footsteps of A. T. Linhart's Family] (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2024).
43 Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen," 55, 60, and 149.
44 Motnik, "Weilet die Muse," 70–71.
45 Motnik, "Weilet die Muse," 69–73.
46 Motnik, "Weilet die Muse," 69. Motnik mentions two reviews in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* where an anonymous reviewer ("W. H.") criticized her lack of enduring power ("ausdauernde Kraft"), although he admitted that she had a rather pleasant voice ("eine recht angenehme Stimme") (15.11.1817, 348). Another reviewer in the same journal ("D.") found her voice too weak for the opera stage, too. According to him, the audience gave a big applause, even if she demonstrated a complete ignorance of theatrical action ("völlige Unkenntnis des Theaters") (26.11.1817, 372).

as a salonnière.[47] She writes that she finally had the pleasure of "arranging a music event" again, this time not in her mother's apartment, as her mother was not in good health, but in the neighboring apartment of Frau von Förster, the wife of the composer Emanuel Aloys Förster. This resumption of a previous practice suggests that she had already repeatedly organized such concerts at her home. Several rehearsals were planned. She asks Sonnleithner for help in finding musicians to perform at the event and concludes the letter with the imploring request: "Forgive me for troubling you so much, and please do not give me a negative answer, since I have had to endure so many unpleasant things this winter." If this last sentence refers to her performance in *Tancredi*, the letter could be dated to December 1817. Linhart invites Sonnleithner to a rehearsal on Saturday evening at seven o'clock. The final rehearsal would take place on Tuesday at noon, the performance then on "Wednesday the 24th in the evening." In the winter of 1817, the twenty-fourth of December, Christmas Eve, was a Wednesday; if the letter was written that year, she organized a Christmas concert. Apparently the cast had not yet been determined and was called together by correspondence. Therefore Linhart asked Sonnleithner to "get some choristers for Tuesday."[48]

Summary

The directories that the present article focused on contain rare information about individual women musicians and their activities (such as Susanna von Wetzlar's and Sophie Linhart's salons or the otherwise unknown composer De la Comte) and thus outlines research areas that can and should be pursued further. They also provide important insights into the structure of musical life that purely biographical research does not readily allow: they transmit the names of a large number of women who actively participated in Vienna's musical life in various capacities and attest to the bourgeois orientation of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde as well as the continuing efforts of the high nobility to main-

47 Motnik, "Weilet die Muse," 69–70.

48 "Da ich endlich wieder das Vergnügen haben kann, eine Musik zu arangiren (zwar nicht bey uns, da meine Mutter noch unpäßlich ist, sondern bey unserer Nachbarin F. v. Förster) so bitte ich Sie gefälligst mitzuwirken, und ich werde so frey sein, Ihre Gütte [sic] recht sehr in Anspruch zu nehmen. Ich bitte sie also vor allen, wenn es Ihnen möglich ist, künftigen Samstag Abends um 7 Uhr zu mir zu kommen, wo Wir eine sogenannte Seitenprobe zu haben wünschen, dann ist die letzte Probe Dienstag zu Mittag; und die Musik Mittwoch den 24ten Abends. Auch wenn es sein kann, mir für Dienstag ein paar Choristen zu besorgen. Verzeihen Sie nur daß ich Sie so sehr plage, und bitte Sie recht sehr mir keine abschlägige Antwort zu geben, da ich diesen Wintter ohnedieß so viel unangenehmes erdulden musste." Briefsammlung in Archiv, Sammlungen und Bibliothek der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, quoted from Motnik, "Weilet die Muse," 70.

tain their competence and involvement in the field of music and, moreover, to document it publicly. Structural phenomena in Vienna's musical life also include the gendered assignment of instruments, which offered women musical opportunities for development above all in singing and at the piano.

The publication of such lists demonstrates the interest of contemporaries in representation through musical activities, both among the middle class and the high nobility. At the same time, the address books and yearbooks contain a great deal of information for consumers in a growing market, designed to expand the circle of those who wished to participate in musical activities and thus also to anchor their social rank through music.

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Overcoming *Toleranz*: Jewish Women's Social Activism on the Long Road to Emancipation

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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. 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 the establishment of a new hospital in Baden, support for individuals with impaired hearing or vision, and better training for ocular specialists. The society's leadership stressed that patients should be treated irrespective of national origin or religious affiliation. As in the occupied German territories, Vienna's women coordinated clothing drives, produced bandages, volunteered in sickbays, and organized benefit concerts to raise funds for the wounded. Remarkable about Vienna – groundbreaking, in fact – was the imposing scale of the noblewomen's effort to harness the power of music for the public good. And women's wartime engagement clearly became indispensable to the Austrian state, for in 1816, a year into the peace, Emperor Franz issued a decree calling for women to voluntarily form associations to facilitate the "good and useful." Despite energetic involvement on and off the battlefield, however, equality between Jewish and Catholic subjects remained a distant dream at the war's conclusion. After hope shattered that the Congress of Vienna would enact Jewish emancipation, other painful obstacles arose to equality and permanent belonging – especially for Jewish women and girls, whose 'toleration' was lawfully dependent on a male relative's protected status. Religious conversion often seemed the only path to long term residence. The fragile rights and protections afforded Jewish women necessarily shaped both their many public-facing activities and their private lives.

* I am deeply grateful to this volume's editors for their perceptive suggestions and to all the friends and colleagues who contributed insight to this study.

Franz Schubert entered life at the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars and was in his seventeenth year when foreign diplomats massed in Vienna for a Congress to negotiate what they hoped would be a lasting peace settlement. By the time he was twenty-three, Schubert had experienced a postwar surge of *Vaterland* sentiment, he knew of the violence instigated by radical factions of the movement for German unity and had been personally touched – in January 1820 – by a crackdown on gatherings that Austria's conservative statesmen feared were linked to a revolutionary tide spreading from the confederated German states. His friend, the poet Johann Senn, was banished from the city for life in that infamous affair.[1] I call to mind these events in the present connection merely to remind us how easily the imperial state could expel undesired persons from its territories – without judicial due process. Throughout these unsettled times, Schubert tried to build a musical career, supported by friends and mentors he had known since his days as a student at the Akademisches Gymnasium and a chorister in the Imperial Chapel. His circle of acquaintances gradually widened as he became better known as a composer and eventually it included notable figures of the Enlightenment-era generations and their families, and of course musicians from across Europe.

The women whose lives and activities I explore in this study may have interacted with Schubert personally only occasionally, or not at all, but their prominence in Viennese society over his lifetime molded the city's musical culture, intellectual life, and its institutions in innumerable ways. At the center of my story is the Prussian Jewish woman Fanny von Arnstein, about the same age as Schubert's mother, whose societal influence, especially in the final decade of her life, is vividly explored in Austrian novelist Hilde Spiel's remarkable 1962 biography, *Fanny von Arnstein oder Die Emanzipation: ein Frauenleben an der Zeitenwende, 1758–1818*, translated into English as *Fanny von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment* by Spiel's daughter Christine Shuttleworth, and reissued most recently in 2013 in advance of the bicentennial of the Congress of Vienna.[2] Illustration 1 shows a likeness of Franziska (Fanny) von Arnstein drawn by

1 Documents of Senn's life are preserved in Moriz Enzinger, "Zur Biographie des Tiroler Dichters Joh. Chrys. Senn," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* 156 (1929): 169–83. This essay was published not long after the July 1927 revolt that caused a fire at the Vienna Justizpalast where police records were housed. Enzinger's portrayal of nineteenth-century politics, however, must be read cautiously (he aligned himself with the National Socialists in the 1940s).

2 Hilde Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein oder Die Emanzipation: Ein Frauenleben an der Zeitenwende, 1758–1818* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1962); Hilde Spiel, *Fanny Von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment, 1758–1818,* trans. Christine Shuttleworth (New York: New Vessel Press, 2013). Schubert's mother Elisabeth Vietz was born in 1756; she died in 1812. On the salon of Fanny von Arnstein cf. the chapter by Nancy November in this volume.



Illustration 1: Fanny von Arnstein, drawing by Louis Pereira, 1819. Austrian National Library Vienna, PORT_00103914_01. Reproduced with kind permission.

her grandson Louis Pereira in the year after her death. Hilde Spiel's impressive reconstruction of a life from almost entirely secondary sources – a wealth of recollections of Fanny in letters and other writings by those who encountered her, and historical records pertaining to the regulation of Jewish families in Prussia and Austria – has sparked intense interest in Fanny's birth family, the Itzigs of Berlin. Several revealing new family letters have emerged in the recent explosion of musicological scholarship around her younger sister Sara Levy's (1761–1858) role in the cultivation in Berlin of music by Bach family members – Friedemann, Emanuel, and Sebastian, especially – but we still have meager

first-person records to work with for Fanny.[3] What is clear, however, is that Itzig family members created a vital conduit for musical, social, political, and financial commerce between Prussia and Austria. Deborah Hertz's illuminating monograph *How Jews Became Germans. The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin* spotlights mainly the Berlin side of the family.[4] Additional legal and genealogical matters are clarified in a richly documented book about several generations of the extended Itzig family by historian Thekla Keuck, published in 2011.[5]

Who were the Itzigs? In brief, Daniel Itzig (1723–1799) was head of the Jewish community in Berlin, a man who since the mid-eighteenth century had won so-called general privileges from the crown for his financial expertise as *Hoffaktor* to both kings Friedrich Wilhelm II and Friedrich Wilhelm III. Daniel Itzig and his wife Miriam Wulff (1727–1788), the descendent of a family given protection in Berlin following the 1671 purge of Jews from Vienna, had fifteen children, ten of them girls. During Daniel's last decade – in 1791 to be exact – he became the first in Berlin's Jewish community to be awarded a patent of naturalization, thereby obtaining the benefits of municipal civic rights (Bürgerrecht) for himself and all his family members. This meant, among other things, the right to own a home in the city. For male offspring, it also brought the expectation of military service, from which Prussia's Jews as a 'protected' population ordinarily were exempt. An escape-clause in the patent warned that naturalization could be rescinded should family members not behave (read:

3 Regarding Levy, see especially Rebecca Cypess and Nancy Sinkoff, *Sara Levy's World: Gender, Judaism, and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2018), and Evelyn Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis. Johann Sebastian Bach zwischen 1750 und 1829 in Berlin.* Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 81 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018). Buyken's book positions Levy within a wider network of collectors and performers. In a discussion about the location of primary sources (232–36), she notes that she gained access to a private collection relating to Fanny von Arnstein that Hilde Spiel believed was lost. Now, a new book by Homa Jordis draws on this Pereira-family archive. It is unfortunately too late for me to take proper account of her study, which includes family portraits, a detailed inventory of archival records, and an appendix of documents in facsimile, including correspondence with Hilde Spiel and private letters pertaining to the early reception of Spiel's biography, see Homa Jordis, *Fanny von Arnstein. Eine Salonière als Mediatorin europäischer Machtpolitik* (Vienna: Buchschmiede, 2022). Finally, a recent exhibition considers the Arnstein salon against Viennese salon culture across the entire century. The beautiful catalogue includes a revealing page from a surviving commonplace book of Fanny von Arnstein, see Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Wien, *The Place to Be: Salons als Orte der Emanzipation*, ed. Werner Hanak-Lettner, Astrid Peterle, and Danielle Spera (Vienna: Amalthea, 2018), 22; the poem found on this page of her *Merkbüchlein* is discussed in Spiel, *Daughter of the Enlightenment*, 2–3; 105.

4 Deborah Sadie Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

5 Thekla Keuck, *Hofjuden und Kulturbürger: Die Geschichte der Familie Itzig in Berlin* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

acculturate) as expected. Significantly, since Judaism was understood to be passed down through the mother, the 1791 naturalization patent, and the right to permanent residence that this implied, extended on the female side of Daniel Itzig's family only to the generation of his grandchildren.[6] While Daniel staunchly opposed a growing trend among Jews to convert to Christianity and threatened to disinherit any child who chose such a path to assimilation and civic rights, several of his children and grandchildren did so after his death in 1799.

Three of the Itzig daughters, Fanny, Zippora (later known as Cäcilie), and Rebecca would settle in Vienna, as partners to men in finance whose families had ties to their father or his business partner, Veitel Heine Ephraim. Husbands were found for all the daughters except for one – the talented Recha, who was apparently frail, and as we learn from a letter of Dorothea Veit (eldest daughter of Moses Mendelssohn) to the theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher, she was also blind.[7] Recha lived with her sister Sara Levy after their father's death. Much confusion circulates in the scholarship regarding whether any of the Viennese Itzig sisters ever became converts to Catholicism, but Keuck is certain that none did: all three were buried in the Währing Jewish cemetery.

Fanny was the first to move to Vienna in 1776, as the young bride of financier Nathan Adam Arnsteiner (1748–1838), a second generation native of Vienna. Twenty-two years into their marriage, in 1798, he was raised to the rank of Freiherr (Baron), the highest social rank that the Habsburg court had ever bestowed upon a Jew. He had already been ennobled in 1795. Fanny and Nathan stayed at first in the leased city home on the Graben occupied by his parents – and, famously, for about ten months beginning in September 1781, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart lodged in a room on the third floor of this townhouse (numbered 1175 then, 17 today), located not far from the family home of his future wife and in-laws, the Webers. Steven Machtinger has recently noted that the two families made music together even before Mozart's arrival in the city. One such occasion is documented in a memoir by a visiting lawyer from Cologne about a house concert he attended in January 1780: "A Frau von Arenstein played delightfully on the clavier, and Mlle Weberin charmed us with

6 See Keuck, *Hofjuden und Kulturbürger*, 113–15, for greater detail.

7 Dorothea Veit [later Schlegel] to Friedrich Schleiermacher, 16 June 1800, in Ernst Behler, ed., *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe*, vol. 25: Hermann Patsch, ed., *Höhepunkt und Zerfall der romantischen Schule (1799–1802)* (Paderborn, Munich, and Vienna: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009), 123–24.

her singing."[8] That this Frau von Arenstein is identical with Fanny is not certain but certainly plausible given that she was an accomplished pianist who brought with her to Vienna some sixty concertos of Emanuel Bach along with assorted music by other Bach family members. (Copies of the Bachs' music in Mozart's hand have recently been traced to her collection.[9]) Fanny's younger sister Zippora (1760–1836), also a keyboardist, joined them in Vienna in 1799, the same year her father died, to become the wife (her second marriage) of the recently ennobled Bernhard von Eskeles, Nathan's business partner. Zippora henceforth went by the name Cäcilie von Eskeles. Arnstein and Eskeles in 1816 founded the institution later known as the Austrian National Bank.

The third sister to move to Vienna, Rebecca (1763–1846), married David Ephraim in 1784 in Berlin. He was a grandson of her father's business partner and formed a partnership with Zippora's first husband, Benjamin Isaac Wulff. Some years into their marriage, David's apparently risky business went bankrupt, jeopardizing the entire family network, and the naturalization of both husbands of Itzig daughters was rescinded. David converted to Catholicism in Hungary sometime between 1802 and 1805 and changed his name to Johann Andreas Schmidt. Although Rebecca divorced him (as Zippora did Benjamin Isaac), they both eventually settled in Vienna.[10] The exact timing of her family's permanent move to the city is unclear but Anna L. Staudacher's catalogue *Jüdische Konvertiten in Wien 1782–1868* lists conversion records for Rebecca and David's two children. Their son was converted "am Hof" in 1810; their daughter only in 1823.[11] In any event, all three Itzig sisters resided in Vienna during

8 Steven N. Machtinger, "Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Metaphysics," *Acta Musicologica* 92, no.1 (2020): 50–71; this quotation on p. 54 comes from Johann Baptist Fuchs, *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben eines Kölner Juristen* (Cologne: Kölner-Verlags-Anstalt und Druckerei, 1912), 109. It is unclear which of the four Weber daughters Frau von Arenstein accompanied at Frau von Hochsteden's January house concert. Both Josepha and Aloysia were professional opera singers. Shortly afterwards Fuchs comments on Mlle. Weber's Akademie of 22 February, which included an aria from *Alceste.* (Aloysia made her debut in Munich with Anton Schweitzer's opera *Alceste.*)

9 For details of Fanny von Arnstein's Bach collection, see Christine Blanken, *Die Bach-Quellen in Wien und Alt-Österreich*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011), xxiv, and Christoph Wolff, "Mozart 1782, Fanny Arnstein und viermal Bach," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 10 (2009): 141–49. I thank Eva Neumayr for the reference to Blanken's catalogue. About the Bach collections of her other family members, see Christoph Wolff, "Sara Levy's Musical Salon and Her Bach Collection," in *Sara Levy's World. Gender, Judaism, and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin*, ed. Rebecca Cypess, and Nancy Sinkoff (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2018), 39–51.

10 Keuck, *Hofjuden und Kulturbürger*, 73–75.

11 Anna L. Staudacher, *Jüdische Konvertiten in Wien 1782–1868*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 2:105. When Deborah Hertz deduced that Rebecca also converted, she was apparently unaware that Rebecca and David Ephraim had divorced (as Keuck's later research revealed), Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans,* 128. Fanny von Arnstein's and Cäcilie von Eskeles's marriages to ennobled and respected Viennese financiers may have given Rebecca the shelter that she and her children Jette and Julius needed to settle in Vienna.

the patriotic surge at the height of the Napoleonic War and during the Congress of Vienna when Madame Arnstein's and Madame Eskeles's open salons became favorite gathering places for diplomats, as well as musicians and writers. Guests were welcomed each day from noontime on at the Palais Arnstein along the Hoher Markt, the elegant residence that Nathan and Fanny leased (and shared during the Congress with Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel and Dorothea's childhood friend from Berlin, Henriette Herz).[12] Rebecca arranged smaller tea circles and Fanny's daughter Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein (1780–1859), a serious pianist, arranged gatherings that especially drew musicians, poets, and other cultural figures; she had studied with Muzio Clementi and Andreas Streicher in her youth.[13] The watercolor in Illustration 2 depicts Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein's salon some decades after her mother's death.[14]

Henriette was also a close friend of the playwright and poet Theodor Körner (1791–1813), the famous martyr of the 1813 'War of Liberation' who resided in Vienna between 1811 and 1813. The teenage Schubert reportedly made his acquaintance at a performance of Gluck's *Iphigenia in Tauris* that he attended with Joseph von Spaun.[15] According to Spaun's account (from 1858), Körner afterwards encouraged Schubert to devote his life to musical composition, and in 1815 Schubert set a dozen poems from Körner's posthumously published collection *Leyer und Schwerdt*. The poet had begun assembling these for Henriette. (His letters to her from military posts address her affectionately as to an older sister or cousin.) Christian Gottfried Körner, the poet's father, arranged for publication of the collection after his son's death in battle. Later, in the 1820s, Schubert, too, took part in musical salons that Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein attended or hosted (as discussed below). We do not know when they first met.

12 Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans*, 130–31. The neoclassical palais, home to Nathan Arnstein's family still long after Fanny died, was destroyed during World War II; it stood at the current address 1. Hoher Markt, overlooking the fountain where Judengasse meets the square. For details of the original lease agreement from 1804 as well as information about Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein's other residences, see, Spiel, *Daughter of the Enlightenment*, 174; 178. After Henriette's ennoblement, she resided in the Neubergerhof, "[which] carries her coat of arms to the present day."

13 In his *Vertraute Briefe aus Wien* (1810), Friedrich Reichardt documents an 1808 recital of Henriette's at Streicher's apartment. Her noble audience included Princess Kinsky, who supplied her own "excellent instrument," Frau von Henikstein, Prince Lobkowitz, and Princess Kinsky's sister and brother-in-law. The passage is quoted in Spiel, *Daughter of the Enlightenment*, 201–2.

14 I am grateful to Dr. Daniela Schmid and Dr. Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz of the Jüdisches Museum Wien for additional information about the provenance, size (34,5 cm x 28 cm), subject matter, and approximate date of this evocative interior scene.

15 Deutsch, DEr, 109–10.



Illustration 2: Salon Pereira-Arnstein, mid-nineteenth century. Anonymous watercolor. Slg. / Coll. *JMW*, Inv. Nr. 15475. Photo Credit: David Peters. Courtesy Jüdisches Museum Wien.

Historical legal frameworks demarcating Jews in Berlin and Vienna

During their youth in Berlin, the Itzig sisters had lived under conflicting conditions similar to those experienced by the Arnsteiners in Vienna, their family subject to humiliating taxes imposed on all Jews but allowed to lease houses in desirable neighborhoods. Highly educated in music and literature, fluent in multiple languages, the daughters had been groomed since early childhood to become partners to men of stature within the family's tightknit community and business network. Naturalization arrived for the Itzig family only after Fanny had already lived in Vienna for fifteen years. Should they have needed it, however, the 1791 Berlin patent extended to Fanny's husband and, later, to Cäcilie's as well.[16]

16 Keuck, *Hofjuden und Kulturbürger*, 113–15.

In Vienna, their families were subject to another set of statutes first codified in 1782. One of Emperor Joseph II's first policy decisions as sole regent was to issue two Edicts of Toleration. The earlier, from 1781, pertained to the Protestant and Christian Orthodox communities. The second, issued in January 1782, extended toleration to select members of the Jewish community.[17] This legal construct remained in force until 1868. The underlying concept of a *Toleranzpatent* bears comparison to a modern-day employer-sponsored work visa for foreign nationals: *Toleranz* was granted to a Jewish man for his work in a designated profession and it allowed him to lease a residence for himself and his family anywhere in the city for the duration of his work in that profession (only Catholic *Bürger* could purchase homes within the city's walls). Secondary occupations or side-businesses were strictly forbidden. It also allowed for Jewish servants of the 'tolerated' man to reside with the family and made special provisions for a small number of individuals to provide necessary services to the Jewish community. (These inhabitants of the city did not possess their own patents of toleration.) In exchange for the new freedoms, Hebrew was to be phased out within two years and replaced by German in all official community documents. No Hebrew press could operate in the city, nor a public temple.[18] Joseph II's patent emphasized that his purpose was decidedly not to increase the minority religious population. *Toleranz* could not be passed down to children, with the exception that a son once he reached the age of majority could apply for *Toleranz* to take over his father's business. Widows and their other children, it was assumed, would return to their 'place of shelter' if no adult son, or in some cases the widow herself, was able to continue her husband's business. Fanny and Nathan's only child, Judith Henriette, was born in 1780 in Berlin – I suspect, not only because Fanny wanted the support of her own family during postpartum recovery but because documenting a birthplace in Berlin would give Fanny's child another place of refuge should her father pass away and the family be expelled from Vienna. For Jewish women even more than for men the labyrinthine roads to permanent residence were strewn with obstacles.

17 Extracts from the 1782 *Toleranzpatent* are available in German and English from a website maintained by the Deutsches Historisches Institut, *Deutsche Geschichte in Dokumenten und Bildern / German History in Documents and Images.* Link to it from: https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=2914&language=english, accessed 26 July 2023. Facsimiles of historical Austrian legal documents are assembled on a website maintained by the Austrian National Library, see ALEX – Historische Rechts- und Gesetzestexte (onb.ac.at), accessed 26 July 2023.

18 In practice, Hebrew presses returned to the city by the 1790s, and in 1824 Vienna's Jewish community received permission to build the synagogue in the Seitenstettengasse; Salomon Sulzer was brought in as cantor from Hohenems.

To only ever stress the privileges that toleration afforded obscures the very real threat of expulsion faced by Austrian Jews, and especially Jewish women. Eleonore von Eskeles (sister of Fanny's later brother-in-law Bernhard von Eskeles) suffered exactly this fate under Joseph II. After a failed arranged marriage to the Berlin banker Meyer Moses Flies, she returned to her home city of Vienna and lived there in secret with Valentin Günther, a close advisor to the emperor who advocated among other things for better treatment of Vienna's Jewish community. The couple had two children together before Joseph II blew up over the affair amidst a political scandal and denounced her as a Prussian spy. A mere suspicion of Eleonore – no proof – was enough for him to banish them both from the imperial lands in March 1782. A Viennese Jewish woman once given in marriage to a Berliner, could in an instant lose her right to reside in the city of her upbringing.[19]

What did *Toleranz* imply for a second-generation Viennese native like Nathan Arnsteiner? This conundrum was not lost on court officials, who drew up separate family lists to reflect varying degrees of toleration. Families like the Arnsteiners and their sponsors, the wealthy Wertheim family, who had established themselves in the city in the early eighteenth century, came to be designated *Alttolerierte* – set apart, plainly, from the *Altdeutsch* identity that nationalist extremists claimed for themselves after the Napoleonic War. By the late 1780s, a Viennese Jew's loyal service to the imperial crown together with substantial financial donations could lead, even without his religious conversion, to ennoblement. While noble rank by no means removed all barriers to social equality, Jewish families placed into this category were free to purchase homes at least outside the inner city and could add the desirable *von* to the family name.[20] At the other end of the spectrum, some recent Jewish arrivals to the city were issued *Toleranz* only in three-year increments.

The Arnstein family's aim of maintaining permanent residence in Vienna was a delicate balancing act. In 1802, Fanny and Nathan's daughter Henriette was given in marriage to Aron Heinrich Pereira, son of a Portuguese-Jewish banking family in Amsterdam, chosen there by Nathan to move to Vienna as his son-in-law. Henriette's husband gained his title Freiherr von Pereira-Arnstein soon after her father appealed to the emperor in 1810 for permission

19 Eleonore's banishment was only overturned after the death of Joseph II, when her brother made a special appeal for clemency to the new court of Leopold II, see Spiel, *Daughter of the Enlightenment*, 60–68; Keuck, *Hofjuden und Kulturbürger*, 58.

20 After his ennoblement, Nathan and Fanny purchased a *Gartenpalais* in the suburb of Braunhirschen (today's 15th district). Bernhard and Cäcilie von Eskeles acquired a residence in Hietzing.

to adopt and raise him as a Freiherr von Arnstein: Nathan wished not to be robbed in his old age of his only daughter and grandchildren. As Nathan's sole son, Heinrich was in line to eventually take over his father-in-law's property, business, noble title, Berlin naturalization, and Vienna tolerated status. The emperor's decision it seems was eased by the fact that Heinrich and Henriette had secretly baptized their sons Louis and Adolph in 1803 and 1805. They apparently fixed a date to convert to Catholicism themselves weeks after he responded favorably to Nathan's humble plea. Staudacher reports that back in 1805 the boys' parents had specified that not all data was to be recorded in the church ledger before the parents had given the priest express instructions to open a certain sealed packet. This younger generation clearly understood that the only sure mechanism for establishing long-term belonging in Vienna for their children's families – daughters as well as *all* the sons – was conversion. Another son, August, was born in 1811, their daughter Flora in 1814.[21]

At the same time, hope remained alive in German Jewish circles that emancipation might yet arrive during their lifetimes – as indeed it did in Berlin in March 1812. At least on paper. In Paris, the revolutionary government had declared equal rights for Jews, and under Napoleon's administration the old ghetto gates in Venice and in smaller towns like Bonn were dismantled before the turn of the century. These were promising turns. After Napoleon's troops occupied Berlin in 1806, however, and Austria and Prussia in 1809 formed the Fifth Coalition, Fanny's patriotic sentiment for her dual homelands spurred her to action against French domination. The Arnsteins contributed massive sums in support of the Tyrolean uprising against Napoleon in 1809. Fanny even arranged for her nephew Jakob Bartholdy – brother of Lea, the mother of Fanny and (newborn) Felix Mendelssohn – to be given a position as first lieutenant in the Vienna militia.[22] Jakob had converted to reform Protestantism in 1805, taking the name of a family-owned property, a former dairy. His mother, Fanny's older sister Bella Salomon, renounced him after his baptism. He fought not for Prussia but for Austria in the campaign of 1809 against Napoleon, becoming

21 Staudacher, *Jüdische Konvertiten in Wien 1782–1868*, 2, 364–65. Note that Staudacher did not locate conversion records for either parent. She relies in this instance on secondary sources; these misalign slightly with Spiel's account. Spiel quotes from a baptismal certificate dated 23 July 1810 and reports that Henriette, too, took the sacrament on that day. Spiel, *Daughter of the Enlightenment*, 216–18.

22 Hilde Spiel discusses the campaign of 1809 and quotes from concerned letters between Jakob Bartholdy's relatives in Berlin and Vienna, see Spiel, *Daughter of the Enlightenment*, 202–4. Bartholdy wrote a book about the 1809 conflicts, *Der Krieg der Tyroler Landleute in 1809* (Berlin: Bey Julius Eduard Hitzig, 1814). On its title page is an epigram of endorsement from the Swiss historian Johannes von Müller.

severely wounded in the Battle of Ebelsberg (near Linz) on 3 May 1809, less than a week before French troops bombarded Vienna's inner city – and one of those cannon balls exploded on the roof of Schubert's boarding school, the Stadtkonvikt, directly across the square from the old university, the building that houses the Austrian Academy of Sciences today. Joseph von Spaun left a vivid account of the bombardment, which also damaged one of the university's fountains.[23] The hand-colored engraving in Illustration 3 depicts the university and the Jesuitenkirche adjacent to the Stadtkonvikt in the early nineteenth century (no damage to the fountain is visible). It belongs to a collection of one hundred prints of Vienna from the shop of Maria Geissler on the Graben (or Marie Geisler, as her name appears on the dual language title page).[24] No doubt Fanny von Arnstein's standing among Vienna's aristocratic women rose from knowing that her close family member had risked his life for Austria, just as had many of their husbands, brothers, sons, and nephews.

Women's wartime activism during Schubert's teenage years

Fanny's fervent support for the war goes a long way to explaining her role in 1810 as a founding member of the Society of Noble Ladies for the Advancement of the Good and Useful (Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen), a group of twelve aristocratic women who received permission from the emperor for strategic planning and fundraising to address unmet needs in the city. The women wisely identified causes that the state's budget, stretched by the war, could not otherwise support. Joseph Sonnleithner, librettist, theater administrator, and attorney, lent his expertise and oversight to the endeavor, helping them to navigate the court bureaucracy. Fanny von Arnstein, the only Jewish woman elected to the board of directors and only

23 Deutsch, DEr, 306.

24 *Collection de vues des principaux palais, eglises, bâtimens publics, campagnes & jardins tant de Vienne que de ses environs = Ansichten Sammlung der berühmtesten Palläste, Gebäude, und der schönsten Gegenden von und um Wien* (Vienna: chez Marie Geisler). The volume(s) are variously catalogued as dating from 1812, ca. 1815, or between 1817 and 1836. This fascinating collection of prints circulated with different combinations of plates. Deluxe collections included foldout plates; these are absent in other copies. In some exemplars, prints appearing to date from a later time are mixed in with the earliest layer. The copy in the Lilly Library at Indiana University is bound in two volumes, measuring ca. 8 x 13 cm; it contains no foldout plates (the engravings themselves are just slightly larger than a standard postcard). In place of the foldout plates are different prints, one of which is the depiction of the university reproduced in Illustration 3. The library's catalogue gives a date of 1817–1836, based upon dates of artistic activity established for one of the engravers, Johann Jaresch (1787–1840). An engraving of Antonio Canova's memorial to Maria Cristina, "gearbeitet von Canova," may point to an earlier date. Kind thanks to Paula Gabbard of Columbia University for assisting me in comparing different copies of Geissler's collection of prints.



Illustration 3: A view of the university building in Vienna. *Collection de vues des principaux palais, eglises, bâtimens publics, campagnes & jardins tant de Vienne que de ses environs = Ansichten Sammmlung der berühmtesten Palläste, Gebäude, und der schönsten Gegenden von und um Wien* (Vienna: chez Marie Geisler), plate 24. Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

recently ennobled (the other eleven board members, either princesses or countesses, were born into the 'first aristocracy'), made sure that her community network would be well represented in the initiatives, which included support for the Taubstummen-Institut, care for foundlings, establishment of a hospital near Baden to serve the poor, expansion of an institute for blind children, and support for the training of ocular specialists.[25] Fanny von Arnstein's prominent position symbolized Jewish dedication to the welfare of all the city's residents. In turn, the Society of Noble Ladies mandated that patients at the Marien-Spi-

25 Some of these causes were already identified in the original charter, *Verfassung der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen, zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen* (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staats-Druckerey, 1810), 10. The idea for the hospital was not yet included. The women also proposed to establish central locations in the city for beekeeping and swimming lessons for children. Sonnleithner noted that his own labor on behalf of the society was unremunerated, and he crafted a narrative underscoring the noble ladies' willingness to depend on the advice and judgement of male experts.

tal in Baden should be treated irrespective of national origin or religious affiliation. Chairwoman of the society until her death in January 1816 was Princess Caroline von Lobkowitz (married to one of Ludwig van Beethoven's long-standing patrons).

During the war, patriotic women throughout the German and Austrian lands coordinated clothing drives, produced bandages, and volunteered in sickbays, where some, like the soldiers they tended (a few women fought too), lost their lives to *Nervenfieber*, or typhus, an illness that spread quickly in unsanitary conditions.[26] (Schubert's mother died of this disease in late May of 1812.[27]) Women also organized benefit concerts to raise funds for the wounded. Amalie Beer in Berlin, the mother of Giacomo Meyerbeer, initiated a series of house concerts for which tickets were sold to benefit the needy. On a much grander scale in Vienna was the Noble Ladies' 29 November 1812 benefit concert for wounded soldiers at which five hundred ninety "Friends of Art" performed Handel's *Timotheus, oder die Macht der Musik* (Alexander's Feast) in the Imperial Riding School. The event was repeated on 3 December. A memorial to the concert is shown in Illustration 4, one of the foldout prints included in select copies of Maria Geissler's collection of scenes from Vienna. It was the only specific occasion to be so honored. This massive benefit event is often singled out as the inspiration for the founding of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, where, as we know, many performances of Schubert's music took place in the 1820s. (No doubt the Handel extravaganza provided a model for other soldier-benefits, such as the 8 December 1813 concert in the university, which included two Beethoven premieres, his Seventh Symphony and *Wellington's Victory*; it too was repeated a few days later.) The noblewomen's organization also sponsored the 7 March 1821 concert at the Kärntnertortheater where Schubert's *Erlkönig* had its public premiere.[28] The concept for a musical society was apparently Fanny von Arnstein's brainchild, although it was Joseph Sonnleithner who led it to realization.[29] Her legal standing may partly explain why she stayed on the sidelines. Had Fanny assumed a more direct public role in activities not limited

26 Dirk Alexander Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation. Patriotische Frauenvereine in Deutschland im frühen 19. Jahrhundert (1813–1830)* (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 1998), 380–82.

27 Deutsch, DDok, 19. For insight into the life of Elisabeth Vietz, see Maynard Solomon, "Family Matters," *19th-Century Music* 28, no. 1 (2004): 3–14.

28 Deutsch, DDok, 116–18.

29 Hilde Spiel ascribes the concept of a society for friends of music to Fanny von Arnstein and this is often repeated in the literature. Otto Biba and Ingrid Fuchs have noted that Fanny did not become a member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde after its founding. See their exhibition catalogue, *'Die Emporbringung der Musik': Höhepunkte aus der Geschichte und aus dem Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, 2012), 12. I owe thanks to Till Gerrit Waidelich for a copy of this exquisite catalogue.

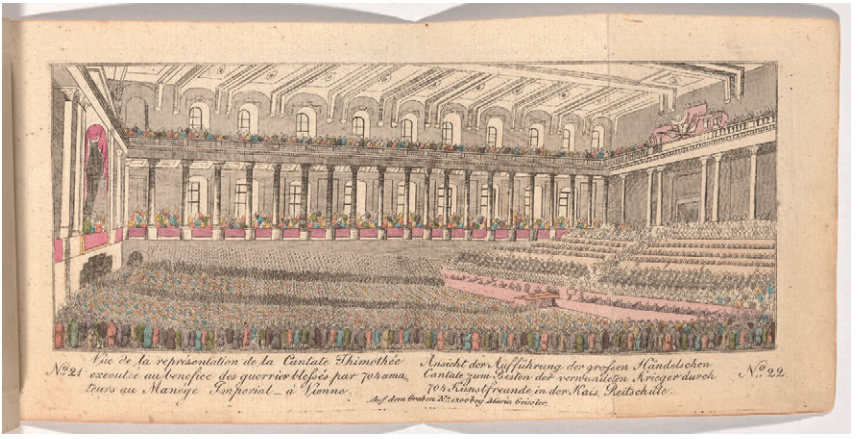


Illustration 4: A view of the 1812 benefit concert for wounded soldiers held in the Imperial Riding School. *Collection de vues des principaux palais, eglises, bâtimens publics, campagnes & jardins tant de Vienne que de ses environs = Ansichten Sammmlung der berühmtesten Palläste, Gebäude, und der schönsten Gegenden von und um Wien* (Vienna: chez Marie Geisler), plate 21–22. Courtesy of Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

to charitable or philanthropic work she might have endangered her family's tolerated status, as this was bound to her husband's profession. She knew how best to exert her influence.

Some months before the *Timotheus* performance, the Noble Ladies had already sponsored another high-profile concert, this one for the benefit of the blind and those affected by diseases of the eye. Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein was among the performers at this April 1812 fundraiser, where she performed a two-piano concerto of Dussek with a Fräulein [Fanny] von Haan to great acclaim. It was the inaugural concert in the new performance space that Nanette and Andreas Streicher had built at their piano manufacturing business.[30] A subsequent series of benefit concerts funded the society's music conservatory, which opened its doors five years later, in 1817. Both the Arnstein & Eskeles firm and Fanny's husband Nathan individually were among the conservatory's

30 Details of the program as discussed in contemporary reviews are available in German or English from Klaus Martin Kopitz, "Nanette Streicher," *Musik und Gender im Internet*, at https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000804?lang=en, accessed 26 July 2023.

financial backers.[31] An 1813 record shows that Fanny at the height of the war also donated some 1800 shirts in the name of the women of the Jewish community.[32]

Several women with whom Schubert interacted professionally in adulthood had likewise been active in the war effort. One familiar figure is the journalist and playwright Helmina von Chézy (1783–1856), who lived in the Rhineland at the time and donated proceeds from the sale of her poetry. Her play *Rosamunde*, written in Baden in 1823, would be performed with Schubert's incidental music at the Theater an der Wien that December (she also befriended Beethoven and reconnected in Vienna with the Schlegels, the orientalist Joseph Hammer – later, von Hammer-Purgstall – and other old acquaintances). During the Napoleonic war she had rallied patriotic women to service and personally tended the wounded. The war opened exciting new opportunities for civic engagement and organization to women of every social rank. That their 'meddling' was not universally appreciated is reflected in a scandalous corruption case at a hospital in Cologne where von Chézy volunteered in 1816. She was sentenced to jail for libel after accusing male hospital administrators of reselling bandages and pocketing monies partly donated by a women's coalition to help soldiers get back on their feet. On appeal to the high court in Berlin, her sentence was overturned; the presiding judge in that appeal was E.T.A. Hoffmann.[33] No doubt such wartime notoriety enhanced her reputation in proto-feminist patriotic circles for years to come. (I say feminist advisedly: the masochism of the wronged women portrayed in her libretto *Euryanthe* reflects a mode of social critique that has not stood the test of time. Few other nineteenth-century operas make the inevitable applause at the end of an act feel quite so strained.)

A history of the Society of Noble Ladies covering the period 1811 to 1835, written by the society's accountant Franz Franzl, was published in 1836. Reporting on the Institute for the Blind, Franzl records that the women's organization provided clothing, musical instruments, and stipends to cover the housing

31 The first generation of conservatory faculty included Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880). She became professor of voice in 1819 and was also an active accompanist at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. For details of the early years of the society, see Ingrid Fuchs, "Die musikalischen Abendunterhaltungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien. Kammermusik auf dem Weg vom Salon in den Konzertsaal," in *Musikfreunde: Träger der Musikkultur in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), 47–73. The financial support for the conservatory is reported in: C[arl] F[erdinand] Pohl, *Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1871), 124.

32 Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation*, 337.

33 Reder, *Frauenbewegung und Nation*, 377–80.

costs and educational expenses of four pupils. Ophthalmologists Georg Prohaska, Georg Joseph Beer, and his son-in law Friedrich Jäger are named as the first to be enthusiastically involved and to have donated their services. Fanny von Arnstein's financial support and generous supplies of bed linens and other necessities for the new Marien-Spital in Baden are given special notice. Fanny's daughter would continue this labor after her mother's death: Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein in 1824 became chief administrator of the hospital. She also gained a seat on the governing board of the noblewomen's society (Franzl's roster for 1835, ranked by seniority on the board, suggests that she had by then served for many years).[34]

Through the Noble Ladies' initiative, Georg Joseph Beer came to the attention of Emperor Franz, who established for him in 1813 the first Viennese chair in Ophthalmology. Beer believed that the societal need for specialized eyecare was so great that all medical students should routinely be trained in ocular science. He had long treated indigent patients without charge and even tended them in his home. Clearly, women were not the only members of society to perform charitable labor in early nineteenth-century Vienna. Patients in Beer's clinic were released for recovery either to the General Hospital (Allgemeines Krankenhaus) or the Jewish Hospital. Although biographical dictionary entries and even dissertations about Beer do not name his parents, they routinely remark on the prejudice he endured as a medical student from his teacher. He earned his doctorate in 1786.[35] (The first Jewish medical students at the University of Vienna matriculated in 1782, the year of the *Toleranzpatent*. Under Maria Theresa, only Catholics were permitted to study medicine in Vienna.[36]) Beer was born in Vienna on 23 December 1763 and died 11 April 1821, that much

34 Franz Franzl, *Die Geschichte der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen in Wien; deren Entstehung und Wirksamkeit in dem Zeitraume von Fünf und Zwanzig Jahren (von 1811 bis 1835) dargestellt von Franz Franzl, Rechnungsführer dieser Gesellschaft* (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1836), 4–9; 20. Franzl records that the Marien-Spital in Baden was to serve needy area residents without regard to national origin or religion.

35 Daniel M. Albert and Frederick C. Blodi, "Georg Joseph Beer: A review of his life and contributions," *Documenta Ophthalmologica* 68 (1988): 79–103. A listing of biographical dictionary entries and additional pertinent literature is hosted by the Medical University of Vienna, see http://ub-physicus.meduniwien.ac.at/BG/personen/Beer_Georg%20Joseph_CM.pdf, accessed 26 July 2023.

36 John M. Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 46; Siegfried J. Plaschkes, "Die ersten jüdischen Ärzte der Wiener Universität und ihre Schicksale," *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts* (1962): 202–13. Beer's name does not appear among the earliest known Jewish graduates of Vienna's medical faculty. According to Plaschke's research, a medical degree normally took five years to complete. Thus, Beer likely enrolled before 1782. Prior to Joseph II's patents of toleration of 1781 and 1782, his mother Empress Maria Theresa dictated – on the advice of her personal physician Baron Gerard van Swieten – that only Catholics could study medicine in Vienna.

we apparently know. His father worked as an administrator at the Poor Clare's Convent (Klarissenkloster) and died when his son was fifteen. Beer's son-in-law Christoph Friedrich Jäger Ritter von Jaxthal (1784–1871), from a Protestant family in Bohemia, another of the ophthalmologists to join the cause, was his student. Was Georg Joseph Beer related to the Beers of Prague, Berlin, or Moravia?[37] To the *Spitalaufseher* Peter Beer (born in 1758) who appears in the court's list of tolerated Jews, or to any of the Beers listed as converts in Staudacher's catalogue? A Joseph Johann Leopold Beer born ca. 1755 (converted in 1801) is identified there as a bookkeeper at Arnsteiner & Compagnie.

Whatever may have been his personal connection to the Noble Ladies, Beer in 1813 composed a formal address to Emperor Franz thanking him for his concern for ocular health, and he made sure to praise His Imperial Highness for his attentiveness to the 'good and useful', the same phrase used by the noblewomen's society since 1810 to describe their domain of work.[38] This epithet for social welfare projects came into wider use over time, for in 1816, after the war had ended, Emperor Franz issued a decree calling upon Austrian women to voluntarily create societies to facilitate the 'Gute und Nützliche'. That same year saw the formation of the *Israelitische-Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein* in Vienna. Little is known about the work of this organization during its early decades (what was its reach? did this group coordinate their projects with the Noble Ladies?), but the Israelite Women's Welfare Society remained active for over a

37 The biographical-genealogical catalogue of Georg Gaugisch, *Wer Einmal War: Das Jüdische Grossbürgertum Wiens 1800–1938*, 3 vols. (Vienna: Amalthea, 2011, 2016, 2022) is unfortunately not adequate for tracing families back into the eighteenth century. Gaugisch charts two branches of Beer families from Moravia living in Vienna in the nineteenth century. The project is sponsored by E. Randol Schoenberg (a grandson of the composer Arnold Schoenberg) and his law firm in California along with several Austrian agencies.

38 Beer's address was published as: *Anrede bey Eröffnung der Klinik für die Augenkrankheiten. Gehalten den 19ten Jenner 1813, von G. Joseph Beer, der Arzneykunde Doctor, öffentlichem ausserordentlichem Professor der praktischen Augenheilkunde an der hohen Schule zu Wien, wirklichem Mitgliede der medicinischen Fakultät, und k.k. Stadt-Armen Augenartzte daselbst, correspondierendem Mitgliede der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, und Ehrenmitgliede der böhmischen Humanitätsgesellschaft in Prag* (Vienna: Anton v. Haykul, [1813]), 6.

century. Among its founders were members of one of the oldest Jewish families in the city, the Wertheims.[39]

Hopes for a post-*Toleranz* world and the Congress of Vienna

In a momentous decision in Berlin in the interim, Friedrich Wilhelm III on 11 March 1812 passed an Edict of Jewish Emancipation, extending rights akin to naturalization to the entire Jewish community. Less than a year later, the king issued a call for volunteers (Freiwillige) to free their homeland from Napoleonic occupation. The significance of Prussian Jewish participation in this 'War of Liberation' (Befreiungskrieg) is reflected in a remarkable sermon titled *Hope and Trust* delivered by Vice Chief State Rabbi Meyer Simon Weyl in the Great Synagogue in Berlin on 28 March 1813 on the occasion of the patriotic army's departure for battle.[40] Rabbi Weyl lauded the bravery of the young Jewish military volunteers and urged his entire constituency of men and women to make donations and sacrifices in any way possible. The previous era had not brought true peace. As he made the case:

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39 Elisabeth Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien 1816-1938: Wohlfahrt – Mädchenbildung – Frauenarbeit* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), especially 50–52 and 37, where Malleier mentions Emperor Franz's decree of 26 September 1816 calling upon women to form welfare societies. The main documentation of the *Israelitische-Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein* comes from a *Jubiläumsschrift* celebrating the society's one hundred years of charitable work in Vienna. Malleier observes that only in the later nineteenth century did Jewish women's organizations specifically focus their efforts on the education and welfare of girls. A leader in these women's emancipatory causes was Ottilie Bondy (1832–1921), daughter of the physician, poet, and editor Alois Jeitteles in Brünn (who had supplied the poetry for Beethoven's 1816 song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*). Bondy joined a sizeable wave of Austrian Jewish converts to Protestantism at the turn of the twentieth century that included numerous musicians – among them composers Arnold Schoenberg and Alexander von Zemlinsky, pianist Moriz Rosenthal, and Schubert biographer Otto Erich Deutsch. See Anna L. Staudacher's *Jüdisch-protestantische Konvertiten in Wien 1782–1914*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004).

40 Meyer Simon Weyl, *Hoffnung und Vertrauen: Predigt wegen des Ausmarsches des vaterländischen Heeres gehalten am 28sten März 1813 in Gegenwart mehrerer freiwilligen Jäger jüdischen Glaubens in der großen Synagoge zu Berlin von dem Vice-Ober-Landes-Rabbiner Herrn Meyer Simon Weyl. Aus dem Hebräischen übersetzt von Isaac Levin Auerbach. In Druck gegeben zum besten der Staatsbedürfnisse* (Berlin: August Wilhelm Schade, [1813]). A copy of the sermon belonging to the Leo Baeck Institute in New York is digitally accessible from the University of Frankfurt's Judaica collection, see https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:1-177602, accessed 26 July 2023.

> Not every restful moment strengthens and refreshes; not every peace is a blessing. Nor was it rest that came to us; it was an exhaustion in which we lost more strength than we gained. Not such a peace is it that we can love; rather we must wish a war that brings to us a true, refreshing, and beneficent peace.[41]

Again and again, he stressed that at this historic juncture the Jewish community must contribute publicly to the common cause and make public their patriotic support for the king: only this would inspire the surrounding folk (die Umgebenden) to do the same. After this great battle had been won, he assured them, all the volunteers would be warmly welcomed home.

Two sons of Fanny's older brother Isaak Daniel (who to his family's dismay supported Napoleon) were among the many Jewish volunteers. Moritz lost his life after being wounded in the Battle of Lützen (a battle that the poet Wilhelm Müller fought in as well). Dorothea Schlegel's sons Johannes (Jonas) and Philipp Veit also fought as *Freiwillige Jäger*. She and her second husband Friedrich Schlegel had moved to Vienna in 1808 and both converted to Catholicism (she was raised Jewish; he Protestant), as did both her sons in 1810. After the war, the Veit boys became founding members of the Nazarene painter movement in Rome, and Jakob Bartholdy in 1816 became Prussian Consul General in Rome, and their patron.

Schubertians will recall that the composer's friend the painter Leopold Kupelwieser in 1824 would be drawn into the Nazarene's circle in Rome as well; he was close in age to Dorothea Schlegel's sons. Schubert set to music numerous poems of Friedrich Schlegel beginning in 1819, including eleven from the cycle *Abendröte*. The composer's boyhood circle of Piarist-educated companions by his early adulthood had expanded to friends raised in diverse traditions of belief. This included several Protestant circles, notably around the actor Heinrich Anschütz, and friends of Jewish heritage such as the Hönigs, many of whose family members had long since undergone baptism. In the latter group was also fellow composer and pianist Maximilian Josef Leidesdorf (1787–1840), who in 1822 joined an aging Ignaz Sauer to form the publishing company Sauer & Leidesdorf, which he soon ran on his own. Leidesdorf published a substantial number of Schubert's works, beginning with the song opuses 20–26. His parents were Josef Löw Johann Leidesdorfer (1743–1805), a successful wholesale merchant, and Anna Leidesdorf (d.1816; she was born Hönig von Hönigsberg,

41 Weyl, *Hoffnung und Vertrauen*, 5–6: "Nicht jede Ruhe stärkt und erquickt; nicht jeder Friede bringt Segen. Auch war es keine Ruhe die uns ward; es war eine Ermattung, bei welcher wir mehr Kräfte verloren als gewannen. Nicht ein solcher Friede ist es, den wir lieben können, vielmehr müssen wir einen Krieg wünschen, der uns einen wahren, erquickenden, und wohlthätigen Frieden erschafft."

of a Viennese Jewish family ennobled in 1789). Leidesdorf had studied composition with Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, Antonio Salieri, and Aloys Förster. In 1827, at age forty, he relocated to Florence, where he served as court chamber musician and Professor at the conservatory.[42]

At the Congress of Vienna, Jewish emancipation was debated at length in the negotiations around a federal German constitution. Several contemporary accounts of salon conversation on the subject figure in Brian E. Vick's reconstruction of the formal negotiations and social maneuvering that kept Jewish equality on the agenda.[43] The hospitality that the Arnstein and Eskeles families extended to delegates on both sides of the emancipation debate exerted soft diplomatic pressure throughout the negotiations. Strongest official spokespersons for a Jewish rights clause in the federal constitution were Prussian Prime Minister Karl August von Hardenberg and Austria's Clemens von Metternich (arguing from opposing ends of the political spectrum). Friedrich Schlegel took to the newspapers. A March 1815 essay of his published in the *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* "endorsed the extension of citizenship rights to 'German Israelites' and highlighted their patriotic military service during the recent wars as one of the strongest reasons for doing so."[44] He wrote from experience, since his own stepsons had taken up arms alongside other young men on his wife Dorothea's

42 For further detail about Leidesdorf's career and family see Imogen Fellinger's article "Maximilian Josef Leidesdorf(er)," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 14 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1985), 136–38. Worth mentioning regarding Schubert's widening international perspective are the virtuoso horn players Joseph-Rodolphe and Eduard Constantin Lewy, for whom Schubert composed numerous works. They came from a French-German Jewish family; Eduard Constantin, only a year older than Schubert, fought on the side of France in the Napoleonic War. On Schubert's 26 March 1828 concert, which Christopher Gibbs interprets as a memorial to Beethoven, the composer performed his Rellstab setting *Auf dem Strom* D 943 with the younger Lewy (Joseph-Rodolphe) and tenor Ludwig Tietze (as his name is spelled on the program), see Christopher Gibbs, "Schubert's *Tombeau to Beethoven*: Decrypting the Piano Trio in E-flat Major, Op. 100," in *Franz Schubert and His World*, ed. Christopher Gibbs and Morten Solvik (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 241–98.

43 Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), see especially "The Struggle for Jewish Rights," 166–68. Another insightful account, this one lavishly illustrated with contemporary portraits and documents (such as a two-week *Aufenthaltsgenehmigung* for a Jewish man's visit to Vienna in 1810), is Shulamit Volkov's "Bitten und Streiten: Die Emanzipation der Juden," in *Der Wiener Kongress: die Erfindung Europas*, ed. Thomas Just, Wolfgang Maderthaner, and Helene Maimann (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2014), 236–53.

44 Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*, 181; [Friedrich Schlegel], *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* 61 (2 March 1815), 336–38. The article is framed as a review of a recently published pamphlet by Carl August Buchholz, *Actenstükke die Verbesserung des bürgerlichen Zustandes der Israeliten betreffend* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1815). Schlegel argues that Buchholz's "speculative state-theoretical" musings about the compatibility of Talmudic teaching with modern life should be set aside, for "we have long since agreed on the fundamental principles of tolerance and general freedom of belief in Germany" ("da wir über die ersten Grundsätze der Toleranz und allgemeinen Glaubensfreiheit in Teutschland ja längst einverstanden sind").

side of the family. Schlegel further emphasized that Jewish military service had long been the norm in Austria and Bohemia and that consequently arguments favoring equal rights for equal duties could not be linked to the period of Napoleonic rule. He stressed that the social integration that Josephinian *Toleranz* had meant to facilitate would never come to pass if Jews continued to be barred from all but a few professions. Dorothea may have contributed something to her husband's argument but if she did her labor was masked by the usual anonymity of newspaper articles and by social conventions shielding women from public scrutiny; her 1802 novel *Florentin* and her literary reviews and translations to and from French appeared under Friedrich's name.[45] A pro-emancipation piece also appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung*. Despite all this, the opposition from some of the delegates was too vehement to overcome and the proposal to write Jewish emancipation into the constitution was tabled.

The post-Congress years

In the wake of this socially progressive effort came an outbreak of anti-Jewish sentiment in the German states, most frighteningly expressed in the 'Hep-Hep' riots of autumn 1819. There were legislative setbacks, too. Discrimination against Jews was re-inscribed in postwar Prussia in the form of legislation that made baptism a condition of employment for state positions (such as legal occupations and professorships). While the right to residence had been won by the 1812 emancipation edict, equal access to professional employment was

45 Deborah Hertz's mini biography of Dorothea Mendelssohn Schlegel in the online Jewish Women's Archive gives an insightful overview of her life and literary oeuvre, see "Dorothea Mendelssohn Schlegel," *Jewish Women's Archive,* https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/schlegel-dorothea-mendelssohn, accessed 26 July 2023.

now deliberately barred.[46] This political backlash is generally understood as a reaction from groups who had opposed the wartime trend toward emancipation, although individuals too young to have fought in the war themselves were also involved in flexing Christian muscle.[47]

Much less attention has been given to a more subtle retrenchment of Jewish liberties in Austria after the war, evident in numerous decisions reached by the court's commission on Jewish affairs. Among them is a startling decision forbidding Jewish women from residing in Niederösterreich independently of a 'tolerated' man. On 13 June 1818 the court's commission on Jewish matters ruled that: "Tolerance cannot be granted to a Jewish woman, for it would violate all our fundamental principles if a woman's name should head the family list."[48] The circumstances of the case are not transmitted along with this bracing assertion of patrilineality to defend against an independent Jewish woman. Still, it seems a double indignity that this ruling should have come so soon upon

46 For more on the anguished situation in Berlin, see Michah Gottlieb, *The Jewish Reformation: Bible Translation and Middle-Class German Judaism as Spiritual Enterprise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), especially his discussion in chapter three of the *Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden*, formed in Berlin in 1819. The playwright and poet Michael Beer (a brother of Giacomo Meyerbeer) and Heinrich Heine were both members. The actress and singer Sophie Müller, Schubert, Vogl and others met socially with Michael Beer in Vienna in October 1826. Although we do not know what they spoke about, at Müller's instigation Beer's tragedy *Der Paria* was performed at the Burgtheater in December 1827. Deutsch believed that the incidental music for it, composed by Ignaz von Mosel, was based on music by Mozart and Schubert, see Deutsch, DDok, 379, 467. (This is not confirmed by a collection of Mosel's theater music in the Austrian National Library, Mus.Hs.16554.) Set in India, the play portrays the injustice of the caste system: in this faraway land, a materially impoverished people who coexist in a fatherland with the Brahmins are shunned by them. Beer assigned to Gadhi, the pariah, a passionate speech that builds to this memorable protest: "Grant me equality, and we shall see if I'm your equal!" (Stellt mich Euch gleich und seht, ob ich Euch gleiche!), see Michael Beer, *Der Paria. Trauerspiel in einem Aufzuge. Zum Erstenmale dargestellt auf dem königlichen Theater zu Berlin, den 22. Dezember 1825* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1829), 11–12. Around this time other suggestive ties emerge to Berlin circles. In a letter dated 12 September 1827 from Lea Mendelssohn to her cousin Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, Lea thanks Henriette for her letter, hand-delivered by Sophie Müller. She urges Henriette to acquire Heine's *Reisebilder*, adding: "No doubt it is arch-forbidden where you are; precisely *there*fore" (Es ist ohne Zweifel archi-verboten bei Euch; grade *da*rum), see Lea Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Ewig die deine: Briefe von Lea Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein,* 2 vols., ed. Wolfgang Dinglinger and Rudolf Elvers (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2010), I, 220. The volume contains Heinrich Heine's *Heimkehr*, of which Schubert set six poems. By early January 1828, Schubert's reading circle had Heine's *Reisebilder* in hand, as we know from Deutsch, DDok, 476; see also https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/heine_reisebilder01_1826?p=7, accessed 26 July 2023.

47 This view is elaborated in Vick, *The Congress of Vienna*, 170.

48 "Einem jüdischen Weibe kann die Toleranz nicht verliehen werden, indem es allen Grundsätzen zuwider wäre, daß das Weib ihren Nahmen in der Familienliste führte." See Alfred Francis Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*. Erste Abteilung, Allgemeiner Teil, 1526–1847 (1849), vol. 2 (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918), 385. Pribram's project was sponsored by the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* of Vienna. This document is also quoted in Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien*, 28.

the death of the most prominent Jewish woman in the city: Fanny von Arnstein had died on the 8th of June. The document is unfortunately only excerpted in English historian Alfred Francis Pribram's voluminous 1918 documentary history presenting four centuries' worth of administrative files around the court's regulation of Jewish families in Austria. Pribram, of Austrian descent, was Professor of History at the University of Vienna from 1894–1930. (He was on the faculty when Otto Erich Deutsch enrolled there as a student – and perhaps learned a thing or two about document-based histories and biographical narrative.) Many additional decisions reached by the court's commission between the Congress and the 1820s show the imperial gatekeepers tightening outdated restrictions on the Jewish community and inventing new ones specifically curtailing the freedom of Jewish women and girls of all social ranks. Measures were taken to shrink the size of the support community that served the Jewish population through cuts to hospital personnel, for example. The ritual cleansing of bodies before burial was henceforth to be performed only by wives or daughters of the undertaker; unattached women could no longer be brought into the city to perform these duties. A subsequent decree reaffirmed an older policy that 'tolerated Israelites' could hire as servants only single men or married ones whose wives and children had their shelter elsewhere ("deren Weiber und Kinder anderswo ihren Unterstand haben").[49] For another eye-opening example, consider the implications of this question preserved in the same collection of records: If the underage baptized daughter of a Jewish man wishes to marry, must she still request her father's consent? The commissioners in this 1814 decision made clear that she must indeed ask her father's permission. Should he withhold his blessing, however, as a Catholic girl she would be covered by the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* and could petition the court to override his decision.[50] The court's commission could hardly have expressed more emphatically that civil rights and confession were interdependent. The only well-lit path for Jewish women to overcome the stigma and strictures of *Toleranz* (and by implication also rabbinical oversight) was by conversion to the majority's faith. Six years later, in 1820, another such double-edged decision spelled out that children of a deceased 'tolerated' man could continue to live in the city under a guardian's care so long as they were 'well behaved' and did not set up an independent household or marry.[51] Baptism – assimilation into Christianity – was rapidly becoming the price for children of Jewish families to

49 Pribram, *Urkunden* 2, 386–87.
50 Pribram, *Urkunden* 2, 251.
51 Pribram, *Urkunden* 2, 392–93. These regulations clearly affected *alttolerierte* families like the Wertheims, Arnsteins, Leidesdorfs and Hönigs as well as more recent Jewish arrivals to the city. For a fuller list of "long-tolerated" families see Pribram's *Urkunden* 2, 46.

acquire equal civil rights (few as those were for women) and put down roots in Vienna.

Debates about the status of 'German Israelites' appeared in newspapers throughout this period, frequently creeping into both local and external – 'foreign' – reporting about defining moments in the growing German nationhood movement (such as the 1817 Wartburg Festival or August von Kotzebue's murder in March 1819 by the radicalized theology student Karl Ludwig Sand). No literate person in Schubert's world could have escaped these controversies. While social inequalities in early nineteenth-century society rested on many different grounds, the state's linkage of basic civil rights to baptism and specifically Catholicism (in Austria) was a particularly egregious affront to democratic ideals. At the same time, prejudice against Jews had a history many centuries long: we find lingering expression of it within Schubert's circle of close friends and in remarks by many other liberal-minded members of the Christian-born majority in this era.[52] Thoughtless characterization of minoritized religious groups proliferated – in theaters as in life – and was perpetuated by official policies of exclusion prior to the separation of church and state.[53]

Evidence of mixed faith socializing in the early nineteenth century will not in itself reveal the participants' convictions about equal rights (any more than mixed gender gatherings erased gender inequities). Musicmaking and shared loss nonetheless united under one roof an intriguing assemblage of individuals about ten days after Beethoven's funeral. A large evening gathering hosted by the civil servant Eduard Horstig (born 1795 in Bückeburg) and his aunt Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner (born 1770 in Kassel), in the residence in the Riemergasse that they leased from Prince Paar, brought together members of the old nobility, military leaders, scientists, Hammer-Purgstall, Franz Grillparzer (who had written the funeral oration for Beethoven), the poet Baron Schlechta, and the Pereira-Arnstein family. Two younger composers who the week before had accompanied Beethoven's casket as torchbearers now provided musi-

52 For one instance, see Franz von Schober's letter of June 1826 to Eduard von Bauernfeld describing the personality and appearance of a diplomat from Milan who leased the residence he and his mother shared before they left for a summer in Währing: "Die Einquartierung ist der Deputirte des Adels von Mailand mit Frau und Tochter. Ein ganz angenehmer Mann, mit dem ich vortrefflich französische Conversation pflege, aber geitzig wie ein Jude, von dem er u. seine Familie auch ihr Äußeres entlehnt haben […]." The full letter is reproduced in Walburga Litschauer, *Neue Dokumente zum Schubert-Kreis aus Briefen und Tagebüchern seiner Freunde* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag Wien, 1986), 46–48.

53 The social harm in caricature is acknowledged in the preface to Julius von Voß's pamphlet *Die Hep Heps in Franken und anderer Orten* (Teutonien [i.e. Berlin]: [Schlesinger], 1819). Voß confessed to having occasionally made use in his own comedies of Jewish stock characters that actors loved to play, and audiences enjoyed. He once believed them harmless. Now, he connected them to the mounting anti-Jewish sentiment that so horrified him.

cal balm: Anselm Hüttenbrenner improvised at the keyboard and the tenor Ludwig Titze sang songs of Schubert and Beethoven's *Adelaide*, accompanied by Schubert. A Baron Ransonnet played the mandoline. Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner herself performed on the harp that evening, and someone named Bayer assembled quartets (probably vocal quartets). Our knowledge of the evening derives from a letter dated 10 April 1827 from Eduard Horstig to his parents. Otto Erich Deutsch made an earnest effort to identify the professions of all the lesser-known individuals enumerated in the letter but he was unable to say much about the remarkable Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner and her nephew, beyond that Eduard had come to Vienna as a civil servant in 1814.[54] This lacuna has since been addressed by Manfred Elsberger's biography and a web presence maintained by Dirk Engelbrunner, one of her descendants.[55] When Nina (short for Wynandine Gertrud) and her niece Liane Horstig joined Eduard in Vienna in 1825, the three of them leased a large residence together where they could host balls and concerts. An accomplished singer (a contralto) and pianist as well as a virtuoso harpist, Nina had concertized often in her youth with her sister Susette (a soprano). When Susette married Karl Gottlieb Horstig in 1794, Nina joined her sister's new family in Bückeburg for a few years. There she taught children of the nobility music and foreign languages and provided music lessons also to daughters of the town's Kapellmeister, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach. She published a popular singing manual in 1803 that went through multiple editions, composed songs in several languages, and wrote concert reviews for an assortment of music journals and newspapers.[56] Nina d'Aubigny's mother descended from a Huguenot family; her father, who carried the von Engelbrunner name, was a Protestant. When D'Aubigny-Engelbrunner was in her mid-thirties, she received an offer of marriage from the recently widowed Count Friedrich Moritz von Brabeck, a Roman Catholic aristocrat and art collector some decades older. While this union would have provided her a

54 Deutsch, DDok, 421.

55 The biographical volume is Manfred Elsberger, *Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner: Eine adelige Musikpädagogin am Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert; Untersuchungen zu ihrem Hauptwerk "Briefe an Natalie über den Gesang"* (Munich: Buch & medi@ GmbH, 2000). Further information is available on the family website maintained by Dirk Engelbrunner, http://www.engelbronner.nl/Desc_Elias/b61.htm#P155, accessed 26 July 2023.

56 Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner's singing manual, addressed mainly to women and structured as a series of letters, is: *Briefe an Natalie über den Gesang, als Beförderung der häuslichen Glückseligkeit und des geselligen Vergnügens. Ein Handbuch für Freunde des Gesanges, die sich selbst, oder für Mütter und Erzieherinnen, die ihre Zöglinge für diese Kunst bilden möchten* (Leipzig: Voß und Compagnie, 1803). For a list of her music reviews, which appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and many other journals, see Elsberger, *Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner*, 284–94. Some of her reviews appeared anonymously as was general practice for concert reviews.

readymade family and a comfortable life in Germany, his inheritance and property rights constrained him to marry only another Catholic. Despite his offer to secure a high noble title for her in exchange for her conversion, she declined (supported by her family in this decision) and chose instead to earn a living in England. She worked as a ladies' companion and managed a girls' school – and, as she assured her parents, was paid in England many times what she could have earned in Germany.[57] When two decades later D'Aubigny-Engelbrunner arrived in Vienna, her nephew Eduard was almost certainly a 'tolerated' Protestant and she still an unmarried Protestant woman.

More remarkable at the time than Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner's musical achievement was her experience as a world traveler. She lived between 1807 and 1818 in various towns in India, having made the perilous ship voyage around the cape to the Indian Ocean. She ran a boarding school for girls in Calcutta for a few years and reportedly learned Persian and Hindustani, adding proficiency in these languages to the half dozen others that she already knew. In Vienna, she worked on a book documenting her travel experience. The epistolary-style volume (in similar format to her singing manual which was reissued in 1824) was to address subjects ranging from Indian plant life, history, social structures, and local dialects, to colonial attitudes in India. Her ambitious project was interrupted by a family tragedy: her nephew Eduard unexpectedly died from tubercular hemorrhaging in spring 1828. Overcome with grief (and presumably left without the residence permit of a male relative), D'Aubigny-Engelbrunner departed Vienna soon after and moved to a country estate south of Graz, a region historically home to a large Protestant community. Schubert himself passed away in November of 1828.

In that fascinating early April 1827 musical evening in the Riemergasse in the week after Beethoven's funeral, the presence of several natural scientists and the distinguished orientalist Hammer-Purgstall (who never actually traveled to the far east) was no doubt owing to D'Aubigny-Engelbrunner, who stood in correspondence with several of the attendees about her book. Her musical interests and past connection to Bach family members intersected with Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein's experience, as did her own brush with the pressures of religious conversion. The two families socialized on other occasions as well. Elsberger mentions one ball in the Riemergasse with sixty guests that was followed by dinner at the Pereiras.[58] Through Caroline Pichler's salon,

57 Elsberger, *Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner*, 36.
58 For an account of her time in Vienna, see Elsberger, *Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner*, 64–66.

where Schubert frequently performed, D'Aubigny-Engelbrunner also became acquainted with Dorothea and Friedrich Schlegel.[59]

As the biographical vignettes in this essay and others in our volume make clear, Austria's lively salon culture brought Schubert into frequent contact with independent-minded and accomplished (noble)women musicians, whose hospitality and structural support facilitated his musical career. Their travel and foreign language experience, literary and musical accomplishments, volunteer social work, and – perhaps above all – dreams of emancipation and belonging opened new vistas for him as well. In 1822, after a puzzling earlier rejection, he was finally granted admittance to the exclusive and career-defining Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates – four years after Fanny von Arnstein's death.

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59 Caroline Pichler and Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein were well acquainted, and visits to the Pereira salon by other known acquaintances of Schubert – among them, Körner, Grillparzer, Beethoven, the Collins, Princess Kinsky, the Schlegels – are documented in sources oriented around those figures. Grillparzer also met with Pereira-Arnstein's cousin Lea Mendelssohn in Berlin. The only explicit reference in Deutsch DDok to the Pereira-Arnstein family is in connection with the April 1827 gathering in the Riemergasse discussed above. Pichler's father, Hofrath Greiner, it is worth mentioning, was a member of the court's commission on Jewish affairs.

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Marriage and Divorce in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: Microstudies from the Artistic Field of Vienna*

Andrea Griesebner

After an explanation of marriage and divorce law at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the article turns to divorce practice. The focus is on three women opera singers who, with the consent of their parents, entered into Catholic marriages between 1814 and 1822, had their first child at a young age, and demanded a divorce from bed and board after only a few years. The first microstudy on Henriette Teimer and Anton Forti provides an insight into the conditions of a divorce by mutual consent. Since the spouses had agreed on community of property in the marriage contract, the divorce settlement mainly provides information on how they divided the joint assets. Katharina Weidner and Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller had not concluded a marriage contract, which meant that the marital property regime of separation of property applied to them. Their divorce settlement mainly deals with the issue of custody and maintenance for their three children. This microstudy also provides extraordinary insight into the practice of custody over many years as the couple left behind a significant volume of documentary evidence: Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller claimed custody in three separate lawsuits, the couple reunited after eleven years apart, and divorced again a few months later. The third microstudy on Franziska Nestroy and Franz Hoffmann shows how difficult it was to enforce a divorce against the husband's will. The proceedings, conducted in writing because of the husband's detention, were first rejected on formal grounds. It was only after an imperial court decree ordered the reopening and investigation of the divorce claim that Franziska was judicially divorced without fault. Only then was she able to sue for the annulment of the marriage contract and thus the end of the community of property. Common to all three microstudies is the fact that the young women were supported by their parents and were able to waive alimony thanks to their own occupation. The article addresses the many factors and variables — from marriage and

* I would like to thank the editors as well as Jennifer Blaak, Birgit Dober, and Dimitra Will for their critical reading and comments. I would also like to thank Magdalena Irnstötter not only for her critical reading and comments but also for her assistance in digitizing and transcribing the Waldmüller couple's very extensive divorce dossier and for the scans of the original documents printed here.

divorce law to social capital — that strengthened or weakened the position of wives and husbands in negotiating the consequences of divorce.

On 1 November 1783, the Josephine Marriage Patent came into force in the German hereditary lands of the Habsburg Monarchy.[1] From today's perspective, it seems very enlightened or progressive. It not only withdrew the Catholic Church's jurisdiction over marriage, but also introduced the possibility of divorce by mutual consent for the first time in the Habsburg Monarchy. Under canonical marriage law, only contested divorces were possible in which one spouse had to prove grounds for divorce recognized by the consistorial councils, while the Josephine Marriage Patent regarded marriage as a civil contract that could and had to be dissolved by mutual consent. In order to be recognized by the state, however, marriages could still be performed only by representatives of the recognized religions. Secular divorce law now conceded an important role to the priest, the pastor or the rabbi in the run-up to divorce by obliging the spouses to make joint attempts at reconciliation, and the conclusion of those attempts had to be confirmed in a parish certificate.

A closer look, trained by the analysis of divorce practice before and after the Josephine Marriage Patent, shows that the prohibition of contested divorce shifted the balance of power in marriage.[2] Physical and sexual violence, extramarital sexual relations, mismanagement, or danger to life and limb from contagious diseases no longer justified a divorce from bed and board.[3] A court order of 11 January 1788 once again allowed contested divorces, but only on the condition that the other spouse refused the divorce "maliciously" and that the "offended spouse" had already applied for legal help in advance.[4]

Effective 1 January 1812, the normative requirements changed again, as the Austrian Civil Code (ABGB) of 1811 now redefined practices of marital miscon-

1 JGS 1783, 117. The Josephine Marriage Patent as well as the subsequent patents and court decrees are cited according to the *Justizgesetzsammlung 1780 bis 1848* (*JGS*) (Judicial Law Collection), online: https://alex.onb.ac.at/static_tables/tab_jgs.htm.

2 As Principal Investigator, the author led three third-party funded projects: Austrian Science Fund, project numbers 23394 and 28063 and Austrian Central Bank Anniversary Fund, project number 1791311. See the web portal *Marriages at Court 3.0. Proceedings from the 16th to the 19th Century*, https://ehenvorgericht.univie.ac.at/?lang=en.

3 Andrea Griesebner and Susanne Hehenberger, "Separated Beds – Interwoven Property: Separation and Divorce in the Habsburg Monarchy between the mid-16th and the mid-19th Centuries," in *Gender and Divorce in Europe: 1600–1900. A Praxeological Perspective*, eds. Andrea Griesebner and Evdoxios Doxiadis (Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge, 2023), 33–53.

4 JGS 1783, 117. More specifically: Andrea Griesebner, "Das Josephinische Eherecht. Eine Gemengelage aus Altem und Neuem im Dienste einer bürgerlich-patriarchalen Geschlechterordnung," in *Central European Pasts: Old and New in the intellectual Culture of Habsburg Europe, 1650–1750*, eds. Thomas Wallnig and Ines Peper (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022), 529–64.

duct that allowed for a contested divorce. The grounds for divorce were essentially the same as those already recognized by the church courts. Now they were formulated in the prose of the nineteenth century, which used only the masculine form for both partners: "If the defendant has been declared guilty of adultery or a crime; if he has maliciously abandoned the plaintiff spouse or led a disorderly life [...]" (§ 109).[5] However, adhering to the notion of marriage as a civil contract, judges were instructed to influence couples and their attorneys to enter into an out-of-court divorce settlement to dissolve the marriage by mutual consent.

From canon law, the Josephine Marriage Patent and all subsequent laws borrowed the dogma of the sacramental nature of marriage, according to which Catholic spouses remain united by the continuing bond of marriage after a divorce. This is also the reason why this form of divorce legally has the addition "from bed and board." Unlike divorced women and men of other Christian denominations and the Mosaic religion, divorced Catholics were forbidden to remarry during the lifetime of the divorced spouses. If they remarried before the death of the divorced spouse, they were guilty of the criminal offence of bigamy; if they engaged in further sexual relations, the divorced spouse could file charges of "adultery." It was not until the introduction of compulsory civil marriage in Austria with the adoption of German marriage law in July 1938 that church marriage lost its status as a state-recognized marriage.

Nonetheless, even though divorced Catholic couples, by far the majority of people living in the German hereditary lands, remained bound by the sacramental marriage bond, it was necessary, as I will demonstrate, to regulate who moved out of the marital home, who assumed custody of the children, whether and how marital property was divided and, above all, whether and in what amount maintenance was paid for the children and the divorced spouse. With regard to the regulation of the consequences of divorce, the divorce from bed and board did not differ from the divorce of other Christian denominations and religions which did not share the dogma of the sacramental marriage bond.

In accordance with the theme of this collection, I will concentrate in the following on the divorce proceedings of three married couples from the artistic field of the capital and royal residence city of Vienna who were, if not friends, at least known to Franz Schubert. What the wives have in common is that they were under twenty-four years of age and thus minors when they got married, earned their living as singers, had children at a very early age, initiated the

5 "Wenn der Geklagte eines Ehebruchs oder eines Verbrechens schuldig erkläret worden ist; wenn er den klagenden Ehegatten boßhaft verlassen, oder einen unordentlichen Lebenswandel geführt hat [...]" (§ 109).

divorce, were given custody of the children, and waived alimony in the divorce settlement.

1. Henriette Teimer and Anton Forti (married from 1814 to 1816)

Henriette Teimer, daughter of Phillip and Barbara Teimer, who had been baptized on 14 January 1797, filed her divorce in 1816. From the short entry in the Austrian Music Encyclopedia, we learn that from the age of nine she often appeared on stage together with her father and her sister Caroline, who was two years older than her, sometimes also performing in 'trouser roles'.[6] It is also noted that between 1809 and 1816 she belonged to the ensemble of the Theater an der Wien, where her father had already been engaged since its reestablishment in 1800. In addition to the information that Henriette married Anton Forti in 1814, the entry mentions that Franz Grillparzer immortalized her in his poem *Cherubin*. In its issue of 2 October 1811, the Wiener Theaterzeitung reported enthusiastically that "Demoiselle" Henriette Teimer, "as Cherubin" in Wolfgang Amadé Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*, "satisfied even the highest expectations; her singing and acting left nothing to be desired." In flowery metaphors, the anonymous author formulated the high hopes he placed in the singer: "May this delicate bud blossom into the most beautiful flower in the circle of German artists through ceaseless diligence."[7] That actresses were not only objects of desire but were also always suspected of leading an "immoral lifestyle" is shown by several passages in Grillparzer's autobiography. In retrospect, he wrote in 1853 that he had sent the poem to Henriette Teimer, whom he never mentioned by name. However, he avoided meeting the actress because he did not have the proper attire to approach the "celebrated one" who was courted by "rich lovers" and who "received gold and silk as an offering every day."[8] It was only long after the time of his "Cherubin fever," as Grillparzer described his infatuation with Henriette Teimer or, more correctly, with her embodiment of Cherubin, that "the favoured, namely paying lover of the beloved," a rich and young man, informed him that she had not only read his letter, but that she wanted to find the author of the letter in

6 Christian Fastl, "Teimer (Theimer, Tajmer, Deimer, Däumer), Familie," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, ed. Barbara Boisits, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001e466 (accessed on 12.8.2023); see also: Kordula Knaus, *Männer als Ammen – Frauen als Liebhaber. Cross-gender Casting in der Oper 1600–1800* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011).

7 *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* (Bäuerles Theaterzeitung), 2 October 1811, 71.

8 Franz Grillparzer," Selbstbiographie," in *Sämmtliche Werke in zehn Bänden*, 3rd ed., vol. 10 (Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1880), 35–36, here 30.

order to "grant the unknown singer what he asks for so beautifully."[9] It was not only the fourteen-year-old Henriette Teimer whom Franz Grillparzer accused of having a "paying lover." When he was barely fifteen, some five or six years before his "Cherubin fever," he had developed a "strong attraction" to another actress and singer, no older than himself, at a Viennese suburban theatre. He had heard a rumour that she had been "sold" by her father to a rich old gentleman. When he finally saw her sitting in a box with the gentleman in question, he fell into a "not insignificant nervous fever."[10]

One month after her seventeenth birthday, on 17 February 1814, Henriette Teimer married the singer Anton Forti who was seven years older than her and was also engaged at the Theater an der Wien. The fact that Henriette married seven years before reaching the age of majority may be related to the reality that actresses and singers were revered on the one hand but accused of "venal love" on the other. So far, I have not found any indication that pregnancy was the reason for the early wedding. The very detailed marriage registers of the Viennese parish of St. Joseph ob der Laimgrube note that Anton Forti's father, a gilder, was already deceased, that his mother Josepha, meanwhile Holzmann, had remarried and that he lived at Wieden No. 454.[11] Henriette's father is referred to as Philipp Teimer, "a singer," and her mother Barbara is simply described as his wife. There is also no professional entry for Henriette, despite her engagement at the Theater an der Wien, while Anton was registered as a "singer and member of the Theater an der Wien."

Like many bridal couples of their time, Henriette and Anton had concluded a marriage contract, though it is not enclosed with the divorce dossier.[12] However, it is clear from the later divorce settlement that they had replaced the marital property regime of separation of property stipulated in the ABGB of 1811 with a general community of property, whereby their respective property became a "common good." It is highly probable that Henriette had brought a "marriage-portion" (Heiratsgut) into the marriage, which had been balanced by Anton with a "counter-marriage-portion" (Widerlage) of at least the same amount. And most likely, they had designated these marriage-portions "for survival," meaning that upon the death of one spouse, they immediately become

9 Grillparzer, "Selbstbiographie," 30.
10 Grillparzer, "Selbstbiographie," 32.
11 I do not quote the information taken from the parish registers individually. These entries on matricula online (https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/) can be quickly and clearly traced by specifying the parish, the action taken and the exact date.
12 The divorce dossier is preserved in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna under the signature: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 27/1816.

the property of the surviving spouse.[13] A year and a half after the wedding, on 12 August 1815, their daughter Ferdinandina was baptized in the parish of St. Joseph ob der Laimgrube. As can be seen from the residential address Laimgrube 26, which was Henriette's but not Anton's address at the time of the wedding, Anton had moved in with Henriette and her parents. Again, Anton Forti's occupation is noted as "imperial-royal singer," while Henriette is registered as the daughter of "Philipp Deimer [sic], actor." The godfather of her daughter Ferdinandina was Ferdinand Prince Trauttmannsdorf, Obersthofmeister to Emperor Franz, and one of the patrons of the "Adeligen Liebhaberkonzerte" in Vienna.

Divorce Settlement 1816

Only a few months after the birth of Ferdinandina, Henriette Forti made the first preparations for a divorce.[14] As can be seen from the parish certificate issued in the parish of St. Josef ob der Laimgrube on 1 May 1816 (see Illustration 1), the couple had already completed three attempts at reconciliation by that time. Since no reconciliation had taken place, as priest Josef Pichler noted, primarily because of Henriette, he had referred the couple to the competent political authority, the Magistrate of the City of Vienna.
As mentioned above, the ABGB, valid since 1 January 1812, provided for two divorce options. If Anton did not agree to a divorce settlement, Henriette had the option of filing for divorce, which would have required her to prove at least one of the recognized grounds for divorce.

Henriette, or presumably Henriette's parents, and Anton reached a divorce agreement two weeks later. Since Henriette was now nineteen years old but still considered a minor, the divorce request, dated 18 May 1816, was submitted by her father. Philipp Teimer, who signed as "imperial-royal court actor," limited the grounds for the divorce to the argument that "several reasons make it necessary and advisable." The divorce settlement, dated one day earlier, was signed by both spouses as well as Henriette's parents and two witnesses.

What did the divorce settlement look like (see Illustration 2)? First, Henriette and Anton declared that they both agreed to live "divorced from bed and board" in the future. The nine-month-old daughter Ferdinandina was to live with the mother for "upbringing and maintenance" until the age specified in

13 See Griesebner and Hehenberger, "Separated Beds."
14 The documents of the divorce dossier cited below are identified separately in the text but not in the footnotes. The translation, which attempts to stay as close as possible to the German original, was carried out by the author.

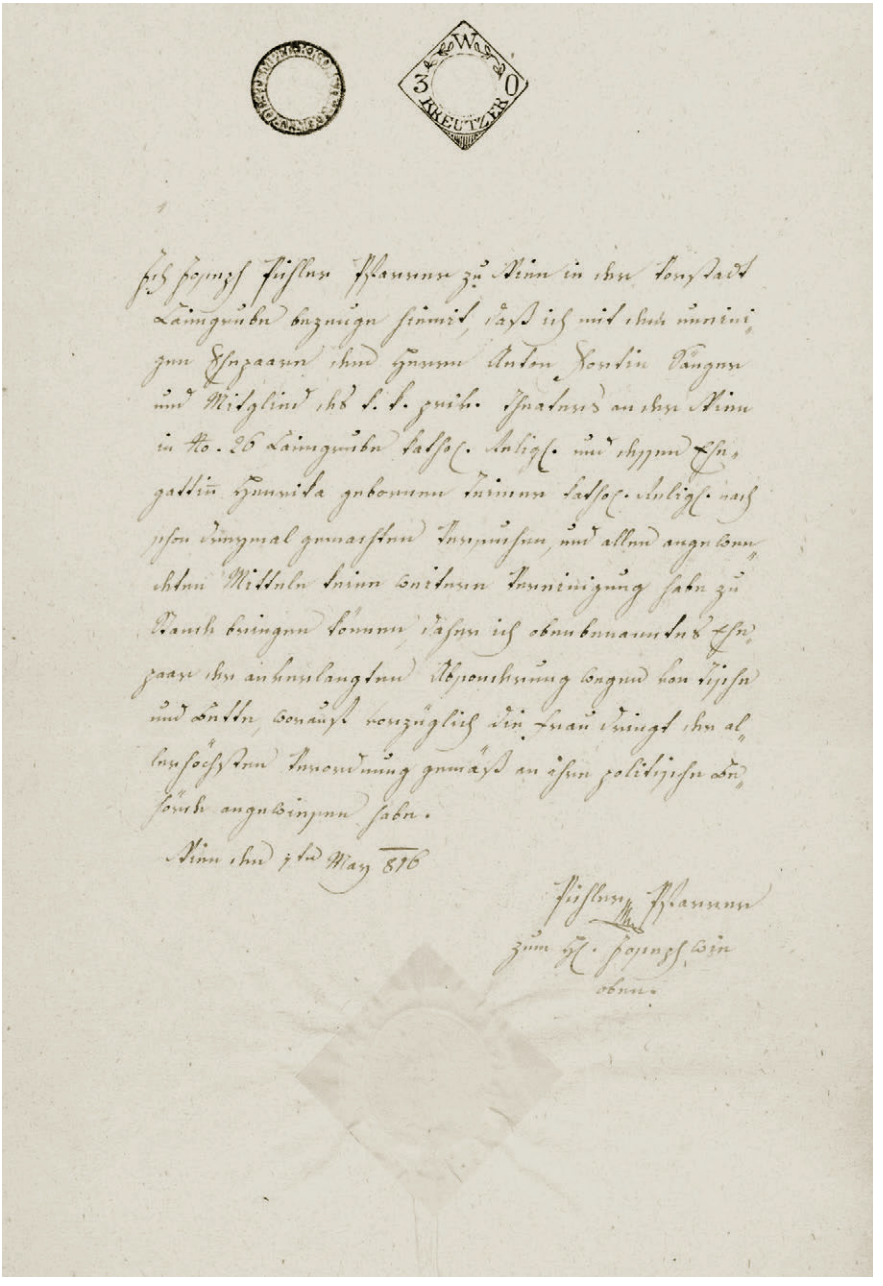


Illustration 1: Parish certificate of Henriette Teimer and Anton Forti, St. Josef ob der Laimgrube, issued on 1 May 1816. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Zivilgericht, A6: 27/1816 (Scan: Magdalena Irnstötter 2023).

the ABGB, but the father was "free [...] to see his daughter from time to time and to satisfy himself as to her condition and upbringing." The ABGB of 1811 generally entrusted the custody of children to the father. However, infants and young children were excluded from this. Differentiated according to their sex, § 142 stipulated that "children of the male sex until the age of four years, those of the female sex until the age of seven should be cared for and educated by the mother." As maintenance for the daughter, Anton agreed to pay 500 gulden Wiener Währung (WW = Viennese currency) annually from 1 April 1816, which corresponded to about 200 gulden Conventionmünze (CM = Convention currency) in 1816.

In the following paragraphs of the divorce agreement the division of the joint property was regulated. Of the existing silverware, a certain amount of cutlery and salt and pepper shakers went to Anton, while the rest – including a wash bowl – became the sole property of Henriette. Each party kept their clothing, while the household linen and furnishings were divided. With regard to the furniture, Henriette and Anton found an interesting solution reflecting, on the one hand, who had brought which piece of furniture into the marriage. On the other hand, it indicated that the colour of the room walls corresponded to a gender-specific use. Anton received all the furniture of the bedroom and the "blue" room, with the exception of the bed curtains and the curtains; while Henriette received all the furniture in the "red" room as well as all the furniture in the children's room and half of the kitchen equipment, with the exception of the maid's bed, which was to remain Anton's property. In addition, Anton agreed to pay Henriette 300 gulden WW for the purchase of more furniture if needed.

According to item seven of the divorce settlement, Henriette waived any alimony from her husband, since she was "currently employed as a singer at the Hoftheater and at the Theater an der Wien" and "able to support herself." However, she reserved the right, in the event that she should become "incapable" of earning her own living, either to reach an "amicable agreement" with Anton or to file an alimony claim. The "community of property concluded upon marriage" was declared null and void, and each party was entitled to acquire and dispose of property for themselves in the future. Since only the community of property was expressly declared null and void, but not the marriage contract itself, it can be assumed that the agreements regarding the marriage-portion and the counter-marriage-portion remained in force. Point nine of the divorce settlement is much more difficult to interpret. In it, Henriette's parents waived any further payment specified in an additional contract concluded on 13 November 1814, once the divorce settlement became valid. In this contract, which was concluded half a year after the marriage, Anton Forti had commit-

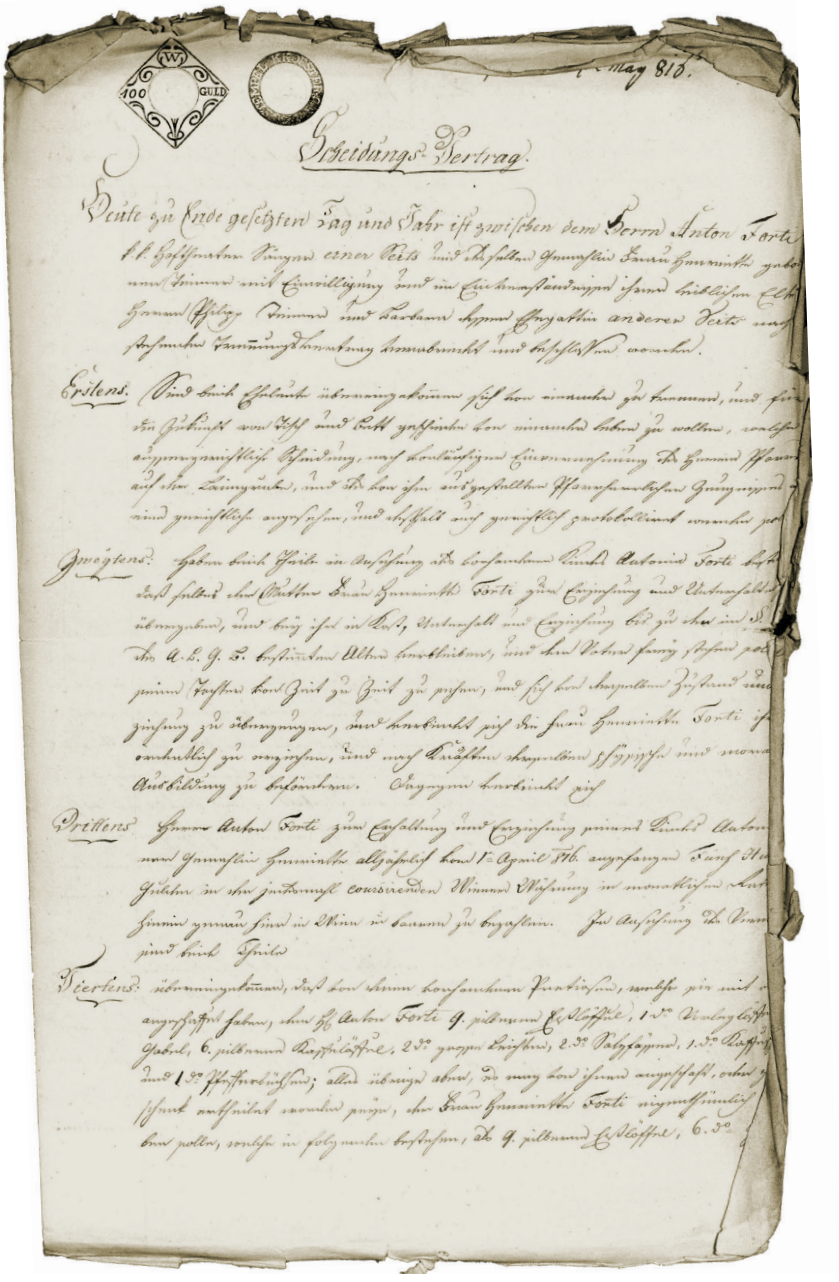


Illustration 2: Divorce contract of Henriette and Anton Forti, dated 17 May 1816. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Zivilgericht, A6: 27/1816 (Scan: Magdalena Irnstötter 2023).

ted himself to a lifelong payment of 500 gulden to his father-in-law and, after his death, of 400 gulden to his mother-in-law. It is conceivable that this was compensation for housing arrangements at the building located at Laimgrube 26, which was owned by the "Owner=Company of the Imperial and Royal Privileged Playhouse" (Gesellschaft des k.k. privilegierten Schauspielhauses).[15]

At the hearing on 24 May 1816, the civil magistrate approved the divorce settlement and the divorce from bed and board. In addition, the custody of the daughter was authorized by the supreme guardianship. Philipp Teimer died on 1 December 1817. Henriette survived her father by only one and a half years. She died of lung disease on 11 July 1818 in Heiligenstadt, a suburb of Vienna, where she was apparently receiving treatment. As an obituary in the Wiener Theaterzeitung of 18 July 1818 notes, "Henriette Forti, née Teimer" had been on stage as late as 17 February 1818.[16] At her coffin, according to the obituary, mourned, a "deeply saddened husband, a mother, two sisters." It is mentioned that Henriette left "a little daughter of four years," but remarkably no mention of the fact that she and Anton were divorced. According to current research, Anton Forti, who outlived Henriette by almost forty years, did not enter into another marriage.

2. Katharina Weidner and Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (married 1814–1822 and 1832–1833)

Katharina Weidner, who was baptized on 7 April 1792, also appeared on stage at a young age. On 8 November 1806, at the age of fourteen, she made her debut at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt where, according to a review in the Wiener Theaterzeitung, her singing was enthusiastically received.[17] From the Austrian Music Encyclopedia we learn that she subsequently took on "Singspiele" (musical roles) not only in Vienna but also in Agram (now Zagreb in Croatia) and Baden.[18] It was probably in Zagreb that she met her husband Georg Waldmüller, now known as Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, seven months her junior, whom she married in St. John Nepomuk parish on 3 October 1814. At the time of the marriage, both twenty-two-year-old Katharina and twenty-one-year-old Georg were minors. According to the marriage entry, both lived at the same

15 Joseph Johann Grosbauer, *Vollständiges Verzeichniß aller in der k. k. Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Wien inner denen Linien befindlichen numerirten Häuser deren Eigenthümer, Strassen, Gässen, Plätze, und Schilder [...]* (Vienna: Gerold'schen Buchhandlung, 1812), 144.

16 *Wiener Theater Zeitung* 86 (1818): 344.

17 *Wiener Theater Zeitung* 13 (1806): 6.

18 Norbert Frühwirth, "Waldmüller, Familie," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, ed. Barbara Boisits, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001e63e.

address, 45 Wassergasse in Baden, presumably a lodging for theatre employees. In contrast to the later parish registers, an occupation is entered for both spouses, for Georg Waldmüller, "portrait painter and decorator at the theatre in Baaden [sic]," for Katharina Weidner, "singer at the theatre in Baaden". I learnt from the divorce settlement that, unlike Henriette Teimer and Anton Forti, they did not conclude a marriage contract, which means that the legal marital property regime of separation of property applied to them.

Like Henriette and Anton, Katharina and Georg initially lived with Katharina's parents at 475 Czerningasse. Their first daughter, Aloysia, was baptized exactly nine months after they married, on 2 July 1815, in the Viennese parish of St. Nepomuk in Leopoldstadt. While Georg's profession is again recorded in the baptismal register as "decorator at the theatre in Baden," Katharina's profession is now missing, although she continued to work as a singer. In the winter season of 1815/16, according to the entry in the Austrian Music Encyclopedia, she sang, now under the name Waldmüller, in Pressburg (now Bratislava in Slovakia) and in 1816 also in Brünn (now Brno in the Czech Republic), where her second child, Ferdinand Franz Joseph, was baptized on 3 September 1816. Barely six weeks after his birth, on 19 October 1816, Katharina appeared on stage in Prague. On 4 September 1817, she received a one-year contract at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna, which was converted into a permanent contract with pension rights and a considerable annual salary of 3,000 gulden CM on 17 December 1817.

As the baptism entry of the third child, daughter Theresia, on 11 September 1818 in the Viennese parish St. Augustin shows, the couple moved to the city, to house No. 1103 Kärntnerstraße. While Georg, now called Georg-Ferdinand for the first time, is identified as a "portrait painter," Katharina's occupation is again missing. Theresa did not live more than nine months. She died in Katharina's parents' home at 538 Czerningasse on 16 September 1819. On 24 March 1820, daughter Katharina was baptized in the parish St. Augustin as the couple's fourth and last child. The couple continued to live at 1103 Kärntnerstraße, which later became No. 1040 due to the reassignment of house numbers.

Divorce by mutual consent 1822

When and for what reasons Katharina and Georg-Ferdinand no longer wanted to spend their lives together is not clear from the documents available to me.[19] On 6 October 1822, the priest of the Augustinian Church issued the certifi-

19 The divorce dossier is preserved in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna under the signature: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 44/1822.

cate required for the divorce. He confirmed that he had tried several times to reconcile Georg-Ferdinand Waldmüller, portrait painter, and Katharina, née Weidner, first singer at the Hoftheater, both residing at No. 1040. His repeated attempts at reconciliation "had no effect whatsoever on these hearts filled with mutual hatred" – a phrase unique in the hundreds of priest certificates I have consulted. Despite their "mutual hatred," the couple managed to reach a divorce settlement. On 24 October 1822, the couple jointly filed a petition for divorce with the civil magistrate and requested a hearing to record the divorce, which the judge scheduled for November 8th.

At the hearing, which they both attended in person as required, they confirmed their intention to "live divorced from bed and board" in the future. With regard to the custody of the three children – the daughter Theresia had, as mentioned, already died – the divorce settlement provided that the mother was to take over "the upbringing and custody" of the children, that of the daughters "forever," but that of the son, who was almost six years old at the time, only until his twelfth birthday. The custody arrangement is remarkable, considering the fact that legally only young children remained in the mother's care – daughters until their seventh birthday, sons until their fourth. Georg-Ferdinand committed himself to monthly child support of 20 gulden CM as of 1 November 1822. Furthermore, he promised to give Katharina an additional 400 gulden CM for the education of "his son" as soon as he reached the age of twelve and had been handed over into custody. It was also agreed that Katharina should receive annual child support of 240 gulden CM even if the children were not in her custody. The settlement of the custody of the children in favour of Katharina as well as the custody proceedings initiated by Georg-Ferdinand less than a year later suggest that Katharina had grounds for divorce that led Georg-Ferdinand to accept this compromise. After both spouses had confirmed that no marriage contract had been concluded between them and that each party was and would remain in full possession of his or her property, so that neither had any claim on the other's property, the divorce was pronounced by the judge on 8 November 1822. While Ferdinand continued to live on Kärntnerstraße, Katharina left the marital home with seven-year-old Aloysia, six-year-old Ferdinand and two-and-a-half-year-old Katharina.

Dispute over the custody of children 1823–1828

On 11 December 1823, barely a year after the divorce, Georg-Ferdinand applied to the magistrate to withdraw custody of the children from his wife. No documents have survived from these proceedings. In a custody suit filed three years

later, Georg-Ferdinand reminded the court that as early as December 1823 he had felt "obliged as a father" to request "that the children be taken from their mother and left to me to raise." What misconduct he accused Katharina of at the time cannot be reconstructed, since, as he argued, in order "not to continue the matter publicly," he had agreed to the compromise of giving "his children to her brother Mr. Ferdinand Weidner, No. 598 in Leopoldstadt, for board and education." He had taken this step, of course, only after he had convinced himself that "his children would be very well taken care of in this place in terms of physical and moral education." From February 1823, the couple's three children lived with Katharina's brother, who was also the director of a "teaching and educational home for boys" at Tabor No. 362 in Leopoldstadt.[20] In 1826, during the second custody proceedings, Katharina also lived in Leopoldstadt, in building No. 424. It is possible that she rented this apartment near her brother after the custody arrangement. During the years when her children lived with her brother, she gave guest performances in Prague, Leipzig, Brno, Amsterdam and Frankfurt am Main.[21]

Georg-Ferdinand opened the second custody petition of 25 November 1826 by reporting that in July 1826 he had learned that his older daughter Aloysia, "disguised as a boy and with her hair cut," was attending swimming lessons with her mother.[22] His brother-in-law had not known about it, but only found out when his daughter "came home with her hair cut off." He had immediately contacted the Leopoldstadt Police District Headquarters and asked for a "speedy end to this nonsense," where he was informed, however, that the swimming lessons had been approved by the royal court councillor Hofrat Persa. He had explained to the latter "the disadvantages for the morals and health of the girl" and had explicitly told him "that it is against his will that his daughter learns to swim." However, Alois von Persa, chief of the police,[23] did not seem to share his reservations about swimming lessons for girls, since, as Georg-Ferdinand writes, he "did not seem very inclined to respond to my request." He would have had no other possibility to prevent his daughter's swimming lessons, as he had to "leave" for Dresden the very next day.

After about two months, a letter reached him in Dresden that his daughter was ill. On his "speedy return," he was informed that Aloysia's foot had been

20 Anton Ziegler, *Häuser=Schema der kaiserl. königl. Haupt= und Residenzstadt Wien mit Bezeichnung der Schilde, Gassen [...]* (Vienna: self-published, 1842), 6th edition.

21 Frühwirth, "Waldmüller, Familie."

22 This was probably the Diana-Bad, which opened in Leopoldstadt in 1810. https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/content/pageview/2287913.

23 J. Marx, "Persa, Alois von," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon,* 1815–1950, Bd. 7, Lfg. 35 (1978): 429.

"injured" by a ball, that she was "limping" and that it was to be feared, that she would "remain a cripple forever." He also found out that his divorced wife had taken advantage of his absence to take the two girls to live with her. Since Aloysia had "received poor medical care," he insisted that she be treated by Dr. Christoph Bonifacius Zang[24], an acclaimed physician. The latter confirmed that the "sickness" was not from a ball, "but undoubtedly from a cold, which caused a rheumatic disease." However, Katharina refused his request to have Aloysia examined by a "medical consilium." The fact that his divorced wife had taken the two daughters back to live with her, that she had "made Aloysia swim against all morals" and thus not only endangered her health but also "maliciously deceived and thwarted" the remedies he sought for her, he cited as sufficient grounds to deprive his wife of custody and the upbringing of the children.

In addition, he accused Katharina of not sending "his" daughters to school since they started living with her again and of not providing "a proper teacher for them." His older daughter was receiving French lessons from a female neighbour, a former singer from Prague, with whom she stays all day, although this "woman is not at all suitable to be entrusted with the education of children." He also accused Katharina of having conversations with "her male and female friends which were against morality and religion" in the presence of the children. He therefore asked the judge to "take" the two daughters from his wife and send them, "at his expense," either to his brother-in-law or to an educational institution.

As in the first custody proceeding, the spouses again agreed on a custody arrangement at the hearing on 11 January 1827 (see Illustration 3), but this time the arrangement was limited to one year. It was agreed that the two daughters would return to Ferdinand Weidner, where their brother Ferdinand was already staying, for another year, starting 1 February 1827. Georg-Ferdinand agreed to pay "the costs of education, room and board" for the daughters and the son. Katharina waived the alimony granted to her in the divorce settlement of 1822 for this year.

Exactly one year after the custody settlement, on 17 January 1828, Georg-Ferdinand again demanded custody of the three children. He argued that his "divorced wife" could not dispute his custody rights, which he was entitled to under both the "natural" and political laws, because she did not fulfil her "maternal duties and endangered the welfare of the children by her lifestyle and behaviour." He wanted his children to be educated "where they

24 Ernst Landsberg, "Zang, Christoph Bonifacius," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 44 (1898): 685.

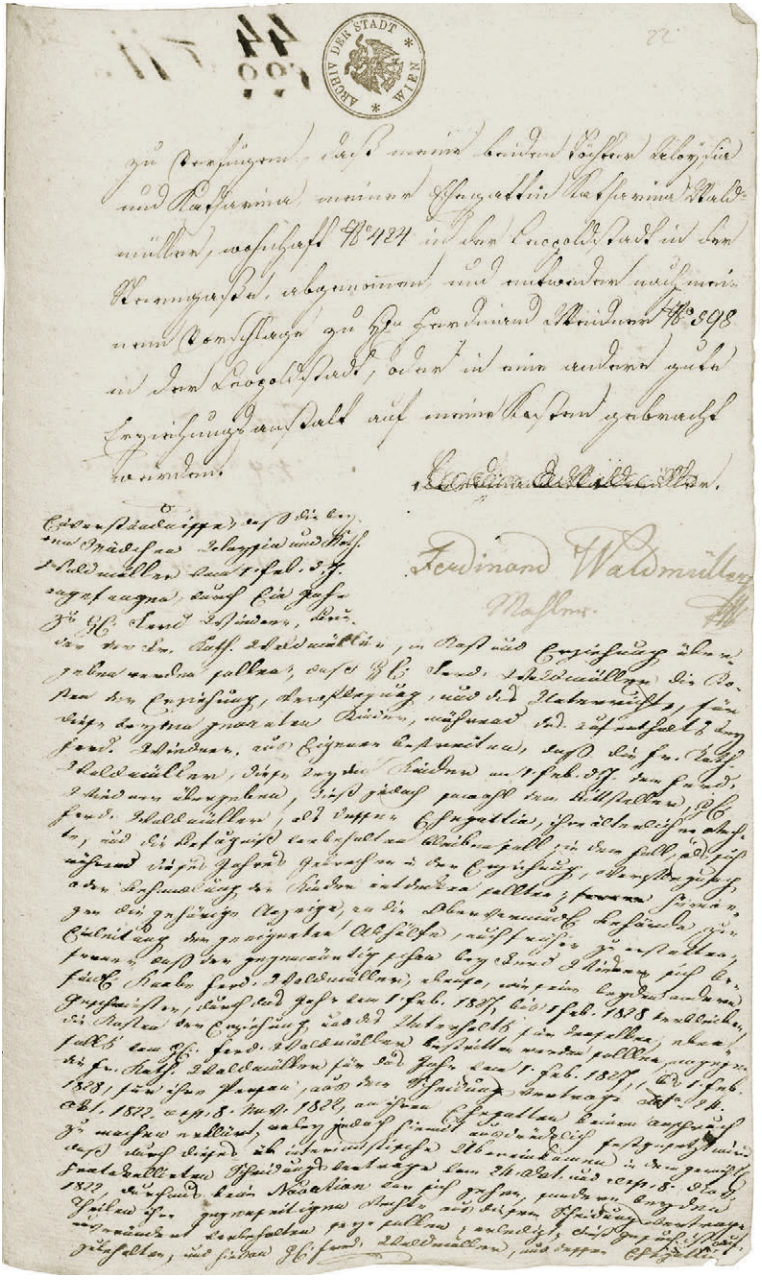


Illustration 3: Minutes of the hearing in the second custody proceeding on 11 January 1827, including the custody settlement. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Zivilgericht, A6: 44/1822 (Scan: Magdalena Irnstötter 2023).

belong, that is in their father's house." In the next sentence, however, he brings economic considerations into play: "It won't cost him nearly as much as I have to pay at a third place." He also demanded the cancellation of the monthly maintenance of 20 gulden CM and the 400 gulden CM for the education of the son, which had been agreed upon in the divorce settlement of 8 November 1822. In the event that the magistrate considered an oral hearing necessary for a decision, he requested that it be scheduled as soon as possible, since the "dismissal of Mr. Weidner" had already taken place.

Only one day later, on 18 January 1828, the divorced couple agreed on what was now their third custody arrangement, which was again limited to one year. This time, Katharina largely prevailed. The settlement provided that Aloysia, now twelve years old, and Katharina, now eight years old, would be returned to Katharina's care as of 1 February 1828, and that Georg-Ferdinand would pay 20 gulden CM maintenance per month for the two daughters. Ferdinand, now eleven years old, was to be housed and educated by his father, who undertook to bear the costs alone. Both parents retained their "parental rights and in particular the right to inspect the children from time to time." Finally, it was expressly stated that the divorce settlement of 1822 was not affected by this agreement. From the delivery address we learn that Katharina and her daughters no longer lived in Leopoldstadt, but in Alservorstadt.

As can be seen from another medical report dated 27 June 1828, Georg-Ferdinand had been preparing for the end of the custody arrangement in January 1829. He had arranged to have Katharina, now almost eight years old, medically examined on commission of the magistrate. Dr. Singer, a university-trained physician, accompanied by a magistrate's secretary, concluded that Katharina was suffering from "scrophaletes" (Scrofula), an ailment which, "if not congenital, had at least perpetuated itself already from early childhood and will continue for many years to come." At the same time, however, Dr. Singer confirmed that the girl's "morbid condition" did not require medication and recommended, among other things, frequent exercise in fresh air and avoidance of all "mealy foods and the use of acorn coffee."

The expert opinion obviously did not meet the expectations of Georg-Ferdinand, who demanded a second expert opinion. On 13 July 1828, Katharina was examined again, this time by Dr. Böhm, provisional 1st city physician, accompanied by the magistrate's secretary von Pichlern, again at her mother's apartment. Dr. Böhm stated "that this girl, apart from an apparently congenital scrophulous predisposition and an inconspicuous cough without respiratory symptoms, cannot be called sick in the proper sense of the word." However, as her mother informed him, she had "whooping cough," which was treated in consultation with Professor Dr. Zang with the "usual home remedies – such as

okra and chest tea and generally mucilaginous, lukewarm drinks." Apart from a "diet, the use of seltzer water" and possibly "ordinary treatments for scrophulosis," for which the mother promised to consult Dr. Zang, nothing else was medically necessary.

After the medical reports promised little prospect that the civil court would deprive his divorced wife of custody, Georg-Ferdinand seems to have resigned himself to the fact that his two daughters would continue to live with their mother. Although the third custody settlement expired in January 1829, there is no indication in the surviving records that he sued again for custody.



Illustration 4: Joseph Weidner, Portrait of Katharina Waldmüller. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, inventory number 3618.

Indication of the reunion 1833

The files continue in 1833 with the surprising announcement of a reunion. In a letter dated 16 June 1833, the divorced couple informed the magistrate of their reunion and requested that the "existing divorce" be annulled. Katharina signs as "Hofopernsängerin," Georg-Ferdinand for the first time as Ferdinand-Georg, "Professor der bildenden Künste" (Professor of Fine Arts). The sessions scheduled by the magistrate were repeatedly extended due to Katharina's "travels" and the divorce was not formally annulled until the hearing on 10 October 1833. Katharina and her two daughters moved in with her husband at 1040 Kärntnerstraße, where their son Ferdinand had also been living since 1829.

The couple's renewed cohabitation quickly proved to be a mistake. On 14 April 1834, nine months after the announcement of the reunion, the priest of St. Augustine Church issued what was now the second parish certificate to the couple. He confirmed that he had tried to reconcile the couple on three separate dates, "but had failed to persuade the wife." Already two weeks earlier, on 28 March 1834, Katharina had sued her husband for outstanding maintenance payments in the amount of 2,780 gulden CM, a sum that can be explained only by the fact that Ferdinand-Georg had never paid the agreed maintenance.

Second divorce proceedings 1834

In contrast to the divorce by mutual consent in 1822, Ferdinand-Georg did not agree to a divorce settlement for the time being. Represented by Dr. Bach, Katharina filed a complaint for divorce at the civil magistrate on 28 May 1834, to which she also attached a divorce settlement (see Illustration 5). She requested a hearing be ordered to record the second divorce. In the "unlikely case of refusal," Katharina requested as a precaution that she be granted separate residence with her brother Ferdinand Weidner, to which she had already moved with her two daughters Aloysia and Katharina, as well as provisional maintenance of 20 gulden CM per month. While the files cited so far always contained only the view or arguments of Georg or Georg-Ferdinand or Ferdinand-Georg respectively, the divorce claim opens the possibility of reading the arguments of Katharina or her lawyer for the first time. What reasons did she give for the renewed divorce?

Katharina Waldmüller opened the divorce claim by stating that, contrary to her hopes, "the opponent, even at his more mature age, has not yet learned to control his irascible temper, which endangers my personal safety and that of my children." According to the attached medical certificate – which is not included in the divorce files – Ferdinand-Georg had, so Katharina stated, "for

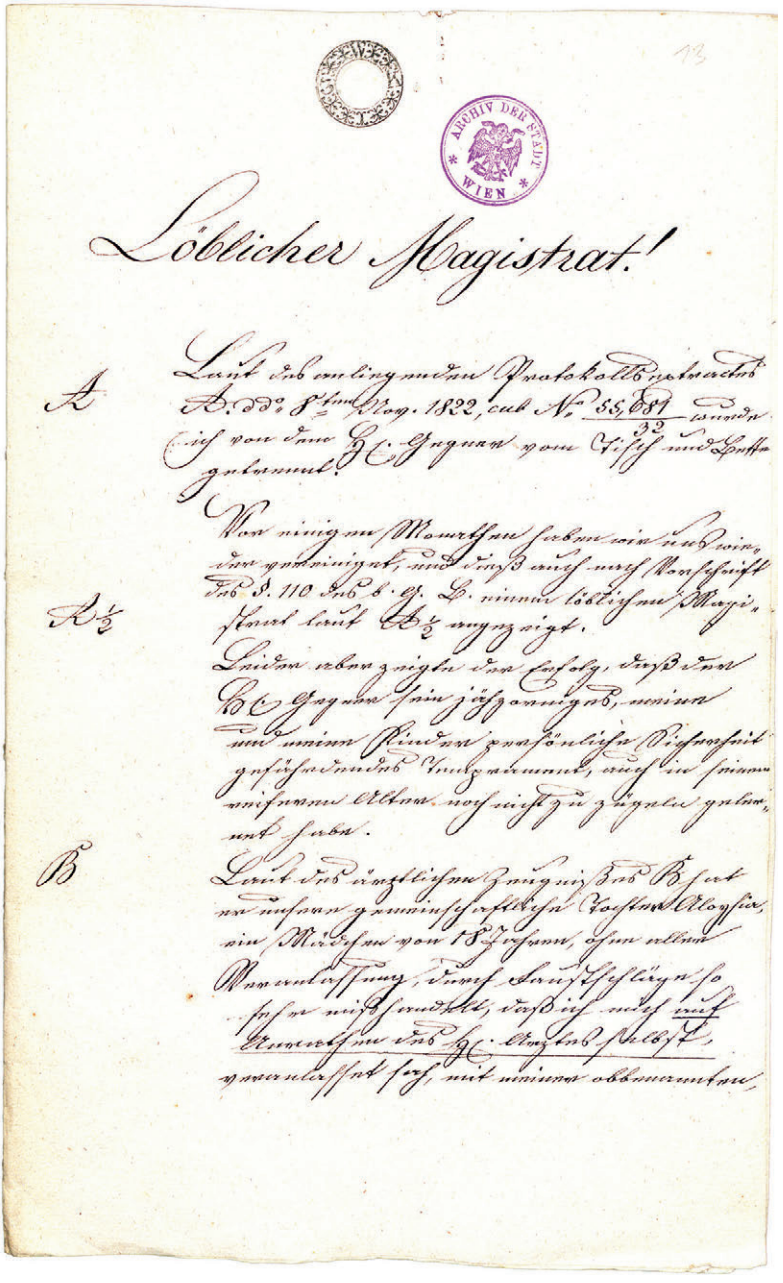


Illustration 5: Application for divorce by Katharina Waldmüller, dated 28 May 1834. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Zivilgericht, A6: 44/1822 (Scan: Magdalena Irnstötter 2023).

no reason whatsoever, abused our daughter, Aloysia, a girl of 18, so badly with punches," that, on the doctor's advice, she was forced to move in with her brother Ferdinand, together with Aloysia and her younger, fourteen-year-old daughter Katharina. This had been necessary because her husband

> had assaulted both daughters and herself similarly on several occasions, and by his brutal behaviour in general, he has intimidated both girls so much that they, about which a noble magistrate would deign to hear from them personally, do not, under any circumstances, want to stay with their father, who instead of proving himself to be their natural and rightful protector, has always treated them only like a true tyrant.[25]

In addition to physical violence – "punches" are specifically mentioned – this time it is Katharina who accuses Ferdinand-Georg of "too liberal religious principles," which he expresses to her daughters at every opportunity, but which seem to her "completely unsuitable for children of the female sex and threaten to completely undermine their morality." Since, as Katharina further states, "no marriage contract exists and therefore also no partial or general community of property is in place," property arrangements would be "superfluous." Even though his financial circumstances have greatly improved since the 1822 divorce settlement, she would be satisfied with what was agreed to in the 1822 divorce settlement, to which the "opponent certainly has every reason to agree." As provided for in the divorce settlement of 1822, she demanded the 20 gulden CM monthly maintenance agreed upon at that time, i.e., 12 years before, also even in the event that "one or both of my daughters leave my custody, or, God forbid, should die before me."

As the file notes on the divorce petition indicate, the hearing initially scheduled by the judge for 21 June was postponed because of "out-of-court meetings" between the parties, first on 2 July 1834, and then again on July 11th. The out-of-court negotiations may also have been difficult because the divorce settlement also included an agreement on outstanding maintenance payments, which the couple had negotiated in another proceeding.

In what respects did the divorce settlement recorded at the hearing on 11 July 1834 differ from the one that Katharina had attached to the divorce

25 "durch mehrere ähnliche Mißhandlungen, die er sich gegen beyde Töchter, und gegen mich selbst erlaubte, und durch sein brutales Benehmen überhaupt beyde Mädchen so eingeschüchtert hat, daß selbe, worüber ein löblicher Magistrat dieselben persönlich zu vernehmen geruhen wolle, unter keiner Bedingung mehr bey ihrem Vater bleiben wollen, der statt als ihr natürlicher und gesetzlicher Beschützer sich zu beweisen, sie immer nur als ein wahrer Tyran behandelt hat." Application for divorce by Katharina Waldmüller, dated 28 May 1834. WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 44/1822.

request? As required by law, both spouses affirmed at the outset that they intended to live divorced from bed and board in the future. And as suggested by Katharina, they agreed that the daughters, fourteen-year-old Katharina and almost nineteen-year-old Aloysia, should stay with their mother and seventeen-year-old son Ferdinand with his father. And as demanded by Katharina, Ferdinand-Georg committed himself to a monthly maintenance of 20 gulden CM, ten gulden CM each, for the two daughters. Contrary to Katharina's request, however, his obligation to support the daughters was to end when they reached the age of twenty-four. Considering Katharina's allegation of physical violence against the daughters, it is surprising to see the clause stating that maintenance would cease if one or both daughters decided to move in with the father. Point four of the divorce settlement concerned the proceedings for outstanding maintenance. Ferdinand-Georg acknowledged 1,200 gulden in maintenance debts and obligated himself to pay 600 gulden CM each for Aloysia and Katharina, "together 1,200 gulden CM" plus five percent interest in a precisely defined instalment plan, which was aligned with Katharina's coming of age on 24 March 1844. It was agreed that he could also make earlier and larger instalments. Item nine specified that the instalments deposited with the court were to be used to purchase fixed-rate metal bonds. Since Katharina had decided to gift these funds to her two daughters, Dr. Teltscher was appointed trustee for them. It was also stipulated that in the event of a change of status, i.e., marriage, both daughters could access the savings even before reaching the age of majority, which, as I will show, at least Aloysia made use of.

As we also learn from the divorce settlement, Ferdinand-Georg had already handed over the furniture, clothes, linen and other belongings that Katharina and the daughters had brought into the house. The furniture purchased at "joint expense" since the remarriage was to be taken by the spouse who wished to keep it and this spouse was to reimburse the other spouse for half of the purchase cost. Otherwise, they should be sold, and the proceeds should be divided. Point eight again explicitly stated that with this divorce agreement "all other mutual claims and demands are settled and null and void." The divorce from bed and board was granted by the magistrate on 14 July 1834. Dr. Teltscher was instructed to ensure that the maintenance and instalments were paid on time and that the instalments paid were invested profitably.

What is unusual about the divorce records is that many documents from the Deposit Office – from Ferdinand-Georg's deposits, to the purchase and sale of bonds, to the payment to Aloysia – are included in the divorce dossier. Thus, it can be reconstructed that about a year after her marriage to Franz Wurmb in 1835 (see below), Aloysia demanded the payment of the money her father had deposited for her until then. At that time, the deposit of the two sisters

contained not only the 200 gulden due by then, but also six additional metal bonds worth 100 gulden each. On 10 January 1837, Aloysia confirmed that she had received three metal bonds – no. 33529, no. 106238 and no. 1119 – and 136 gulden and twenty-six kreuzer as a partial clearance payment from the deposit. Since she was still a minor, the receipt is also signed by her husband and her trustee Dr. Teltscher. Of the agreed 600 gulden CM plus interest, Aloysia had thus already received 436 gulden twenty-four kreuzer at the beginning of January 1837. According to the divorce settlement, Ferdinand-Georg had to pay twenty gulden per month for her and her sister Katharina until Aloysia's twenty-fourth birthday in July 1839, after that only ten gulden for Katharina. On 21 March 1844, three days before Katharina's twenty-fourth birthday, he paid the last instalment of 150 gulden CM plus the interest outstanding since 1 July 1843 of seven gulden CM 30 kreuzer. Whether Katharina also retrieved money or bonds prematurely after her marriage in February 1838 is not clear from the documents consulted.

While Aloysia Waldmüller was already twenty years old when she married Franz Wurmb, a twenty-nine-year-old medical doctor and surgeon from Neumarkt in the Archduchy above the Enns, in the parish of Alservorstadt on 17 November 1835, Katharina was still seventeen years old when she married Franz Lach, a military physician, on 25 February 1838, a month before her eighteenth birthday. The marriage records of both sisters do not note that their parents were divorced. Unlike Aloysia, Katharina followed in her mother's professional footsteps and performed on stage from the age of sixteen, mostly with her mother, first in Budapest in 1836, then in Graz and Brno in 1837.[26] After her marriage she continued her career as a singer, in 1839 at the Theater in der Josefstadt in Vienna and at the theatre in Pressburg. From 1841 she belonged to the ensemble of the Kärntnertortheater, where, as mentioned, her mother was employed as the first singer. Katharina died of "childbed fever" in Telč in the Czech Republic, shortly after the birth of her fourth child, two months before her twenty-eighth birthday, on 6 January 1848. While Katharina's marriage was ended by her untimely death, Aloysia filed a petition for divorce with the Magistrate of the City of Vienna less than a year after her sister's death and fifteen years after her mother's second divorce.

26 Frühwirth, "Waldmüller, Familie."

Aloysia Waldmüller and Franz Wurmb (married 1835 to 1849)

Aloysia based her divorce complaint of 19 May 1849 primarily on the danger to her health.[27] In addition to the divorce from bed and board, she demanded the approval of a separate residence and a monthly maintenance of fifty gulden CM. She, or rather her lawyer, argued from the perspective of a woman. Because this narrative is unique among the thousands of divorce suits, a passage is reproduced at length.

> For a woman who gave birth to five children in just under ten years, all of whom she breastfed herself, and who was also affected by three premature births and miscarriages, a woman who has already been ill with uterine inflammation and unfortunately has to fear being afflicted by such a disease again, such a woman cannot in and of herself live in a marital relationship without serious damage to her health; but how much more dangerous must such a [marital union] become if the woman also has to expect maltreatment and mental abuse, as I do from the adversary.[28]

By the age of thirty-four, Aloysia had given birth to five children, survived uterine inflammation and feared re-inflammation of the uterus from further sexual intercourse and more pregnancies. In addition, she accused her husband of both physical and psychological domestic violence. Upon her return from Telč, where, as mentioned, her younger sister had died giving birth to her fourth child, she wanted to dismiss, as Aloysia explains, "our maid." Instead of agreeing to her demand, her husband told her that "the maid should stay with him, but I can go wherever I want, because he doesn't care about me." Aloysia apparently found support from her mother, "Mrs. Katharina Waldmüller, k.k. Hofopernsängerin," with whom she lived at the time of the divorce request. As can be seen from the list of spa guests in neighbouring Baden, Katharina lived in the city, at Josefsplatz 100.[29]

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27 The divorce dossier is preserved in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna under the signature: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 38/1849.

28 "Denn ein Weib, das in kaum 13 Jahren fünf Kinder geboren, sie alle selbst gesäugt hat und überdies von drei früh und fehlgeburten getroffen wurde, ein Weib, das schon einmal an einer Entzündung der Gebärmutter krank darnieder lag und leider von einem derartigen Leiden wieder heimgesucht zu werden fürchten muß, ein solches Weib kann schon an und für sich ohne empfindlichen Nachtheil für die Gesundheit in keiner ehelichen Gemeinschaft leben; wie viel gefährlicher muß aber eine solche werden, wenn dasselbe, wie ich von dem Herrn Gegner, auch Mißhandlungen und fortwährende Kränkungen zu erwarten hat." Application for divorce by Aloysia Wurmb, dated 19 May 1849. WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 44/1822.

29 *Verzeichnis der Cur- und Badegäste in der landesfürstlichen Stadt Baden im Jahre 1847* (Vienna, without date), Booklet 17.

According to Aloysia Wurmb, the "opponent", her husband Franz, was a "very sought-after and busy general practitioner" and received "a doctor's fee of at least 5,000 to 6,000 gulden CM per year." A provisional maintenance of fifty gulden CM per month therefore "did not seem excessive" to her. Even though, as was increasingly the case in the course of the nineteenth century, no profession is mentioned for Aloysia, it can be assumed that she worked in her husband's medical practice and possibly also kept the books. The civil magistrate ordered a hearing for 24 May 1849, which was repeatedly postponed due to out-of-court settlement attempts. At the hearing on 7 November 1849, the couple did not agree on a divorce settlement, but they did agree that Aloysia could continue to live with her mother for the duration of the divorce proceedings. Aloysia waived provisional maintenance for this period, as long as her mother kept "her salary" of 3,000 gulden CM. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of the couple's five children, all of whom were still minors at the time. Aloysia was not able to rely on the support of her mother for very long, as Katharina Waldmüller died on 28 November 1850, at the age of fifty-two. The surviving records of the civil magistrate end with the cited decision of the proceedings on separate residence and provisional maintenance. From 1850, the civil magistrate's jurisdiction over matrimonial matters passed to the newly created provincial courts, whose source records I have not consulted. Whether and what role her father played in her further life, I cannot answer.

While the two daughters of Katharina and Ferdinand-Georg Waldmüller married very young, the son Ferdinand remained single. The entry in the Austrian Music Encyclopedia notes that Aloysia cared for her brother Ferdinand, who was paralyzed in later years, until his death in Vienna on 11 March 1885, at the age of sixty-nine. As noted by the *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung*, her divorced husband Franz Wurmb, "the well-known homeopath," had died on 10 October 1864, "after a long period of severe suffering."[30] Anton Watzke, who published a biographical sketch of Franz Wurmb and his contributions to homeopathy in Vienna in 1856, makes no mention of the divorce,[31] nor does the Austrian Biographical Encyclopaedia.[32] After the death of his divorced wife, Ferdinand-Georg Waldmüller married the modiste Anna Bayer in 1851, to whom he remained married until his death in 1865.

30 "Notizen," *Allgemeine Wiener medizinische Zeitung* 40 (18 October 1864): 333.

31 Anton F. Watzke, *Dr. Franz Wurmb: biografische Skizze. Ein Stück Geschichte der Homöopathie in Wien* (Vienna: Beck, 1865).

32 G. Vavra, "Franz Wurmb," *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon, 1815–1950*, Bd. 16, Lfg. 72 (2021): 373–74.

3. Franziska Nestroy and Ignaz Hoffmann (married 1822–1830)

Franziska Nestroy, baptized on 29 November 1803, was also still a minor when she married at the age of eighteen and a half. Unlike Henriette Teimer and Katharina Weidner, she did not appear on stage as a child or teenager but made her debut as an opera singer during her marriage, according to statements made by her husband, under her mother's maiden name, in Pest, now Budapest, in Hungary. She probably did not sing at the Viennese Hoftheater until 1829 after she and her daughter had returned to her father. Unlike Henriette Teimer and Katharina Weidner, she is not mentioned in the Austrian Music Encyclopedia, only her brother Johann Nepomuk Nestroy, who was two years older.

With the consent of her father, the court and legal advisor Johann Nestroy – her mother Magdalena, née Constantin, had already died – Franziska married the twenty-seven-year-old, and therewith significantly older Ignaz Edler von Hoffman, in the Vienna parish church of St. Peter on 16 May 1822. According to the marriage entry the groom worked as a "supervisor at the Imperial and Royal Hydraulic Engineering Office." It is also noted that his Hungarian parents were deceased and that he had presented a baptismal certificate dated 20 January 1794. In accordance with the ABGB of 1811, Franziska took over not only his family name, but also his status, i.e., his noble title. Franziska lived with her father at 401 Jordangasse, in what is now the first district of Vienna, while the groom lived at 510 Praterstraße in Leopoldstadt, now the second district. In the parish entry, it is noteworthy that "Edler von" is crossed out in the groom's name. There is also a note that this correction was made by order of a government decree dated 27 February 1829.

Similar to Henriette Teimer and Anton Forti, Franziska and Ignaz had concluded a marriage contract which is also not preserved in the divorce dossier.[33] In their case, we learn from the divorce petition that Ignaz had assured his future father-in-law that he would receive 600 gulden CM annual salary and 200 gulden CM housing subsidy, and that Johann Nestroy had given his daughter 1,000 gulden CM as a marriage-portion. It is not known whether and in what amount Ignaz provided a counter-portion. It can be assumed that the marriage-portion and the counter-marriage-portion were agreed upon "for survival" and that the bride and groom had chosen a community of acquisitions as their marriage property regime.

33 The divorce dossier is preserved in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna under the signature WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 31/1830.

Unlike Henriette Teimer and Katharina Weidner, who continued to live with their parents and whose husbands had moved in with them, eighteen-year-old Franziska moved in with her husband at 510 Praterstrasse, where her first and only daughter Johanna was born ten months later. In the baptismal register of the parish of St. John Nepomuk dated 24 March 1823, Ignaz's occupation is not listed as "supervisor" but as "secretary at the Imperial and Royal Hydraulic Engineering Office," Franziska is referred to only as "daughter of Mr. Nestroy, royal court and court advocate" (Hof- und Gerichtsadvocat). Franziska's father, who by now lived in the city at Sternhof No. 40, acted as godfather. In the baptism entry, the "Edler von" for Ignaz and the "von" for the daughter Johanna were crossed out again and a reference to the parents' marriage entry was added.

As Franziska or her lawyer – her father Johann Nestroy – argued in the divorce complaint of 3 June 1830, the young couple's conflicts began as early as three days after the wedding when Franziska noticed that her husband had no money "for the household."[34] Although he had received 1,000 gulden WW (Viennese currency) in cash from her father as a marriage-portion, only two weeks later he pawned her jewellery – two pearl necklaces and a pair of drop earrings – to pay debts. In addition, Franziska said, without elaborating, he had mistreated her. Johann Nestroy then not only took his daughter "home with him," but on 8 August 1822, two and a half months after the wedding, he filed a complaint against his son-in-law with the Lower Austrian Land Law, the court for nobles in the archduchy. Franziska not only persuaded her father to forego the lawsuit, but moved back to Praterstrasse, as she argues in the divorce complaint, "in the hope that he would mend his ways." It is possible that she was already suspecting that she was pregnant at that time. To pay his debts, specifically gambling debts, Ignaz gradually also spent her mother's inheritance over the next three years: a total of 2,000 gulden CM in public bonds. Since Franziska was still a minor at the time, this removal from the depository office must have been done with her father's consent. As we learn from the divorce complaint, after this money was also gambled away, Ignaz made an interesting move to get cash. With the consent of the provincial government, he exchanged his "secretary position," which was endowed with 400 gulden CM annually, with the "recording position" of his colleague Rauch, which was associated with an annual salary of only 300 gulden CM. He promised Franziska that the money he had received from Rauch for the job swap, according to Franziska "several 1,000 gulden," would be used "to rid himself entirely of his debts." Instead of paying his debts, he bought an "equipage," an elegant carriage, and led Franziska to

34 The divorce lawsuit and the writings mentioned below have not survived but are reproduced in extensive excerpts from the judge's files.

believe that he had only borrowed it. According to Franziska, on his many trips with the carriage he usually left her "sitting at home with her child." Ignaz probably did not spend much time at his new position. As Franziska says, he "soon" stopped going to the office and, after "frequent office reminders," lost his job and salary.

Franziska names 11 February 1827 as the day her husband secretly left her. When she returned to the apartment from dinner at her father's house, she found not only all the boxes emptied, but also a letter from her husband on the table. He wrote that he had "lost everything" through the fault of others, that he had nothing left to give her, that he had left for Dalmatia and that she should ask her father to take her and the child in. Instead of Dalmatia, Ignaz went to Hungary, where he was arrested, probably in the summer of 1827, and transferred to Vienna. On 27 December 1828, he was sentenced in Vienna to three years in prison for "serious fraud." In the course of the criminal investigation, it was revealed that Ignaz, according to Franziska, had "illegally usurped the title of nobility and falsified the baptismal certificate." Since Franziska and their daughter Johanna no longer belonged to the nobility, their parish entries also had to be corrected. As Magdalena Irnstötter points out, the keeping of civil status registers on the territory of present-day Austria was in the hands of the recognized religious communities until 1938.[35] Since the parish registers were recognized by the state as having full probative value, and the entries were thus associated with legal consequences, incorrect entries had to be corrected by means of a governmental procedure. This also explains the mentioned corrections in the marriage as well as in the baptism record.

Franziska asked for a divorce from bed and board as she could no longer live with a man who, among other things, deprived her of her fortune, and she therefore "must now earn her bread in the wide world". She also demanded custody of her daughter Johanna and waived any maintenance and alimony payments.

A somewhat different version of the use of Franziska's marriage-portion and her maternal inheritance is told by Ignaz and/or his trustee and lawyer in the so-called "Einrede," an objection or answer to the written complaint, dated 1 December 1830. Ignaz did not deny having received a marriage-portion of 1,000 gulden from his father-in-law and 2,000 gulden from Franziska's maternal inheritance. He also did not dispute that he had pawned Franziska's jewellery. The money he had received, however, he had used "for the house-

35 Maria Magdalena Irnstötter, "Zur Vermeidung der Illegitimität. Taufmatrikelberichtigung und uneheliche Geburt im Erzherzogtum Österreich unter der Enns 1805–1850" (Master's thesis, University of Vienna, 2023).

hold, for his wife and children." He had to spend a large portion of the money on Franziska's music lessons, which were "so desired by all" and "for which he paid the well-known singing master Mozzatti for a long time," which had cost him over 2,000 gulden. Joseph Mozzatti was not only as a famous singer, but also worked as a singing instructor.[36] It was not his own behaviour, but "this female music lover [i.e., his wife Franziska] who had deprived him of his job," which is why he finally decided to "earn his bread as a private engineer in Hungary." Ignaz did not agree to the divorce or the custody claim. The main reason he gave for refusing the divorce was that he had "never violated the duties of a loving husband and tender father." Moreover, his criminal conviction would not be grounds for divorce "because he did not commit the offense against the spouse (§ 109)." Ignaz also rejected the certificate of the priest submitted by his wife as sufficient for the divorce, since only Franziska had been heard, and not, as required by law, both spouses together.

Ignaz's rejection of the custody claim is particularly noteworthy when one considers that he had been in the Vienna Prison for almost two years at that point and would still have to spend another thirteen months there. He, or rather his trustee and lawyer Dr. Herbst, argued that he could not agree to Franziska taking over the custody of "his daughter" because she leads an "unsteady life," she has "no proven secure existence" and according to § 142 and 143 of the ABGB of 1811, "the care for the child falls on the grandfather." For the time after his release, Ignaz had all hope to be able to earn his living as a "private engineer." He asked the court to dismiss the "completely unfounded and evidence-free claim" and to order his wife to pay the court costs.

A month later, on 3 January 1831, Franziska, represented by her father, submitted the answer to Ignaz's "Einrede", a so-called replica. While the complaint is written more from Franziska's perspective, the voice of Johann Nestroy can unmistakably be heard or read in the replica. He particularly objects to his son-in-law's statement that the latter had "honestly" informed him about his financial circumstances, as well as that the latter had spent the marriage-portion and the maternal inheritance on the household, the wife and the child. According to Johann Nestroy, Ignaz had gambled away this money in Viennese coffee houses. He also contested that his daughter had any inclination towards music. On the contrary. Only Ignaz and his sister had urged Franziska to "go over to music" and take lessons with Mozzatti. Franziska had taken lessons with him for several months, but her husband had "not paid a kreuzer" for them. Moreover,

36 Francesca-Maria Raffler, "Mozzatti (Mozatti, Mozati, Mozzati), Joseph (Giovanni, Giuseppe)," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, ed. Barbara Boisits, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x003c9b40.

Ignaz and his sister persuaded Franziska to sing in Pest "under the name Constantini." Since she was "disliked," Franziska returned to Vienna early, where, in order to have money for "housekeeping," she had to sell the silver and porcelain she had received at her wedding. In conclusion, Franziska, or rather her father, once again pointed out that she had "cost her husband nothing," that she had been supported by her father during the marriage, and that it was not her love of music, but rather "necessity and not wanting to be a burden to her father that had forced her into the theater." She could support herself and her daughter from her theater engagements, "where she honourably proved herself as a singer already in her second year in Lemberg (Lviv, today Ukraine)." At this time, her brother Johann Nepomuk Nestroy was also at the theater in Lemberg. While Johann Nepomuk presumably returned to Vienna in 1831 due to a cholera epidemic, Franziska remained in Lemberg until Easter 1833.

On 24 February 1831, Ignaz Hoffmann or his trustee and lawyer Dr. Herbst replied to the replica. In the duplicate, as the fourth and last main document was called, he objected to the divorce petition also on formal grounds. His father-in-law's writs were not valid because Franziska was no longer a minor and his father-in-law's power of attorney was issued before the parish certificate and before the divorce complaint. He would be convinced "that if he were to meet with his wife in person and have the divorce petition investigated by the court, his wife would gladly and lovingly withdraw her petition." He would therefore have to insist on a personal hearing with his wife. With regard to the custody of the daughter Johanna, he noted that Franziska had appeared on stage in "Wien, Brünn, Pesth, Lemberg." Since she had no secure employment and thus no "secure income," he again moved to dismiss the divorce and custody petition and to order Franziska to pay the court costs.

Judge Schößl, who had been assigned the files to prepare a proposed judgment, supported Ignaz's formal argument. In his presentation of the case on 30 March 1831 he argued that divorce proceedings could not be conducted in writing alone but required an official investigation. The rhetorical question as to whether an exception should be made in this case, since the defendant had been sentenced to three years in prison, he answered in the negative. He also pointed out that an "offender sentenced to a serious term of imprisonment" could not enter into binding legal transactions from the day of sentencing until his release. He therefore moved to dismiss Franziska's lawsuit and to split the court costs between both parties, because "the plaintiff had caused the useless litigation" and the defendant "should not have engaged in the litigation." His proposed judgment was issued the same day in the form of a verdict.

Franziska, again represented by her father, appealed against the judgment. On 13 June 1831, the Court of Appeals decided to dismiss "the appellant's

appeal" but at the same time instructed the civil magistrate to proceed with the divorce case. Franziska and Johann Nestroy appealed again. By the court decree of 14 August 1831, "His Majesty" (der Kaiser) confirmed the verdicts of the first two instances and ordered the magistrate to initiate an official investigation in which the "plaintiff's authorized father" and the "trustee of the opponent" were to be heard. On 7 November 1831, Franziska therefore petitioned for the divorce proceedings to be resumed.

At the hearing on 6 December 1831 (see Illustration 6), Franziska, whose profession was noted as opera singer in Lemberg, appeared together with her father. Ignaz, who was still in prison, was represented by his trustee Dr. Herbst. The first speech was made by the defendant's trustee, who at the very outset again asked for a formal rejection of the divorce petition. This time he argued that the divorce petition had not been filed on 3 June 1830, but already on 8 August 1822, by the father of the daughter, who was still a minor at the time, at the Lower Austrian Court of Nobles. If the plaintiff had wanted the divorce, which his client contradicts, she would have had many years to initiate it in accordance with the regulations. It was not his accused client, but Franziska who had thus thwarted a judicial investigation. Dr. Herbst then again denied the allegations made in the complaint. According to him, the defendant had explained to him with a "touched spirit" that "his wife's insurmountable attraction to music and theatre" had forced him to take hasty steps. For a long time, he had her taught by the "well-known singing master Mozzati, who had cost over 2,000 gulden WW." Franziska had not gone to the theatre out of financial need, but "to satisfy her irresistible penchant for the theatre, which she had developed in the earlier years of education." His client "would be reassured if she earned her bread in this profession," but he had "given just as little cause for this choice of profession as he had in that of her brother" – meaning Johann Nepomuk Nestroy – who had also "freely chosen this profession." The plaintiff had no grounds for divorce, and the defendant could also not agree to "leave the child in the plaintiff's care." Also, the judge, Dr. Herbst said, would never allow

> that a tender seven-year-old child should be left to be brought up by a mother who, more out of love for a time-barred hobby than out of necessity, wanders idly from one theatre to another, a condition of life which at least cannot be praised as a school of good morals.[37]

37 "daß ein zartes siebenjähriges Kind einer Mutter, die gewiß mehr aus einer verjährten Liebhaberei als aus Nothwendigkeit, weit von hier, von einem Theater zu den andern unstätt herum irrt, zur Erziehung überlassen werde; ein Lebensverhältniß, das wenigstens nicht als eine Schule guter Sitten gepriesen werden kann." Minutes of the hearing in the divorce proceeding on 6 December 1831. WStLA, Zivilgericht, A6: 31/1830.

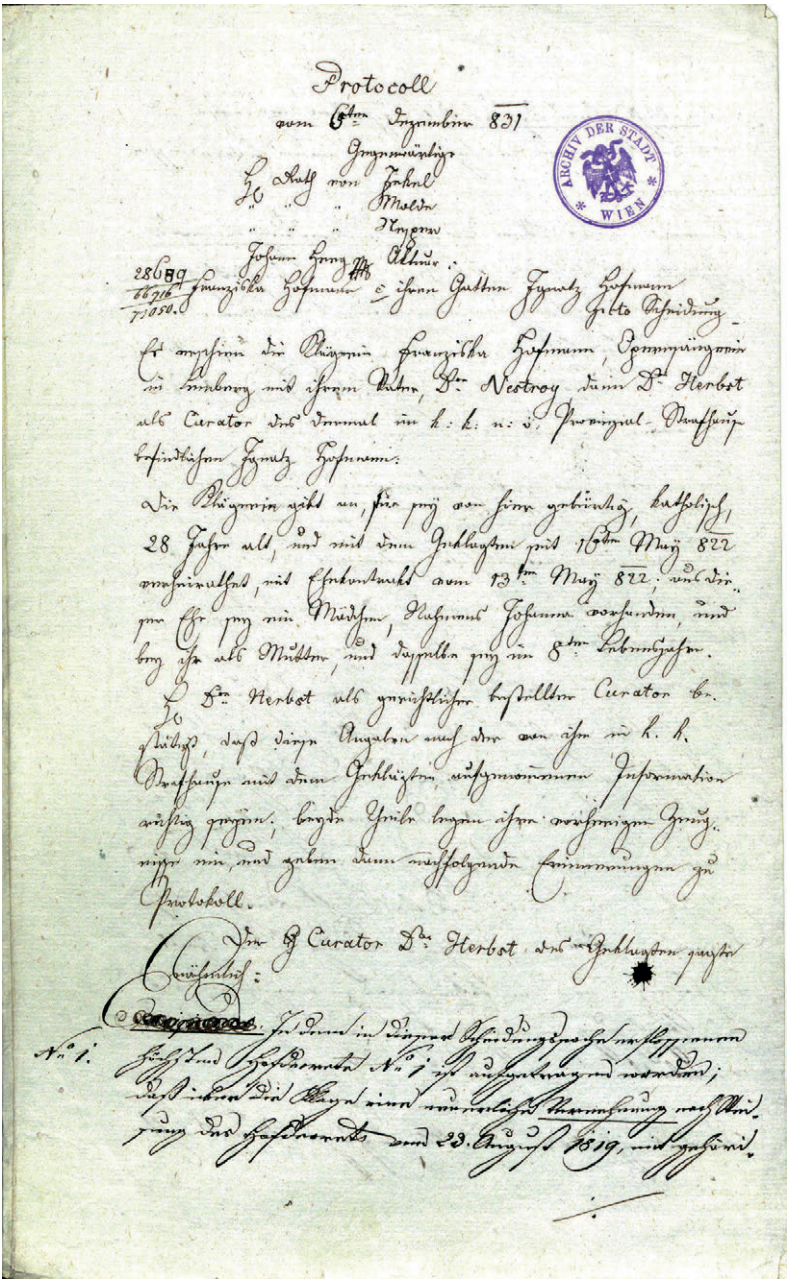


Illustration 6: Minutes of the hearing in the divorce proceeding on 6 December 1831. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Zivilgericht, A6: 31/1830 (Scan: Magdalena Irnstötter 2023).

Finally, Dr. Herbst once again referred to the argument already cited, that according to § 142 and 143 of the ABGB of 1811, "the custody is given to the grandfather." He concluded his long speech with the petition to "dismiss the plaintiff with this completely unfounded and evidence-free action" and to order the plaintiff to pay the court costs incurred.

The second presentation was opened not by Franziska's lawyer, but by Franziska herself, although her presence was not required. She said she chose to participate in order to explain in person that the divorce petition of 3 June 1830 was "entirely in accordance with her will and wishes" and "that she insists on the divorce." Well prepared by her father, she contradicted Dr. Herbst's statements that her father had already filed a petition for divorce on 8 August 1822. Her father, as her legal representative, had not filed for divorce but had reported her husband "for the jewellery taken from her against her will and for his mistreatment."

Franziska's father then referred again to the circumstances admitted by Ignaz or his trustee – from the squandering of the marriage-portion and the maternal inheritance to the exchange and the loss of his position at the hydraulic engineering office. His "disorderly lifestyle, which is put completely beyond doubt by the secret abandonment of the plaintiff and the child and by his arrest and conviction as a felon to a serious term of imprisonment" entitles the plaintiff to a divorce based on the defendant's fault.

On 4 January 1832, a month after the hearing, the judge decided to hear the defendant husband, who had since been released from prison. However, only the father of Franziska and the trustee of Ignaz appeared at the hearing on 3 February 1832. Both stated that they could not locate the defendant's whereabouts and asked that Ignaz be located by the police. On 24 March, the police headquarters informed the civil magistrate that Ignaz, who "allegedly" lived at Wieden No. 64, had left for Ofen, now a district of Budapest, on 10 January 1832. On 18 April 1832, the marriage was divorced. The sole blame was placed on Ignaz and custody of the daughter was given to Franziska.

This time Ignaz appealed against the verdict. On 12 November 1832, the Court of Appeal confirmed the verdict of the civil magistrate. After Franziska was divorced through no fault of her own, she could sue for annulment of the marriage contract, which she did on 13 January 1833. Since neither she nor the court knew the whereabouts of her husband and it was also suspected that he was no longer in the German hereditary lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, the court again appointed Dr. Herbst as his trustee. On 12 June 1833, the marriage contract was declared null and void by the court, so that Ignaz lost his claim to the marital property and all claims under inheritance law. Franziska did not stay at the theatre in Lemberg very long after the divorce. On 21 March 1833,

the Wiener Theater-Zeitung announced that Frau Hoffmann, sister of Johann Nestroy, would be leaving the Lemberg Theatre by Easter to accept an engagement elsewhere. The unnamed author counted her among the "excellent members" of the Lemberg theatre staff and attested to her "beautiful sonorous voice" as well as her possession of an "advantageous recommendable figure and a pleasant face."[38] All I could find out about her further professional career was that she had an engagement in Budapest in 1854. I have not found any traces of Ignaz Hoffmann. Therefore, I cannot say when he died or whether Franziska might have entered into a new marriage. As can be seen from a note attached to the extensive divorce dossier, she died under the name Franziska Hoffmann and without any children of her own on 16 November 1866. When and of what her daughter Johanna died, I also cannot answer. Franziska's estate was inherited by her still living siblings Karl Nestroy, Maria Nestroy, married Stuck, and Ferdinand Nestroy. Karl and Maria renounced their inheritance in favour of their brother Ferdinand.

Summary

The divorce records of Catholic married couples, long ignored by Austrian historiography, contain a variety of sources that are as exciting for a wide range of historical disciplines as they are for legal studies. The documents make it clear that the consequences of divorce had to be settled even if the couple was only divorced from bed and board and the sacramental marriage bond remained in place. As I have shown with three microstudies from the first decades of the nineteenth century, the interpretation of divorce settlements in particular requires a relational methodological approach, one which draws on existing legal divorce options; on matrimonial property and inheritance law, determined by law or agreed in marriage contracts; and on legal regulation of child custody and on maintenance. Last but not least, it has also been made clear that variables such as the length of the marriage, age, support from a social network – be it parents, siblings or friends – and also confidence in the spouse's ability to lead an independent life all play a role.

All three women, whose divorces form the starting point of the microstudies, were employed as actresses or opera singers at various theatres in the Habsburg Monarchy, including the Vorstadttheater and the Hoftheater in Vienna. They married as minors, which required the consent of their parents, they had their first child at a relatively young age (between the ages of eight-

38 *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* (Bäuerles Theaterzeitung), 21 March 1833.

een and twenty-three), and they demanded divorce from their husbands after only a few years of marriage.

Henriette Teimer and Franziska Nestroy concluded a marriage contract with their future husbands, in which – with the consent of their parents – they entered into a community of property. Henriette Teimer and Anton Forti agreed on a divorce by mutual consent. They divided their joint assets equally. The one-year-old daughter Ferdinandina was placed in the care of the mother until she reached the age of seven. Henriette waived alimony for herself but not maintenance for her daughter. The divorce of Franziska Nestroy and Franz Hoffmann, who did not agree to divorce by mutual consent, was more complicated. The legal divorce proceedings dragged on for years, mainly because of the appeals filed by both parties.

Katharina Weidner and her parents, on the other hand, decided against the conclusion of a marriage contract, which meant the legally stipulated matrimonial property regime of separation of property applied to them. In their first divorce, the couple divorced by mutual consent. Katharina was awarded unlimited custody of their daughters and custody of their son until he was twelve years old. The particularly dense source material on this couple is due to the fact that Ferdinand-Georg Waldmüller sued three times to take custody of the children, that the couple reunited, and that Katharina, after the couple could not agree on a divorce by mutual consent, filed a divorce petition. The spouses eventually reached an out-of-court divorce settlement that awarded custody of the daughters to the mother and custody of the son to the father, and in which Katharina waived alimony for herself. When her daughter Aloysia also divorced fifteen years later, she was supported by her mother.

After the divorce, Henriette Teimer and her daughter were taken in by her parents. For several years, Franziska Nestroy, whose mother was deceased, lived with her daughter at the home of her father, who also represented her as a lawyer in her divorce proceedings. Where Katharina and the children moved after the first divorce is not known. Since she had a permanent contract with an annual salary of 3,000 gulden CM, she was able to rent an apartment for herself and the children. In the second divorce, the situation was more difficult because Katharina had to ask for permission to live separately during the proceedings. During this time, Katharina was supported by her brother, who took her and her daughters in. The unusually important role played by the mothers or fathers in all three case studies can be explained primarily by the fact that all three women were still very young when they divorced. In view of the fact that in 1831, when statistical data on marriage were available, only 10.9 percent of women in the Archduchy of Austria below the Enns had not yet reached

the age of 24 at the time of marriage,[39] the fact that all three women were still minors when they married is worth explaining.
In contrast, the statistical trend corresponds with the fact that in all three case studies the divorce was sought by the wives. In the marriage cases studied from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, between 80 and 90 percent of the divorces were initiated by the wives. It is also not unusual that all three women continued to work after marriage. As in previous centuries, the economic survival of families in the nineteenth century still required both spouses to work, and many married couples could not and perhaps did not want to live in accordance with the propagated bourgeois patriarchal 'bread-winner model'. Until well into the twentieth century, households were based on a 'two-income model' with both spouses being expected to contribute to the common economy. However, it is becoming increasingly difficult for historians to find women's occupations in the sources because, as shown above, the sources usually mention men's occupations but not those of women, who are increasingly referred to only as daughters or wives.

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On Musical Memorabilia: Locks of Hair, Leaves, and Letters. Women's Agency in Schubert's Time

Henrike Rost

How music history is remembered depends on the interests of the present from which it is viewed. The fact that the agency of women in Vienna during the Biedermeier period hardly seems to play a role in collective memory is a starting point for the present chapter. Adopting a material culture approach, the chapter addresses the subject from a new angle, looking at the objects linked to domestic sociability and typical spaces of women's activity. The focus is on musical memorabilia – such as locks of hair, leaves, and letters. Examples are taken from the Schumann album; these are various locks of hair, dried flowers and leaves from Carl Maria von Weber's grave and a pen made of steel from Ludwig van Beethoven's grave in Vienna.

However, most of the objects discussed belonged to the Graz pianist and salonnière Marie Pachler (1794–1855), who recalled her personal relationship to Beethoven through an album leaf and a lock of hair, taken from his dead body by Johann Baptist Jenger. Franz Schubert's letter, in which he accepted her invitation to Graz, similarly functioned as a memorial object of personal and music-historical significance. On Pachler's request Schubert composed *Kindermarsch* D 928 for the name day of her husband in November 1827. Both Schubert and Jenger wrote messages to mother and son on the sheet – thus creating a hybrid medium between letter and music score. A similarly valuable reminiscence must have been *Ständchen* D 920, commissioned by Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880) on the occasion of the birthday of one of her voice students. All these musical memorabilia illustrate women's participation in the music life of the time, as well as their participation in a culture of admiration that idealized and canonized musical celebrities as geniuses.

Franz Schubert's image on a Viennese picture postcard builds a bridge from the immaterial world of sound and music to the tangible world of memorial objects (see Illustration 1). The card is to be assigned to the jubilee year 1928 ("Schubert-Jubiläums-Postkarte 1828–1928"), though its shipping is datable by a postmark to September 1942, during World War II.[1] What makes the illus-

1 The text on the back of the postcard, written in pencil and referring to a visit by the addressee that did not take place, makes no reference to Schubert or the illustration on the front.

tration special is that the portrait of the composer is not formed by drawing lines, but by numerous words written closely together. Viewed at a distance, these words, which can be identified as text lines from famous Schubert songs, blur into the glossed image of the canonized composer.[2] On the collar lapel, for instance, one can read: "Meine Ruhe ist hin mein Herz ist schwer." The eyebrow forms "es ist der Vater mit seinem Kind," while on the chin line it says "Ave Maria, Jungfrau mild." Below the portrait is a view of Schubert's birthplace: "Schubert's Geburtshaus und Taufkirche in Lichtental."[3] To the left and right, there are short music excerpts from various songs of the composer (*Ave Maria* D 839, *Die Forelle* D 550, *Erlkönig* D 328, *Heideröslein* D 257, *Wandern* D 795, *Ständchen* D 957). Thus, the illustration literally reduces Schubert's image down to his most popular songs.

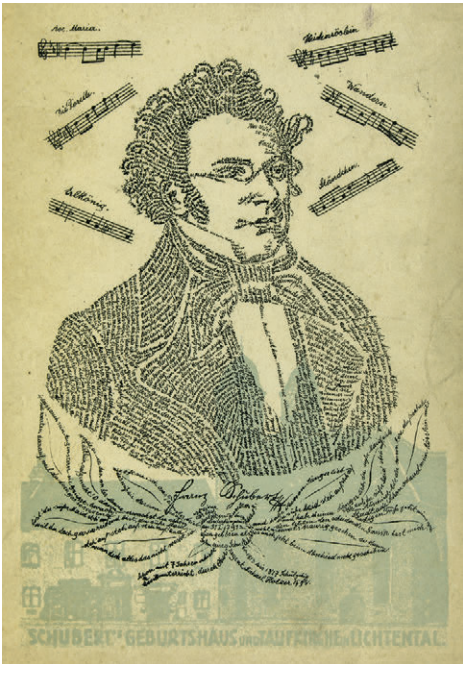


Illustration 1: Schubert-Jubiläums-Postkarte 1828–1928, Historische Bildpostkarten – Universität Osnabrück – Sammlung Prof. Dr. Sabine Giesbrecht.[4]

2 The picture is based on the portrait by Wilhelm August Rieder from 1825.

3 Further biographical information is placed in the decorative foliage under the portrait: "Franz Schubert ist einer der besten deutschen Tonsetzer u. Liederkomponist besonders [...]" ("Franz Schubert is one of the best German composers of music and songs [...]"). This translation and all others in this chapter are mine.

4 http://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:700-2-0005096-5, accessed 15 April 2023.



Illustration 2: "Aus Schubert's Zeiten," Ansichtskarte, Historische Bildpostkarten – Universität Osnabrück – Sammlung Prof. Dr. Sabine Giesbrecht.[5]

Another picture postcard, designed by "Kunstverlag, Wien, VIII., Fuhrmannsgasse 18", dates from a slightly earlier time, but after 1905. The painting, presented with the title "Aus Schubert's Zeiten" (From Schubert's times), shows a hodgepodge of various objects (see Illustration 2). One sees a guitar with a ribbon, an inkwell with a pen, sheets of music, several books, a vase with flowers, a pompous table clock and a filled wine glass. On the upper right, Schubert seems to be looking down at the cluttered table from a gold-framed picture. The scene takes the viewer into a nostalgia-soaked Biedermeier world in a deeply bourgeois setting. At the same time, the implied disorder of the things, the position of the guitar apparently just used, as well as the unfinished wine, suggest an intimate glimpse into a past artistic life. The image also conveys a desire to contemplate the material life of a musical tradition worth preserving.

Both postcards – as twentieth-century memorial objects – were available to a broad public. They can help us get an idea of how Schubert was perceived in the society of the time. However, in what follows, my goal is to examine rather those musical memorabilia that have emerged from more or less direct contact, and thus personal acquaintance. In discussing these objects – adopting

5 http://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:700-2-0005139-4, accessed 15 April 2023.

a material culture approach – I aim to address the subject of women's agency during the Biedermeier period from an alternative perspective. My focus will therefore be particularly on those objects linked to domestic sociability representing typical spaces of women's activity.

Memorabilia, objects, and the material culture approach

All objects are invested with meanings through association and through use. These meanings can vary and change. An everyday object of a famous composer – think of Beethoven's ear trumpets or walking stick, for example – can, decades later, become a significant memento of great financial value and cultural status. In fact, objects are central to how we understand our past and how we remember history. This applies to our own personal history or the history of our family, as well as to a broader collective cultural history. Cultural reality, individual identity, and social distinction are created and regulated through the way we deal with things. Following from this, the lives of people and the lives of things cannot be separated, and objects are central to how we experience our relationship to other people. All these are key principles underlying material culture studies.[6]

In the case of memorabilia, objects function as personal or collective memory carriers and triggers. The term 'memorabilia' is part of a semantic field which also includes words like 'souvenir' or 'keepsake'.[7] Things, so called, materialize and mediate memory.[8] While 'souvenir' is often associated with commercial aspects, 'keepsake' seems to emphasize a personal value that is highly individual and rather arbitrary (to 'keep sth. for the sake of sth./sb.'). Therefore, in the context discussed here, I prefer the term 'memorabilia' from Latin 'memorare', because it also relates to 'memorabilis' in the sense

6 "Die zeitgenössische Erforschung der Materiellen Kultur kann ganz allgemein als eine Beschäftigung mit der Beziehung zwischen Menschen und Dingen innerhalb von Zeit und Raum definiert werden. Die angewandte Perspektive kann global oder lokal sein; sie kann sich mit Vergangenheit oder Gegenwart befassen, oder eine Vermittlung beider Horizonte darstellen." ("The contemporary study of material culture can be broadly defined as a dealing with the relationship between people and things within time and space. The perspective applied can be global or local; it can deal with the past or the present, or represent a mediation of both horizons.") Stefanie Samida, Manfred K. H. Eggert, and Hans Peter Hahn, eds. *Handbuch Materielle Kultur. Bedeutungen – Konzepte – Disziplinen* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2014), 311 [art. "Material Culture Studies" by H. Geismar, D. Miller, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands, A. Drazin].

7 See especially Andreas Beyer, Helmut Gold, Günter Oesterle, and Ulrich Schneider, eds. *Der Souvenir. Erinnerung in Dingen von der Reliquie zum Andenken* (Frankfurt am Main: Wienand, 2006).

8 Samida et al., *Materielle Kultur*, 197 [art. "Erinnerungsdinge" by C. Holm].

of 'remarkable'. As already indicated, memorabilia can be distinguished on the basis of the type of contact from which the memorial object emerged and when it came into being. Another important role is played by the actual time at which an object is valued and assessed. Abigail Fine, for instance, has investigated how the veneration of Beethoven and Mozart relics and their houses became an integral part of the German-Austrian reception of these composers and their music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[9]

Hair as memorabilia in the Schumann Album

The material fascination with a composer's bodily remains finds a specific expression in the collecting of locks of hair. The striking 'liveness' or immunity against decay "made hair an even more poignant memento".[10] The locks of hair taken from Beethoven's deathbed have been discussed from various perspectives.[11] Questions of authenticity, related research findings (e.g., on diseases and lifestyles), and the motivations for forgeries are an exciting field,[12] not least from a musicological perspective. Regarding hair mementos, the album of Robert and Clara Schumann is an example not yet considered. Among the many albums I studied,[13] the Schumann album is special in that it combines quite heterogeneous contents. It is a loose-leaf collection, which today is in Dresden, and includes album pages with musical autographs as well as poetry, numerous letters, various handwritten documents, drawings, engravings and

9 Abigail Fine, "Objects of Veneration: Music and Materiality in the Composer-Cults of Germany and Austria, 1870–1930" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2017); see also Abigail Fine, "Beethoven's Mask and the Physiognomy of Late Style," *19th-Century Music* 43, no. 3 (2020): 143–69.

10 Fine, "Objects of Veneration," 6.

11 See Jutta Schuchard, "Teueres Andenken – Beethoven und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit," in *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall. Beethovens Ende und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit*, eds. Beethoven-Haus Bonn and Museum for Sepulchral Culture (Kassel and Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2002), 191–200, esp. 196–97; Klaus Aringer, "'... zum heiligen Angedenken ...' Anselm Hüttenbrenner am Sterbebett Ludwig van Beethovens," in *Drehscheibe Graz. Musikkulturelle Verbindungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ingeborg Harer. Neue Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis 10 (Graz: Leykam, 2022), 111–22, esp. 118–19.

12 Cf. the bestseller on Beethoven's lock of hair taken by Ferdinand Hiller, which exemplifies the nurturing of the myth: Russell Martin, *Beethoven's Hair: An Extraordinary Historical Odyssey and a Scientific Mystery Solved* (New York: Broadway Books, 2000); and the film that emerged from it: *Beethoven's Hair*, directed by Larry Weinstein (Rhombus Media Inc, 2005). Recently, based on the analysis of Beethoven's genetic material, it was discovered that the hair, presumably owned by Hiller, did not come from the composer but most probably from a woman. See Raphael Krapscha, "Haaranalysen beleuchten Beethovens Gesundheitszustand," 22 March 2023, https://science.orf.at/stories/3218321/, accessed 15 April 2023.

13 Henrike Rost, *Musik-Stammbücher. Erinnerung, Unterhaltung und Kommunikation im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Musik – Kultur – Gender 17 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2020).

other memorial items.[14] Originally, it even included a laurel wreath, now lost, which Robert Schumann received for the second performance of his oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri*, op. 50 in 1843.[15] Extremely rich is the collection of locks of hair in the album. Seemingly, those taken from living people stem from close friends: Johannes Brahms, Joseph Joachim, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, and Ludwig Schuncke.[16] The hair of Robert's father August Schumann might have been taken from his dead body, as Schumann's mother Christiane noted on the paper containing the hair: "Traurige Überreste von meinem edlen guten Mann" (Sad remains of my noble good husband).[17] The origin of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart's and Carl Maria von Weber's locks of hair in the album is unknown, but they probably came into the possession of the Schumanns through third parties.[18] Furthermore, the album's cover sheet was decorated with the hair of Robert and Clara Schumann: "Haar Eurer Mutter Clara" / "Haar Eures Vaters Robert" (see Illustration 3).[19] The couple understood their album as a testimony for later generations: "Unseren Kindern zu treuer Aufbewahrung / Dresden den 13ten Juni 1845 / Robert Schumann / Clara Schumann" (To our children for faithful safekeeping).[20] In this regard, hair mementos seem to have been considered by the Schumanns as an ideal means to connect with previous generations.

14 Album Robert und Clara Schumann (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 1–338), http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1399555502, accessed 15 April 2023.

15 Charlotte Boden, "Das Schumann-Album. Eine Kostbarkeit der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek in Dresden," *Marginalien. Blätter der Pirckheimer-Gesellschaft* 8 (1960): 8–23, esp. 9.

16 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 29, 130, 262, 277a.

17 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 263,1.

18 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 208b, 316.

19 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 263b.

20 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 272. For an earlier image of the cover sheet see Boden, "Schumann-Album," 16a.



Illustration 3: Clara Schumann's and Robert Schumann's hair mounted on a leaf. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 263b, Public Domain.[21]

Hair, as a souvenir of the deceased as well as of the living, is a leitmotif for the emotional culture of the nineteenth century and functions in this context as profane relic.[22] At a certain point, hair is transformed from a body part into an

21 digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/333165/3.

22 "In der Ambivalenz des Andenkens sowohl an Verstorbene als auch an lebend Zugeneigte gibt es eine Souvenir-Gattung, die leitmotivisch für die Gefühlskultur des 19. Jahrhunderts ist: die Haararbeiten. Aus den Haaren eines geliebten Menschen angefertigte Schmuckstücke und Bildchen besitzen den Charakter einer profanen Reliquie." Barbara Krafft, "Vergißmeinnicht – das Sinnige im Biedermeier," in *Biedermeiers Glück und Ende … die gestörte Idylle 1815–1848*, ed. Hans Ottomeyer, with Ulrike Laufer (Munich: Hugendubel, 1987), 137–61, esp. 156.

artifact, thus "from a natural sign into a cultural sign".[23] The point of transformation occurs at the moment of the cut, when the hair is separated from the body and takes on a cultural existence as a material artifact of the past.[24] In the literature, a certain fetish character of hair memorabilia is often mentioned. This becomes apparent when the hair no longer refers to the absent person but itself becomes the affective object of the fetishist.[25] In the context of the Schumann album, though, the desire to remember the personal relationship to the donor of the hair seems to be in the foreground. At the same time, an interest in compiling a rather personal 'hair canon' of beloved people – some of them received as music-historically significant by the Schumanns – cannot be denied. The fact that Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, apart from Clara Schumann, was the only woman to contribute hair to the album, seems to be closely related to her successful career as a singer acting professionally in the public sphere.[26] Yet, both sexes participated in the tradition of collecting locks of hair, which itself is closely connected to the domestic environment.

The only Schubertian artefact belonging to the Schumann collection is an autograph of Franz Schubert's *Chor der Engel* D 440 (June 1816), today stored separately from the album.[27] The manuscript with the choral work is an engraver's copy, obtained by Robert Schumann through his work for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* – not through direct contact with the composer.[28] Finally, another interesting part of the Schumann album should be mentioned. It is a selection of dried flowers and leaves from Carl Maria von Weber's grave, and a pen made of steel from Ludwig van Beethoven's grave in Vienna, both mounted on an album leaf.[29] These memorabilia refer to the memory of deceased composers, already considered canonical by the Schumanns. Regarding the later

23 "[...] Umschlagspunkt, in dem das Haar vom Körperteil in ein Artefakt, vom Naturzeichen in ein Kulturzeichen überführt wird." Anna Ananieva and Christiane Holm, "Phänomenologie des Intimen. Die Neuformulierung des Andenkens seit der Empfindsamkeit," in Beyer et al., *Der Souvenir*, 156–87, esp. 178.

24 "Einerseits ist eine Locke ein Körperteil, andererseits ist sie bereits mit dem Schnitt, also der Trennung vom Körper, der kulturellen Formung überantwortet. Zugleich ist erst mit dem Schnitt eine Zeitstruktur installiert, die das Haar punktuell als vergangenen Zeitabschnitt definiert." Ananieva/Holm, "Phänomenologie des Intimen,"178.

25 Ananieva/Holm, "Phänomenologie des Intimen," 170.

26 See the chapter by Anno Mungen in this book.

27 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus. 4924-H-500. Published as 'Musikbeilage' of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Heft VI (1839).

28 Andrea Hartmann and Carmen Rosenthal, *Die musikalischen Blätter aus dem Schumann-Album in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB). Thematischer Katalog*. Musikhandschriften in Deutschland. Kataloge ausgewählter Sammlungen Bd. 2, Teilveröffentlichung aus RISM, Serie A/II Musikhandschriften nach 1600 (Munich and Frankfurt: RISM, 2010), XII, 19.

29 Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus.Schu. 336.

reception of the objects, a look at the inventory of the extensive Schumann album is revealing. In a twentieth-century list, datable to before 1934, a section of album pages is described as follows: "188–194 Leaves and flowers, all with indication of origin by Schumann's hand, with the steel pen from Beethoven's grave, October 1828, with which Schumann wrote his first Symphony."[30] Enshrining the anecdotal idea in the album inventory that Robert Schumann, according to his own testimony, wrote his first symphony with Beethoven's pen, Schumann appears in an (exclusively male) canon of composers as one of Beethoven's legitimate successors. The linking of Beethoven and Schubert also represents a bridge to the repeatedly emphasized Beethoven-Brahms succession. Regarding the prominent position of the symphony as a genre in the nineteenth century, the artifact exemplifies a mental step into the public sphere of canonized compositions. Evaluated in this context, the cultural activities in the domestic environment, which are formative for so many musical works, are losing importance.

Marie Pachler's musical memorabilia

Coming back to Schubert in what follows, I will discuss some selected musical memorabilia belonging to Marie Pachler (1794–1855).[31] The Graz pianist, composer and salonnière Marie Pachler came from a middle-class background. She started a career as a piano prodigy, but forwent a professional life as a pianist. Instead, being a married woman and mother, Marie Pachler held an important Austrian musical-literary salon at her home, called 'Rabenschinderhaus' at Herrengasse in Graz, over a period of about ten years.[32] Playing the piano at a professional level, Pachler was considered an outstanding interpreter of

30 "188–194 Blätter und Blumen, alle mit Herkunftsbezeichnung von Schumanns Hand, dabei die Stahlfeder von Beethovens Grab, Oktober 1828 mit der Schumann seine 1. Symphonie schrieb." Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Mus. Schu. Beimappe 3, Blatt 8.

31 Ingeborg Harer, "Marie Pachler," in *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, eds. Beatrix Borchard and Nina Noeske, Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003 (17 April 2018), https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000611, accessed 15 April 2023.

32 See most recently Ulrike Fischer, "Netzwerke der Biedermeierzeit – Die Salonière, Pianistin und Komponistin Marie Pachler," in *Musikerinnen in Graz und in der Steiermark. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Musiklebens als Handlungsraum für Frauen*, ed. Christa Brüstle. Grazer Gender Studies 16 (Graz: Leykam, 2020), 43–60; and Ingeborg Harer, "'Schönheit, Fülle der Begabung, männlicher Ernst für alles Wahre, Reine, Hohe …'. Marie Pachler (1794–1855) und ihr musikalisch-literarischer Salon in der Grazer Herrengasse," in *Lebensbilder steirischer Frauen 1650–1850*, eds. Elke Hammer-Luza and Elisabeth Schöggl-Ernst (Graz: Leykam, 2017), 339–52.

the works of Beethoven and Schubert. Through the mediation of their mutual friend Johann Baptist Jenger, Marie Pachler invited Franz Schubert to stay at her home in Graz in fall 1827. The message with which Schubert accepted her invitation has been preserved:[33]

> Vienna, 12 June 1827.
>
> Madam,
> Although I cannot imagine in what way I may have deserved so kind an offer as your honor has informed me of by the letter sent to Jenger, nor whether I shall ever be able to offer anything in return, I nevertheless cannot forbear to accept an invitation whereby I shall not only set eyes at last on much-vaunted Graz, but have the privilege, moreover, of making your honor's acquaintance.
>
> I remain,
> with all respect,
> your honor's
> most devoted Frz. Schubert.

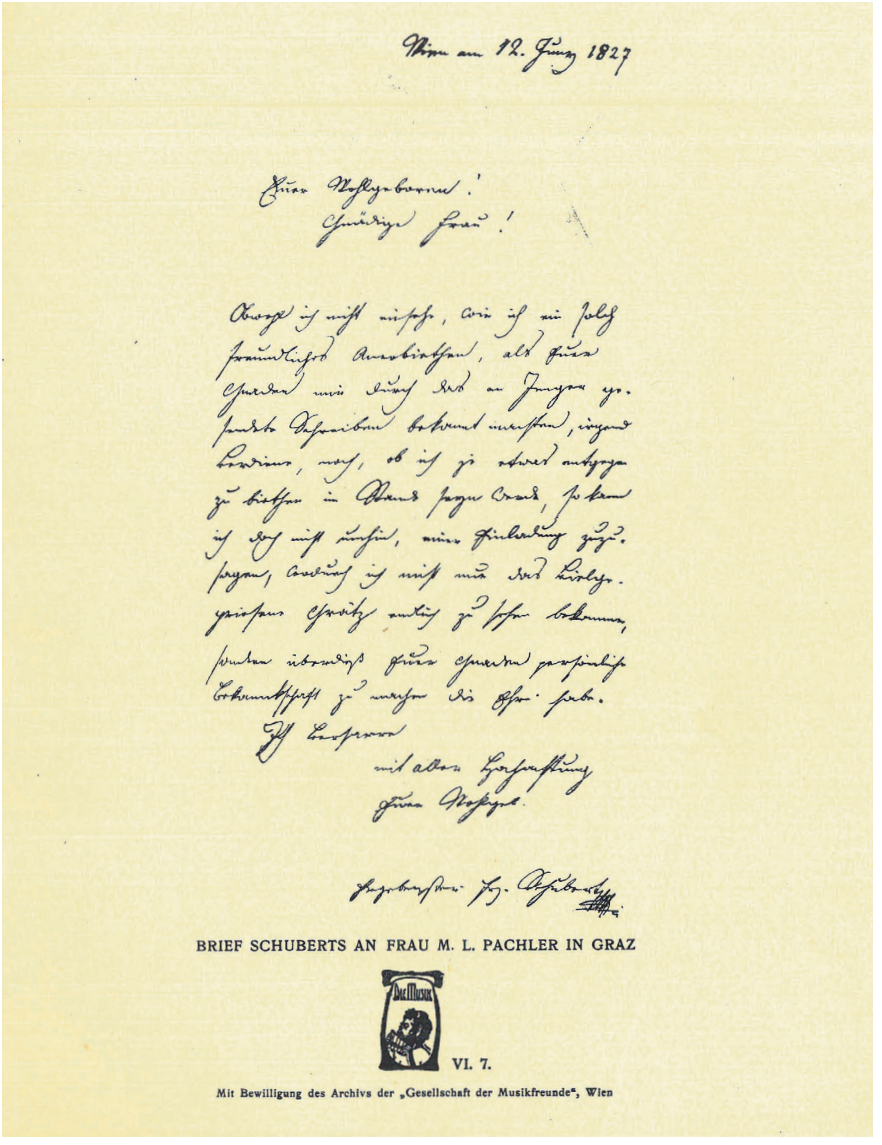
The letter – originally meant to communicate Schubert's polite acceptance of Pachler's invitation – became an object of memorabilia. Probably as a way of remembering Schubert's visit to her house, Pachler made sure that the letter was carefully stored and later passed on to her son Faust.[34] Being handwritten by Schubert, the letter gained a certain market value, all the more after Schubert's death. In Bourdieu's words, objectified cultural capital was converted into economic capital.[35] In this view, it is revealing to look closer at the object, or rather its substitute. I am thinking here of a facsimile (see Illustration 4), preserved at the Johann Christian Senckenberg University Library in Frankfurt/Main, while the original letter belongs today to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. The facsimile is subtitled with a printed text and a seal: "Brief Schuberts an Frau M. L. Pachler in Graz. Mit Bewilligung des Archivs der 'Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde', Wien."[36]

33 Deutsch, DDoc, 650; original text in DDok, 437. The letter was already published in Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1865), 397.

34 See Deutsch, DEr, 345.

35 See Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital – Kulturelles Kapital – Soziales Kapital," in *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1983), 183–98.

36 ("Letter from Schubert to Mrs. M. L. Pachler in Graz. With permission of the archives of the 'Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde', Vienna.") Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg. Abteilung Musik und Theater, Frankfurt am Main, Mus S 39a F. Schubert. Cf. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv, Briefe Franz Schubert 5.



BRIEF SCHUBERTS AN FRAU M. L. PACHLER IN GRAZ

VI. 7.

Mit Bewilligung des Archivs der „Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde", Wien

Illustration 4: Franz Schubert's letter to Marie Pachler (facsimile). © Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg Frankfurt am Main.

This facsimile illustrates how an object, here a handwritten letter, changed meaning. Through a process called 'musealization', the letter became an artifact of historical value. To explain the concept, the definition by ethnologist Hans Peter Hahn is helpful:

> The radical incision into [the object's] biography that accompanies the moment of musealization strips the object of all previous contexts. Musealization means a new place of residence, new object properties (value, usage) and new contexts. The (intended) lifespan of an object also changes fundamentally: instead of use and the associated wear and tear, there is a lifespan as a collector's item defined as 'unlimited'.[37]

Considered in this way, Schubert's letter to Pachler developed from an everyday means of communication to a precious artifact autographed by a famous composer. The addressee Pachler, in this process, recedes into the background, while Schubert's image as a significant musical hero is underpinned. As the original letter is so valuable, at some point a facsimile was produced – and even the facsimile is kept in an archive.

Another personal object, remembering Schubert's and Jenger's stay with the Pachler family, is a memorial leaf dated 20 September 1827, which clearly reflects the Stammbuch practice. The *Erinnerungsblatt für Frau Pachler* impressively frames her as the head of the domestic environment: "Unserer lieben Hausfrau / zur freundlichen Erinnerung / Jenger. / Schubert."[38] Looking at Schubert's compositions related to the Graz stay, Marie Pachler's influence on the music up to a certain degree can be inferred. The songs op. 106 (published in Vienna, 1828) are dedicated to her. Besides that, at Pachler's suggestion Schubert composed *Eine altschottische Ballade* D 923 and *Heimliches Lieben* D 922 on verses by German poetess Caroline Luise von Klencke (1754–1812, mother of Helmina von Chézy). Pachler recommended the poetry to Schubert, while he seemingly set the words to music without knowing their author.[39] As part of her everyday music practice, Pachler handled and certainly owned Schubert autographs. Being the hostess of the house and a pianist, she most likely performed the piano pieces written by Schubert during his stay in Graz, namely *Zwölf Grätzer Walzer* D 924 and *Grätzer Galopp* D 925.[40] Back in Vienna, Schubert composed another four-hand piano piece at her request. He sent the autograph

37 "Der mit dem Moment der Musealisierung einhergehende radikale Einschnitt in die Biographie entkleidet den Gegenstand aller vorherigen Kontexte. Musealisierung bedeutet einen neuen Aufenthaltsort, neue Objekteigenschaften (Wert, Gebrauch) und neue Kontexte. Auch die (vorgesehene) Lebensdauer eines Objekts verändert sich grundlegend: Anstelle des Gebrauchs und der damit verbundenen Abnutzung tritt eine als 'unbegrenzt' definierte Lebensdauer als Sammlungsstück." Hans Peter Hahn, *Materielle Kultur. Eine Einführung* (Berlin: Reimer, 2005), 42.

38 ("To our dear housewife / in friendly memory / Jenger. / Schubert.") Deutsch, DDok, 451. The whereabouts of the *Erinnerungsblatt* are unknown at present.

39 See Deutsch, DEr, 228.

40 Both autographs are missing.

of the *Kindermarsch* from Vienna to Graz on 12 October 1827.[41] On the sheet of music, both Schubert and Jenger noted messages for mother and son – thus creating a hybrid medium between letter and music score.[42] The premiere of *Kindermarsch* D 928 took place on the occasion of the name day of Marie's husband Karl (4 November 1827) and was performed by Faust Pachler and his mother at their house. Materialized in a bifolium with handwritten musical notation and personal written messages, this music can be regarded as a very particular memorial object, remembering Marie Pachler's amicable musical exchange with Franz Schubert.

Unlike Schubert, Beethoven never visited the Pachlers in Graz. However, Marie Pachler managed to meet him in Vienna in 1817, and a second time in Bad Vöslau in 1823, where Beethoven wrote an album leaf with music (WoO 202) for her.[43] On the occasion of Beethoven's death, Jenger gave Pachler a lock of the dead man's hair, which he had been able to take directly from the corpse.[44] In the light of this, it seems not improbable that Pachler may also have tried to secure possession of a lock of Schubert's hair.[45] Otto Erich Deutsch claimed that most of the known locks of Schubert's hair were removed in 1863 at the first exhumation of his body. The bizarre way in which Schubert's physical remains were handled during the exhumation is illustrated by the fact that the composer Benedikt Randhartinger, once personally acquainted with Schubert, took one of Schubert's rib bones as a memento.[46] In 1828, immediately after Schubert's death, only two locks of hair seem to have been removed: one by Dr. Louis Kainzlsberger, sent to Franz von Hartmann in Linz,[47] the other by

41 Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv, A 253 [PhA 1108].

42 See Deutsch, DEr, 345–46; for the text of the 'letters' see Deutsch, DDok, 457; for a facsimile of the autograph's inner pages see NGA VII/1,4, XIV.

43 The leaf's content, dated 27 September 1823, with a setting of the words "Das Schöne zum Guten" (WoO 202) was first published in Alexander W. Thayer, *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Werke Ludwig van Beethoven's* (Berlin: Schneider, 1865), 152. Listen to it on: https://www.beethoven.de/de/work/view/5074957172211712/%26quot%3BDas+Sch%C3%B6ne+zum+Guten%26quot%3B%2C+Albumblatt+WoO+202?fromArchive=5937910725476352, accessed 15 April 2023.

44 Aringer, "Angedenken," 119.

45 While it was probably not a memento owned by the Pachlers, there is evidence of a lock of Schubert's hair in Graz from the 1960s, owned by a Dr. Max Königsbrun, the whereabouts of which are unknown at present. See Konrad Stekl, "Zur Dokumentation der Grazer Beethoven- und Schubert-Locken," *Blätter für Heimatkunde* 41 (1967): 17–24.

46 In addition, he apparently stole a piece from Beethoven's death robe which he divided and is said to have then passed off a piece of it as Schubert's death robe. Schuchard, "Teueres Andenken," 193.

47 See Deutsch DEr, 318–22. The hair, belonging to Hartmann, was auctioned in 2014. See https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/21845/lot/274/, accessed 15 April 2023.

the sculptor Josef Alois Dialer.[48] Moreover, Franz Schubert's brother Ferdinand also possessed hair of his brother, maybe given to him by Dialer. It was later preserved by his daughter Emma Prossenag (née Schubert), Franz Schubert's niece. Hereafter, the lock of hair entered the Otto Taussig collection and was given to the Lund University Library in 1969 (see Illustration 5).[49]

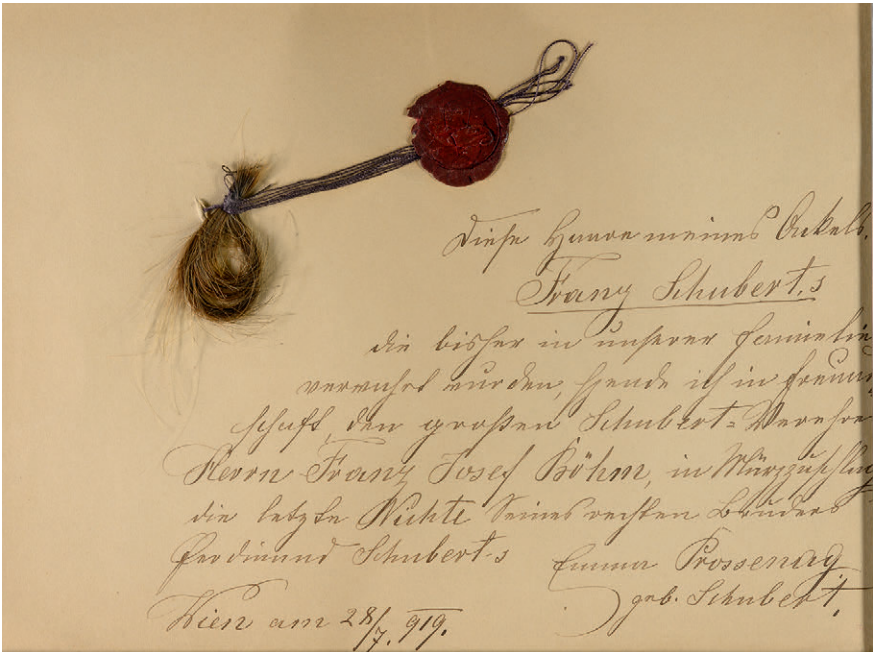


Illustration 5: Franz Schubert's lock of hair with confirmation of authenticity by his niece. Universitetsbiblioteket Lund, Taussig H42, urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-402604 (Public Domain).

48 See https://www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=bild_de.pl&_dokid=bi:i2697, accessed 15 April 2023. Deutsch published the hair's photograph in DBi, 58, see also note 58 vol. 3 in the appendix 10.

49 Universitetsbiblioteket Lund, Taussig H42. On the leaf on which the hair is mounted, it says: "Diese Haare meines Onkels, Franz Schubert's, die bisher in unserer Fami[e]lie verwahrt wurden, spende ich in Freundschaft, dem grossen Schubert-Verehrer Herrn Franz Joseph Böhm, in Mürzzuschlag / die letzte Nichte Seines rechten Bruders Ferdinand Schubert's. Emma Prossenag, geb. Schubert. Wien am 28/7 [1]919." ("This hair of my uncle, Franz Schubert, which has been kept in our family until now, I donate in friendship to the great Schubert admirer Mr. Franz Joseph Böhm, in Mürzzuschlag / the last niece of his right brother Ferdinand Schubert. Emma Prossenag, née Schubert. Vienna on 28/7 [1]919.")

Aside from the lock of Schubert's hair taken by Dialer, Otto Erich Deutsch presents pictures of some other memorabilia originating from Schubert's possession: his eye glasses, his writing set, armchair and desk, a piano, two guitars and a violin once belonging to Schubert.[50] The correspondence between these objects and the postcard described earlier should be noted (see Illustration 2). Objects like these make the past physical vitality of the composer tangible, while at the same time they are exalted to monuments of genius.

A sung birthday present

With regard to women's agency in Biedermeier Vienna, a quite famous incident from Schubert's circle shall finally be discussed. Similar to the already mentioned *Kindermarsch*, written at the request of Marie Pachler for the celebration of the name day of her husband, is the genesis of *Ständchen* D 920. The story of the piece, composed only three months earlier than the four-hand piano piece for Pachler, is well-known. The poem was commissioned from Franz Grillparzer by Anna Fröhlich.[51] At her request, Schubert then set *Ständchen* in July 1827. Again, the occasion was a personal matter: the piece was meant to celebrate the birthday of Anna Fröhlich's voice student Louise Gosmar, the future wife of the lawyer and music lover Leopold Sonnleithner, who is considered the founder of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. *Ständchen* should function as a performed birthday present, bound to this particular event. As the piece was planned to be sung at the party exclusively by women, Schubert changed the original scoring, which required men's voices, and created a second version for mezzo-soprano and soprano-alto-chorus.[52] Not only does Grillparzer's poem itself praise friendship, the first performance of the part song clearly framed *Ständchen* as a gesture of friendship in a rather private context and a result of women's cultural agency in Schubert's Vienna.

Anna Fröhlich, the eldest of the Fröhlich sisters, was herself an excellent singer and pianist. But she had an even bigger impact in the Viennese music scene, being a renowned vocal teacher and member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. She is considered the first female professor of the Vienna Con-

50 Deutsch, DBi, 47, 51, 49, 52.

51 Ingeborg Harer, "Anna Fröhlich," in *MUGI. Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung: Lexikon und multimediale Präsentationen*, eds. Beatrix Borchard and Nina Noeske, Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, 2003 (17 April 2018), https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000272, accessed 15 April 2023.

52 This second version is now in Tokyo/Japan (Musashino Ongaku Daigaku), [PhA 1131]. The manuscript may have been sold by Anna Fröhlich in later years, as it is known that she raised funds for a Grillparzer memorial by selling Schubert autographs.

servatory.[53] From around 1820, Schubert was a regular guest of the Fröhlich sisters and became a close friend of the house. The Fröhlich sisters were also important protagonists of the music events at the family houses of Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and Leopold von Sonnleithner. Anna, Barbara, Katharina and Josephine Fröhlich as well as Irene Kiesewetter (married Prokesch-Osten), Raphael's daughter, certainly are female key figures in the circle of people around Franz Schubert in Vienna. The agency of these women followed nineteenth-century gender expectations. Their musical performances, especially as pianists and singers, took place in the semi-public spaces of musical-literary salons and similar venues like the 'Abend-Unterhaltungen der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde'.[54] Although women's activities in this realm were not less influential than those of men, they were considered less relevant in the established music history of the past.

Conclusion: Musical activities between 'public' and 'private'?

The asymmetry of gender relations is inscribed in the bourgeois gender model and deeply anchored in the leading social concepts of the nineteenth century. It is often associated with the juxtaposition of private and public spheres. Being aware of the socio-historical and ideological construction of the dichotomy between 'public' and 'private' life, one should not forget to ask about the private involvements and dependencies of the seemingly autonomous public men or assume that women in the privacy of their homes could not also be influential beyond them.[55] Underlying this is the polarization of sexual stereotypes,

53 Ingeborg Harer, "anna fröhlich (1793–1880) – sängerin, pianistin, erste professorin," in *spiel-|mach|t|raum. frauen* an der mdw 1817–2017*^{plus}, eds. Andrea Ellmeier, Birgit Huebener, and Doris Ingrisch, mdw – Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien, 2017 (2 August 2019), https://www.mdw.ac.at/spielmachtraum/artikel/anna-froehlich, accessed 15 April 2023. See also the chapter by Eva Neumayr in this book.

54 Starting in 1817, these musical evenings, regularly scheduled on Thursdays between 7pm and 9pm, "were more like events in Viennese salons than public concerts." Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Music and Culture in Schubert's Vienna," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert's Winterreise*, eds. Marjorie W. Hirsch and Lisa Feurzeig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 11–23, esp. 19. On musical culture in Vienna, which in Schubert's day did not yet have an institutionalized public concert life in the modern sense, see also Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Franz Schubert* (Munich: Beck, 2011), 23–28.

55 See Karin Hausen, "Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit. Gesellschaftspolitische Konstruktionen und die Geschichte der Geschlechterbeziehungen," in *Feministische Theorie und Kritische Medienkulturanalyse. Ausgangspunkte und Perspektiven*, eds. Tanja Thomas and Ulla Wischermann (Bielefeld: transcript, 2020), 263–68. See also the chapter by Nancy November in this volume.

meant to limit the agency of women to spaces that are considered adequate.[56] Following Melanie Unseld, the terminology should be questioned with regard to the nineteenth-century concept of the 'house' as "social place of music practice and knowledge production" since a demarcation between privacy and the public sphere does not correspond to the practices she observes in Viennese family houses of the time.[57] Yet, looking generally at the musical and cultural activities in interiors or homes, the unprejudiced assumption of two flexible spheres – the public and the private – still seems useful.[58] These, however, have to be understood not only as closely intertwined and often overlapping, but mutually dependent.[59] In Vienna as well as in other nineteenth-century cultural centers domestic musical exchange significantly shaped public music life. In this view, especially regarding Schubert's circle, women's agency not only gains importance, but has to be considered as indispensable.

By way of conclusion, I would like to recall Schubert's und Jenger's *Erinnerungsblatt für Frau Pachler* praising the "dear housewife". It perfectly captures the fact that women's agency was confined to spaces more hidden from public view. Through commemorative objects and gestures, as a different lens, it is possible to contribute to the reconstruction of women's participation in the musical life of the time – just as their participation in a culture of admiration that idealized and canonized musical celebrities as geniuses. For far too

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56 Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-division: The Polarisation of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century – An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life" (1976), in *The German Family. Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*, eds. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee. Routledge Revivals (London: Routledge, 2015), 51–83, esp. 61. For a broader discussion of the momentous transformation of the European gender system between 1750 and 1830 see Ulrike Gleixner and Marion W. Gray, eds. *Gender in Transition. Discourse and Practice in German-Speaking Europe, 1750–1830* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

57 "Das 'Haus' war auch im 'langen' 19. Jahrhundert ein sozialer Ort der Musikpraxis und Wissensproduktion [...]. Die Vorstellung einer Privatheit [...] nimmt eine Grenzziehung zur Öffentlichkeit an, die den Praktiken in einem 'Haus' im oben genannten Sinne nicht entspricht." Melanie Unseld, "Familien-Netzwerke und musikalische Wissensproduktion. Die Familien Kiesewetter und Ambros," in *Paare in Kunst und Wissenschaft*, eds. Christine Fornoff-Petrowski and Melanie Unseld. Musik – Kultur – Gender 18 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2021), 291–312, esp. 295. For a questioning of Hansen's model concerning its static nature and impermeability see Rebekka Habermas, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums. Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 182–83, 315–16, and 327–28.

58 See the many different approaches in Sabine Meine and Henrike Rost, eds. *Klingende Innenräume.* Gender*Perspektiven auf eine ästhetische und soziale Praxis im Privaten*, Musik – Kultur – Geschichte 12 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2020).

59 It should be noted that dichotomies such as 'private/public' and 'nature/culture' are not a priori given, but are subject to changes and formed in a dynamic process depending on culture and time. See Rebekka Habermas, "Geschlechtergeschichte und 'anthropology of gender'. Geschichte einer Begegnung," *Historische Anthropologie* 1, no. 3 (December 1993): 485–509, esp. 494.

long, women as well as the domestic environment were of secondary interest to historiography. The musical memorabilia discussed here – locks of hair, leaves, and letters – mirror the desire to conserve personal involvement and cultural affiliation in objects. This perspective underlines the crucial role of musical activities related to domestic sociability for nineteenth-century musical culture. Since memorabilia as well as femininity have been attributed to the realm of emotionality, feeling and sensation, it may come as little surprise that memorabilia, too, have long been rather on the sidelines of music research. Objects can help us to develop a more nuanced and diverse historical picture.

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Salon Culture

German Romantics in the Viennese Salon. On Caroline Pichler's Literary Network

Elisabeth Grabenweger

The Austrian writer Caroline Pichler (1769-1843) was by far the most productive and successful German-language author at the beginning of the nineteenth century. She also ran an extremely well-attended salon at her home in Vienna until the 1820s. At the same time, she was already regarded by her contemporaries as staid, conservative, and rigidly Catholic. Nevertheless, it was Pichler's bourgeois, old-fashioned salon that became the meeting place of the German Romantics in Vienna from 1807. Zacharias Werner was a guest, as were August Wilhelm, Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck and Clemens Brentano. This essay explores the relationship between the progressive, libertarian, and cosmopolitan Romanticists and the Austrian author who was perceived as provincial. It will be shown that it was precisely the façade of the well-behaved 'housewife writer' that allowed for an open-minded, religiously permeable, and socially integrative position.

Romanticism was not a unified phenomenon. More than any other historical, cultural or political movement in European intellectual history it can be differentiated several times according to time and place. Berlin Romanticism, for example, is not Jena Romanticism or Heidelberg Romanticism, and Viennese Romanticism, despite geographical, political, and temporal proximity, is by no means to be confused with the Munich manifestation. This peculiarity of clear local distinctiveness is inherent to Romanticism as an epistemological paradigm. It has "diagnostic value" and at the same time points to "the ubiquity, urbanity, and restlessness of this first modern literary movement in the German-speaking world."[1] Both the early emphatic-revolutionary Romanticism,

1 Christian Aspalter et al., "Stichworte zu den Paradoxien der Romantik in Wien (1806–1828)," in *Paradoxien der Romantik. Gesellschaft, Kultur und Wissenschaft in Wien im Frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christian Aspalter, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Edith Saurer, Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, and Anton Tantner (Vienna: Facultas, 2006), 13. Original quote: "diagnostischen Wert" – "die Ubiquität, Urbanität und Unruhe dieser ersten modernen literarischen Suchbewegung im deutschen Sprachraum." This and all following translations are by the author.

with its aesthetic avant-garde pretensions, and the late programmatically Catholic and conservative Romanticism, increasingly concerned with questions of history and politics, established as their inner drive and raison d'être a paradox that can most succinctly be described as the "tradition of rupture."[2] From the beginning, for example, the representatives of Romanticism were vehement advocates of progress while at the same time returning to myth and thus to pre-Enlightenment thinking.

Literary Romanticism in Vienna is also characterized by contradictions, breaks and paradoxes. Its beginning and end can still be relatively clearly identified, despite a well-founded distrust of epochal boundaries. August Wilhelm Schlegel's *Lectures on dramatic art and literature* at the University of Vienna in 1808 and the conclusion of the *Congress of Vienna* in 1815 mark the beginning and end, respectively, of Romanticism in Vienna. The relationship of the Romantics to Vienna and Austria, however, was anything but uncomplicated. Since Prussia's defeat by Napoleon at Jena and Auerstedt in October 1806, an increasing number of mostly Protestant Romantics from the German lands and Prussia came to the Catholic empire of Austria, which at the time could be seen as Napoleon's only serious competitor in the center of Europe. This clash between the contentious, intellectual and above all sober scholarship of Protestantism and the Baroque-influenced culture of staging and theater can be understood as a "history of cultural strangeness"[3] despite numerous expressions of sympathy by the German Romantics for state and religion. But the history of Romanticism in Vienna would not be as complex and paradoxical as it is if a great intimacy and productive confrontation were not also recognizable.[4]

Exemplary of this contradictory relationship is the particularly exciting connection of the Austrian author and Viennese salonière Caroline Pichler to Romanticism and the Romantics, in particular to Zacharias Werner, August Wilhelm, Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel. Pichler (see Illustration 1) was by far the most successful Austrian author at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was one of the most widely read writers ever.[5] She published poetry, prose, and drama, was translated many times, and achieved European fame

2 Octavio Paz, *Die andere Zeit der Dichtung. Von der Romantik zur Avantgarde* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1990), 11–33. German quote: "Tradition des Bruchs."

3 Aspalter et al., "Stichworte," 8. Original quote: "Geschichte kultureller Fremdheit."

4 A good overview is offered by Wynfried Kriegleder, "Die Romantik in Österreich," in *Literaturgeschichte Österreichs. Von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Herbert Zeman (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1996), 361–76.

5 Exact reading figures can be found at Kurt Habitzel, and Günter Mühlberger, "Gewinner und Verlierer. Der historische Roman und sein Beitrag zum Literatursystem der Restaurationszeit," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Literatur* 22, no. 1 (1997): 102. See also the chapter by Anja Bunzel in this volume.

especially through her historical novel *Agathokles,* published in 1808.[6] She also ran a well-attended salon which she had taken over from her educated, scientifically curious and intellectual mother Charlotte Hieronymus, who had been Empress Maria Theresa's maid, reader and translator until her marriage to the court official Franz von Greiner in 1766 and thus had excellent connections to the court.[7]



Illustration 1: Caroline Pichler, 1818. Carl von Sales, Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 29513, CC BY 4.0, photograph by Birgit and Peter Kainz, Wien Museum.[8]

6 Anke Gilleir, "Geschlecht, Religion, Nation. Caroline Pichlers 'Agathokles' als Antwort auf den Nationalismus der napoleonischen Ära," *Colloquia Germania* 35 (2002): 125–44. See also Wynfrid Kriegleder, "Die 'Eigenen' und die 'Fremden' in den historischen Romanen der Caroline Pichler," in *Paradoxien der Romantik*, 401–20. For more on Pichler's connections to Viennese and Bohemian cultural circles see the chapter by Anja Bunzel in this book.

7 Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017), 366–67; Brigitte Donnelly, "Charlotte von Greiner und ihr bürgerlicher Salon im Wien des 18. Jahrhunderts" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1997). See also the chapter on Caroline Pichler and her Bohemian connections by Anja Bunzel in this book.

8 https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/en/object/8/

Pichler's salon

The salon under Charlotte Greiner and her daughter Caroline Pichler was an example of what the Enlightenment philosopher and university professor Josef Sonnenfels called a "gathering of the reasonable part of town."[9] Civil servants and artists as well as intellectuals, aristocrats and politicians of the most diverse orientations met at the twice-weekly evening societies. Among the visitors were such diverse personalities as the Tyrolean freedom fighter and anti-Napoleonic patriotic author Joseph von Hormayr, the Freemason and author of the Austrian imperial anthem Lorenz Leopold Haschka and the German nationalist poet Theodor Körner as well as the liberal writer Eduard Bauernfeld. The authors Franz Grillparzer, Ferdinand Raimund, Therese von Artner, Matthäus as well as Heinrich von Collin, Karl Streckfuß and Wilhelmine Elisabeth van Nuys-Bertheau, the historian Julius Schneller and the composers Ludwig van Beethoven and Franz Schubert were also guests. The lawyer and court official Karl von Kempelen, son of the famous technical inventor Wolfgang von Kempelen, built the salon's first house theater, and his wife Antonie von Kempelen, née Sölnwager, played the piano. What was new was that Pichler's salon, following the example of her mother's, was less about etiquette and status than about intellectual and artistic exchange. The salon was thus one of those centers in which a new status began to develop in Vienna at the beginning of the nineteenth century that was to become extremely influential in the following decades, namely that of the educated middle class.[10]

9 Heinz Gerstinger, *Altwiener literarische Salons. Wiener Salonkultur vom Rokoko bis zur Neoromantik (1777-1907)* (Salzburg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002), 44. Original quote: "Zusammenkünfte des vernünftigen Teils der Stadt."

10 Pichler herself emphasizes both her belonging to the 'middle class' and the differences between aristocratic societies and those of the middle class. Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, vol. 1 (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914), 322; Caroline Pichler, "Ueber die Art der geselligen Unterhaltungen," in *Huldigung den Frauen. Ein neues Taschenbuch*, ed. Ignaz Franz Castelli (Leipzig: Industrie-Comptoir 1823), 150–171. See also Waltraud Heindl, "Caroline Pichler oder der bürgerliche Fortschritt. Lebensideale und Lebensrealität von österreichischen Beamtenfrauen," in *Von Bürgern und ihren Frauen*, ed. Margret Friedrich, and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), 197–207.

Pichler and Romanticism

Pichler's salon was a place of social gathering that aspired to be socially, religiously and politically integrative, an ideal that was also cultivated in the large Berlin salons of the time.[11] However, the otherwise tolerant writer and salonière initially had little sympathy for Romanticism, the intellectual and artistic movement which caused a particular furor at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In her autobiography *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben,* she states:

> It was the epoch in which Schlegel, Tieck, etc. had also appeared, the so-called Romanticism had first appeared, and indeed with great acclaim, poetic poetry had been set up in contrast to the hitherto practiced and appreciated, and many authorities whom we had hitherto venerated were to be brought down from their altars by the new school, as it was called. Quite a few also believed this new gospel; incomparably more, however, could not be misled in their cheap veneration for Schiller, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, etc.[12]

Pichler, who valued the continuity of literary traditions, was skeptical of the Romantic movement, which initially drew its sense of purpose and its raison d'être from the explicit break its protagonists made from the literary establishment. She even went so far as to interpret the Romantics' rejection of almost all contemporary star authors such as "Schiller, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock" as a symptom of weakness and inadequacy. Pichler saw the Romanticists' low literary but high theoretical-critical productivity as the reason for their literary-historical reckoning, and for the almost religious exaltation of Johann Wolfgang Goethe as the only author to be accepted:

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11 The term 'salon' should not obscure the fact that these social gatherings in Vienna, Berlin, Paris etc. were not mass events with the same characteristics, but rather social and cultural practices and networks of different sizes and in different ways. Differentiated reflections on this and the Berlin situation can be found in Hanna Lotte Lund, Ulrike Schneider, Ulrike Wels, "Einleitung: Zehn These – Für Henriette Herz – gegen den 'Salon'," in *Die Kommunikations-, Wissens- und Handlungsräume der Henriette Herz (1764–1847)*, ed. Lund, Schneider, and Wels (Göttingen: V&R unipress 2017), 9–20; Hanna Lotte Lund, *Der Berliner "jüdische Salon" um 1800. Emanzipation in der Debatte* (Berlin, and Boston: de Gruyter 2012), esp. 216–217. On Berlin, see also Deborah Hertz, *Die jüdischen Salons im alten Berlin 1780-1806* (Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1991).

12 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 300–1. Original quote: "Es war die Zeitepoche, in welcher auch die Schlegel, Tieck u.a. aufgetreten waren, das sogenannte Romantische sich zuerst und zwar mit großem Beifalle zeigte, die poetische Poesie im Gegensatz der bisher geübten und geschätzten aufgestellt, und viele Autoritäten, die wir bisher verehrt hatten, durch: die neue Schule, wie sie genannt wurde, von ihren Altären herabgestürzt werden sollten. Gar viele glaubten auch diesem neuen Evangelium; ungleich mehrere aber ließen sich in ihrer billigen Verehrung für Schiller, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock usw. nicht irre machen."

> The Schlegel brothers would have loved to play a major role in the scholarly world, but since they felt and – because they were truly excellent minds – also clearly saw that they would only occupy a subordinate place next to the already existing matadors in fine literature, they would have thrown themselves into criticism, and, by endeavoring to pull down from its standpoint that which had been revered until then, they would have sought to win space for themselves and their followers [...]. Only one among the living they allowed to be valid, Goethe, and by choosing him as their luminary and installing him with a tremendous portion of incense to it, as it were, they sought to protect themselves by his fame, his reputation in Germany, his authority, taking refuge under the shadow of his wings.[13]

Pichler, herself a great admirer of Goethe, rejected Romanticism, which was quickly successful with its rigorous repudiation of literary greats. The dogmatic Catholic Viennese writer formed a counterpoint not only with regard to literary traditions, but also with regard to the religious conduct of the Romantics. Not only did she not believe the Romantics' self-portrayal as absolutely new, she also emphasised their recourse to pre-Enlightenment, even medieval literary-religious traditions. To this end, she states:

> At the same time as these efforts to assert the new poetry and point of view at the expense of everything old, a certain hyper-religious sense dawned in the new products. It was not really piety, fear of God, a view of the eternal; it was a spasmodic subordination to outdated views, which was quite inseparable from crass sensuality and dishonest impulses.[14]

In particular, Pichler rejected Friedrich Schlegel's 'lurid' novel *Lucinde* (1799), Zacharias Werner's dramatic poem *The Sons of Thales* (1803), and other "höchst seltsame Geburten" (most strange births), such as Schlegel's dramas *Alarcos*

13 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 301. Original quote: "Die Gebrüder Schlegel hätten gar zu gern eine große Rolle in der gelehrten Welt gespielt, da sie aber fühlten, und – weil sie wirklich treffliche Köpfe waren – auch deutlich einsahen, daß sie auf produktivem Wege neben den schon bestehenden Matadoren in der schönen Literatur doch nur einen untergeordneten Platz einnehmen würden, hätten sie sich auf die Kritik geworfen, und, indem sie das bisher Verehrte von seinem Standpunkt herabzuziehen bemüht waren, Raum für sich und ihre Anhänger zu gewinnen gesucht [...]. Nur einen unter den Lebenden ließen sie gelten, Goethe, und indem sie ihn zu ihrem Koryphäus wählten und ihn mit einer ungeheuren Portion Weihrauch dazu gleichsam installierten, suchten sie sich durch seinen Ruhm, sein Ansehen in Deutschland, seine Autorität zu schützen, sie flüchteten unter den Schatten seiner Flügel."

14 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 301–2. Original quote: "Zugleich zu diesen Bestrebungen, die neue Poesie und Ansicht auf Kosten alles Alten geltend zu machen, dämmerte auch ein gewisser hyperreligiöser Sinn in den neuen Erzeugnissen auf. Es war nicht eigentlich Frömmigkeit, Gottesfurcht, Hinblick aufs Ewige; es war ein krampfhaft wundergläubiges Unterordnen unter veraltete Ansichten, das sich mit krasser Sinnlichkeit und unlautern Trieben ganz nachbarlich vertrug."

(1802) and *Lacrymas* (1803). As a convinced Catholic she was disturbed both by the "sanctimonious tendency" of the two Catholic converts Friedrich Schlegel and Zacharias Werner and by their mythical-mysterious religiosity.[15] The explicit sensuality and the (literary) exploration of moral-ethical boundaries also caused irritation in Viennese society, as will be shown.

Zacharias Werner's sensual religiosity meets Pichler's pragmatic Catholicism

Despite Caroline Pichler's religious, aesthetic, moral, political and social reservations about the Romantics, renowned representatives of Romanticism met in her salon within a very short time of Prussia's defeat by Napoleon's France in October 1806. The first arrival was Zacharias Werner, who came to Vienna at the beginning of June 1807 after finishing his employment as a chamber secretary in Prague. He was introduced to Pichler's salon by Heinrich von Collin only two weeks later on Monday, 15 June.[16] Already during this first lengthy personal encounter with the Romantics it became apparent that Pichler's initial rejection of Romanticism gave way to a partly distanced but differentiated and tolerant assessment. With much wit, she reports in her *Denkwürdigkeiten* about Werner's romantic concept of love and about his actual amorous behavior. According to Pichler, the main reason he felt comfortable in her house was that "some pretty young women" came to the social evenings and he made advances toward them. These, however, remained unrequited, "because although Werner was not exactly ugly, only his fame as a poet [...] could have moved a woman, and especially a beautiful woman, to offer him a kiss."[17] In fact, however, Werner often wanted to discuss this topic theoretically with his hostess, since he "actually had the profession of talking about love, seeking it, spreading it, etc."[18]

In the published version of her autobiography, Pichler claims that she did not fully understand the "actual meaning [of Werner's speeches]."[19] However, the original manuscript clearly shows how she combined Werner's actual amo-

15 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 302. Original quote: "grelle" – "höchst seltsame Geburten" – "frömmelnde Tendenz."

16 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 567–68.

17 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 303–4. Original quote: "einige hübsche, jungen Frauen" – "denn obgleich Werner nicht eben häßlich war, hätte doch nur allenfalls sein Dichterruhm [...] eine Frau und zumal eine schöne Frau bewegen können, ihm einen Kuß zu bieten."

18 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 304. Original quote: "eigentlich den Beruf habe, über Liebe zu sprechen, sie zu suchen, zu verbreiten usw."

19 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 304. Original quote: "eigentlichen Sinn [von Werners Reden] nicht ganz verstanden."

rous behavior with his theoretical ethics of love, thereby defusing both and integrating them into her social-moral concept of a Biedermeier salon. The manuscript states:

> He claimed that true love must be the work of a moment, a lightning that strikes two hearts at the same time, ignites and purifyingly consumes them. When we answered him that true love must be based on respect and therefore it can only arise after a longer acquaintance, he claimed that this is not to be called love at all, that true love arises at once and lasts forever. But he himself [...] has experienced more such eternities in his life of which perhaps — or rather certainly — none was the right one.[20]

While here, with laconic wit and playfulness, a return is made to the stability of a concept of society and marriage that is oriented toward moderation and harmony, Pichler – and with her the entire Catholic intelligentsia in Austria – finds it much more difficult to come to an understanding with regard to another topic. The Catholic religious practice taken up by the actually Protestant or Jewish socialized Romantics, especially the "mixture of religious asceticism and carnal pleasure" propagated by Werner,[21] could only be countered by formal social manners. For example, Werner connected the religious idea of infinity with the act of sexual intercourse and with death. He held that the goal of every human being must be to merge with the infinite and that there were only two ways to achieve this goal, namely through sensual pleasure and through death. He also believed that "Protestantism had made the arts dead" and wanted to discuss these issues with the Catholic Pichler. The latter, however, strictly refused any conversation with Werner about religion, arguing that "the subject [was] not suitable to be dealt with in convivial circles."[22] Nevertheless, Werner remained a frequent and welcome guest in Pichler's salon during his stay in Vienna in the summer and fall of 1807 and took leave of her

20 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 568–69. Original quote: "Er behauptete: Die wahre Liebe müsse das Werk eines Augenblicks sein, ein Blitz der zugleich in zwei Herzen einschlägt, sie entzündet und reinigend verzehrt. Als wir ihm antworteten, wahre Liebe müsse auf Hochachtung gegründet sein und folglich könne sie nur nach längerer Bekanntschaft entstehn, behauptete er, das sei gar keine Liebe zu nennen, jene wahre Liebe entstehe auf einmal und dauere ewig. Er selbst aber [...] hat in seinem Leben mehr solche Ewigkeiten erlebt, wovon vielleicht oder vielmehr gewiß keine die rechte war."

21 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 568. Original quote: "Gemisch von religiöser Askese und fleischlicher Lust."

22 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 304–5. Original quote: "Protestantismus die Künste tot gemacht habe" – "der Gegenstand nicht geeignet [sei], um in geselligen Kreisen abgehandelt zu werden."

in October with a mannered letter in which he dubbed her a "born priestess of the sanctuary" and an "excellent woman."[23]

Werner increasingly fell into Catholic mysticism and went in an "exalted, strange direction" according to Pichler. He published religiously-themed dramas such as *Attila, King of the Huns* (1808), *Wanda, Queen of the Sarmatians* (1810), and *Cunegunde, the Saint* (1815), which for Pichler, despite "great beauties and manifest evidence of genius," were primarily the "births of a stray imagination."[24]

August Wilhelm Schlegel in Pichler's salon

Soon after Werner's visit, starting in the winter of 1807/08, a veritable onslaught of romantics arrived at Pichler's salon, which this time also developed into long-term connections. The first of these was August Wilhelm Schlegel, who came to Vienna in the company of the famous French writer Germaine de Staël, a "femme supérieure" according to Pichler,[25] who had been banished from Paris by Napoleon. De Staël was only once and rather reluctantly in Pichler's salon and thereafter referred to the Viennese disparagingly as "la Muse du Faubourg"[26] and to her or her mother's guests as "Tricoteuses de la tribune."[27] The situation was quite different with A. W. Schlegel, who often visited Pichler and immediately became "the favorite of many intellectual, educated women" and not only "because of his pleasant appearance."[28] Although Viennese society expected a controversial and sharp-tongued scholar because of his and his brother's "feuds with Kotzebue and Merkel," their "idolatry of Goethe" and their pointed "new theories of poetry,"[29] A. W. Schlegel appeared, as Pichler

23 Letter from Zacharias Werner to Caroline Pichler, dated 26 October 1807, *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 40 (3 April 1838): 314. Original quote: "geborne Priesterin des Heiligthums" – "vortreffliche[...] Frau."

24 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 305. Original quotes: "exaltierte, seltsame Richtung" – "große Schönheiten und offenbare Beweise von Genialität" – "Geburten einer verirrten Einbildungskraft."

25 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 311.

26 Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom, *Aufzeichnungen des schwedischen Poets P. D. A. Atterbom über berühmte deutsche Männer und Frauen nebst Reiseerinnerungen aus Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin: Heymann, 1867), 199.

27 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 321. Original quote: "Tricoteuses de la tribune."

28 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 312. Original quotes: "aufgrund seines angenehmen Äußern" – "der Liebling vieler geistvollen, gebildeten Frauen."

29 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 326. Original quotes: "Fehden mit Kotzebue und Merkel" – "Vergötterung Goethes" – "neuen Theorien von Poesie."

recalled in her autobiography, as an "elegant scholar" who was "[i]n conversation [...] very genteel, very witty."[30]

A. W. Schlegel was the first Romantic to convince Pichler — and with her a considerable part of the Viennese intelligentsia — of his literary-theoretical and critical views. In contrast to Werner, his conception of Romanticism did not consist of religious-mystical and sexualized phantasmagorias, nor did he conceive of Romanticism as a national affair. Rather, it sprang from an intensive study of the Spanish playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca and William Shakespeare. His fifteen Vienna lectures *Über dramatische Kunst* — which he was allowed to give in the spring of 1808 with the dispensation of the emperor and in which he presented his view of Romanticism — were extremely well attended, with about three hundred listeners at each lecture, among them Caroline Pichler.[31]

The visit of Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel as a Viennese event

For the fall of 1808, half a year after A. W. Schlegel's highly acclaimed lectures, two more romantics, whose arrival had been announced for months, were expected in Vienna. They were A. W. Schlegel's brother Friedrich and his wife Dorothea Schlegel. The latter was born in 1763 into the educated Berlin upper middle class, the daughter of the well-known Jewish Enlightenment philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. At the age of nineteen Dorothea Mendelssohn was married to the banker Simon Veit, with whom she had two sons. In 1797, in early Romantic circles, she met the philosopher, writer and later Romantic theorist Friedrich Schlegel. In the same year she left her husband for him and changed her Jewish first name Brendel to Dorothea, which means 'gift of the gods'. In 1804 she also converted to Protestantism and married Friedrich Schlegel.[32] In April 1808, just a few months before their arrival in Vienna, the couple converted to Catholicism together in Cologne, and Catholicism would subsequently become the definitive religion of the Romantics. About the great sensation that the announcement of the imminent arrival of the two in Vienna caused, Pichler states:

30 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 312. Original quotes: "eleganter Gelehrter" – "[i]m Umgange [...] sehr artig, sehr geistreich."

31 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 325, 587–88. See also Claudia Bamberg, "August Wilhelm Schlegel's Wiener Vorlesungen im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 258, no. 2 (2021): 280–95.

32 Elisabeth Grabenweger et al., ed., "'Die Neuesten Werke der Litteratur sind ganz ungenießbar für mich'. Zwölf Briefe von Dorothea Schlegel an Caroline Pichler," *ÖGL–Österreich, Geschichte, Literatur, Geographie* 64, no. 2 (2020): 321.

> Everyone was eagerly awaiting this pair; for next to the well-deserved literary fame that preceded Friedrich von Schlegel and had long since earned him the respect of the scholarly world, a more piquant attraction was added. One was pleased to finally meet face to face the confrontational opponent of Merkel and Kotzebue, the man who, as the founder of a new poetic school, wanted to topple so many long honored authorities from their altars and, in the opinion of many, had also toppled them. His book, the notorious Lucinde as well as most of what had flowed from the pen of these two brothers about five or six years earlier, had astonished Germany; but had been received by most with recognition of their great erudition, but on the whole with disapproval [...] and so one looked forward eagerly to their mutual appearance.[33]

When after a brief stay in Paris Friedrich and Dorothea Schlegel actually arrived in Vienna, where Friedrich Schlegel took up a post as court secretary to the imperial army commission,[34] it became apparent that the scandalous and fashionable image that had been formed from a distance of the Romantic movement, and of the couple in particular, had no counterpart in their actual conduct and demeanor. Pichler formulated the general disillusionment of Viennese society as follows:

> But if A. W. Schlegel, with his dainty, fashionable and almost exaggeratedly careful appearance, had already disappointed general expectation, which had been prepared to encounter a capable poseur and rough and harsh critic whose manners had not been softened by contact with the fine arts, so was found in his brother even less of this disagreeable image designed by the imagination. Friedrich Schlegel was a man of about forty – with a rather pleasant education

33 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 327. Original quote: "Alles war sehr gespannt auf dieses Paar; denn nächst dem wohlverdienten literarischen Ruhm, der Friedrich von Schlegel voranging und ihm schon längst die Achtung der Gelehrtenwelt erworben hatte, gesellte sich noch ein pikanterer Reiz dazu. Man freute sich, den streitfertigen Gegner Merkels und Kotzebues, den Mann, der als Gründer einer neuen poetischen Schule so viele langverehrte Autoritäten von ihren Altären stürzen wollte und in Vieler leicht beweglicher Meinung auch gestürzt hatte – endlich auch den Verfasser der vielberüchtigten Lucinde von Angesicht zu Angesicht kennen zu lernen. Dieses Buch, sowie das meiste, was ungefähr 5–6 Jahre früher aus der Feder dieser beiden Brüder geflossen war, hatte Deutschland in Erstaunen gesetzt; war aber doch von den meisten zwar mit Anerkennung der großen Gelehrsamkeit, im ganzen aber mit Mißbilligung aufgenommen worden [...] und so sah man ihrer beiderseitigen Erscheinung begierig entgegen."

34 Johannes Endres, ed., *Friedrich Schlegel-Handbuch. Leben–Werk–Wirkung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2017), 350.

> but who in stature, face and demeanor was much more like a simple, honest bourgeois than a brawling and quarrelsome scholar.[35]

Disappointed expectations and the emergence of a friendship

While Friedrich Schlegel was simply expected to be a feisty scholar, as had been assumed when his brother arrived, the divorced and twice-converted writer Dorothea Schlegel was assumed to be the (literary) gender stereotype of a sensual, erotic woman who did not conform to the moral ideas of the bourgeoisie. In fact, shortly after getting to know her, Friedrich Schlegel had already begun to use the relationship to develop his romantic conceptions of man and society.[36] In particular, the novel *Lucinde,* published in 1799, which literarily processed a free romantic-erotic model of love, was read (by literary critics) as autobiographical and caused a veritable scandal. And in Vienna, too, people hoped to catch a glimpse of the novel's protagonist in Dorothea Schlegel; an expectation that, according to Pichler, was radically disappointed:

> Even more striking was the contrast between the image we have here of his wife, in whom everyone thought to find the archetype of the beautiful, lustful, free Lucinde, and the impression made by the real appearance of this woman. It was a figure long since moved beyond all youth and beauty – if ever there had been one – of medium, somewhat strong stature with witty, but almost masculine features, and some who knew her famous father claimed that she looked quite like him. Nevertheless, in these unattractive forms there was such an expression of spirit and higher nature, in these truly beautiful eyes so much life, fire and kindness, in this whole personality so much genuine feminine dignity, demure and refined decency, that it was impossible to think even for a moment longer of that slippery, impure image, and one felt drawn with powerful bonds of respect

35 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 327–28. Original quote: "Hatte aber schon A. W. Schlegel durch sein zierliches, fashionables und fast übertrieben sorgfältiges Äußeres die allgemeine Erwartung getäuscht, welche auf einen tüchtigen Renommisten und rauhen, scharfen Kritiker, dessen Sitten der Umgang mit den schönen Künsten nicht gemildert hat, vorbereitet war, so fand sich bei dessen Bruder noch weniger von diesem, durch die Phantasie entworfenen Bilde. Friedrich Schlegel war ein Mann gegen Vierzig – mit einer ziemlich angenehmen Bildung, der aber in Wuchs, Gesicht und Benehmen viel eher einem einfachen, redlichen Bürgersmann als einem schlag- und streitsüchtigen Gelehrten glich."

36 As early as 1800, Friedrich published the essay *Über Philosophie* (On Philosophy), in which he outlined his idea of a religion of humanity in which gender boundaries were dissolved. The essay appeared in the programmatic journal of early Romanticism *Athenäum* and referred to Dorothea Schlegel by the dedicatory subtitle *An Dorothea*. Friedrich Schlegel, "Ueber Philosophie. An Dorothea," *Athenaeum* 2, no. 1 (1800): 1–38.

> and goodwill to this strange, witty and yet so unassuming, much talked about, much tested and yet so simple woman.[37]

Pichler immediately became friends with the German writer couple and soon had almost daily contact with them. She regularly attended their evening parties, where she met Karoline, Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt, among other intellectuals.[38] The Schlegels also visited Pichler's salon and from 1824 even lived in Pichler's house in Alservorstadt for five years.[39] They shared a lifelong friendship, especially with Dorothea Schlegel which lasted even after Dorothea Schlegel moved to Frankfurt in September 1830 after almost twenty years in Vienna.[40]

Pichler's salon as the center of romanticism in Vienna

After Zacharias Werner and the later arrival of the Schlegel brothers and Dorothea Schlegel, other Romantics were soon guests of Pichler and also connected with her in other ways, both professionally and as friends. The German philosopher, state theorist, and romanticist Adam Müller, who came to Vienna in 1811, like Pichler wrote for the journal *Der österreichische Beobachter* founded by Friedrich Schlegel in Vienna in 1810, and the journal *Deutsches Museum*, founded in 1812, and frequently attended Pichler's evening parties. In addition, Ludwig Tieck, who had already achieved European fame in 1798 due to his artist novel *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, also came to Vienna in 1808 and frequented her salon. Tieck also introduced Pichler to the composer and roman-

37 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 328. Original quote: "Noch auffallender war der Kontrast zwischen dem Bilde, das wir uns hier von seiner Frau entworfen, in der jedermann das Urbild der schönen, lüsternen, freien Lucinde zu finden dachte, und dem Eindrucke, den die wirkliche Erscheinung dieser Frau machte. Es war eine, längst über alle Jugend und alle Schönheit – wenn je eine dagewesen war – hinausgerückte Gestalt, von mittlerem, etwas starkem Wuchse mit geistreichen, aber beinahe männlichen Zügen, wie denn manche, die ihren berühmten Vater gekannt, behaupteten, sie sähe ihm ganz ähnlich. Dennoch war in diesen nicht reizenden Formen ein solcher Ausdruck von Geist und höherer Natur, in diesen wirklich schönen Augen so viel Leben, Feuer und Güte, in dieser ganzen Persönlichkeit so viel echt weibliche Würde, sittsamer und feiner Anstand, daß es unmöglich war, auch nur einen Augenblick länger an jenes schlüpfrige, unsaubere Bild zu denken, und daß man sich mit mächtigen Banden der Achtung und des Wohlwollens zu dieser merkwürdigen, geistvollen und doch so anspruchslosen, zu dieser vielbesprochenen, vielgeprüften und doch so einfachen Frau hingezogen fühlte."

38 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* 1, 384 and 413.

39 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 2, 181–83 and 221.

40 The preserved letters bear witness to this friendship, which lasted over the distance, cf. Grabenweger et. al, "Zwölf Briefe von Dorothea Schlegel."

ticist Carl Maria von Weber and to Clemens Brentano, who was admitted to Pichler's salon in 1813 with a letter of recommendation from Tieck.[41]

Through her dealings with Werner, the Schlegels, Müller, Tieck, and Brentano, the Austrian Caroline Pichler, who although a successful writer was being received as staid, conservative and provincial, had within a few years become[42] the point of reference for the Romantics in Vienna. But why was it precisely that the salon of Pichler, who placed emphasis on moral-bourgeois domesticity, became the Viennese meeting place of the Romantics, who were considered libertarian, cosmopolitan and intellectual, and not one of the fashionable salons of the "Crême de la Société,"[43] as Pichler would have said?

Modesty as "masquerade" – Pichler's successful authorship and the integrative power of her salon

First of all, it should be noted that Pichler, despite her personal closeness to the Romantics, always maintained an appropriate distance from them both in terms of her self-presentation as an author and "in aesthetics."[44] Thus, with regard to her literary work, she consistently and explicitly purveyed a modesty that corresponded to the prevailing ideal-typical conception of femininity. She always emphasized that she had always subordinated her activities as a writer to her duties as a housewife, mother, and wife.[45] Even if this conventional self-portrayal of the "writing housewife"[46] can be seen as a "masquerade,"[47] as Korb and Gilleir have convincingly argued, it is still far removed from the offensively libertarian (self-)presentation of other women writers of the Romantic period. For example, Pichler criticized the more libertarian viewpoints of Bettina Brentano and Rahel Varnhagen as hypocritical and unfeminine in her 1836 essay *On Truth Against the World and Against Herself.*[48] At the

41 Eva Krill, "Der literarische Salon der Karoline Pichler (1796–1843) und der Wandel der Literatur in dessen Umkreis" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1999), 65.

42 On Pichler's reception, see Anke Gilleir, "'Was wollte denn die neue Schule nun endlich?' Autobiographie, Autorschaft und Moderne. Betrachtungen über Caroline Pichlers 'Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben' (1843) aus feldtheoretischer Perspektive," *ÖGL–Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 46, no. 3 (2002): 169–87.

43 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 322.

44 Johann Sonnleitner, "'Krasse Sinnlichkeiten und frömmelnde Tendenzen'. Wiener Salonszenen und Ansichten der Romantik," in *Paradoxien der Romantik*, 263.

45 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 131–33, 145 and 148–49.

46 Gilleir, "Agathokles," 126. Original quote: "schreibenden Hausfrau."

47 Susanne Kord, "'Und drinnen waltet die tüchtige Hausfrau '. Caroline Pichler's fictional auto/biographies," *Women in German. Yearbook* 8 (1992): 143.

48 Caroline Pichler, "Über Wahrheit gegen die Welt und gegen sich selbst," in *Sämmtliche Werke von Caroline Pichler*, vol. 59: *Zerstreute Blätter aus meinem Schreibtische* (Vienna: Pichler, 1845), 82–118.

same time, and in apparent contradiction to this, unlike Dorothea Schlegel, Bettina Brentano, Rahel Varnhagen, or Sophie Tieck, who were always at the center of Romantic circles but could publish only little and anonymously, she was able to publish over sixty independent works under her own name during her lifetime.[49] In addition, she published in all genres which amounted to a total of three complete editions during her lifetime.[50] Particularly noteworthy is her historical novel *Agathokles* which went through several editions within a short time and was translated into numerous languages. Against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars, Pichler dealt in it with political themes such as the nation, the nation-state, and nationalism. In this way, Pichler participated in the discourse of modern ideology and nation-building, from which women had actually been vehemently excluded since the French Revolution.[51]

And it is precisely in this paradox characterizing Pichler's authorship that I believe the reasons lie for the popularity among the Romantics of Pichler the writer and her salon. Pichler's salon, like the other great salons in Berlin, Vienna, or Paris, was conceived to be broad-minded. It fulfilled the "central prerequisites of European salon culture," namely "social and religious permeability" and "understanding across class boundaries."[52] Moreover, it conformed to the principle of the purposelessness of conversation and thus to Schleiermacher's *Theorie des geselligen Betragens* (Theory of sociable behavior) from 1799.[53] With this integrative power, Pichler's Viennese salon enjoyed lively attendance until the 1820s, while the Berlin salons were already in decline. The Romantics played a fatal role in the decline of the Berlin Jewish salons,[54] since they began to form their own circles that focused on exclusiveness, such as the *Christlich-Deutsche Tischgesellschaft* (Christian-German Table Society) founded in 1811 by Achim von Arnim and Adam Müller, which denied women and Jews

49 On Pichler's paradoxical position as an author, in which she combined a conservative-bourgeois attitude with successful literary activity, see Elisabeth Grabenweger, "Subversive Biederkeit? Caroline Pichlers erfolgreiche Autorschaft," in *Wien um 1800. Eine Großstadtkutur im historischen Umbruch*, ed. Lydia Rammerstorfer, Gernot Waldner, and Norbert Christian Wolf (in preparation).

50 The individual volumes (including translations) are listed at Constantin von Wurzbach, "Pichler, Karoline," in *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich,* vol. 22 (Vienna: Verlag der typografisch-literarisch-artistischen Anstalt, 1870), 242–53.

51 Gilleir, "Agathokles."

52 Sonnleitner, "Salonszenen," 257. Original quotes: "zentralen Voraussetzungen der europäischen Salonkultur" – "soziale und religiöse Durchlässigkeit" – "Verständigung über Standesgrenzen."

53 Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Versuch einer Theorie des geselligen Betragens," in *Bibliothek der Philosophie: Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1996), 65–91.

54 For the Berlin situation see Lund, Schneider, and Wels, ed., *Die Kommunikations-, Wissens- und Handlungsräume der Henriette Herz (1764–1847)*; Lund, *Der Berliner "jüdische Salon" um 1800*; and Hertz, *Die jüdischen Salons*.

admission. With this decidedly antisemitic and misogynistic orientation, the Romantics undermined the social and religious openness of the salons and thus their potentially socially integrative function which had enabled "the most heterogeneous individuals to come together in a communicating collective".[55]

The resistance of Pichler's universalism to anti-Romantic and anti-French sentiments

In Vienna, and especially in Pichler's salon, this exclusionary orientation of intellectual-sociable institutions and the concomitant autonomization of the literary field, which took place through professionalizations, i.e., exclusions,[56] was not so far advanced. The inclusive openness and purposeless conversation of Pichler's salon, moreover, succeeded in defusing among the salon's guests the conflicts of the restorative Metternich era and the nationalist and anti-Napoleonic agitations. The increasingly nationalistic romantics, who had come to Vienna precisely because of the wars of liberation against Napoleon, encountered Joseph von Hormayr in Caroline Pichler's salon, a state-loyal anti-Napoleonic agitator and Tyrolean 'freedom fighter'. In fact, however, Pichler never lost sight of her integrative role as a hostess and the social permeability of her salon, as even Hormayr noted, albeit disparagingly. In 1845, his *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* states:

> Pichler never made claims like Frau von Stael-Necker or Georges Sand, never could and never wanted to. Although a fiery participant in the weal and woe of Austria and the House of Lorraine, political partisanship or constitutional hair-splitting was always a foreign drop in her stalwart blood and homely mind.[57]

And Friedrich Weissensteiner's study *Zwischen Idylle und Revolution* (Between Idyll and Revolution) also says of Pichler: "She had no use for a German

55 Sonnleitner, "Salonszenen," 258. Original quote: "heterogenste Individuen zu einem kommunizierenden Kollektiv."

56 For the impact of the autonomization of the literary field on salons and women as actors, compare Katrin Hassler, *Kunst und Gender. Zur Bedeutung von Geschlecht für die Einnahme von Spitzenpositionen im Kunstfeld* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2017), 125–43, 177–78. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Die Regeln der Kunst. Genese und Struktur des literarischen Feldes* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2016).

57 Joseph von Hormayr, "Caroline Pichler [Obituary]," *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* 16 (1845), 143. Original quote: "Ansprüche wie Frau von Stael-Necker oder Georges Sand, erhob die Pichler nie, konnte und wollte sie nie erheben. So feurigen Antheil sie an Wohl und Weh Oesterreichs und des Hauses Lothringen nahm, politischer Partheigeist oder konstitutionelle Haarspalterei war stets ein fremder Tropfen in ihrem stäten Blut und hausbackenen Verstand."

national feeling in the sense of a German unity movement, which was then burgeoning in the struggle against Napoleon's France and gripping broad sections of the population."[58] In fact, despite the war and her clear sympathy and loyalty to the imperial house and the Habsburgs, Pichler even invited a French officer quartered in her house during the French occupation in 1809 to her salon.[59] This "cosmopolitanism derived from Enlightenment and Josephinism and Catholic universalism"[60] was so strong in Pichler that she did not fall prey to either the anti-French or anti-Romantic affects which were extremely popular at the time. This double resistance allowed her to maintain in her salon the "cultivated French style" of social and religious openness, which was increasingly rejected by German intellectuals in Berlin,[61] but which stabilized the existence of her salon for the time being. And at the same time, she rejected the aversion to the Romantics expressed vehemently by numerous fellow Austrian writers such as Ignaz Franz Castelli or Eduard Bauernfeld even years later.[62] For the Romantics in Vienna, then, Pichler's salon was attractive simply because it refused to join in the disparaging criticism of the Romantics. Moreover, her open and long-standing Catholic faith also made her interesting to the Romantics, who were increasingly turning to Catholicism. For Pichler, this was not a reason for religious exclusions, but quite the opposite. Pichler, as has been shown, was committed as a salonière to religious and social openness and to hosting a forum for pure conversation which did not need to express intention or purpose. This enabled her to include the German Romantics in her partly anti-Romantic circle, which had previously been almost exclusively Austrian. In addition, her unflinching Catholic dogmatism and open-minded social outlook even allowed her to integrate the emotional-irrational and sensual-pious behavior of the New Catholic and convinced Romantic Zacharias Werner into her salon, even though Werner's form of religiosity was actually diametrically opposed to her conception of faith. Pichler's Biedermeier style, often ridiculed and still criticized today, led to her being perceived as a boring "sleepyhead,"[63]

58 Friedrich Weissensteiner, "Karoline Pichler," in *Zwischen Idylle und Revolution. Ungewöhnliche Biedermeierporträts* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1995), 261. – Original quote: "Für ein deutsches Nationalgefühl im Sinne einer deutschen Einheitsbewegung, das damals im Kampf gegen das Frankreich Napoleons aufkeimte und breite Bevölkerungsschichten erfaßte, hatte sie nichts übrig."

59 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1, 282–84.

60 Sonnleitner, "Salonszenen," 259. Original quote: "sich von Aufklärung und Josephinismus herleitende Kosmopolitismus und der katholische Universalismus."

61 Hertz, *Die jüdischen Salons*, 247. Original quote: "gepflegten französischen Stil."

62 Ignaz Franz Castelli, *Aus dem Leben eines Wiener Phäaken 1781-1862*, ed. Adolf Saager (Stuttgart: Lutz, [1912]); Eduard Bauernfeld, *Erinnerungen aus Alt-Wien. Mit 28 Bildern*, ed. Josef Bindtner (Vienna: Wiener Drucke, 1923).

63 Atterbom, *Aufzeichnungen*, 185. Original quote: "Schlafmütze[...]."

but at the same time her cosmopolitan education, her Catholic universalism and her pragmatism enabled her – in the midst of exalted expectations and the escalation of political and cultural disputes – to function as an integrating figure of the German Romantics in Vienna.

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Caroline Pichler, Women's Agency, and Intellectual Inspiration between Viennese and Bohemian Cultural Circles

Anja Bunzel[*]

This chapter explores three layers of intellectual inspiration through the lens of private and semi-private cultural practices in Vienna and Bohemia. Using as an example the circles of writer and salonnière Caroline Pichler, I demonstrate that intellectual inspiration is based on a highly complex web of impulses heavily impacted by aspects of women's agency both on personal, communicative-mediating and cross-medial, creative levels, as well as by a number of 'beyond-personal' factors. This web enabling subtle interaction was nurtured and utilized by and through Pichler, both in Schubert's Vienna and beyond.

I first trace Pichler's personal contacts in Prague, among whom are the writers Wolfgang Adolf Gerle and Josef Dobrovský, the historian František Palacký, and such cultural protagonists as Marie Charlotte von Kinsky and Maria Rosa von Kolowrat (both of whom eventually relocated from Prague to Vienna). Opening up a second perspective and focusing on intersections between the fine arts, literature, and music, always with an eye to matters of autobiography, I offer close readings of two settings of Pichler's poetry: the Bohemian composer Václav Jan Tomášek's ballad *Die Entstehung der Zinstercienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen* (The Formation of the Cistercian Abbey of Hohenfurth in Bohemia, begun in 1817, published in 1832), and the Hungarian composer János Fusz's dramatic song *Die Beruhigung* (The Reassurance, published in 1817), which is a setting of the same words as Franz Schubert's *Der Unglückliche* D 713. On a third, 'beyond-personal' level, I suggest that the kinds of intellectual inspiration transpiring in these musical and literary works transcend the mere personal relationships between Pichler and the aforementioned writers, composers, and music supporters. For instance, it draws on creativity nourished between different societal strata, between urban and provincial spaces, between sacred and secular contexts, between the human past and present, and between nature and civilization.

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In her *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* the Viennese salonnière and writer Caroline Pichler (1769–1843) reminisces that during her three-month stay in Prague in 1825 the "literary gentlemen [...], especially professor [Wolfgang Adolf] Gerle, also the gentlemen [Johann Ritter] von Rittersberg, [Carl Egon] Ebert [...] kindly helped me to collect notes."[1] These notes were intended for the preparation of her large-scale work *Die Schweden in Prag* (The Swedes in Prague), published in 1827.[2] 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, for instance, the writer and historian František Palacký (1798–1876), the writer Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), and the composer Leopold Eugen Měchura (1804–1870) besides a number of music-loving and culture-supporting counts and countesses. Pichler returned to Prague for two weeks in 1826, but no further contacts were established during that time. She met some of these Bohemians in Vienna, and a few years after her stay in Prague, several Prague book dealers offered Pichler's publications, which testifies to the high demand and popularity of these works in the Bohemian capital.[3]

Pichler's connections to Prague and Bohemia, however, are also evident on subtler, intellectual levels. The Cistercian abbey of Hohenfurth/Vyšší Brod inspired her to write the ballad *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen* (The Formation of the Cistercian Abbey of Hohenfurth in Bohemia), and, in 1817, this poem was set to music by the Prague composer and music pedagogue Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850).[4] The composition was published by Berra in 1832. Moreover, a private music collection of a Count von Kolowrat

1 Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 2 volumes (Vienna: Pichler, 1844), ii, 194. "die Herren Literatoren [...], besonders Professor Gerle, dann die Herren von Rittersberg, Ebert [...] waren mir mit großer Freundlichkeit behilflich, Notizen zu sammeln." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

2 Caroline Pichler, *Die Schweden in Prag* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1827).

3 For instance, E. W. Enders (see "Literarische Anzeige," *Kaiserlich-Königlich privilegierte Prager Zeitung,* 23 March 1828, Intelligenzblatt no. 48); Joseph Krauß (see "Literarische Anzeige," *Kaiserlich-Königlich privilegierte Prager Zeitung,* 24 February 1829, Intelligenzblatt no. 32); Gottlieb Haase Söhne (see "Literarische Anzeige," *Kaiserlich-Königlich privilegierte Prager Zeitung,* 27 October 1831, Intelligenzblatt no. 202); and Calde'sche Buchhandlung (see "Literarische Anzeige," *Kaiserlich-Königlich privilegierte Prager Zeitung,* 3 December 1833, Intelligenzblatt no. 190). On Pichler's other literary network cf. the chapter by Elisabeth Grabenweger in this volume.

4 The spelling of these Bohemian names during the first half of the nineteenth century is a delicate matter; in Tomášek's case, I decided for the Czech version, as this name is established in English literature, and Tomášek is sometimes considered a Czech composer and also set to music Czech poetry, although he often referred to himself as Wenzel Johann Tomaschek. For Kolowrat and Kinsky I use the German spelling due to their strong Austrian anchoring, while for Fusz I use the Hungarian version, because he spent long periods of his life in his birth place, Hungary, although his songs were German.

includes a Pichler setting by János Fusz (1777–1819) titled *Die Beruhigung* (The Reassurance) – it is a setting of the same words as Franz Schubert's *Der Unglückliche* (The Unhappy One, begun in 1821 and published in 1827).

I will show in this chapter that the level of intellectual inspiration revealed in these musical and literary works transcends the mere personal relationships between Pichler and the individual aforementioned writers, composers, and music supporters. Rather, Pichler, as a salonnière, and her poetry, by way of cross-medial creative stimulation, testify to the vivid artistic exchange which took place within the wider Bohemian and Viennese music-cultural circles. Pichler's general fame as a writer and cultural agent, her personal presence in Bohemia, and her novel *Die Schweden in Prag* must have had an impact on her popularity in Prague. However, Tomášek set her *Entstehung* long before Pichler visited Prague (or published *Die Schweden in Prag*), and some other factors had a stake in Tomášek's composition, too. Yet the literary fabric and expressive character of Pichler's poem played an important role in Tomášek's compositional-aesthetic decision-making. Another view on different male perspectives on women's agency surfaces in Fusz's and Schubert's musical treatments of Pichler's poem from her novel *Olivier*: while in Schubert's setting more weight is placed on the novel's main male protagonist, Olivier, Fusz grants a voice to Olivier's female counterpart, Adeline. Thus, the composers' interpretations of Pichler's poems differ from each other quite significantly (not only in terms of style, as I will show, but also in terms of textual nuance). Although little is known about Tomášek's and Fusz's personal encounters with Pichler, exploring their links through the lens of private musical circles and intellectual inspiration offers valuable insights into the complex web of nineteenth-century (cross-)artistic personal exchange and creative innovation on the one hand, and (auto)biography and public reception on the other. In order to make at least some aspects of this web visible, I will first shed light on Pichler's stay in Prague (Part I), followed by some further considerations focused specifically on Tomášek's, Fusz's, and, by way of comparison, Schubert's Pichler settings (Part II).

Part I: Caroline Pichler's personal links to Prague

Pichler's stay in Prague had a merely practical reason: she wanted to support her pregnant daughter Karoline (Lotte) von Pelzeln (1798–1855), who had lived in Prague since the autumn of 1824 due to the professional commitments of her

husband Josef Edler von Pelzeln (1784–1832).[5] Although Prague was smaller, less pompous, and therefore culturally less rich than Vienna, and the socio-cultural circumstances were slightly different, it was, after all, the cultural center of the Czech lands.[6] Therefore Pichler was keen to introduce herself to the leading cultural protagonists, many of whom she had not met personally in Vienna. A few days after her arrival she first went to Countess Maria Rosa von Kolowrat (née von Kinsky, 1780–1842) and Princess Marie Charlotte von Kinsky (née von Kerpen, 1782–1841), both of whom, according to Pichler, welcomed her warmly. Pichler introduced herself to these houses with recommendation letters from her Viennese friend Countess Josefa Maria Engl von Säusenburg (née von Hohenfeld, 1775–1843).[7]

Through these circles Pichler acquainted herself with such other important figures as Counts Kaspar (1761–1838) and Franz von Sternberg (1763–1830); Count Georg Franz August von Buquoy (1781–1851) and his wife Marie Gabrielle, née von Rottenhan (1784–1863); Josef Dobrovský, whose acquaintance she had already made in Vienna; Countess Karoline Latour (dates unknown), a Prague canoness, with whom she was especially close; and František Palacký, who then introduced her to the poet Carl Egon Ebert (1801–1882), the writer Johann Ritter von Rittersberg (1780–1841), and the composer Leopold Eugen Měchura.[8] The aforementioned writer Wolfgang Adolf Gerle (1781–1846) also belonged to this circle. Although most of these protagonists were either cultural agents or writers with wide interests, Pichler paid attention to Prague's musical scene, too. For instance, on the occasion of Saint John of Nepomuk's celebrations, she observed that:

5 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* ii, 186, see Anja Bunzel, "Caroline Pichler and Nineteenth-Century (Musical) Salon Culture in Vienna and Prague," in *A History of Women and Musical Salons,* ed. Rebecca Cypess and Jacqueline Angelina Avila (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

6 Vlasta Reittererová and Hubert Reitterer, "Die Musik der Biedermeierzeit in den böhmischen Ländern," in *The Other Vienna,* ed. Robert Pichl and Clifford A. Bernd (Vienna: Lehner, 2002), 271–84, at 272. On the Kinsky salon in Prague, see Martina Procházková, "Der literarische Salon: Ein Vergleich zwischen Prag und Wien" (Diploma thesis, Leopold-Franzens Universität Innsbruck, 2000), 41.

7 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* ii, 190–91. Concerning the agency of Princess Charlotte Kinsky, see also the chapter by Birgit Lodes in this volume. Pichler rarely mentioned the full names of people in her memoirs; for the identification of each person, including their exact names, biographical hints are useful, as well as the annotated edition of Pichler's *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* by Emil Karl Blümmel (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914).

8 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* ii, 108; see also *Františka Palackého korrespondence a zápisky,* ed. Vojtěch J. Nováček (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1898–1911), i, 100–8.

> In the whole city, where there was a statue or a picture of the Saint, these were crowned and illuminated, and some people sang pious chants in front of them. This, however, was the only time that I heard music in the streets of Prague, and even then, the melodies were melancholic.[9]

After all, music did matter to Pichler in the sense that it was an important component of her overall intellectual and emotional world, and it enabled communication with and participation in otherwise less accessible networks. This becomes even clearer when she compared her experiences in Prague with those of Vienna and commented on the general atmosphere and the character of the people:

> [...] which never unfolds by way of music or happy enjoyment in the streets or parks (*Spazierorten*), unlike in Vienna, where, in the summer, people sit outside, eat and drink, are happy, and music can be heard everywhere. In Prague the few walking paths were used poorly and even there little was done for the enjoyment and comfort of the people.[10]

Wolfgang Adolf Gerle commented on Prague's cultural life in several of his writings. A short story titled "Die Grünröcke" (The Hunters), published in 1841 as part of his book *Der bürgerliche Salon: Genrebilder aus der Gegenwart* (The Bourgeois Salon: Genre Pictures of the Present), includes quite a detailed scene dealing with Prague and its inhabitants. In the corresponding passage, Prague is made out to be a friendly, bright and buzzing city full of cultural attractions.[11] However, Gerle also voiced his impressions of Prague in his non-fictional piece *Prag und seine Merkwürdigkeiten* (Prague and Its Peculiarities, first published in 1825). The observations he penned in this work are less enthusiastic. Here, Gerle explained that foreigners would find it difficult to make friends in Prague, that the Bohemians were generally reserved and distanced, and that Prague, compared to Vienna, Munich, or Berlin, had no large muse-

9 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* ii, 194. "Auch in der ganzen Stadt, wo eine Statue oder ein Bild des Heiligen sich befand, war er bekränzt und erleuchtet, und die Menge sang fromme Gesänge davor. Das war aber das einzige Mal, daß ich Musik auf den Gassen von Prag hörte, und auch diese Melodien hatten etwas Melancholisches."

10 Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten,* ii, 197–98: "[...] der sich nie in Musik oder fröhlichem Genuß auf öffentlicher Straße oder an Spazierorten äußert, wie in Wien, wo im Sommer die Leute, im Freien sitzend, essen und trinken, fröhlich sind und Musik fast überall erschallt. Sparsam waren damals die wenigen Spaziergänge in Prag besucht, und auch dort war nicht viel für den Genuß oder die Bequemlichkeit der Gäste gesorgt."

11 Wolfgang Adolf Gerle, *Der bürgerliche Salon: Genrebilder aus der Gegenwart* (Braunschweig: Meyer, 1841), i, 71–75.

ums or galleries, and, therefore, was not an attractive city. Moreover, members of the nobility and bourgeoisie would not mingle, although some sociability did exist, but, according to Gerle, the bourgeoisie did not have regular meeting places for social gatherings.[12]

Although Pichler's experiences were a little more nuanced – for instance, she spoke highly of both the nobility and the bourgeoisie, as she had been in private contact with members of both social strata – it seems that there is a bit of truth in all of Gerle's considerations. Pichler, too, revealed a certain sense of outward repulsion and a need to explore Prague's social life patiently and cautiously through private connections. Perhaps it was this first impression of a rather inaccessible and exclusive cultural life which encouraged a more intense exchange between locals and visitors on private and semi-private levels once first connections had been established. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, song, as a musical genre, is often considered as an occasional composition within precisely this context of private and semi-private music-making and mutual inspiration.

Part II: Intellectual inspiration

Caroline Pichler, Václav Jan Tomášek and Hohenfurth/Vyšší Brod

In her memoirs, Pichler did not mention Tomášek, although they shared some mutual acquaintances (Palacký, the Kinskys and Buquoys, for instance). At any rate, Tomášek set to music Pichler's *Entstehung* in 1817, long before her stay in Prague in 1825. It is possible that they met when Tomášek visited Vienna in 1801, 1808, and 1814. During these stays he became acquainted with Joseph Haydn (1731–1809), Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), Leopold Anton Koželuch (1747–1818), and Louis Spohr (1784–1859); however, whether he also met with Pichler remains unclear.[13] Tomášek's autobiography reveals that his plans to set to music Pichler's ballad *Die Entstehung der Cinsterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen* emerged during a trip to Hohenfurth/Vyšší Brod with his patrons Count and Countess Buquoy, and were thus not directly related to a personal link with Pichler, or Vienna. In his autobiography, Tomášek wrote:

12 Wolfgang Adolf Gerle, *Prag und seine Merkwürdigkeiten* (Prague: Borrosch, 1825), 124–30.

13 Alexander Rausch, "Tomaschek (Tomášek), Wenzel Johann Baptist (Václav Jan Křtitel)," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, ed. Barbara Boisits, last amendment May 2006, https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x0001e4af [9 March 2023].

In the spring [of 1817] I accompanied the count's family [Buquoy] to Nové Hrady [Gratzen], from where I undertook small trips [...]. The second trip I set out on was to the Cistercian abbey in Vyšší Brod [Hohenfurth]; its construction was once promised by one of the Rosenbergs, who also supported it financially. Karoline Pichler used the pious legend, which is the subject of a painting still hanging in the abbey's hallway, to write a ballad; I set it to music upon the prelate's request. Although I never had much sense for tone painting, I had to resort to it this time, because I did not want to deviate from the poem. In the ballad there is a very detailed description of the storm, the rumbling of thunder and lightning, so I, as the composer, had no choice but to give the music the face and expression that would put the listener in a mood similar to that of [the monastery's founder] Rosenberg, so that I could get the right sense of his terrible position. This I would have never achieved without imitating nature. The point was to trace the peculiar rhythm of the storm before I embarked on this composition, and there was never a more favorable opportunity for this than that year when one storm chased another. [...] Whenever I had the chance I went out with an umbrella. That I got the point across well is shown by the fact that I published the ballad, which I began in Nové Hrady [Gratzen] and which I finished only after my return to Prague. I dedicated it to the abbey in Vyšší Brod [Hohenfurth] and it received general recognition. It can be got as my 62nd work with [the publisher] Marco Berra.[14]

14 Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, "Fortsetzung der Selbstbiographie," *Libussa* 6 (1847): 440–41. "Mein zweiter Ausflug brachte mich in das Zinstercienser-Stift zu Hohenfurth, das durch ein Gelübde von Einem der Rosenberge aufgebaut und von ihm auch dotirt wurde. Die fromme Sage, die zu einem Bilde den Stoff gab, das heut noch in einem Gange des Stiftes hängt, wurde von Karoline Pichler zu einer Ballade benützt, die ich, vom Herrn Prälaten aufgefordert, in Musik setzte. Von jeher der musikalischen Malerei nicht sehr hold, mußte ich doch dießmal meine Zuflucht zu ihr nehmen, wenn ich der Dichtung nicht untreu sein wollte, und da die Ballade eine sehr umständliche Beschreibung eines grimmigen Gewitters enthält, worin der Donner und Blitz einander ablösen, was konnte mir, dem Tondichter, wol (sic!) anderes übrig bleiben, als der Musik einen solchen Charakter und Ausdruck zu geben, wodurch der Zuhörer in eine ähnliche Gemüthsstimmung mit Rosenberg versetzt, sich in dessen schreckenvolle Lage recht hinein fühlen könnte, was ich, ohne Natur nachahmen zu wollen, nie erreicht hätte. Es handelte sich daher, ehe ich an diese Komposition ging, das Rhytmische in dem sonderbaren Rhytmus eines Gewitters zu erspähen, wozu sich nie eine so günstige Gelegenheit darbot, als in dem Jahr, wo ein Gewitter das andere gleichsam verfolgte. Auch würde ich kaum woanders einen geeignetern Standpunkt gefunden haben, als hier, wo ich vom Herrengarten das weite Thal, Wienau genannt, mit seinem ungeheuren Horizont ganz übersehen und jedes Gewitter von seinem Beginn bis zu dessen Emde beobachten konnte. Daß ich es nie verabsäumte, mit Regenschirm unter dem Arm mich stets dahin zu begeben, und daß ich daran wohlgethan, zeigte sich bald, als ich die in Gratzen bereits angefangene und nach meiner Rückkehr in Prag erst vollendete, dem Stifte Hohenfurth gewidmete Ballade herausgab, welcher allgemeine Anerkennung zu Teil wurde. Sie ist als 62. Werk bei Marco Berra zu haben." The Czech translation of the German original as well as some information on Tomášek's setting is available in Markéta Kabelková, "*Václav Jan Tomášek (1774-1850): Život a dílo*" (PhD diss., Charles University Prague, 2012), 284–85.

A number of observations emerge from this quote: first, Tomášek used his autobiography as a way of justifying his compositional (and strategic) choices.[15] Referring explicitly to the words and the painting that inspired the words, he used musical metaphors imitating nature, a technique which he had used in previous compositions, too.[16] In this particular case, however, Tomášek distanced himself from this compositional technique, and attributed his aesthetic choice to the nature of Pichler's poem (see Table 1).

Table 1: Lyrics and translation of Caroline Pichler's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen.*

	Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen	The Formation of the Cistercian Abbey in Hohenfurth in Bohemia
1	Wie schwer des Tages Lasten drücken, wie heiß des Mittags Sonne sticht, hier, wo an naher Berge Rücken ihr Strahl sich zwiefach glühend bricht! Kein Lüftchen regt sich in den Zweigen. Kein Hauch bewegt der Moldau Flut; kein Wild, kein Vogel will sich zeigen, sie alle drückt des Tages Glut.	How heavy the day's burdens press, how hot the sun burns, here, where on the mountains' ridge, the sun's twofold glowing ray breaks! No breeze stirs in the branches. No breath moves the Vltava's flood; no game, no bird will show itself, they all hide from the sun's glow.
2	Doch, hinter Saum des Forstes wallet empor ein düst'res Wolkenmeer, und aus entleg'nen Tälern hallet ein fernes, dumpfes Donnern her. Die Wolken steigen immer höher, in ihrer furchtbar dunklen Pracht, der Donner rollet immer näher, und Blitze zucken durch die Nacht.	But, behind the edge of the forest a gloomy sea of clouds approaches, and from the valleys far away a distant, dull thunder can be heard. The clouds rise ever higher, in their dreadful, dark splendour, the thunder rolls ever nearer and lightning flashes through the night.
3	"Das wird ein schweres Wetter geben! Gott gnade dem bedrohten Land! Doch was sich wider uns mag heben, wir stehn in seiner Vaterhand. Ich muss noch heut zur Waldkapelle, wie auch das Ungewitter tobt, und beten an geweihter Stelle, denn feierlich hab' ichs gelobt."	"There will be heavy weather! God have mercy on the threatened land! But what may rise against us, we stand in its Father's hand. I must go to the forest chapel today, though the storm rages, and pray in the sacred place, for I have solemnly vowed."

15 On strategic choices in music-autobiographical writing and historiography, see, in chronological order: Maynard Solomon, "Thoughts on Biography," *19th-Century Music*, 5/3 (Spring 1982): 268–76; Jolanta T. Pekacz, ed., *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte: Wandlungen biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur und Musikhistoriographie* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014).

16 I would like to thank Melanie Unseld for sharing this observation with me.

4	So spricht Wok Rosenberg zum Knappen. Der geht, und führt sein Pferd ihm vor. Der Graf besteigt den stolzen Rappen, und sprengt aus seiner Feste Tor. Da steht das Wetter weit verbreitet: Schon reißt aus seinem dunklen Schoß, so wie der Graf herunter reitet, ein Wirbelwind sich heulend los.	That's what Wok Rosenberg speaks to the squire. The latter goes and brings him his horse. The count mounts the proud steed, and blasts out of his fortress's gate. The bad weather spreads widely: As the count rides down, a whirlwind howls loose from the dark sky.
5	Und immer stärker wird das Stürmen, es rauscht der Strom, es braust der Wald, indes ringsum von allen Türmen der Glocken banger Ruf erschallt. Ein Blitz! - Ein Schlag! - Die Wolken reißen, es stürzt des Regens mächt'ger Guss, und wie aus durchgebroch'nen Schleusen schäumt wütend der geschwellte Fluss.	And the storm is gets stronger and stronger, the stream rushes, the forest roars, while all around from all the towers the bells are ringing out. Lightning! – Thunder! – The clouds break, the rain's mighty downpour falls, and like a broken floodgate the swelling river foams furiously.
6	Der Graf hält staunend am Gestade, sieht, wie der Fluss stets höher schwillt: Und drüben ist der Ort der Gnade, am andern Land das heil'ge Bild. "Doch muss ich durch: ich muss es wagen, bei Gott! Mich treibt kein Frevelmut!" So spricht der Graf, und ohne Zagen sprengt er den Rappen in die Flut.	The count stops in amazement on the river bank, sees how the river swells ever higher: And over there is the place of grace, on the other side of the river is the holy image. "But I must pass through: I must dare, by God! I am not driven by iniquity!" So says the count, and without hesitation He drives the horse into the flood.
7	Der teilt die hochentzürnten Wogen, und strebt mit angestrengter Kraft. Doch bald wird er vom Schwall gezogen, und seitwärts von der Furt gerafft. Das Wasser tobt, die Blitze blenden, der Donner kracht betäubend drein, als sollt es mit dem Weltall enden, Und heut der Tage letzter sein.	The horse fights against the angry waves, and strives with strained strength. But soon he is pulled away by the surge, and is swept sideways. The water rages, the lightning dazzles, the thunder crashes stupefyingly, as if the world was supposed to end, and today would be the last day.
8	Der treue Rappe kämpft vergebens, der Wogen Schwall schlägt über ihn. Der Graf verzeiht sich seines Lebens, und fleht mit Gott ergeb'nen Sinn: "Willst du, o Herr! dass ich hier ende, soll ich im Wasser untergehn, so nimm die Seel' in deine Hände, und lass sie dein Erbarmen sehn!"	The faithful black horse fights in vain, the surge of the waves swallows him. The count asks for forgiveness, and beseeches with a pious mind: "If you wish, O Lord, that I here end, that I drown in the water, then take this soul into your hands, And let it see your mercy!"
9	Und wie er fleht, wirds drüben helle. Ein Lichtstrahl teilt das wüste Grau: Der Nebel weicht von jener Stelle, und goldner Glanz bescheint die Au. Halb freudig, halb erschrocken schauet der Graf das wunderbare Licht, und ob er seinen Augen trauet, ob Wahn ihn blendet, weiß er nicht.	And as he pleads, it brightens up. A ray of light divides the desolate grey: The fog lifts from that place, and a golden glow illuminates the meadow. Half joyfully, half frightened, the count sees the wonderful light, and whether he can trust his eyes, whether delusion blinds him, he does not know.

10	Da, mitten aus dem Schimmer dringet hervor ein himmlisches Gebild. Ein Engel ist es, goldbeschwinget, der rings in Glanz die Gegend hüllt. Mit aufgehob'ner Rechte winket er weiter aufwärts am Gestad, und wo sein Finger hinweist, sinket die Flut, und ebnet sich ein Pfad.	There, in the midst of the glimmer a celestial image emerges. It is an angel, gold-winged, that shines all around the land. With an uplifted right hand, he points upwards along the path, and where his finger points, the tide sinks, and a path is smoothed.
11	Getrost erkennt der Graf das Zeichen, und treibt den Rappen in die Bahn; das Ufer will er schnell erreichen, und dankend seinem Retter nahn. Doch, wie er mächtig vorwärts strebet, und schon das Land mit Freuden grüßt, sieht er den Engel, der entschwebet, in Glanz und Himmelslicht zerfließt.	Comfortably, the count recognizes the sign, and drives the horse into the path; he wants to reach the river bank quickly, to thank his savior. But, as he strives mightily forward, already greeting the land with joy, he sees the angel disappearing, melting away in splendor and heavenly light.
12	Voll Ehrfurcht steigt er nun vom Pferde, und wo die Lichterscheinung schwand, wirft er sich betend hin zur Erde, und hebt zum Himmel Aug und Hand; demütigt sich vor Gott im Staube, und bringt sich dem zum Opfer dar, der ihn der Flut nicht ließ zum Raube, der ihn geschützt so wunderbar.	Full of awe he dismounts from his horse, and where the light has faded, he throws himself to the earth praying, and lifts his hand and eye to heaven; humbles himself before God in the dust, and offers himself as a sacrifice to him who did not leave him the flood, who protected him so wonderfully.
13	Doch, seines Dankes Zeichen sollen nicht schnell mit dem Gebet verwehn. Noch wenn Jahrhunderte verrollen, soll die Erinnerung bestehn. Denn, wo in nebelgrauen Lüften der Engel rettend ihm erschien, Da will er eine Kirche stiften, da soll der Andacht Flamme glühn.	But the signs of his gratefulness shall not quickly fade away with the prayer. Even after many centuries the memory shall endure. For, where in misty grey airs the angel appeared to save him, there he will found a church, there the flame of devotion shall glow.
14	Da walte in dem Heiligtume dienend ein frommer Priesterchor: Da steige zu der Gottheit Ruhme ein ew'ger Lobgesang empor. So wird auch in der Nachwelt Jahren an dieser Rettung Beispiel, fest der fromme Glaube sich bewahren: Dass Gott die Seinen nicht verlässt.	A pious choir of priests shall reside in the sanctuary: There, an eternal hymn of praise shall rise to the glory of God. So also in years of posterity through this example the pious faith will be preserved That God will not forsake His own.
15	So wurde Hohenfurth erbauet, das jetzt noch an der Moldau Strand in Herrlichkeit der Enkel schauet, und von der Flutenbahn benannt. – Ein Denkmal ists der Zeit geblieben, wo noch ein frommer Sinn gelebt, und unbestrickt von ird'schen Trieben nach hohem Ewigen gestrebt.	This is how Hohenfurth was built, which still stands gloriously at the bank of the Vltava, watching the grandchildren, and named after the flooding. – It has remained a monument of times, when pious souls still lived and, undisturbed by earthly impulses, strived for eternity.

Second, as regards the dedication of his work to the abbey, Tomášek explained that the prelate had personally requested a setting of these words. Thus he made sure to associate himself in his writings directly with the abbey, and to identify his composition as a commissioned work, pointing to his compositional skills and renown. This link is made visible quite prominently on the score (see Illustration 1).



Illustration 1: Second title page of Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*. Wenzel J[ohann] Tomaschek, *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser Abtey Hohenfurth in Böhmen* (Prague: Berra, 1832).

Third, Tomášek needed a considerable length of time in order to complete the composition. He started writing it in 1817 while in Nové Hrady/Gratzen, and in Vyšší Brod/Hohenfurth, respectively; and he finished it after his return to Prague. However, Berra did not inform the wider readership of its publication

until fifteen years later, in 1832.[17] Fourth, Tomášek's song forms one corner of a triangle of cross-artistic inspiration – literature, music, and painting, as Tomášek refers to a painting hanging in the abbey's hallway.

The painting, too, was a commissioned work: it was requested in 1759 by the then reigning abbot, Quirin Mickel (1747–1767), on the occasion of the abbey's 500th anniversary (an official document dated 1 June 1259 confirms the financial donation for the abbey's foundation by Vok I of Rosenberg).[18] The festivities on the occasion of the anniversary were manifold and included solemn services and academies at which members of the convent and guests gave speeches. Perhaps Isidor Teutschmann (1736–1827), who led the abbey from 1801 to 1827, had also thought of arranging festivities when he requested the composition from Tomášek just two years before the abbey's 550th anniversary, although this thought remains pure speculation.

According to Jiří Franc, the painting itself (see Illustration 2) is not of high artistic quality; rather, it is interesting on account of the insights it offers into the material artistic culture of the late Baroque period and the contemporary understandings of symbolism.[19] Franc analyses the painting in terms of three symbolic planes: the kingdom of Heaven (with the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and two saints), pointing towards the Christian hope of an eternal life after death; the abbey itself, representing the earthly present; and the Vltava river showing a nobleman on his horse amidst the flood, referring to the past and the foundation story of the abbey. Franc outlines two stylistic means which both interrupt and reach across those temporal layers, thus connecting the past with the future, and heaven with earth: a number of Latin inscriptions and shiny beams.

While Pichler placed focus in her poem on the vivid description of the storm and flood, she also employed meaningful ratios and biblical symbolism. These include the organization of the poem by way of cross rhymes; the count's realization that he is in danger in stanza six – the number six often symboliz-

17 See, for instance, "Ankündigungen und Anzeigen von Musikwerken verschiedener Verleger: Verlags-Anzeige Marco Berra," *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* 3/19 (11 May 1832): supplement; as well as *Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst* 3/42 (19 October 1832): supplement; "Neue Musikalien," *Cäcilia: Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt*, Intelligenzblatt 56 (1832): 62; "Anzeige von Verlags-Eigenthum," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 18 (2 May 1832): 304; "Verlags-Anzeige," *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger* 4/19 (10 May 1832): 76.

18 The oil painting is 171.5cm wide and 282.5cm high (dimensions without frame), and is placed in a gilded wooden frame 7cm wide. All details on the painting and the abbey in general are taken from Jiří Franc, "'Florebo prospiciente Deo' / 'Pohlédne-li na mě Bůh, rozkvetu': K emblematice obrazu Pětisté výročí založení cisterciáckého kláštera Vyšší Brod," *Památky jižních Čech* 2 (2009): 62–86, available online: https://www.kohoutikriz.org/autor.html?id=-franc [16 March 2013].

19 Franc, "'Florebo prospiciente Deo'."



Illustration 2: Painting illustrating the formation of the abbey of Hohenfurth/ Vyšší Brod positioned in the abbey's hallway (Photo: Historická knihovna, Cisterciácký klášter Vyšší Brod).

ing darkness and evil; the climax of the count's fear for his life in the seventh stanza, possibly alluding to the seven virtues and deadly sins; or the turning point introduced by the shining beam in the ninth stanza, reflecting triple trinity. Furthermore, Pichler recycled certain imagery that is also evident in the painting: for example, the forest chapel as a metaphor – though also an actual building – of faith and kept promises, or the river as a symbol of time passing by. Finally, more than once Pichler refers to the abbey as an important reminder of virtues and faith for posterity, once even explicitly calling it "a monument of time" (ein Denkmal der Zeit), thus indirectly inscribing the abbey, the painting housed therein, and also her own poem into memory culture.

In the light of this, it is not surprising that Tomášek described the genesis of his song in quite some detail in his autobiography, which, too, was meant for posterity. Through his account he placed himself right in the context of the abbey as a "monument of time." At the corresponding line, "Ein Denkmal ist's der Zeit geblieben," he delayed the resolution of the dominant seventh chord in the temporary key of G major by inserting a diminished seventh chord, thus underlining musically Pichler's notion of the "monument of time" (see Example 1).

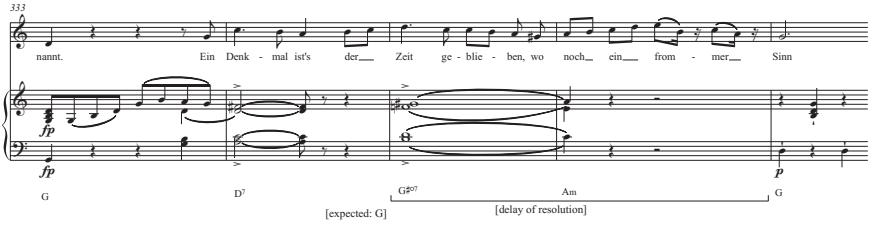
In general, the through-composed ballad is quite long (352 measures) with changes in key, tempo, dynamics, and style in both piano and voice including recitatives (see Table 2).[20]

Table 2: Formal plan of Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*.

Measure	1-30	/31-52	53-55	/56-74	/75-93	94-95	/96-111	112-115	/116-137	138	139-160
Poetic stanza		1		2	3		4		5		6
Musical function	pl.	A	il.	B	C	il.	D	il.	E	il.	F
Number of bars	30	22	3	19	19	2	16	4	22	1	22
Meter	4/4										
Harmony	c			Eb		Passage of harmonic movement; no long-lasting keys established					

pl. = prelude, il. = interlude, postl. = postlude, / = offbeat, capital letters = musical stanzas

20 A detailed analysis and formal plan including keys for every individual stanza can be found in Wolfgang Antesberger, *Die deutschsprachigen Lieder für Pianoforte von Johann Wenzel Tomaschek* (St. Ottilien: Eos, 2017), 373–82.



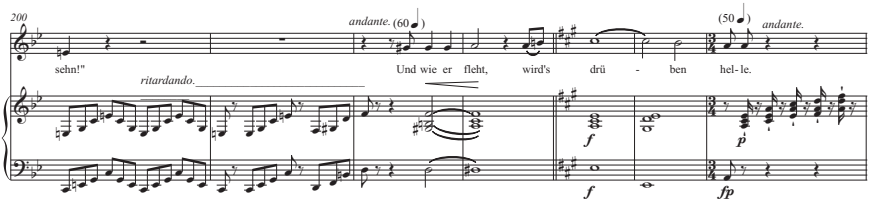
Example 1: Delayed resolution of dominant seventh chord in Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*, mm. 333–338.[21]

The musical and poetic stanzas are aligned with each other, and the stylistic changes generally support rather than interrupt this structure (in Table 2, musical stanzas are assigned letters; poetic stanzas carry numbers). There is little regularity, as the stanzas are of unequal length (ranging from 16 to 22 measures each), sometimes preceded and/or followed by short interludes. The sixth stanza (F) stands out on account of its beginning on the first beat – all other stanzas start with an off-beat. This stanza is placed within a longer passage featuring key changes and harmonic instability (stanzas D–I), portraying the "Wirbelwind" (whirlwind), the fast-moving flood of the Vltava, and the unsettling storm. All three weather occurrences symbolize the worsening situation of the count trying to cross the river as time passes. The first tempo change is employed in stanza seven, at the textual climax, where the

161-162	/163-182	/183-200	201-202	/203-222	/223-241	/242-263	264-270	/271-289	/290-306	/307-325	/326-345	346-352
	7	8		9	10	11		12	13	14	15	
il.	G	H	il.	I	J	K	il.	L	M	N	O	postl.
2	20	18	2	20	19	22	7	19	17	19	20	7
				3/4 4/4 3/4	3/4	4/4 3/4 4/4	4/4					
					G	G-C	C		a	C		

21 The music examples were typeset in Sibelius based on Wenzel J[ohann] Tomaschek, *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser Abtey Hohenfurth in Böhmen* (Prague: Berra, 1832).

weather changes and the far side of the river brightens up. This moment is captured musically by a calming section including breves and semi-breves (see Example 2).

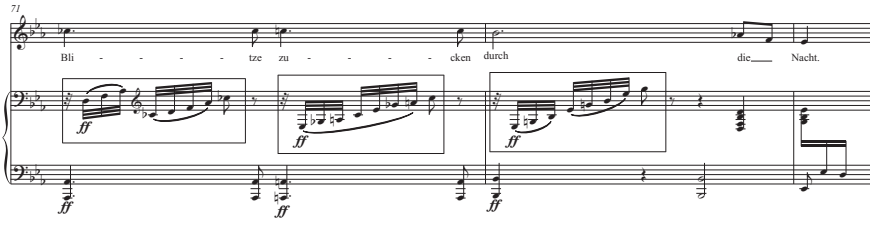


Example 2: Musical interpretation of textual climax in Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*, mm. 200–206.
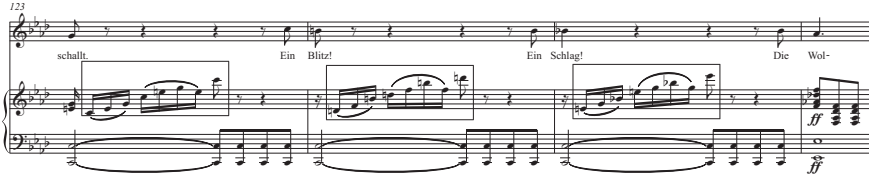
Overall Tomášek plays with the different tone colors of minor and major modes: the song begins in C minor, but, setting the second stanza in E-flat major (B), at least for a little while, Tomášek leaves the ending open. The positive turn becomes evident from measure 264 onwards, where, in correspondence with the textual content (stanzas L–O), the initial key of C minor is replaced by its relative key of C major, which, as an aside, Wolfgang Antesberger classifies as a harmony portraying piousness, thus returning thematically to the religious symbolism applied in both the poem and the painting.[22]

The piano accompaniment takes on a dramatic function; it is perhaps the most obvious means through which the tone-painting mentioned by Tomášek is illustrated. For instance, the thirty-measure prelude, set in C minor, is longer than any of the stanzas, and, by way of low-pitched notes moving in crotchets in the piano left-hand, it introduces a dark atmosphere. Moreover, many tremolo passages in the accompaniment show the fear and danger brought upon by the natural forces – a means which Carl Loewe took up in his 1818 setting of Goethe's *Erlkönig*, and, two years later, Schubert in his setting of the same words. Furthermore, Tomášek used characteristic motives for recurring natural phenomena: for example, the lightning (and thunder) is characterized by a fast-moving ascending figure – slightly varied, and for the last two of all three appearances, transposed upward by a tone to intensify the sense of danger (see Examples 3a–3c). This is unusual, as quite often flashes are portrayed musically by way of descending rather than ascending figures.[23]
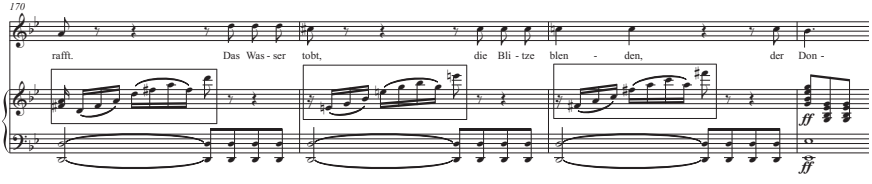
22 Antesberger, *Die deutschsprachigen Lieder,* 379.
23 I would like to thank Birgit Lodes for sharing this observation with me.



Example 3a: First depiction of lightning in Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*, mm. 71–72.



Example 3b: Second depiction of lightning in Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*, mm. 123–125.



Example 3c: Third depiction of lightning in Tomášek's *Die Entstehung der Cisterzienser-Abtei Hohenfurth in Böhmen*, mm. 170–172.

Although (at least outwardly) Tomášek seemed critical of his own aesthetic approach to the setting, and he can be considered a quite conservative composer in general, this ballad is challenging on account of its length and complexity, as Table 2 shows and, as Antesberger has demonstrated, also with regard to motivic constellations.[24] A public performance of the ballad with

24 Antesberger, *Die deutschsprachigen Lieder*, 373. Stanzas twelve to fifteen are less dense. On Tomášek's versatile compositional style, see Anja Bunzel and Barbora Kubečková, "Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850): A Versatile Lieder Composer?: A Comparative Analysis of Selected Goethe Settings by Carl Friedrich Zelter, Václav Jan Tomášek and Johanna Kinkel," *Musicologica Olomucensia* 20 (2014): 15–36.

guitar – rather than piano – accompaniment underlines the performability of the ballad, although it must have been challenging for the guitarist, Freiin Maria von Ripke, and likewise, for amateur pianists.[25] I have been unable to find further public performances, but the piece may have been performed in the private and semi-private domain.

Tomášek sent Pichler a copy of his song upon completion, and he included the response from Pichler in his autobiography as a way of showcasing not only his composition but also his close artistic relationship with Pichler. Her letter reads:

> [...] It was with as much surprise as pleasure that I received, through your friend Mr. v. Sellner's kindness, the gracious gift you had intended for me, the composition of my romance *Hohenfurth*. Among many rewarding pleasures bestowed on a poet, it is one of them to see his songs interpreted by a composer with artfulness, taste, and deep care, and thus, as it were, to see his thoughts and feelings given a higher sense of life. I thank you for this joy, and so let me express to you this feeling of warmth, as I feel it. Although no fortepiano player could be found here (for several years my distance from the city and many other circumstances have separated me from the musical world), who could have performed your beautiful composition for me with the consecration it deserves, I called up all my old artistic skills, which I had not completely forgotten, and played it myself, while my daughter sang the song. In this way, we succeeded in creating a complete idea of it, even if it was not entirely worthy of the composer. Among the many beautiful passages that expressively accompanied the words, the fearful sultriness that precedes the thunderstorm seemed to me to be excellently illustrated by the heavy bass notes right at the beginning, and the one passage where, at the words "Und wie er fleht, wird's drüben helle," the dissonance dissolves into clear harmony through a bold transition, is of exquisite beauty. Please accept once again my own thanks and those of my loved ones for the pleasant hours that your music has given us and will continue to give

25 According to a review published in the *Monatsschrift der Gesellschaft des Vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* in 1837, see Antesberger, *Die deutschsprachigen Lieder*, 374.

> us, together with the assurance of complete recognition, with which I have the honor to be your most devoted Karoline Pichler, née von Greiner.[26]

In private settings, thus, the piece *was* performed, for instance in Pichler's own home, when she played it with her daughter. It remains unclear to whom Pichler referred as her "loved ones" – besides her daughter – as Pichler indicated in the letter that she was not in close contact with the musical scene of Vienna at that time.

Caroline Pichler, János Fusz and Count von Kolowrat

One social circle which Pichler attended occasionally in Vienna after her return from Prague was that of Franz Anton and Maria Rosa von Kolowrat, whom Pichler had first met in Prague in 1825, and who had, according to Pichler, relocated to Vienna in 1826. In her memoirs, she regretted that the relationship with her Bohemian noble friends cooled down once they had moved to Vienna due to the stiffer Viennese rules between the different societal strata. Nevertheless, Pichler still visited the Kolowrats from time to time. A private music collection belonging to one Count von Kolowrat includes the song *Die Beruhigung* by the Hungarian composer János Fusz, to words by Pichler.[27] Parts of this

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26 Wenzel Johann Tomaschek, "Fortsetzung der Selbstbiographie," *Libussa* 8 (1849): 492–93. "[...] Mit eben so viel Ueberraschung als Freude erhielt ich durch Ihres Freundes Herrn v. Sellner's Gefälligkeit das von Ihnen mir zugedachte gütige Geschenk, die Composition meiner Romanze *Hohenfurth*. Unter manchen belohnenden Freuden, die dem Dichter zu Theil werden, ist es keine der geringsten, wenn er seine Gesänge von einem Tonkünstler mit Kunst, Geschmack und tiefem Sinn aufgefaßt, und so gleichsam seinen Gedanken und Empfindungen ein höheres Leben gegeben sieht. Diese Freude verdanke ich Ihnen, und so lassen Sie mich dies Gefühl der Wärme, wie ich es empfinde, Ihnen aussprechen. Es hat sich zwar hier kein Fortepianospieler gefunden (denn meine Entfernung von der Stadt und manches andere Verhältnis hat mich seit mehreren Jahren sehr von der musikalischen Welt geschieden), der mir Ihre schöne Composition mit der ihr gebührenden Weihe hätte vortragen können, aber ich habe All' meiner alten mich nicht ganz vergessenen Kunst aufgeboten, und sie selbst mir gespielt, indeß meine Tochter den Gesang vortrug. So gelang es uns, eine, wenn gleich nicht ganz des Tonsetzers würdige, doch vollständige Idee derselben zu machen. Unter vielen schönen Stellen, welche die Worte ausdrucksvoll begleiteten, dünkte mich die ängstliche Schwüle, die vor dem Gewitter hergeht, vortrefflich durch die gleich Anfangs einherschreitenden schweren Baßnoten bezeichnet zu sein, und diejenige, wo bei den Worten: 'Und wie er fleht, wird's drüben helle' die Dissonanzen sich durch eine kühne Transition in klare Harmonie auflösen, von vorzüglicher Schönheit. Nehmen Sie also nochmal meinen und der Meinigen Dank für die angenehmen Stunden, die uns Ihre Musik gewährte, und noch gewähren wird, zugleich mit der Versicherung der vollkommensten Achtung an, womit ich die Ehre habe zu sein Ihre ergebenste Karoline Pichler, geb. von Greiner."

27 I thank Andrea Harrandt of the Austrian National Library and Markéta Kabelková for their help in trying to identify the owner of the album.

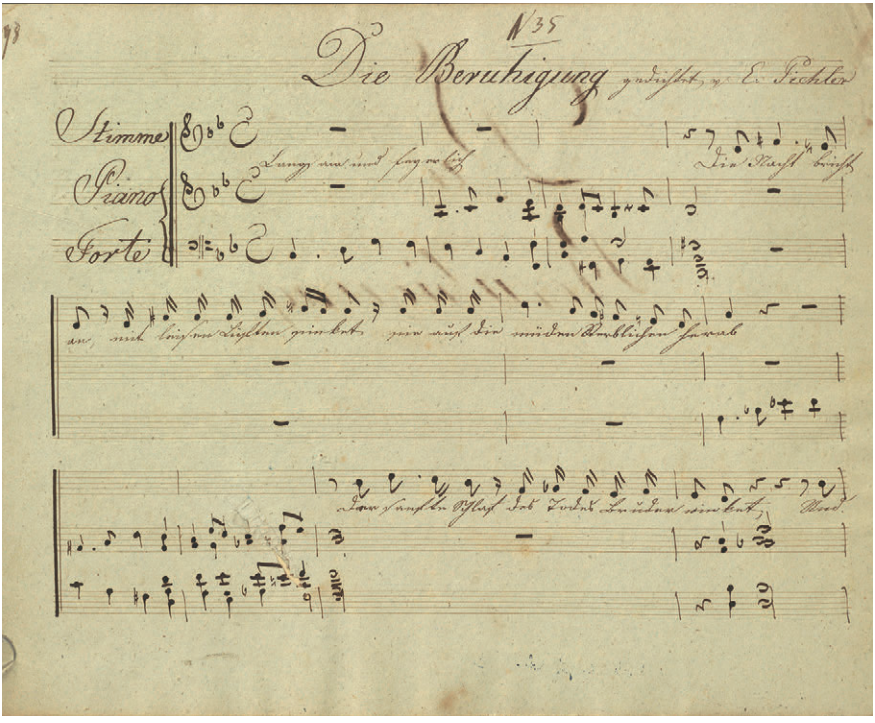


Illustration 3: First page of Fusz's *Die Beruhigung,* manuscript, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, signature Mus.Hs.24482 MUS MAG.[28]

music collection were moved from the Leipzig antiquarian Höckner to the Austrian National Library after 1945. The collection is not complete, and a cover page is missing; the pieces are archived in Vienna individually rather than as one coherent album. The title page of Fusz's *Die Beruhigung* includes Pichler's name (curiously misspelled as "Carloline Pichler"), likewise the first page of the score (this time with the name spelled correctly, see Illustration 3). Fusz's name is not included there, thus suggesting that the piece was copied into the collection because of Pichler, not necessarily because of Fusz. Ownership of the score is obscure, although the old library sheet reveals that it belonged, as mentioned, to one Count von Kolowrat of Prague. The owner of an older fragment belonging to the same collection of pieces can be identified as Joseph von Kolowrat. This older manuscript shows an organ mass by Joseph Haydn,

28 http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14256837.

dated according to the library around 1770.[29] There are a number of Joseph von Kolowrats who lived around that time and who could have potentially owned the piece; one of them is Franz Joseph Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky (1747–1825), father of Pichler's friend Franz Anton von Kolowrat. The collection located in Vienna includes further pieces, all of which originate in the first half of the nineteenth century. While I did not succeed in identifying the definite owner, it is not unlikely that the Haydn score belonged to Franz Joseph von Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky and, later, to his son Franz Anton. Even if this was not the case, then it was most certainly owned by someone else from within this family. The concrete reasons why Fusz's song was placed in this Kolowrat collection are not clear, but it is at least plausible that Franz Anton and Maria Rosa von Kolowrat's acquaintance with Pichler played a role, that the song appealed to someone in their family, and/or that the piece was a matter of discussion, possibly also performance, within the context of their social gatherings.

Born in 1777, Fusz was hired at the end of the 1790s as a music teacher and conductor by Ignác Végh at the latter's residence Vereb, approximately 50km southwest of Budapest. Végh was an important patron of the arts and hosted private chamber music gatherings.[30] After some short episodes as a music teacher in different places, Fusz went to Vienna in 1804 in order to improve his own compositional skills and he lived there (with some interruptions) from 1807 to 1814. His first composition was published in 1804, he became known quickly as a composer and music critic, and his works were performed in different contexts in Vienna.[31] In 1815, his stage works gave rise to a small dispute with Beethoven over a libretto, which ended in Beethoven's favor. Beethoven had hoped to write an opera based on a libretto by Georg Friedrich Treitschke. However, in January 1815, Beethoven learned that Fusz had already used this same libretto for his opera *Romulus und Remus*, which was meant to be premiered at the Theater an der Wien. An agreement was arranged which allowed Beethoven to keep the libretto, although he never wrote the opera in the end. In consequence, Fusz's opera was never premiered in Vienna. According to Tomášek, Beethoven praised Fusz for his song writing, although he criticized

29 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, signature Mus.Hs.27402 MUS MAG, (http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14271788).

30 For Fusz and Vegh, see the general biographical accounts in *MGG*[2] and *New Grove*: Ágnes Sas, "Fuss, Fuß, Fusz, János, Johann Evangelist," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil 7, 2nd edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), ii, 300–2; "Fusz, János," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 9 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 362.

31 Ágnes Sas, "The Life and Works of János Fusz," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40, no. 1/3 (1999): 19–58.

his large-scale works, likely also because of the dispute with Fusz.[32] Fusz's vocal works were also popular outside of Vienna; a number of them were published as supplements and/or reviewed in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* for which Fusz also worked as a correspondent.[33] By 1814, at least twenty of Fusz's opus numbers comprising different genres had appeared with different publishers in Vienna; and between 1808 and 1818 he published ten Lieder collections (thirty-six songs altogether, although some of these pieces are opera excerpts).[34] The Pichler setting *Die Beruhigung* to words from her novel *Olivier* was published as one of Fusz's last opus numbers, op. 31, in 1817, ten years before Franz Schubert's final version of the same words, *Der Unglückliche*, begun in 1821 and published in 1827.[35]

There exist several versions of Pichler's novel *Olivier*: a fantastic story (Fabel) comprising two parts had first appeared anonymously in a "local almanac" in 1801 or 1802.[36] A lightly edited version of this story, titled "Olivier oder die Rache der Elfe," was published under her name in 1803, still containing two parts, and opening with a frontispiece clearly positioning the plot as a mystic tale with links to the earthly world (see Illustration 4).

32 For a more detailed discussion of the dispute and of Beethoven's statement, which was reproduced, among others, in Alexander Wheelock Thayer's Beethoven biography, see Zoltan Farkas, "Johann Evangelist Fuss (1777–1819) als Liederkomponist," *Studia Musicologica* 46, no. 1/2 (2005): 107–34, at 107. A slightly edited version of the same text was published with the same title in *Wien – Budapest – Pressburg: Facetten biedermeierlicher Musikkultur,* ed. Andrea Harrandt and Erich Wolfgang Partsch (Tutzing: Schneider, 2012), 169–202. I will cite the more recent one in what follows.

33 For reviews, see, for instance, "Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, Joh. Fuss, op. 16," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15, no. 13 (31 March 1813): 227–28; "Elysium: Ein Gedicht von Luise Brachmann, Joh. Fuss," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 20, no. 3 (21 January 1818): 40. Fusz's Lied "Die Verlassne an ihr Kind" was published in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 14, no. 17 (22 April 1812): supplement; his *Hymnus* was published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 18, no. 51 (18 December 1816): supplement.

34 Farkas, "Johann Evangelist Fuss (1777–1819) als Liederkomponist," 160 and 171. A modern edition of Fusz's songs, alongside other compositions, was published by Ágnes Sas, *Johann Evangelist Fuss (1777–1819): Lieder und Gesänge (und andere weltliche Vokalwerke)* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Zenetudományi intézet, 2005).

35 Johann Fuss, *Die Beruhigung aus Caroline Pichler geb. v. Greiner's Olivier, op. 31* (Vienna: S. A. Steiner, [1817]). For a detailed analysis of Schubert's different versions, see Walther Dürr, "Entwurf – Ausarbeitung – Revision: Zur Arbeitsweise Schuberts am Beispiel des Liedes 'Der Unglückliche' (D 713)," *Die Musikforschung* 44, no. 3 (July–September 1991): 221–36, at 225.

36 The 1821 edition opens with a preface by Pichler dated 1813, in which she explained that the piece was published anonymously twelve years prior. Caroline Pichler, *Olivier* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1821).

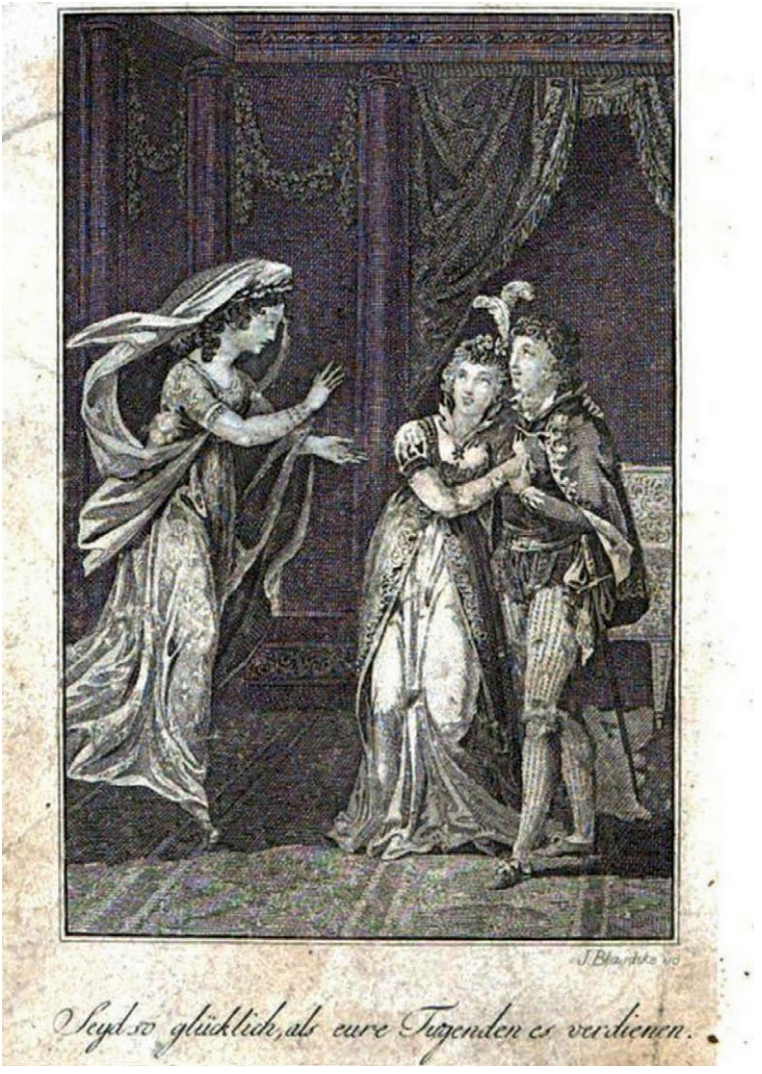


Illustration 4: Frontispiece of Caroline Pichler, *Olivier oder die Rache der Elfe* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1803).

Pichler, however, was unhappy with this mystic element, and, following the advice of knowledgeable and experienced peers, she revised the plot heavily, resulting in a one-volume novel, which was supposed to:

> transplant the storyline from the darkness of an unknown past, into which it had to be placed because of the fairies, into the present time, in which the protagonists actually belong on account of their intellectual education and their attitudes.[37]

This 1813 preface included in the 1821 edition closes with a short remark that "public judgement" (das Urtheil der Welt) may decide whether her decision to transform the book into a different genre and setting was convincing.[38] This suggests that Pichler placed herself right among her close friends and acquaintances, whose stylistic advice she valued, as a modest writer awaiting the judgment of the wider public. At the same time, by reprinting this preface in the 1821 version, it is made clear that her novel, indeed, was a success and that the public must have liked the piece, as otherwise this new edition would not have been printed. Pichler's approach is a similar balancing act between modesty and confidence, between inspirational collegiality and public self-promotion as was discussed earlier with regard to Tomášek's Pichler setting *Die Entstehung*, and his self-positioning in his autobiography.

The poem which inspired Schubert and Fusz is included in the same shape in the 1803 fantastic story and the 1813/1821 novel editions. Pichler arranged the poem in her publications by way of four eight-line stanzas, with each stanza containing two four-line poetic units made up of cross rhymes (abab / cdcd, and so on, see Table 3).

In the novel, the poem is part of a salon scene capturing sociability with a number of protagonists present. When Adeline is asked to play some music, she first hesitates, as Olivier, who is heartbroken and also in love with Adeline, is there too, and he is said to play much better. Eventually, however, she takes her harp and plays "some indifferent pieces without accompanying them with her voice."[39] Upon request she starts singing a song which "her unhappy mother" (ihre unglückliche Mutter) had taught her – "Die Nacht bricht an...."[40]

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37 Caroline Pichler, *Olivier*, 6: "die Begebenheit aus dem Dunkel einer unbestimmten Vergangenheit, in welche sie der Feerey wegen versetzt werden mußte, in die jetzige Zeit zu verpflanzen, in welche die Personen vermöge des Grades ihrer geistigen Bildung und ihrer Gesinnungen eigentlich gehören."

38 Caroline Pichler, *Olivier*, 6.

39 Caroline Pichler, *Olivier,* 165: "einige gleichgültige Stücke, ohne sie mit der Stimme zu begleiten."

40 Caroline Pichler, *Olivier*, 166.

Table 3: Lyrics and translation of Caroline Pichler's *Die Beruhigung*[41]

		Beruhigung	**Reassurance**
I	i	Die Nacht bricht an, mit leisen Lüften sinket sie auf die müden Sterblichen herab; der sanfte Schlaf, des Todes Bruder, winket, und legt sie freundlich in ihr täglich Grab.	Night falls, descending with light breezes upon weary mortals; gentle sleep, death's brother, beckons, and lays them fondly in their daily graves.
	ii	Jetzt wachet auf der lichtberaubten Erde vielleicht nur noch die Arglist und der Schmerz, und jetzt, da ich durch nichts gestöret werde, lass deine Wunden bluten, armes Herz.	Now only malice and pain perchance watch over the earth, robbed of light; and now, since nothing may disturb me, let your wounds bleed, poor heart.
II	iii	Versenke dich in deines Kummers Tiefen, und wenn vielleicht in der zerrissnen Brust halb verjährte Leiden schliefen, so wecke sie mit grausam süsser Lust.	Plunge to the depths of your grief, and if perchance half-forgotten sorrows have slept in your anguished heart, awaken them with cruelly sweet delight.
	iv	Berechne die verlornen Seligkeiten, zähl' alle, alle Blumen in dem Paradies, woraus in deiner Jugend goldnen Zeiten die harte Hand des Schicksals dich verstieß.	Consider your lost happiness, count all the flowers in paradise, from which, in the golden days of your youth, the harsh hand of fate banished you.
III	v	Du hast geliebt, du hast das Glück empfunden, dem jede Seligkeit der Erde weicht. Du hast ein Herz, das dich verstand, gefunden, der kühnsten Hoffnung schönes Ziel erreicht.	You have loved, you have experienced a happiness which eclipses all earthly bliss. You have found a heart that understands you, your wildest hopes have attained their fair goal.
	vi	Da stürzte dich ein grausam Machtwort nieder, aus deinen Himmeln nieder, und dein stilles Glück, Dein allzuschönes Traumbild kehrte wieder zur besser'n Welt, aus der es kam, zurück.	Then the cruel decree of authority dashed you down from your heaven, and your tranquil happiness, your all-too-lovely dream vision, returned to the better world from which it came.
IV	vii	Zerrissen sind nun alle süssen Bande, Mir schlägt kein Herz mehr auf der weiten Welt. Was ist's, das mich in diesem Schattenlande, in dieser toten Einsamkeit noch hält?	Now all the sweet bonds are torn asunder; no heart now beats for me in the whole world.
	viii	Nur einen Lichtstrahl seh ich ferner blinken, im Götterglanz erscheint die heil'ge Pflicht. Und wenn des müden Geistes Kräfte sinken, so sinkt der Mut, den sie mir einflößt, nicht.	Only a ray of light I see flashing further away, in the Gods' glow the delicate duty appears. And when the weary spirit's strengths sink, the courage she gives me will not disappear.

41 Translation by Richard Wigmore, "Der Unglückliche," *Oxford Lieder, https://www.oxfordlieder.co.uk/song/2994* [accessed 14 March 2023]. The final four lines were not translated by Wigmore; the translation was added by me.

At this moment, Pichler captures Olivier's perspective through the lens of Adeline's playing, thus giving her agency in depicting his emotional state:

> The song had a visible effect on Olivier. It contained his fate, the whole state of his heart; and it was she whom he loved who put his lamentations into her [harp] strings. All the strings of his heart seemed to join in the song; his movement grew stronger and stronger, and he finally left the room before the song was over.[42]

Zoltan Farkas detects in Fusz's song a 'Scena ed aria' style, which Fusz used also in some of his other settings (notably op. 16, no. 5, *Bitte beim Abschied*, and op. 32, *Emilie*). Through his analysis, Farkas demonstrates that this style is reminiscent of dramatic stage works and features formal and expressive similarities with Fusz's melodrama *Isaak* op. 30. Among these characteristics are a demanding and theatrical vocal line which, compared to Fusz's strophic songs, makes the piece less individual; the inclusion of recitatives; and a piano accompaniment based on recurring motives, introduced right at the start and developed by way of imitation throughout the song. The overall formal plan of Fusz's song is perhaps determined most by the textual climax in poetic stanza 4, part vii, which is prepared in stanza 1, part ii (see Table 4, poetic stanzas are marked by way of numbers; musical stanzas carry letters).

Table 4: Formal plan of Fusz's *Die Beruhigung*.

Poetic stanza	**1**		**2**		**3**		**4**	
Poetic unit	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii
Musical stanza	**A**		**B**		**C**		**D**	
Musical unit	a	b	c		c		b′	c′ [a′?]
Harmony	g/Bb	G	Eb		Eb		G	Eb
Tempo	Langsam	Geschwind	Langsam		Langsam		Sehr geschwind	Im ersten Zeitmaße
		tremolo					tremolo	

42 Caroline Pichler, *Olivier,* 167. "Der Gesang wirkte sichtbar auf Olivier. Er enthielt sein Schicksal, den ganzen Zustand seines Herzens; und sie, die er liebte, sie war es, die seine Klagen in ihre Saiten lag. [...] Alle Saiten seines Herzens schienen in den Gesang mitzutönen; seine Bewegung wurde immer stärker, und er verließ endlich das Zimmer, ehe noch das Lied zu Ende war."

Contextually and also on account of their tone color, these two poetic four-line units – ii and vii – would work perfectly well as one stanza summarizing the whole poem: most of the poem's lines end with closed vowels, while the lines of those two units conclude with open vowels; the consonant-vowel cluster "-de" and the assonances "Schmerz-Herz" and "Welt-hält" act as phonetic unifiers:
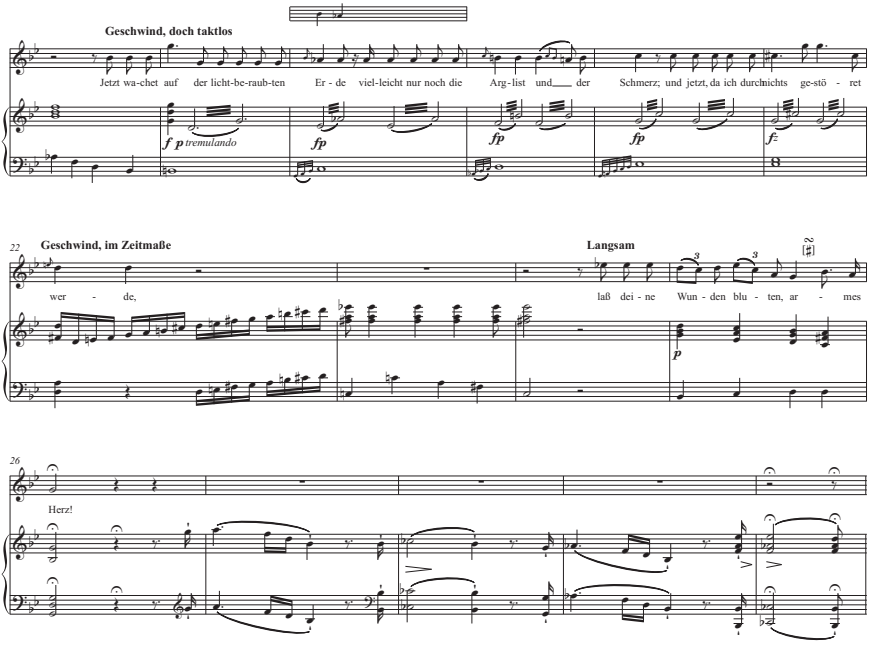
[Stanza 1, section ii]
Jetzt wachet auf der lichtberaubten Erde
vielleicht nur noch die Arglist und der Schmerz,
und jetzt, da ich durch nichts gestöret werde,
lass deine Wunden bluten, armes Herz.

[Stanza 4, section vii]
Zerrissen sind nun alle süssen Bande,
mir schlägt kein Herz mehr auf der weiten Welt.
Was ist's, das mich in diesem Schattenlande,
in dieser toten Einsamkeit noch hält?

Reusing some of the motivic material introduced in musical stanza A (section b, first poetic stanza, poetic section 'ii', for instance, tremolo and a fast tempo) in stanza D (section b', fourth poetic stanza, section 'vii'), Fusz contrasts this textual climax with the lyrical surrounding parts (poetic stanzas 2 and 3; musical units c). The move to G major within the tonal context of E-flat major and the fast-moving, ascending semiquaver scales and tremolos in the piano part underline the lyrical protagonist's despair and emotional struggle (see Examples 4a and 4b).[43]

Unlike Schubert, whose song concludes with section vii, Fusz also set section viii (see Example 5), which changes the meaning of the whole piece, and also explains the different choice of title (Fusz's *Die Beruhigung* [The Reassurance] vs. Schubert's *Der Unglückliche* [The Unhappy One]).

43 My analysis is based on the published score, not on the manuscript copy included in Kolowrat's collection, which was transposed up by one whole tone.
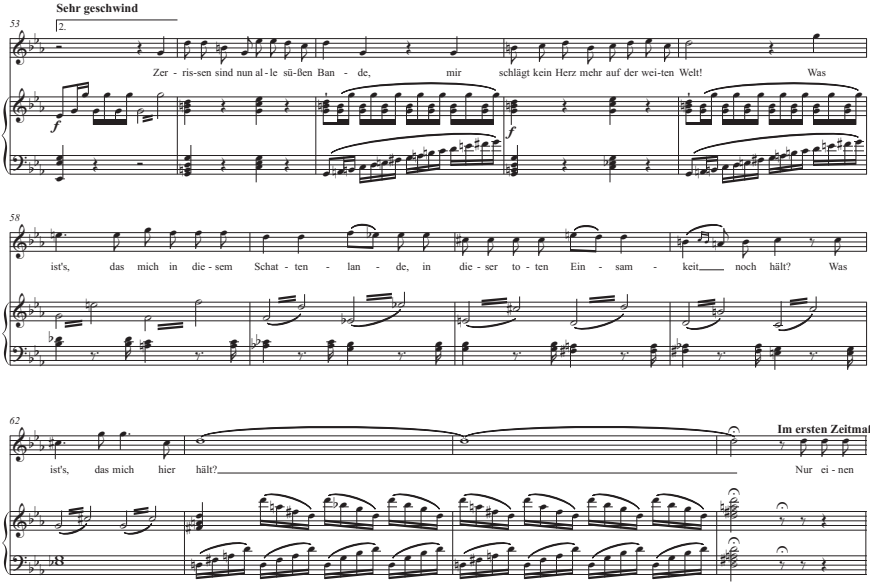


Example 4a: Section ii (b) in Fusz's *Die Beruhigung,* mm. 16–30.[44]

By concluding the dramatic mood captured in sections ii and vii with motivic material from the more sedate, slower, and softer section c, Fusz achieves a less desperate expressive character overall. Not only does this recurrence of varied motives create thematic unity within the song, but it also alludes to Pichler's novel, in which Olivier leaves the room while the "last ritornello of the song died away in a few muffled chords."[45] Although the motivic material used in sections a and c' is profoundly different – section a is in recitative style with sparse piano accompaniment and section c has a melodic vocal line with a lively accompaniment – both sections are related on account of their slow tempo and harmonic closeness (section a begins in G minor, then touching upon B-flat major; section c is in E-flat major). Thus, Fusz points towards Pichler's allusion to rondo form – considering her musical education, one can assume that she was aware of the stylistic qualities of a 'ritornello' when using this term to describe the song's final section.

44 The music examples were typeset in Sibelius based on Sas, *Johann Evangelist Fuss (1777–1819)*, 158–63.

45 Pichler, *Olivier,* 167: "während das letzte Ritornell des Liedes in einigen dumpfen Akkorden erstarb."
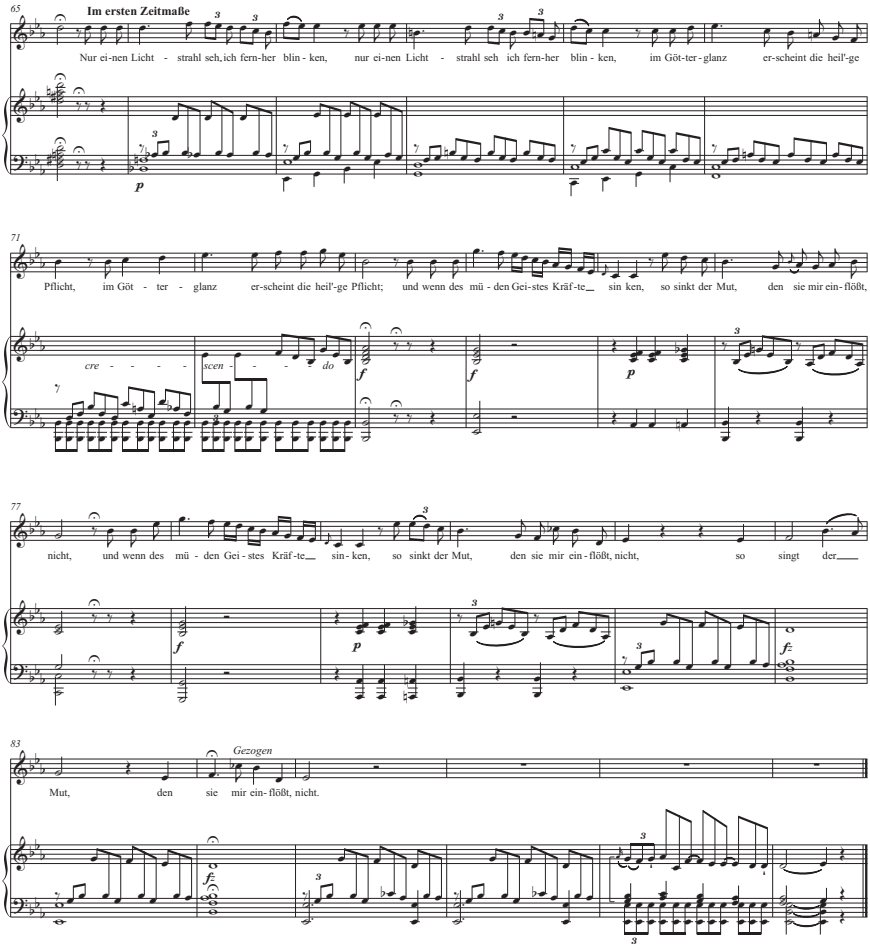


Example 4b: Section vii (b') in Fusz's *Die Beruhigung,* mm. 53–65.

By including a lyrical accompaniment reminiscent of Adeline's gentle harp-playing, and by ending the song in sync with the poem in the novel, Fusz lets Adeline, the female protagonist in the poem, speak, while Schubert illustrates Olivier's leaving "before the song is over" by ending his composition after section vii of the final, fourth poetic stanza. In so doing, he takes Olivier's perspective rather than Adeline's.

As Susan Youens has shown, Schubert renounced a "frothing, foaming melodrama at the close," thus staying stylistically within the context of the more intimate salon scene captured in Pichler's novel.[46] Considering the plot of the novel, and despite Fusz's use of recitatives and such means as dramatic changes in tempo and dynamics, perhaps one could interpret Fusz's piece in two different yet related ways. It is a dramatic work inspired by the melodrama *Isaak*. At the same time, it may be a conversational piece depicting human interaction in a salon, the exchange between Olivier and Adeline, and the intimate dialogue each conduct with their inner selves. The multi-layered space of the nineteenth-century salon certainly allowed for both intimate and more super-

46 Susan Youens, "'Der Mensch ist zur Geselligkeit geboren': Salon Culture, Night Thoughts, and a Schubert Song," in *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), 182.



Example 5: Section viii (c' [a'?]) in Fusz's *Die Beruhigung,* mm. 65–87 (end).

ficial conversation, and also for lyrical and dramatic performances, without any hierarchical or preferential order, solely geared towards the individual protagonists' tastes, means, and ad-hoc circumstances.

It is known that Schubert knew Pichler and visited her salon; it is also known that Fusz lived in Vienna in 1804, and again from 1807 to 1814. It is not known, however, whether Fusz knew Pichler personally, and how he acquainted himself with the poem – he might have known the first and second editions of *Olivier,* thus assigning a mystical element to the words, he might have read the third edition, or all three. Did Fusz and Schubert know each other or, at least,

know of each other's work? Considering that Fusz died in 1819, he certainly cannot have known Schubert's *Der Unglückliche*, which Schubert began in 1821, the same year in which the fourth edition of Pichler's novel appeared. Schubert might have known Fusz's song though, as it was published in 1817, and both likely knew (of) Pichler, whose salon was a popular meeting point for artists living in and passing through Vienna. The Kolowrats still lived in Prague when Fusz was in Vienna, so Fusz likely did not meet them, and the link between the song and Kolowrat's collection, if not coincidence, might have been Pichler herself.

Summary

In this chapter, I focused on three layers of intellectual inspiration surrounding Pichler, Fusz, Schubert, Kolowrat, Tomášek, and others. All these layers are tightly woven together with different aspects of women's agency. First, the practical layer: Caroline Pichler took a (music-)practical role in Viennese (and Prague) life as a social and cultural mediator. Her memoirs testify to the importance of other women in fulfilling the same task (for instance, her Viennese friend Countess Engl, as well as the Prague – and later Vienna – Countesses Kolowrat and Kinsky). Additionally, despite her musical amateurism and her primary anchoring in literature rather than music, Pichler also acted indirectly as a critic and performer of Tomášek's ballad *Die Entstehung* when he sent her the composition. The piece was performed publicly at least once in Prague, by a woman guitarist, and Pichler played it with her daughter privately. It is this performative imperfection which nourished relationships, including, as an aside, that of Pichler with her daughter, as they played together; and it was this supportive mother–daughter relationship which brought Pichler to Prague a few years later. It is likely that further such private performances took place in other contexts, although they cannot be traced due the lack of sources. While no details are available regarding the performer, nature, and frequency of performances at Kolowrat's with regard to Fusz's song *Beruhigung*, which is included in one Count von Kolowrat's music collection, one can assume that the composition was considered worth collecting and performing within this private, amateur social environment, to which Pichler belonged.

Second, the intellectual layer: In Part I, I used Pichler's Prague stay as a springboard to explore another element of Pichler's cultural agency in her own time, namely that of a writer–creator rather than organizer, musical interpreter, critic, and/or executor. Pichler's time in Prague offered ample inspiration to her, resulting, among others, in her large-scale work *Die Schweden in Prag*. However, intellectual inspiration also worked the other way around,

as can be seen in the settings of Pichler's poetry by Václav Jan Tomášek, János Fusz, and Franz Schubert, for instance.[47] While Schubert was a frequent visitor to Pichler's Viennese salon, the nature of Fusz's and Tomášek's relationship with Pichler is less clear. It is even possible that, when setting her poem, they did not know her very well (or at all). Artistic inspiration here transcends the simple and tangible relationship between the composer on the one hand, and the poet on the other, as this complex web of inspiration includes a number of junctions. Tomášek knew of Fusz through the anecdote about Treitschke's libretto he had heard from Beethoven; Schubert and Fusz possibly knew of each other, as they both resided in Vienna for a period of time and shared mutual interests. With regard to *Die Entstehung*, the abbey at Hohenfurth/Vyšší Brod, its history, prelate, and the painting created on the occasion of the abbey's 500th anniversary connected Pichler with Tomášek; and Tomášek's ballad subsequently connected him with Pichler, at least in writing, although, it seems that they did not make a lasting impression on each other when Pichler was in Prague. Regarding *Beruhigung*, Fusz was inspired by Pichler's novel; and Schubert might have known both the novel and Fusz's setting. By treating the final stanza and its embedment within the whole novel differently, the two composers took different perspectives, thus stressing matters of agency either on the side of the novel's male or female protagonists.

Third, the 'beyond-personal' layer: Besides these (inter)personal creative relationships, other types of inspiration emerged in my discussion of the two Pichler settings: creativity nourished through exchange between Bohemian and Viennese circles, between urban and provincial spaces, between sacred and secular contexts, between the human past and present, between nature and civilization, between different artistic fields – music, literature, painting, and architecture, and – to some extent – between the first and second nobilities, between the nobility and the intellectually engaged bourgeoisie (although, according to Pichler, this last type of interaction was more formal in Vienna than in Prague). Creativity manifests itself in the abstract space of the arts 'themselves' and their social and natural environments, but also in the interactive space of communication and care for other people and their artistic outputs – musical or otherwise. Although there were other layers – those of self-positioning and autobiography with an eye to posterity, of commercialism, and public reception, for instance, it is perhaps the interpersonal, intellectual, and 'beyond-personal' layers of inspiration that were nurtured and utilized

47 Besides Ignaz von Mosel and Benedikt Randhartinger, who were both Austrian, Pichler also inspired other composers outside of Prague and/or Vienna, for instance, Josephine Lang, Carl Loewe, and Louis Spohr.

most effectively by Pichler as a salonnière, poet, and cultural agent, and that were interwoven most fascinatingly within the complex private and semi-private net of human interaction in – and beyond – Schubert's Vienna.

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

Nancy November

This chapter focuses on the private and semi-private contexts in which musical 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 attended by Leopold von Sonnleithner, the house concerts of Fanny von Arnstein and in the 'Schubertiades'. Many of these soirées were hosted by notable female amateur musicians such as Arnstein, Katharina Hochenadl and Maria Teresia von Paradis. I discuss their music-making, participants' roles, and women's agency.

> Katharina *Hochenadl*, who lost her mother at an early age, soon made use of her talents to lighten the burdens of the household by teaching music. At the same time, she most devotedly supported her father's wish to cultivate genuine art in his house through regularly recurring events.[1]

The historical record of women's roles in Viennese salons during the early nineteenth century has been largely erased. These salons thrived after the theater doors closed for the week or season, and women played central roles in hosting them and performing in them. Semi-private-sphere music-making crucially

1 "Katherine [sic.] *Hochenadl*, von Seite der Mutter frühzeitig verwaist, machte bald von ihrem Talente Gebrauch, um durch Musikunterricht die Lasten des Haushalts zu erleichtern. Zugleich förderte sie mit aller Hingebung den Wunsch des Vaters, in seinem Hause die echte Kunst durch regelmäßig wiederkehrende Produktionen zu pflegen," Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen an die Musiksalons des vormärzlichen Wiens," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 16, nos. 2–4 (1961): 53. [Italics original.] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

contributed to creating Vienna's public reputation as the 'City of Music' in the early nineteenth century: behind the scenes, middle-class people (women as well as men) helped to develop a new music culture – or, arguably, to rearrange an old one – to reflect middle-class ideals and values. The salon was an important space for this rearrangement, where women could take on roles and leadership not offered to them in public. This chapter examines private and semi-private salons, such as those hosted by Joseph Hochenadl (1752–1842), where women like Katharina Hochenadl (1785–1861) nurtured music-making, sociability, and the development of social and aesthetic understanding. I focus on two prominent female 'arrangers' who were crucial in reshaping the social order in early nineteenth-century Vienna, providing role models for women like Katharina Hochenadl: Fanny von Arnstein (1758–1818) and Maria Teresia Paradis (1759–1824). I explore the musical and literary activities they organized and how class and gender mixing persisted in their private and semi-private music-making, particularly through musical arrangements.

Viennese salons and arrangements

Evidence shows a wide range of salons, in terms of content, both before and after 1800. Music was a regular feature, although the term 'Salonmusik' came into use only around 1830.[2] Sonnleithner notes that the typical Hochenadl salons attracted "the most eager friends of the true art of music, who participated as willingly as they listened." [3] Performers adapted scores to meet the social and cultural needs of the moment. Instrumentation was freely changed, and various 'arrangements' were produced in new performing scores or improvised, unnotated versions to serve the goals of musical sociability, entertainment, and *Bildung*. Within the salon, musical scores facilitated interaction, allowing the emergence of musical practices that might not have occurred otherwise, especially for female performers.

The emphasis in Viennese salons before and after 1800 was primarily on theater, including theatrical musical works, particularly opera. Popular comedies de societé were theatrical performances in noble homes, where participants re-enacted works staged at the National Theater, often with some imita-

2 Andreas Ballsteadt, article "Salonmusik', *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Online 2*, https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/14262.

3 "[...] gerade die eifrigsten Freunde der echten Tonkunst sich gerne diesem Kreise anschlossen, und ebenso bereitwillig mitwirkten als zuhörten," Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 53.

tion of specific actors.[4] Other salon-based theatrical entertainments entailing physical participation included *Geschichten spielen* (pantomiming of scenes from famous plays), *tableaux vivants* or *Lebende Bilder* (posing like characters from famous historical paintings), and *Attitüden* (acting out emotions depicted in paintings).[5] In this way, the Viennese did not have to resist their appetite for more theater once Vienna's five theater doors closed for the day or the season.

A focus on music also distinguishes Viennese salons of this time. Publishing catalogs in Vienna around 1800 reveal a passion for opera arrangements. Music-making could replace or complement the poetry even in Viennese salons centered on Italian plays or poetry readings. As for what was actually played at these salons and how, we have memoirs, iconography, and newspaper accounts. However, detailed programs like those discussed below are rarely preserved. The repertoire depended on the host and the nature of the salon, and followed changing tastes. But we can assume that the publishers' catalogues of this time provide a reliable index. These catalogues show a voracious and wide appetite for chamber music, a particular penchant for arrangements of large-scale works for chamber ensembles or piano solo, and, within that category, immense enthusiasm for opera arrangements.

Repertoire performed in Viennese salons at this time is often difficult to ascertain since programs are often non-existent or non-specific. However, we know that Viennese salons offered diverse musical fare and mirrored programs in the more public arena. For example, at the Hochenadl salons around 1820, Sonnleithner reports that excerpts from operas, songs, and sacred vocal works were performed, accompanied by Katharina on the piano and a cellist "for reinforcement." The following is a list by Sonnleithner of works he heard performed with such forces at these salons:[6]

> Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, first finale from *Don Giovanni* (1787); arias for soprano from *Die Zauberflöte* (1791)
> Ludwig van Beethoven, *Adelaide*
> Joseph Haydn, duet from *The Seasons*
> Louis Spohr, tenor aria from *Faust* (Singspiel, 1813[7])
> Joseph Weigl, pieces from *L'Uniforme* (heroic-comic opera, 1800)
> Ferdinando Paër, duets from *Camilla* (1798–1799) and Agnese (opera semi-seria, 1809); trio and Finale from *Sargino* (heroic-comic opera, 1803)

4 Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 2 (1997): 205–57.
5 Wiebke Thormählen, "Playing with Art: Musical Arrangements as Educational Tools in van Swieten's Vienna," *Journal of Musicology* 27, no. 3 (2010): 342–376, especially 370.
6 Deutsch, "*Leopold von Sonnleithners Errinerungen*," 53–54.
7 At this time Spohr had taken up a post at the Theater an der Wien.

Gaspare Spontini, duet from *Die Vestalin* (*La vestal,* 1807)
Franz Schubert, *Erlkönig* (1815), *Gretchen am Spinnrade* (1814)
Friedrich Ernst Fesca, *Die Geburt* (ca. 1819)
Étienne Mehul, trio from *Die beiden Füchse* (*Une folie*) (comedie en vers mêlée, 1802)
Friedrich Götz, duets and trios
Gioachino Rossini, duet, trio and finale from *L'italiana in Algeri* (1813); aria from *Sigismondo* (1814); aria and duet from *Semiramide* (1823); trio from *Zelmira* (1822)
Simon Mayr, duet from *Ginevra di Scozia* (1801)
Ernesto Nicolini, aria, duet and finale from *Carlo magno* (1813); aria from *Quinto Fabio* (1811)
Valentino Fioravanti, quintet from *I virtuosi ambulanti* (1807); scale trio from *Le cantarici villane* (1801)
Giovanni Paisiello, aria from *La molinara* (1788)
Saverio Mercadante, duet from *Elisa e Claudio* (1821)
Puccita[8], duet for two sopranos
Pierre Rode, variations [possibly the Variations on 'Nel cor più non mi sento' from Paisiello's *La molinara* (1821)]
Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *La Sentinelle* (original for 3 voices, guitar, piano, violin, cello 1, cello 2 (ad lib.))
Ignaz Moscheles, *Der Abschied des Troubadours* (original for violin, guitar and piano, by Moscheles, Mayseder and Guilani)
Most popular choruses:
Nikolaus von Krufft, *Die Wanderer im Walde*
Luigi Cherubini, Introduction from *Elisa* (1794)
Carl Maria von Weber, *Lützow's Jagd*
Johann Peter Pixis, 'Räubenchor' from *Almazinde* (1820)
Andreas Romberg's *Die Macht des Gesanges*

In other words, Sonnleithner heard many operas, in excerpted and arranged form, for soloists and chorus. Vocal music in general was central to the repertoire performed at the Hochenadl gatherings. Some of the operas chosen were recently composed, including works that premiered at the Kärntnertortheater across the road some years before. The Lieder cited are substantial and lend themselves to theatrical presentation, such as Schubert's *Erlkönig* and *Gretchen* (both based on texts by Wolfgang von Goethe). The variations listed are at the virtuoso end of the spectrum, and, like the opera excerpts, are popular public music of the time, arranged for private performances by skilled amateurs.

8 This might also refer to Vincenzo Pucitta.

Who played the arrangements, and on which instruments?

It is helpful to examine the popular genres for opera arrangements in Viennese homes to determine who played the arrangements and on which instruments. Certain genres and instruments were associated with performers of specific social classes and gender. Men typically played the very popular string quintet and quartet arrangements of operas and ballets, as well as those for wind ensembles. Women sang and played piano, harp, and guitar but rarely played stringed instruments.[9] Among these preferred instruments for women, the piano was the main instrument for Viennese middle- and upper-class women at this time, as we see in sources like an *Address Book* compiled by Anton Ziegler. This *Address Book* includes musicians, institutions, instrument makers and composers in Vienna around 1823, when it was published.[10] It shows increasing numbers of musicians compared to the earlier lists of Ferdinand von Schönfeld (1797) and Ignaz von Mosel (1808) and a significant involvement of women in musical life, especially as pianists.[11] The main part of the book is an extensive (sixty-page) listing of composers and "Dilettanten" in Vienna at the time, with their addresses. There are separate lists of performers in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, from which we can see that performers like Katharina Hochenadl, who developed as a musician through the organization and performance of private-sphere concerts featuring arrangements, now entered the more public arena as a leading female pianist of the day. In the list of composers and "Dilettanten," female pianists (168) outnumber male pianists (147) and are slightly fewer than male violinists (171).[12] Men outnumber the women in

9 See Freia Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper: Die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1991); and Freia Hoffmann, "Klang und Geschlecht: Instrumentalpraxis von Frauen in der Ideologie des frühen Bürgertums," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 145, no. 12 (1984): 11–16.

10 Anton Ziegler, *Addressen-Buch von Tonkünstlern, Dilettanten, Hof-Kammer-Theater-und Kirchenmusikern, Verreinen, Lehr- und Pansions-Instituten, Bibliotheken zum Behufe der Tonkunst; k.k. privil. Kunst- und Muiskalien-Handlungen, Instrumentenmachern, Geburts- und Sterbtagen vorzüglicher Tonkünstler &c. in Wien*. (Vienna: Strauß, 1823). See also the chapter by Martin Eybl in this book.

11 Ignaz von Mosel, "Uebersicht des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Tonkunst in Wien," *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 1, nos. 6–7 (1808): 39–44 and 49–54; Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796; repr. Munich: Katzbichler, 1976).

12 This list includes men who are listed as "Clavier-Meister," and the numbers for male pianists and violinists overlap somewhat, since the most popular combination of two or more instruments for men in this list is violin and piano. Two female violinists are listed.

this list of "Dilettanten" (480:250), and the piano is very clearly the preferred instrument among the women, with singing taking second place.[13]

Publishers quickly capitalized on this female piano-playing trend, arranging and anthologizing the 'most beloved' new and old repertoire for female amateur pianists.[14] One of the best-known publications in Vienna around 1820 was the *Musikalische(s) Damen-Journal* by composer, publisher, and teacher Maximilian Joseph Leidesdorf for the publishing house of Sigmund Anton Steiner. More than twenty volumes of the *Journal* offered a varied collection of original pieces and piano arrangements of vocal or instrumental music for these people. Opera is everywhere in evidence, especially that of Rossini and Mozart, in various forms ranging from entire transcriptions to potpourris on favorite themes. The first volume included short excerpts from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and also Franz Danzi's *Der Berggeist*, a Spanish dance, the Polonaise from Rossini's *L'italiana in Algeri*, and a potpourri based on the Finale from *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, "for easy performance at the piano" (leicht für Klavier gesetzt). Several volumes included potpourris from a single work, but volume 14 had the entirety of Carl Blum's *Rosenhütchen* and Rossini's *Richard und Zoraide*; volume 16 arrangements from *Emma von Leicester* by Meyerbeer; and volume 17 arrangements from Rossini's *Der Türke in Italien*. Building on the success of this journal, in 1829 Tobias Haslinger published the *Hommage aux Dames de Vienne. Repertoire des nouvelles Compositions brillantes pour le Pianoforte*.[15]

The enterprise celebrated female performance as much as it did the works of significant opera composers of the day. The publisher Johann André in Offenbach also had a *Journal de musique pour les Dames*, chiefly offering chamber music arrangements for piano. Back in Vienna, Czerny, in particular, dedicated himself to women pianists, observing how piano playing allows dilettantes to make their way in the world:

> Fortepiano playing, although suitable for everyone, is one of the most beautiful and honorable activities, especially for women and ladies. With it, one can provide oneself and many others with a noble and decent pleasure and, with great

13 See also Kordula Knaus, "Fantasie, Virtuosität und die Performanz musikalischer Inspiration: Pianistinnen und Pianisten in Wien um 1800," in Patrick Boenke and Cornelia Szabó-Knotik (eds.), *Virtuosität* (Vienna: Mille-Tre-Verlag, 2013), 57–73.

14 Hannah Lindmaier, 'Ortswechsel: Oper im Salon musizieren; Bearbeitungen als Teil der frühen *Fidelio*-Rezeption in Wien', in Melanie Unseld and Julia Ackermann (eds.), *Beethoven. An.Denken: Das Theater an der Wien als Erinnerungsort* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2020), 165–85.

15 Schubert's *Ständchen* (*Schwanengesang* No. 4), arranged for piano by Franz Liszt, from this series, has been digitized by the Austrian National Library. See https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6503285&order=1&view=SINGLE, accessed 15 June 2023.

> progress, also achieve a distinction in the world, which is certainly as pleasant for the dilettante as for the real artist.[16]

Among the prominent Viennese salons of the era, those of Arnstein, and Paradis were particularly important musically, but also socially, culturally and politically. Their salons opened up the possibility for greater involvement of women in musical life and in more professional and public roles, in the next generation.

Fanny von Arnstein

After marrying Viennese banker Nathan Adam Arnstein in 1776, Fanny von Arnstein moved to Vienna, where she founded her first salon in 1780 – the first Jewish salon in the city. She dominated Vienna's salon life between 1780 and 1818. Later, Arnstein's daughter, Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, would become an important salon hostess. The Jewish bankers of Vienna, to whom these women were related, were generally excluded from the social circles of Austrian aristocrats. So these families fostered their salons, which became centers of learning and art.[17]

Around 1800 Arnstein's salon became the center of a cooperating salon network of intellectual and musical women in Vienna, with close ties to Berlin, where Arnstein's sisters, Sara Levy and Rebecca Ephraim, lived.[18] Her sisters participated in the patriotic surge and were set up to marry well and thrive despite the restrictions. They directed lively musical and literary salons, and Levy visited Arnstein's salon in Vienna. The term "salon" can be misleading regarding Berlin around 1800; in this context, current research speaks of a

16 "[...] das Fortepianospiel, obwohl für jerdermann passend ist, doch vorzugsweise für die Frauen und Damen eine der schönsten und ehrenvollsten Zierden ist. Man kann damit nicht nur sich selbst sondern auch vielen anderen ein edles und schickliches Vergnügen verschaffen, und bei großen Fortschritten auch eine Auszeichnung in der Welt erlangen, welche dem Dilettanten gewiß ebsenso angenehm ist als dem wirklichen Künstler," Carl Czerny, *Briefe über den Unterricht auf dem Pianoforte vom Anfange bis zur Ausbildung als Anhang zu jeder Clavierschule* (Vienna: Diabelli, 1839), 1–2.

17 On the role of Jewish women in Viennese cultural life, see the chapter by Kristina Muxfeldt in this book.

18 See Rebecca Cypess and Nancy Sinkoff, eds., *Sara Levy's World: Gender, Judaism, and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2018); Rebecca Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022); see also Evelyn Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis. Johann Sebastian Bach zwischen 1750 und 1829 in Berlin*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, vol. 81 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2018).

"communicative network" rather than of salons.[19] In 1800, Arnstein's other sister Caecilie Wulff (1760–1836) married Bernhard von Eskeles, an associate of Arnstein's husband Nathan von Arnstein, and came to Vienna; and in 1805, Rebecca also came to Vienna. Other women in Arnstein's circle (keeping literary salons themselves) were Bernhard von Eskeles' sister Eleonore Fliess and Arnstein's two nieces Regina Frohberg and Marianne Saaling as well as Mariane von Eybenberg and Dorothea Schlegel, wife of Friedrich Schlegel. Sarah, Fanny, and Caecilie were all musical.

The soft diplomacy of Fanny's early salons is described by Johann Pezzl, a playwright and Enlightenment writer who lived in Vienna from 1784. He carefully avoided mentioning anyone by name (on the grounds of protecting female modesty). But he writes about certain influential women in the context of discussing "a core of businessmen who work hand in hand with the stars of the first magnitude in the State"; the businessmen would include Nathan:

> Here it is helpful that some ladies from these houses combine the masculine way of thinking with feminine charm, and are thereby doubly agreeable. [...] These are Musarion's pupils: their company is as instructive and tasteful as it is charming; in their houses one does not yawn and while away the evenings with miserable card-shuffling. Little concerts, confidential chats among friends, literary novelties, discussions about books, travel, works of art, the theater; the events of the day, and interesting news related, judged and illuminated with a little spice, make up the entertainment, and shorten the long winter evenings for the intimate circle.[20]

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19 See Hannah Lotte Lund, Ulrike Schneider and Ulrike Wels, "Zehn Thesen – Für Henriette Herz – gegen den 'Salon'" in *Die Kommunikations-, Wissens- und Handlungsräume der Henriette Herz (1764–1847)*, ed. Hannah Lotte Lund, Ulrike Schneider and Ulrike Wels. Schriften des Frühneuzeitzentrums Potsdam, 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 9–20; and Hannah Lotte Lund, *Der Berliner "Jüdische Salon" um 1800: Emanzipation in der Debatte* (Berlin: de Grutyer, 2012), 216–17. See also Marjanne E. Goozé, "What Was the Berlin Jewish Salon Around 1800?" in *Sara Levy's World*, 21–38.

20 "Da die Gesellschaften derselben für andere ehrliche, aber ungeadelte Erdensöhne nicht sogar sorgfältig verpallisadirt sind, wie jene der ersten Noblesse: so verbreitet sich durch die die lichtere Denkart auf mehrere Köpfe, und durch diese wieder auf mehrere Stände des Publikums. Hier wirkt besonders das Verdienst einiger Damen aus diesen Häusern, die männliche Denkart mit weiblicher Grazie verbinden, und dadurch doppelt liebenswürdig sind. [...] Sie sind Schülerinnen Musarions: ihr Umgang ist so belehrend und geschmacksvoll als reizend; in ihren Häusern vergähnt man die Abende nicht mit elendem Kartengeblätter. Kleine Musiken, vertrauliches Freundschaftsgeplauder, litterarische Neuheiten, Räsonements über Bücher, Reisen, Kunstwerke, Theater; die Vorfälle des Tages, und interessante Neuigkeiten mit Salz erzählt, beurtheilt, beleuchtet, machen die Unterhaltung und kürzen dem vertrauten Zirkel die langen Winterabende. Man lernt dort die meisten einheimischen, und die fremden, gelegentlich durch Wien reisenden Gelehrten kennen," Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien* (Vienna and Leipzig: Krauss, 1786), 89–91. *Musarion or The Philosophy of the Graces* is a poem in three books, a philosophical verse narrative by Christoph Martin Wieland. He worked on it between 1764 and 1767 but did not publish it until 1768 (Leipzig: Reich).

Operating as charming hostesses, certain women in Viennese society became, as Michael Wise puts it, "a sort of muse for intellectual exchange and progressive activity – that helped pave the way for a more liberal era in which no longer the aristocracy alone, but an enlightened bourgeoisie, determined the cultural agenda."[21]

Around 1800, Fanny's salons were open to a regular stream of important guests and *literati* throughout the afternoon and evening, except during theater hours. By the time of the Congress of Vienna, Arnstein's salon had peaked, with music playing a more formalized yet integrated role alongside other elements. Every Tuesday, Arnstein hosted musical salons, in which she also participated as an amateur pianist and singer. She previously invited young female amateurs and professional virtuosos to perform in her home. Later, during the Congress of Vienna, she arranged lavish dinners, tableaux vivants, and piano performances by young Jewish opera composer Giacomo Meyerbeer and young Jewish pianist Ignaz von Moscheles, who were both known for their effective piano arrangements. Twentieth-century biographer Hilde Spiel reports:

> At another soirée in 1815, Carl Bertuch, a well-known publisher, recalled having heard the piano virtuoso, Ignaz Moscheles, play the overture to *Fidelio,* in addition to vocal duets and other chamber music. Another time he heard the opera composer, Giacomo Meyerbeer, play piano variations and choruses from the oratorio *Timotheus* or *Die Gewalt der Musik.*[22]

This Handel oratorio was a favorite, describing a banquet held by Alexander the Great and his mistress Thaïs in the captured Persian city of Persepolis, during which the musician Timotheus sings and plays his lyre, arousing various moods in Alexander until he is finally incited to burn the city down in revenge for his dead Greek soldiers. This piece may have resonated with Jewish musicians who lost family members during the Napoleonic wars. In 1812, Arnstein collaborated with Joseph Ferdinand Sonnleithner, Prince Lobkowitz, Count Moritz Fries, and Countess Marianne Dietrichstein to organize a public performance of *Timotheus* or *Die Gewalt der Musik,* arranged by Mozart. The successful event was a precursor to the formation of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in 1812. Behind this event were private events organized by a group of twelve noble women, including Arnstein, who in 1811 was elected to their newly-formed charitable society, the 'Society of Ladies of the Nobility for the Promotion of the

21 Michael Wise, "Introduction," in *Fanny von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment*, ed. Hilde Spiel, with an introduction by Michael Wise (New York, NY: New Vessel Press, 2013), xi.

22 Hilde Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment*, with an introduction by Michael Wise (New York, NY: New Vessel Press, 2013), 426–27.

Good and the Useful' (Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen).[23]

In salon performances and public settings, Arnstein tended to retreat into the background to let others shine in music-making. Schönfeld reported in 1796:

> Frau von Arnstein: Her favorite pieces are the most instructive and difficult compositions. She reads very well, has a light touch and masterly attack. She excels in pieces requiring rapidity. It is to be regretted that she seems to have lost her taste for playing for some years, for she hardly touches the fortepiano any longer. Persons of her powers should not desert their necessitous art, which always, more and more, is in need of encouragement. She also has a very pleasant voice and fluent throat. Her little daughter likewise shows promise of many musical talents.[24]

But Fanny still helped to dictate the repertoire and standards. A retrospective account of a salon in the home of Arnstein provides an example.[25] This gathering at the very beginning of the Congress of Vienna, held on 20 November 1814, was at the upper end of the social spectrum, with international guests including Lord Castlereagh, who led the British delegation; Karl August von Hardenberg, chief representative of Prussia; and Prince de Talleyrand, representing French foreign affairs. The programming choices spoke subtly against the repression felt by many Viennese at this time.[26] The operas in the Arnstein salon were performed by excellent singers on this occasion, with accompaniments from piano arrangements. They were possibly strategically chosen, foregrounding the German language, but more significantly, the triumph of good, rational people over evil dictators: Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, Weigl's *Die*

23 Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein*, 226–27.

24 "Frau von Arnstein, (Fanny) die kernhaftesten und schwersten Kompositionen sind ihr Lieblingsspiel. Sie liest sehr gut, hat eine leichte Hand und meisterhaften Anschlag. In Geschwindigkeiten exzellirt sie. Es ist zu bedauern, daß sie seit einigen Jahren den Geschmack daran verlohren zu haben scheint, denn die berührt das Fortepiano sehr wenig mehr. Leute von ihrem Vermögen sollten die dürftige Kunst nicht verlassen, welcher es ohnehin je länger je mehr an thätiger Aufmuterung fehlt. Auch hat sie eine sehr angenehme Stimme und geläufige Kehle. Ihr Töchterchen verspricht ebenfalls viele Talente für die Musik". Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst*, 5.

25 Fully reported in Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise: Geschmacksbildung, Gesprächsstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), 258–67.

26 Donald G. Daviau, "Biedermeier: The Happy Face of the Vormärz Era," in *The Other Vienna: The Culture of Biedermeier Austria*, edited by Robert Pichl, Clifford A. Bernd, and Margarete Wagner, 11–27, here 17–18 (Vienna: Lehner, 2002).

Schweizer Familie, also Gluck *Iphigénie en Tauride*.[27] These excerpts from earlier operas framed a program that otherwise foregrounded local talent in terms of both performers and composers:

1. Aria of the Queen of the Night from *Die Zauberflöte*, performed by Court opera singer Sophie Schröder accompanied by Ignaz Moscheles
2. Recitation: scene from *Macbeth*
3. Piano Concerto by Johann Nepomuk Hummel played on a Conrad Graf piano
4. Recitation: *Idyllen* (Count Bindemonte)
5. Franz Clement playing his violin concerto
6. Peter Hänsel ("Haydn's student"; violin) playing his trio together with Hummel (piano) and Ferdinand Kauer (flute)

— Intermission for conversation—

7. Weinmüller sings Sarastro's aria and recitative from *Die Zauberflöte*
8. Recitation from *Phädra* (Frau von Weißenthurn)
9. Aria from *Die Schweizer Familie* ("an opera, which, although already five years old, still disperses its magic")
10. Paradis playing a piano sonata dedicated to her by Leopold Kozeluch
11. Franz Wild "incites a Furore" with his performance of Oreste's aria from *Iphigénie en Tauride*

Fanny von Arnstein's salons were socially progressive in a period and place of otherwise limited social mobility. Politically these salons shared with others of the time the idea of cultivating harmony and avoiding provocation, although this was not necessarily realized in practice. Arnstein's salons came under suspicion as a center of conspiracy against Napoleon.

Maria Theresia Paradis

In early nineteenth-century Viennese salons, sociability and *Bildung* were the primary aims, with the educational function being especially prominent in Paradis' salon. Maria Theresia Paradis, who became blind at age three, was a touring virtuoso in her early years, traveling to Germany, France, England, and

27 Gluck's French opera might seem to be the outlier in terms of the emphasis on German. But the revised version was the only opera Gluck wrote in German – Gluck's "tragic Singspiel," according to modern scholars. See, for example, Amanda Holden, *The New Penguin Opera Guide* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2001), 371.

Holland. She returned to Vienna around the end of 1786 and focused on teaching and composing, withdrawing from public appearances. After 1815, Schönfeld became a member of the musical circle that gathered at her house, No. 482 at the Bergel, on the fourth floor, where she lived with retired official Johann Riedinger, who managed her domestic affairs.

Paradis gathered her students for rehearsals and performances, operating on the principle that the desire to learn is awakened and nurtured by rivalry, according to Sonnleithner.[28] Students, including schoolgirls, performed piano music with and without accompaniment at regular musical evening events on Sundays of Advent and Lent. The programs were varied, featuring vocal and solo instrumental pieces, and were attended by parents, friends, and a few traveling professionals and amateurs. Schönfeld's description reveals that arrangements were played at these events, with opera arrangements prominent among them. Regarding vocal works performed, he notes that they "first consisted of songs, arias, duets, and trios from the most popular operas of the time."[29] A one-per-part orchestra of amateurs, or piano reduction, seemed to accompany some of these arrangements. Schönfeld described an "instrumental accompaniment" made up of "loyal friends [...] with kind devotion":

> Dr Anton Peck, lawyer [...], later Herr Eugen Fröhlich von Fröhlichsthal, then Herr Georg Hellmesberger, played the first violin. Herr Josef Kläckl [...] the viola. Herr Franz X. Rabel [...] the violoncello. Together with others, I helped with all string instruments, and sometimes I even played the contrabass in the concert tuttis. Later the contrabass changed to the much more competent hands of Johann Hindle. The merchant Herr Franz Schober worked tirelessly as flautist; Fräulein Julie Engelhardt and Herr Franz Bethioli represented the guitar section.[30]

Piano reductions were used for rehearsals, provided by Peter Decret, Johann Schemidel, and Sonnleithner. Schönfeld lists thirty female singers, soprano and alto, who participated. Most were amateurs, except for Aloysia Lange (née Weber), Mozart's sister-in-law and a vital interpreter of his work. Lange, a coloratura soprano with considerable range and success, returned to Vienna around 1818–1819 and participated in Paradis' salons in her later career, as

28 Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 98–100; see also Alexandra A. Vago, "Musical Life of Amateur Musicians in Vienna, ca. 1814–1825: A Translated Edition of Leopold von Sonnleithner's 'Musikalische Skizzen aus 'Alt-Wien'' (1861–1863)" (MA thesis, Kent State University, 2001), 152–6.

29 Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 100; trans. Vago, "Musical Life of Amateur Musicians in Vienna," 155.

30 Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 98–99; trans. Vago, "Musical Life of Amateur Musicians in Vienna," 153.

something of a witness of the past and especially of Mozart. In 1820, the circle performed vocal quartets, choruses, and the first finale from *Don Giovanni*, with Lange singing Donna Anna and "other larger works."[31] Sonnleithner notes that this work and an 1818 performance of Haydn's *Creation* were exceptions to the contemporary repertoire, being vocal repertoire from an earlier time. In such salons, the female hostesses were helping with the process of canon formation.

As for the arrangements, it is unclear who carried them out, but musicians capable of such tasks were abundant. Sonnleithner reports:

> The orchestra part [of the *Creation* and *Don Giovanni*] was arranged for two pianos for four hands and performed by the house's outstanding schoolgirls. Other schoolgirls participated diligently in the choir. You can imagine what happy and joyous impressions such performances and rehearsals made on the young students.[32]

Although Sonnleithner believed Paradis' pedagogy was based on competition, it was only one aspect of her successful approach. The performance of arrangements gave students a foothold in the musical world through aspirational and collaborative experiences, where they worked alongside professional musicians on real repertoire from the public sphere. These students may have also contributed to the arrangement process, gaining valuable insight into the works through hands-on experience.

From salon to stage

Sonnleithner's memoirs reveal that women played a significant role in the musical scene, particularly through their contributions in singing and piano, even if they were not the primary hosts. The soirées he attended and organized were ideal environments for nurturing female singers. Notable performers at the Hochenadl salons included Georg Hellmesberger, Leopold von Sonnleithner, Caroline Unger-Sabatier, Anna Fröhlich, and Barbara Fröhlich, along with other singers from Schubert's circle such as Josef Barth, Josef Götz, and Adalbert Rotter. Female pianists, in particular, had the opportunity to assume influential musical leadership roles.

One such pianist was Katharina Hochenadl, who received her earliest lessons from her music-loving father. From 1803 onwards, she studied under

31 Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 100; trans. Vago, "Musical Life of Amateur Musicians in Vienna," 155.

32 Deutsch, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen," 100; trans. Vago, "Musical Life of Amateur Musicians in Vienna," 155–56.

Mozart's pupil Anton Eberl, with whom she gave her first public concert at a professional level in the Jahnische Saal in January 1804. Hochenadl's reputation as one of Vienna's best pianists, known for her powerful playing, precision, virtuosity, and technical ease, was primarily established through concerts in private or semi-public settings. There were at least six further public concerts: 1804 at the summer concerts in the Augarten, January 1805 with Eberl in the Jahnische Saal, December 1806 with Eberl at a benefit concert in the Burgtheater, December 1807 a benefit concert in the Kärntnertortheater, and March 1817 at the concert of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in the Universitätssaal.[33] But Hochenadl's reputation was based primarily on concerts in private or semi-public settings, notably the family's modest flat in the Bürgerspital as early as the end of the eighteenth century, extending to the regular Sunday Winter concerts up to around 1825. These series were interrupted only for performances by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, of which Hochenadl was among the first members.[34]

The Viennese salon served as an important middle ground between the domestic drawing room and the public stage, allowing emerging performers to gain formative experience in a supportive environment. Piano arrangements helped develop the performer's technique, repertoire, and the listener's imagination, often referencing large-scale theatrical works. These arrangements could assist women in transitioning from the parlor to public performances, or at the very least, encourage creative listening and the development of a concert-going public.

Women were key agents in this process, even if they were not always at the center of attention. A final example illustrates this. Illustration 1 shows a 'Schubertiade' sketched from memory by Romantic artist and Schubert friend Moritz von Schwind in 1868. This sketch is a kind of imaginative arrangement, in that von Schwind has improvised on the theme of 'Schubert's artistic friends and sources of inspiration'. It is a retrospective composite bringing together people who were never present at the same time.[35] Drawing attention to the illustrious male artist-friends of Schubert on the right, Maurice Brown finds:

33 Christine Pollerus, article "Hochenadl, Katharina," *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon ab 1815*, 2. ed online http://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_H/Hochenadl_Katharina_1785_1861.xml

34 On Katharina Hochenadl see also the chapter by Martin Eybl in this volume.

35 Poet and Schubert's friend Johann Senn, for example, shown here, had been banished by the authorities before Schwind met Schubert, but is nonetheless depicted. See John Gingerich, "'Those of us who found our life in art': The Second-Generation Romanticism of the Schubert-Schober Circle, 1820–1825," in *Franz Schubert and His World*, edited by Christopher H. Gibbs and Morten Solvik (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 67.

> If one considers what, as well as who, these people were, it is amusing to find that [Schwind] has placed not necessarily kindred minds, but kindred arts of interest together. This hardly applies to the five ladies on the right of the piano: the only factor in common is that all were wives of various Schubertians, but their group enshrines the grace and charm of the occasion.[36]

Ruth Solie takes exception to Brown's interpretation:

> Surely Brown underestimates the representational importance of the presence of the women, not to mention the probability that their passionate attachment to the music was every bit as strong as their husbands' was.[37]

Indeed the five women are arguably the center of attention here, not just for their charm and grace but also for their attentive listening.



Illustration 1: Moritz von Schwind, Wilhelm August Rieder, and Anna Hönig (left, right, below) are shown in a circle of Schubert's friends at a 'Schubertiade'. Sketch by Moritz von Schwind, 1868 from memory.

36 Maurice J. E. Brown, "Schwind's 'Schubert-Abend bei Josef von Spaun'," in idem, *Essays on Schubert* (New York: St Martin's Press; London etc.: MacMillan, 1966), 165. The details of the picture are elaborated in Deutsch, DDoc, 782.

37 Ruth A. Solie, "Biedermeier Domesticity and the Schubert Circle: A Rereading," in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*. California Studies in 19th-Century Music (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 141.

One prominent woman in Schwind's *Schubertiade* is Anna (Nettel) Hönig (1803–1888; the third woman from the right), who was once engaged to von Schwind and later married one of Schubert's friends, officer Ferdinand Mayerhofer von Grünbühel. Hönig, an accomplished pianist, is shown seated in front of von Schwind, who stands to the left of Rieder in the doorway. Schubert dedicated his four-hand piano arrangement of *Alfonso und Estrella* to Hönig, as evidenced by the title page of the first edition (Vienna: Sauer und Leidesdorf, 1826; see Illustration 2). The score is musically challenging, as can be seen from the excerpt from the Overture in Example 1, especially as regards attention to dynamic nuances, accents, rhythmic details, and timing to coordinate the hands. But it would not have been beyond the level attainable by the talented amateur pianists of Vienna at this time, on the evidence of sources like Ziegler and other contemporary four-hand arrangements. Hönig frequently participated in Schubertiades.

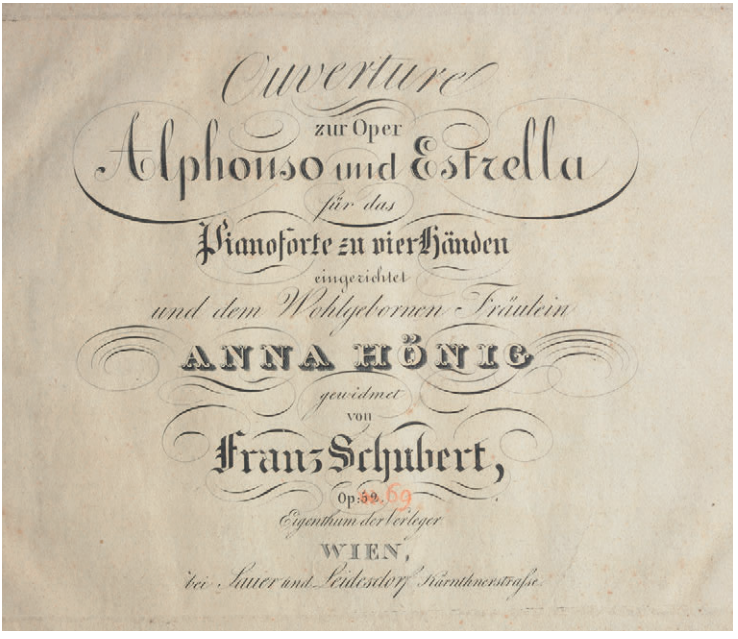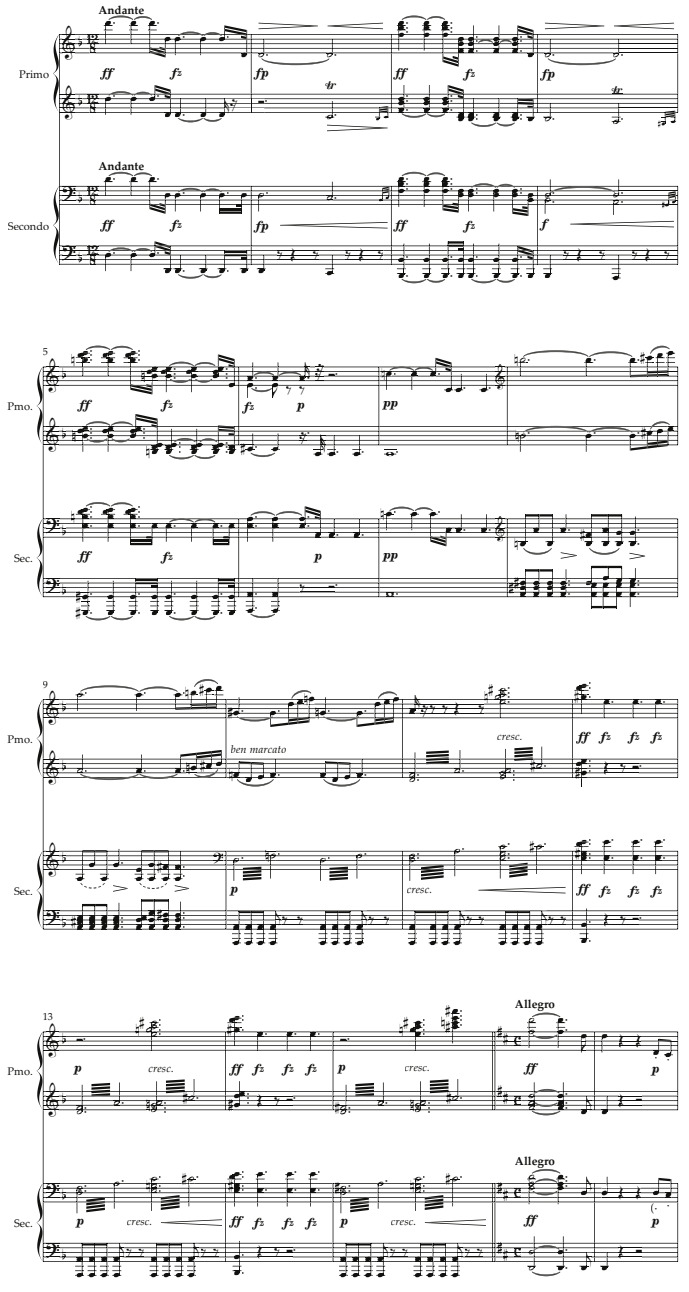

Ouverture
zur Oper
Alphonso und Estrella
für das
Pianoforte zu vier Händen
eingerichtet
und dem Wohlgebornen Fräulein
ANNA HÖNIG
gewidmet
von
Franz Schubert,
Op. 52.
Eigenthum der Verleger
WIEN,
bei Sauer und Leidesdorf Kärnthnerstrasse

Illustration 2: Title page for the overture to the opera *Alphonso und Estrella* for piano four hands, created for and dedicated to Anna Hönig by Franz Schubert, op. 52. Vienna: Sauer und Leidesdorf, 1826. Courtesy of Musiksammlung, Austrian National Library, shelf mark SH.Schubert.270.[38]

38 The entire score of the first edition has been digitized in the Austrian National Library: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_4956368, accessed 15 June 2023.



Example 1: Overture to the opera *Alphonso und Estrella* for piano four hands, created for and dedicated to Anna Hönig by Franz Schubert, op. 52. Vienna: Sauer und Leidesdorf, 1826.

Seated in the lower left, in profile, is Eleonore Stohl, an exceptional Schubertian singer born in 1832, after Schubert's death. She performed with pianist and Schubert's friend Josef Gahy and played four-hand piano together. All these women in the picture significantly influenced private and semi-private music-making and inspired other women in public concert halls.

Private and semi-private salons were crucial in promoting agency for middle-class and amateur musicians. Choosing where and how to perform chamber music provided a sense of purpose during an era of oppressive conditions under Clemens von Metternich. Participants, including women, planned and sometimes arranged the repertoire, set the standards, and evaluated the outcomes. The piano parts of published arrangements from this time often contained much of the original texture (designed to be performed with or without other instruments). They provided opportunities for female musical leadership and virtuosity. However, times were changing, and the salons' parity between the sexes declined. In the 1820s, the younger generation of writers increasingly met in inns and coffee houses without women.[39] But in the musical salon, leaders like Arnstein, Hochenadl, and Paradis had set a powerful precedent for women in the Viennese public sphere and musical women generally.

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39 On this shift see Johann Sonnleitner, "Vom Salon zum Kaffeehaus. Zur literarischen Öffentlichkeit im Österreichischen Biedermeier," in *The Other Vienna: The Culture of Biedermeier Austria*, ed. Robert Pichl, Clifford A. Bernd, and Margarete Wagner (Vienna: Lehner, 2002), 71–83.

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

Gundela Bobeth

Although the Viennese writer Justine von Krufft (1775–1832) was well established and appreciated in her time, she is known today primarily as the sister of the composer Nikolaus von Krufft who set some of her texts to music and published them in his song collections. This chapter focuses on Nikolaus von Krufft's setting of *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost*, printed by Mecchetti in 1813, as a particularly remarkable testimony to a cooperation between the siblings, in which Justine serves 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 a furor in its time as a paradigm of idealized male concepts of femininity: Friedrich Schiller's *Würde der Frauen*.

Since its first publication in 1795, Schiller's text had been subject to both 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 reorientation of perspective in *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost* seems all the more revealing. Based on a comparison of Schiller's poem and Justine von Krufft's counterpart, and including a discussion of Nikolaus von Krufft's musical settings, the article demonstrates how discussions about gender role images were negotiated in both literary and musical terms on the social stage of salon culture.

The fact that the sociocultural upheaval around 1800 was accompanied by the formation of a new social model of the bourgeois family – the formation of which unleashed a lively debate about the definition of gender-specific character traits – is documented in numerous political-theoretical, philosophical, journalistic, and fictional writings of the time. With a few exceptions (such as Madame de Staël's early plea for women's emancipation in her novel *Corinne*), the descriptions of complementary ideals of masculinity and femininity were penned by male authors, and normatively positioned men in the public, active and rational realm and women in the realm of privacy, passivity and

emotionality.[1] This is true even in the few literary examples where alternatives to or transgressions of the prevailing norms of female role models are presented, such as Wilhelm Heinse's *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795/96), Heinrich von Kleist's *Penthesilea* (1808) or the figure of Princess Hedwiga in E.T.A. Hoffmann's fragmentary satirical novel *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr* (1820–1822). How women themselves reacted to the increasing dichotomization of gender roles and the relegation of activity to the private sphere thus remains largely in the realm of male postulation or imagination.

A rare, hitherto unnoticed testimony to genuinely female self-reflection, formulated by the Viennese writer Justine von Krufft (1775–1832) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is explored in the following article. It broadens the perspective to include the medium of music, which has received little attention in this context so far, and allows at least indirect conclusions to be drawn about the negotiation of gender characteristics on the social stage of salon culture. It also provides a revealing example of the creative reception of one of the most popular gender-related poems of the time, which "captured the model of the bourgeois family in catchy verses with memorable didacticism for generations"[2]: Friedrich Schiller's *Würde der Frauen* (Dignity of Women), which is the starting point for the discussion of Justine von Krufft's text.

Friedrich Schiller's poem *Würde der Frauen*

Notorious from today's perspective as "perhaps one of his worst poems,"[3] Schiller's text caused a furor upon its publication in the *Musen-Almanach* for the year 1796.[4] Superficially conceived as a brilliant eulogy to the female sex, praised as the "perfection and cradle of mankind," the exuberant pathos and expansive length of the poem's seventeen stanzas propagates the moral superiority of women and portrays men as restless brutes driven by base motives. On closer inspection, the poem turns out to be a simplistic role assignment that is tailored through and through to male needs and ideas.

1 Some of the few genuinely female voices that intervened in the discourse during this period are addressed in Claudia Honegger, "Weibliche Selbstreflexion um 1800," *Feministische Studien* 7.2 (1989): 7–22.

2 "Afterword," in *Ob die Weiber Menschen sind. Geschlechterdebatten um 1800*, ed. Sigrid Lange (Leipzig: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 1992), 411–31, here: 411. My translation.

3 Sebastian Donat, "Metrum und Semantik bei Roman Jakobson," in *Roman Jakobsons Gedichtanalysen: Eine Herausforderung an die Philologien*, ed. Hendrik Birus, Sebastian Donat, and Burkhard Meyer-Sickendiek (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 253–76, esp. 253.

4 *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1796*, ed. Friedrich Schiller (Neustrelitz: Michaelis, 1796), 186–92.

In Schiller's stanzas (see Table 1), typical images of femininity and of masculinity alternate, whereby the gender-specific contrasts are additionally modelled by linking them to certain verse or stanza forms: the 'women's verses' each consist of six long lines whose flowing dactylic rhythm conveys tranquility and lightness, while the 'men's verses' are each laid out in eight short lines that push forward energetically in trochaic ('masculine') meter.[5] The narrative perspective is that of a third person whose supposed neutrality quickly turns out to be misleading. The apotheosized female qualities, which are set against those of the male, strongly correspond to a male ideal of femininity in which the woman finds her fulfilment and destiny in her "charming simplicity of traits" (stanza 17) which, through her emotional, gentle and balanced nature compensate for the masculine qualities described as deficient; cf. stanza 13: "But on a more faithful path of feelings / The woman walks to the divine goal, / Which she attains silently, yet more surely, / Strives to carry on beauty's winged chariot / To carry mankind to the stars, / Which the man only fatally conquers." Here, not only attributes such as gentleness, forbearance, modesty, breeding, diligence and beauty are fixed as qualities of the feminine, but women are restricted from the outset to a domestic sphere of activity characterized by manual labor and concern for the family's well-being. Thus, the idealization of femininity goes hand in hand with a normative assignment of roles that excludes women equally from public and intellectual activity and education, and thus ultimately corresponds to a "cultural expatriation" camouflaged by "pseudo-galant niceties."[6] The legitimacy of patriarchal power relations is by no means called into question by Schiller's critical outline of male gender characters, but is rather cemented as an immutable principle of social order, the functioning of which is ensured precisely by the female gender characteristics drawn as complementary and compensatory.

5 On Schiller's deliberate use of dactyls to connote the 'feminine' and trochees to connote the 'masculine', see also Donat, "Metrum und Semantik," 257–59.

6 Silvia Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit. Exemplarische Untersuchungen zu kulturgeschichtlichen und literarischen Präsentationsformen des Weiblichen*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2016), 183. My translation.

Table 1: Text Schiller, Würde der Frauen [1796], excerpt: strophes 1-6, 13, 17; dt./engl.[7]

1.	Ehret die Frauen! Sie flechten und weben Himmlische Rosen ins irdische Leben, Flechten der Liebe beglückendes Band. Sicher in ihren bewahrenden Händen Ruht, was die Männer mit Leichtsinn verschwenden, Ruhet der Menschheit geheiligtes Pfand.	Honor the women! They're roses celestial Twining and weaving in lives terrestrial, Weaving the bond of the most blessed love, Safe in their preserving hands Rests what men waste with recklessness, Rests the sacred pledge of mankind.
2.	Ewig aus der Wahrheit Schranken Schweift des Mannes wilde Kraft, Und die irren Tritte wanken Auf dem Meer der Leidenschaft. Gierig greift er in die Ferne, Nimmer wird sein Herz gestillt, Rastlos durch entlegne Sterne Jagt er seines Traumes Bild.	To truth's limits ever endless Man with wild force doth flee, Crazy kicks do waver restless Onto passion's stormy sea. Greedy grasps he the eternal, Silent will his heart be ne'er, Restless through the stars supernal Hunts he his dream's image e'er.
3.	Aber mit zauberisch fesselndem Blicke Winken die Frauen den Flüchtling zurücke, Warnend zurück in der Gegenwart Spur. In der Mutter bescheidener Hütte Sind sie geblieben mit schamhafter Sitte, Treue Töchter der frommen Natur.	But with their glances so magic'ly chaining, Beckon the women the fug'tive restraining, Warning him back in their presence anew. In the mother's most moderate quarters They have remained yet with modesty's manners, Nature's daughters, with piety true.
4.	Feindlich ist des Mannes Streben, Mit zermalmender Gewalt Geht der Wilde durch das Leben, Ohne Rast und Aufenthalt. Was er schuf, zerstört er wieder Nimmer ruht der Wünsche Streit, Nimmer, wie das Haupt der Hyder Ewig fällt und sich erneut.	Hostile e'er the man is striving, With a crushing force doth roam, Wildly through his life surviving, Without rest and without home. What he builds, he ruins later, Never rests the wishes' strife, Never, as the head of Hydra Falls and e'er renews its life.
5.	Aber zufrieden mit stillerem Ruhme, Brechen die Frauen des Augenblicks Blume, Pflegen sie sorgsam mit liebendem Fleiß, Freier in ihrem gebundenen Wirken Reicher als er in des Denkens Bezirken. Und in der Dichtung unendlichem Kreis.	But they, contented with quieter honor, Pluck now the women the moment's fine flower, Nourish it loving and diligently, They have in their bounded work greater freedom, Richer than man, too, in districts of wisdom And in the unending sphere, poetry.

7 English translation by Marianna Wertz < https://archive.schillerinstitute.com/fid_91-96/933_dig_women.html>; Gundela Bobeth <stanza 2 [in part], 6, 16

6.	Seines Willens Herrschersiegel Drückt der Mann auf die Natur, In der Welt verfälschtem Spiegel Sieht er Seinen Schatten nur, Offen liegen ihm die Schätze Der Vernunft, der Phantasie, Nur das Bild auf seinem Netze, Nur das *Nahe* kennt er nie.	Ruler's seal of his strong wanting Presses man on nature's meadow, In world's false mirror's blending He sees nothing but his shadow, Open lie to him the treasures, Reason, thinking, fantasy, Only what with eyes he measures, Only *near things* won't he see.
	[…]	[…]
13.	Aber auf treuerem Pfad der Gefühle Wandelt die Frau zu dem göttlichen Ziele, Das sie still, doch gewisser erringt, Strebt, auf der Schönheit geflügeltem Wagen Zu den Sternen die Menschheit zu tragen, Die der Mann nur ertödtend bezwingt.	But on a more faithful path of feelings The woman walks to the divine goal, Which she attains silently, yet more surely, Strives to carry on beauty's winged chariot To carry mankind to the stars, Which the man only killingly conquers.
	[…]	[…]
16.	Aus der Unschuld Schooß gerissen Klimmt zum Ideal der Mann Durch ein ewig streitend Wissen, Wo sein Herz nicht ruhen kann, Schwankt mit ungewissem Schritte, Zwischen Glück und Recht getheilt, Und verliert die schöne Mitte, Wo die Menschheit fröhlich weilt.	Torn from innocence's bosom Man climps up to the ideal Through conflicting knowledge's blossom, Where his heart can't rest nor heal, Straying, nowhere can he enter, Split in happiness and right, And he loses pleasant centre, Where the mankind feels delight.
17.	Aber in kindlich unschuldiger Hülle Birgt sich der hohe geläuterte Wille In des Weibes verklärter Gestalt. Aus der bezaubernden Einfalt der Züge Leuchtet der Menschheit Vollendung und Wiege, Herrschet des Kindes, des Engels Gewalt.	But in a childlike innocent shell The high purified will is concealed In the woman's transfigured form. From the enchanting simplicity of the features The perfection and cradle of mankind shines, Reigns the child, the angel's power.

Drawing on contemporary negotiations of gender relations such as Wilhelm von Humboldt's Über die männliche und weibliche Form (On the Male and Female Form)[8] and taking up common polarizations of gender specifics as formulated at the time in numerous educational, psychological, medical and literary writings as well as encyclopedias,[9] Schiller's poem obviously struck a chord with the times, as its broad echo makes clear. Even among his contemporaries, Schiller's text evoked not only approving but also highly critical reactions, particularly against the poem's perceived platitudes, pathos and outdated, deeply

8 Printed in 1795 in the literary journal *Horen* ed. by Schiller.

9 In this context, cf. also the groundbreaking article by Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere' – Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas. Neue Forschungen*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Klett, 1976), 363–93, esp. 367–69.

bourgeois values. Numerous parodies and satirical plays bear witness to the critical reception of the text,[10] but at the same time reveal how widespread and well-known Schiller's text was.

A symptom as well as a catalyst of the enormous dissemination of Schiller's *Würde der Frauen* was not least the numerous musical settings of the text since its publication. Even the first publication of the poem in Schiller's *Musen-Almanach* was flanked by a composition by Johann Friedrich Reichardt on the same text (see Illustration 1); further settings by Johann Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg, Ernst Häussler, Corona Schröter, Conradin Kreutzer, Carl Löwe and numerous others followed, documenting a musical reception that extended far into the second half of the nineteenth century.[11]

Nikolaus von Krufft's setting of *Würde der Frauen*

One of the first settings, written as early as 1798, leads to Vienna, where Schiller's reception was still in its infancy and was also subject to censorship.[12] In fact, the setting of Schiller's *Würde der Frauen*, which opened the 1798 *Sammlung von Liedern aus den beßten teutschen Dichtern, zum Singen und Spielen am Klavier* (Collection of Songs from the Greatest German Poets for Singing and Playing on the Piano)[13], was probably the first Viennese setting of Schiller ever to be printed. The composer was identified on the title page only by the abbreviation "K***," but on the basis of a later, new edition of the song, he can be identified as Nikolaus von Krufft (1779–1818) who, as a composer, is far better known today than his elder sister, the poet Justine von Krufft.

10 Evidence (including on Schlegel's parody of the text) in Donat, "Metrum und Semantik," 255–56, and in Achim Aurnhammer, "Lyrische Schiller-Parodien," in *Schiller. Werk-Interpretationen*, ed. Günter Saße (Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 2005), 243–63.

11 Thanks to Georg Günther's recently published compendium *Friedrich Schillers musikalische Wirkungsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Springer, 2018), it is possible to quickly find one's way through the multitude of contemporary and later settings. To be added in this context is the composition by Nikolaus von Krufft, published in Vienna in 1798. Krufft's setting of *Würde der Frauen* is only listed in the later, textually and musically different version of 1812.

12 See Dieter Martin, "Wie kommt Schillers Lyrik zu Schubert? Zu Schuberts Textauswahl und ihren Voraussetzungen," in *Dichtungen Friedrich Schillers im Werk Franz Schuberts. Bericht über das Schubert-Symposion, Weimar 2005*, ed. Michael Kube. Schubert-Jahrbuch 2003–2005 (Duisburg and Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 1–26. For more on the setting of Schiller's texts in Vienna in the early nineteenth century, see Gundela Bobeth, "Lied im Wandel. Studien zur Wiener Liedkultur um 1800" (unpublished Habilitationsschrift, University of Vienna, 2019), 115–20.

13 A copy can be found in the Austrian National Library, shelfmark MS7697-qu.4° (RISM: A/I IN 141).

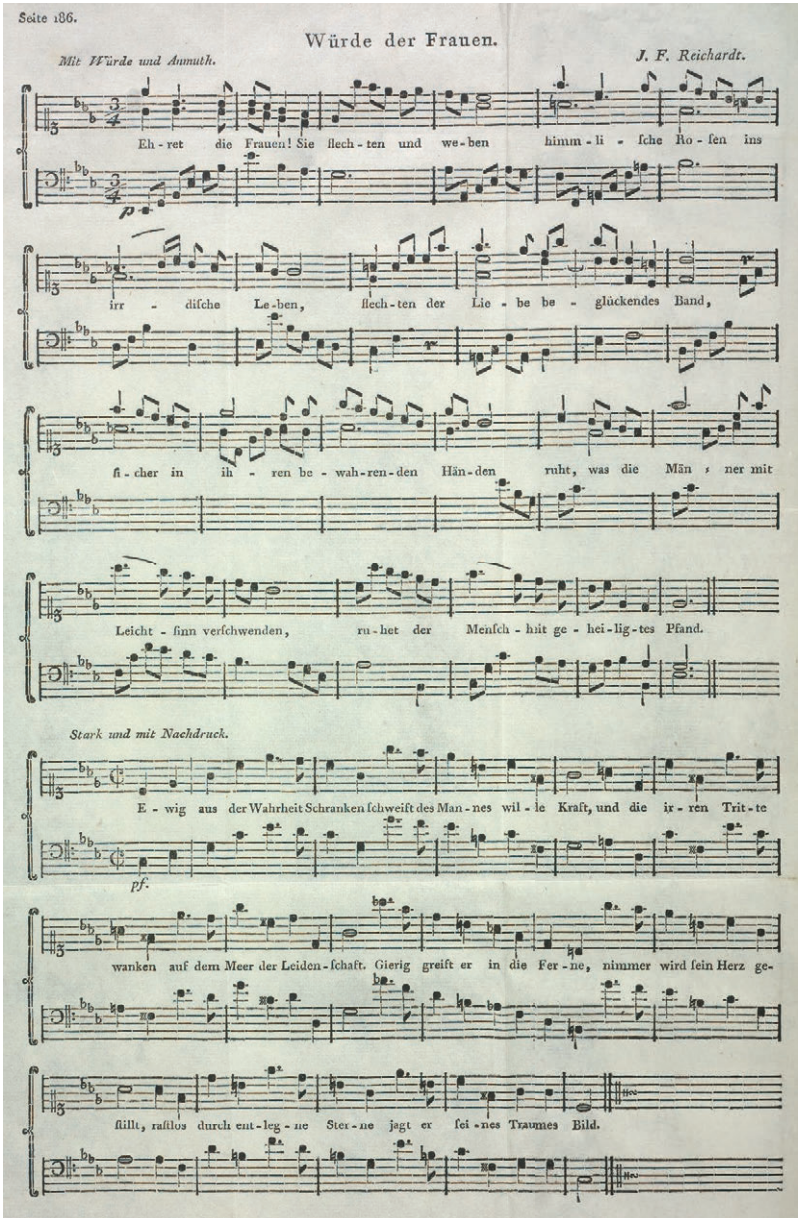


Illustration 1: Johann Friedreich Reichardt, *Würde der Frauen.* Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1796, ed. Friedrich Schiller, 186.[14]

14 See the digitized score at https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/920186718_1796000000/134/LOG_0015/.

In 1798, the nineteen-year-old Nikolaus von Krufft, educated in composition by Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, was just at the beginning of his compositional career. Alongside his full-time work as a lawyer, he pursued his passion for composition throughout his life, with special emphasis on songs and piano works. He contributed music supplements in 1798 to the *New Viennese Musenalmanach*, again anonymously as "K***,"[15] but he then published a whole series of individual songs and song collections in rapid succession under his full name from 1802 onwards, including pieces that were extremely remarkable in terms of genre history.[16]
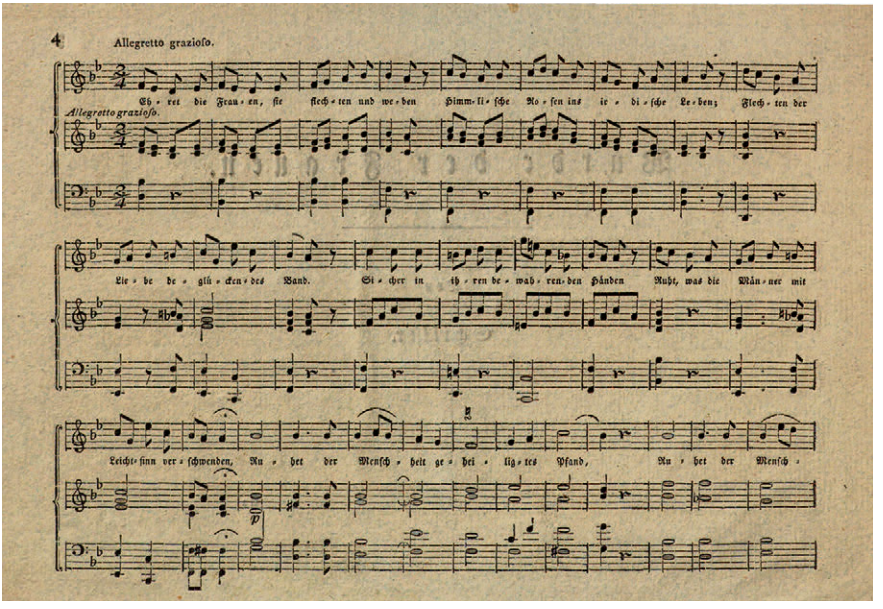
Krufft's composition (see Illustration 2) shares with Reichardt's setting of *Würde der Frauen* a division of the strophic settings into two parts suggested by the text: a dance-like major-mode part for the female strophes ("Allegretto grazioso" in Krufft, "Mit Würde und Anmuth" in Reichardt) and an energetic declamatory minor-mode part for the male strophes ("Agitato" in Krufft, "Stark und mit Nachdruck" in Reichardt). At the same time, Krufft goes beyond the setting of his Middle German colleague in layout and scope as well as in the nuance of the musical textual references (with numerous chromatic opacities, especially in the minor-key part that applies to the male sphere). In contrast to Reichardt, Krufft's song closes with a musically identical repetition of the 'female' major-mode section ("Tempo I"), corresponding to the end of Schiller's poem, but it was not absolutely necessary for Krufft to write out the repetition for purely practical, performance reasons. It would have been obvious that only the major-mode part was appropriate for the vocal realization of the last verse of the text, formulated from the female point of view, or it could have been made clear simply by a da capo al fine sign. To assume that Krufft's explicitly written out repetition of the major-mode part exceeds what is required for a formally and harmonically complete conclusion, and that such a repetition points to a deliberate underlining of the meaning of the Frauenlob, may, nevertheless, be an over-interpretation. What is certain, however, is that Schiller's poem was discussed in the Krufft household and remained present for years. This is indicated by the fact that Nikolaus von Krufft considered his setting to be so topical that he had it reprinted in his collection of German songs with piano accompaniment published in 1812, supplemented by a short piano prelude.[17] Above all, the fact that his sister Justine von Krufft obviously alluded to
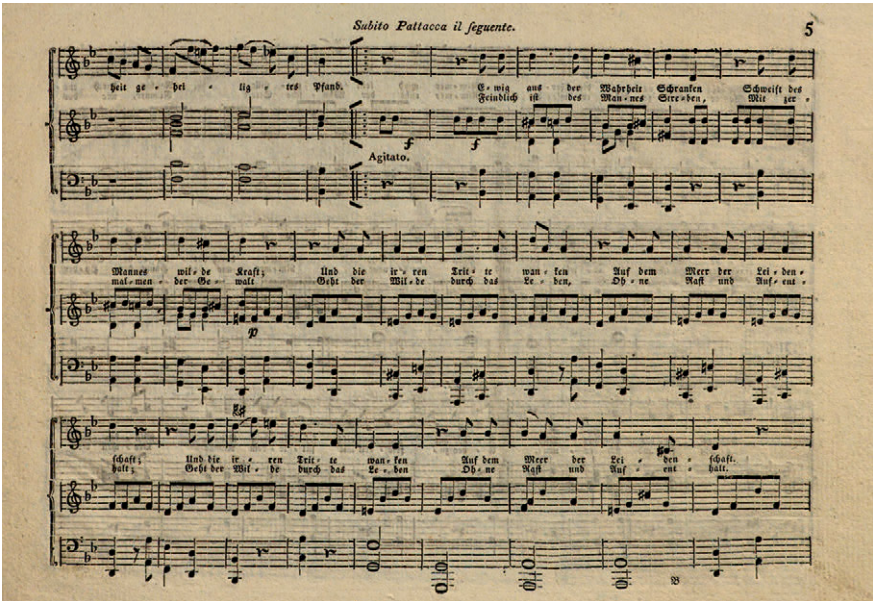
15 Bobeth, "Lied im Wandel," 81.

16 Markus Grassl, "Krufft, Nikolaus Freiherr von," in *MGG*^{2}, *Personenteil 10* (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 2003), 763–64; Ray Fernando Luper, "The German Lieder of Nikolaus Freiherr von Krufft, 1779–1818" (PhD diss., Tulane University, 1976) (=UMI 7710660); Bobeth, "Lied im Wandel," esp. 163–70 and 269–75.

17 A-Wn MUS MS37194-qu.4° (digital object: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09189183).

Schiller's text in her poem *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost* (Girl's lament and girl's comfort) also indicates a lively and ongoing engagement with the literary model. This poem was also set to music by Nikolaus and even published by him as a single song in 1813.





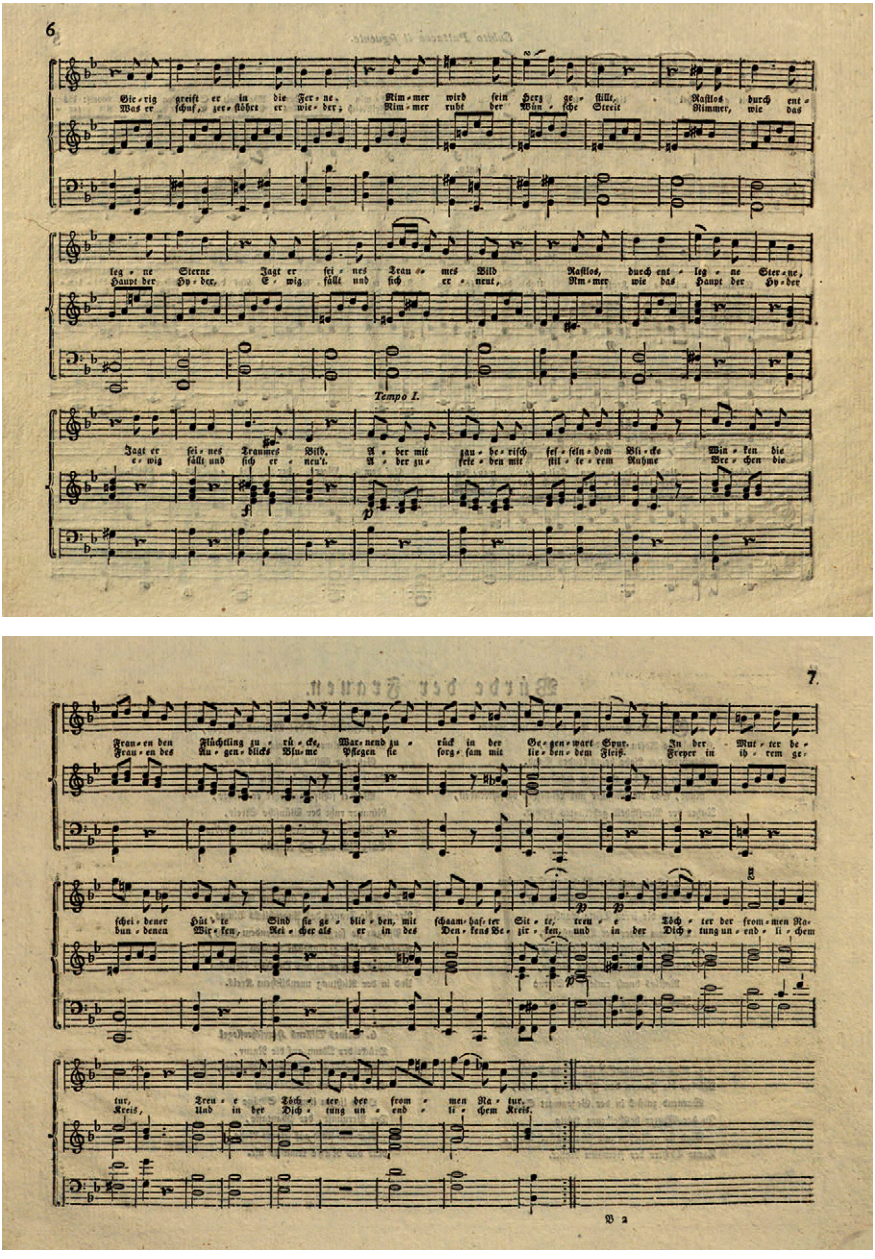


Illustration 2 a-d: N. v. Krufft, *Würde der Frauen. Sammlung von Liedern aus den beßten teutschen Dichtern, zum Singen und Spielen am Klavier.*[18]

18 See the digitized score at https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11145448-7.

Justine von Krufft

Little is known about the life of Justine von Krufft. The daughter of a distinguished family with a father in the imperial civil service, Justine received musical training from Maria Theresia Paradis in her youth, as the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst für Wien und Prag* from 1796 informs us.[19] Unmarried and childless throughout her life, financially secure and profoundly educated, she seems to have devoted herself to her poetry. That she was sometimes exposed to social incomprehension in the process is suggested by lines such as the following from her poem *Klage*, which, despite all their topoi of a romantically transfigured, unworldly artistic life, at least do not exclude an autobiographical interpretation:

> I must lower my gaze and hold the falling tear,
> Because people don't understand me, because they don't understand me at all!
> [...]
> They scold me as a 'gusher'. O leave me my beloved
> My enchanting circle of a poetry world!
> [...]
> Hear my heartfelt plea: O let me dream and write!
> [...][20]

In Justine's lines, the extent to which her gender played a role in the described lack of understanding ultimately remains open. In any case, what resounds in the "circle of a poetry world" she longs for is the "the unending sphere of poetry" articulated by Schiller in the fifth stanza of his *Würde der Frauen*.

The poem *Klage* is – like *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost* – one of a total of eleven pieces by Justine von Krufft that were included in the seventeenth volume of Friedrich Matthisson's *Lyrische Anthologie* in 1806. The inclusion of her works in this and other relevant *florilegiums* of contemporary poetry testifies to Justine's fame and recognition as a poet far beyond Vienna, as does her inclusion in lists such as Friedrich Raßmann's *Pantheon deutscher jetzt lebender Dichter* (Helmstedt 1823) or Carl Wilhelm Otto August von Schindel's *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1823).

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19 *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst für Wien und Prag* (Vienna: Schönfeld, 1796), 38.

20 Senken muss ich den Blick, und bergen die fallende Träne, / Weil die Menschen mich nicht, weil sie mich nimmer verstehn! / [...] /"Schwärmerin!" schelten sie mich. O lasst mir doch meinen geliebten / Mich umgaukelnden Kreis einer erdichteten Welt! /[...] /Höret mein herzliches Flehn: O lasst mich träumen und dichten! / [...] Excerpt from: *Klage*, in: *Lyrische Anthologie*, ed. Friedrich Matthisson, vol. XVII (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1806), 259–61 [my translation].

In Vienna itself, her lyrical oeuvre is present not least as the textual basis for several settings by composers such as Moritz von Dietrichstein (1813)[21] and Franz Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee (~1811–1815),[22] and above all by her brother Nikolaus who, as early as 1803, opened an extensive collection of his own songs with a setting of a text by Justine. In 1813, Nikolaus then published his composition based on Justine's *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost* as a single song and prefaced it with an explicit dedication to his sister (see Illustration 3).[23]

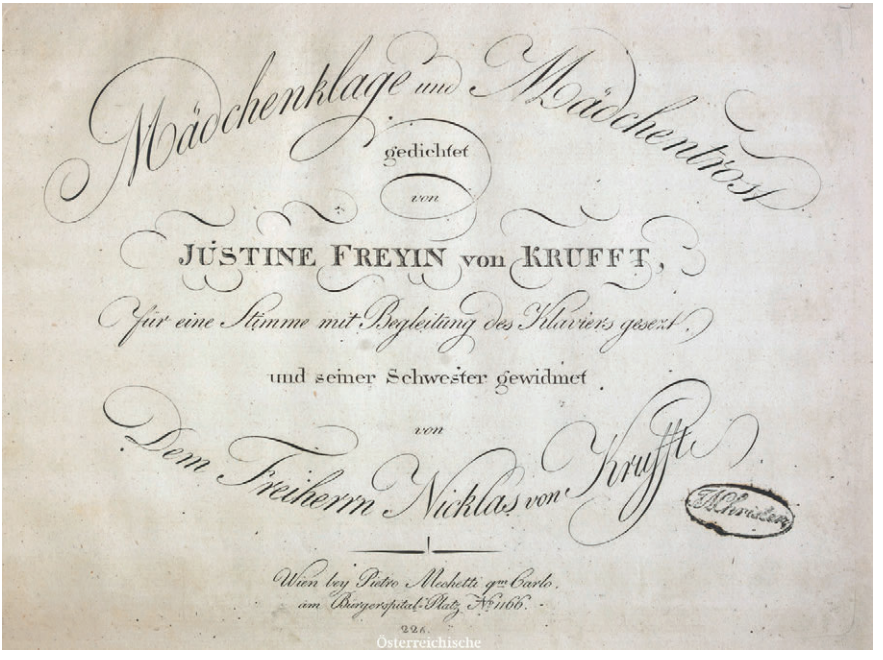


Illustration 3: Title page of Nikolaus von Krufft, *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost.* Vienna: Pietro Mechetti, 1813.[24]

21 Song supplement in *Selam. Ein Almanach für Freunde des Mannigfaltigen auf das Jahr 1813*, ed. J. F. Castelli(Vienna: Anton Strauß, 1813).

22 Setting of Justine von Krufft's song "Das Hüttchen am Flusse", in *Gesänge. In Musik gesetzt von Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee, Erstes Heft* (Luzern: Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee; Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel [o.J.]); RISM ID no.: 408000063.

23 *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost. Gedichtet von Justine Freyin von Krufft, für eine Stimme mit Begleitung des Klaviers gesetzt und seiner Schwester gewidmet von dem Freiherrn Nicklas von Krufft* (Vienna: Pietro Mechetti, 1813) (A-Wn MS9305-qu.4°/3; digital object: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09224383).

24 See the digitized print of the copy in the Austrian National Library, MS 9305 http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09224383.

The single song print and the dedication to Justine appear remarkable not only as a document of a close sibling relationship, or even as an indication of an artistic exchange between librettist and composer: It can also be understood – especially since it is the only known dedication to his sister – as an expression of the outstanding significance of this text in particular. As in Schiller's *Würde der Frauen*, Justine's poem negotiates gender identities and gender-related role patterns. Here, however, not only is the author a woman, but the narrative perspective is also genuinely female throughout (see Table 2).

Table 2: *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost* [dt./engl.][25]

	Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost **Justine von Krufft**	***Girl's lament and Girl's Comfort***
1.	Der freie Mann schaut die Natur In jeglicher Gestalt, Er kennt die Blume jeder Flur Und Meer und Berg und Wald, Er kann nach jedem Weltteil zieh'n: Weh mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	The free man looks at nature In every form, He knows the flower of every field And sea and mountain and forest, He can go to any part of the world: Woe is me! that I am a girl.
2.	Doch zaubert meine Fantasie Mir nicht das schönste Bild Im Frühlingsglanze, spät und früh, Und wechselnd, stark und mild Wo immer neue Blumen blüh'n? Wohl mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	But my imagination, doesn't it conjure up for me the most beautiful picture In the spring glow, late and early, And changing, strong and mild Where ever new flowers bloom? Happy me! that I am a girl.
3.	Der Mann, empor mit Feuerkraft, Dringt er an schroffen Höh'n Zum Pantheon der Wissenschaft; Sie strahlt ihm göttlich schön, Und schmückt mit Lorbeerkränzen ihn: Weh mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	The man, upwards with firepower, He climbs the craggy heights To the pantheon of science; Science beams to him divinely fair, And adorns him with laurel wreaths: Woe is me! that I am a girl.
4.	Doch, trotz Minervas Ehrenreis Kränzt mich Zufriedenheit Mit Immergrün, im Freundeskreis, Bei stiller Wirksamkeit; Da herrscht die Freud' als Königin: Wohl mir! Dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	But, despite Minerva's honorary rice Satisfaction wreathes me With evergreens, in the circle of friends, With silent efficacy; There reigns joy as queen: Happy me! that I am a girl.
5.	Der Mann, das Schwert in tapfrer Hand, Wird seiner Heimat Wehr; Ihm lohnt des Fürsten Stern und Band, Des Bürgers Dank noch mehr; Der Enkel nennt mit Ehrfurcht ihn: Weh mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	The man, the sword in brave hand, Will defend his homeland; The prince's star and ribbon reward him, The citizen's gratitude even more; The grandson calls him with reverence: Woe is me! that I am a girl.

25 My translation.

6.	Doch meines Trauten Herz ist mein, Und das bleibt mir die Welt, Bis einst auf meinen Leichenstein Der Enkel Träne fällt. Lass Siegern Dank-Altäre glüh'n: Wohl mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	But my dear's heart is mine, And that remains the world to me, Until once on my funeral stone The grandchildren's tear falls. Let altars of thanks glow for victors: Happy me! that I am a girl.
7.	Der Mann allein ist Herr im Haus, Und waltet unumschränkt, Stürmt vor der Frau die Launen aus, Und alles, was ihn kränkt; Dem Rauhen kann sie nicht entflieh'n; Weh mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin.	The man alone is master of the house, And rules unrestrained, Strikes out his whims before the wife, And all that offends him; She cannot escape the rough; Woe is me! that I am a girl.
8.	Doch gab nicht weise Vaterhuld Uns zur Begleiterin Die himmlisch lächelnde Geduld, Mit weichem Engelssinn? Sie bleibt mein Kleinod und Gewinn: Wohl mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin!	But did not give wise paternal grace To us as a companion The heavenly smiling patience, With soft angelic sense? This patience remains my treasure and gain: Happy me! that I am a girl!

The reference to Schiller's counterpart – of which Justine's early knowledge can be assumed, given the setting by her brother – is already clear from the stanza-by-stanza juxtaposition of the antithetically formulated 'typically masculine' and 'typically feminine' characteristics, behaviors and habitats. Unlike Schiller, however, Justine directs the focus in the first of her eight six-line stanzas on the man ("The free man looks at nature..."), while only the following stanza (as well as the other second stanzas of the male-female pairs) formulates a view of a corresponding female theme, which functions as a female counterpart to the immediately preceding male theme. The conjunction "But...," with which Justine introduces the change in the direction of vision in the stanzas corresponds to the recurring "But..." at the beginning of Schiller's female stanzas.
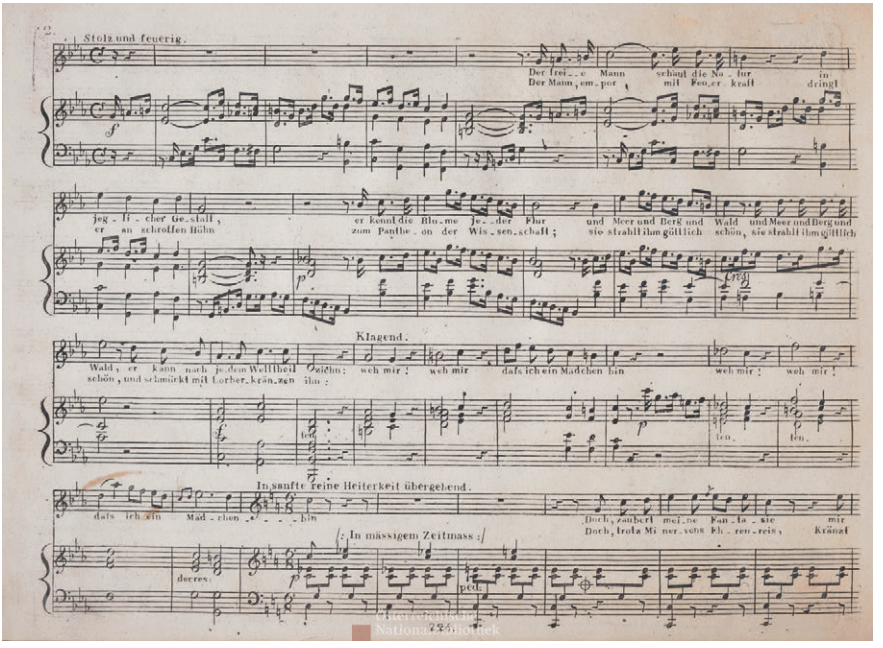
In contrast to Schiller's supposedly neutral narrative perspective, Justine's poem is formulated from a female perspective throughout. The end of each stanza concludes with a refrain: In the stanzas depicting the male world, the female lyrical ego laments "Weh mir, dass ich ein Mädchen bin" (Woe is me that I am a girl), while at the end of the stanzas depicting the female world she concludes with almost identical words, in which the doleful exclamation "Weh mir" ("Woe is me") is replaced by an exclamation of happiness "Wohl mir" ("Happy me"), so that the meaning is reversed despite the phonetic similarity: "Wohl mir, dass ich ein Mädchen bin." In this way, each 'girl's lament' is followed by a 'girl's consolation' in which the iambic verse meter is retained for both, in distinction to Schiller's gender-specific alternation of dactylic and trochaic verse. At the end of the poem, after four pairs of male-female stanzas,

the conciliatory, affirmative view of belonging to the female sex ultimately has the final word, underlined by the concluding exclamation mark.

The conviction of the advantageousness of belonging to the female sex, however, seems to be achieved in Justine's text not by more powerful arguments, nor even by a break with traditional role attributions, but rather by an increasingly auto-suggestive adaptation to existing norms. The qualities and life experiences attributed to men as typical, which also correspond to those used by Schiller – freedom, strength, power, bravery, scientific and military success, fame, domination, unrestraint, etc. – are countered only by the woman's wealth of inner imagination (cf. stanza 2: "But my imagination does not conjure up the most beautiful picture for me…") as well as by the ability to feel happiness in a domestic setting (cf. stanza 4: "with evergreens, in a circle of friends, with quiet effectiveness"). The advantages of being female, formulated in the stanzas of consolation, ultimately prove to comprise the capacity for self-restraint, renunciation, tolerance, prudence, understanding, and patient suffering. From the awareness of the inner strength needed to find fulfilment in the limited scope of female life, which becomes clear between the lines, the speaker of the lyrical I – who inserts a supra-personal perspective with the collective 'us' in the last stanza – projects a moral superiority that is affirmatively invoked in the refrain. The traditional distribution of gender roles thus remains essentially untouched, but is at least ambivalently reflected by the lyrical I, and female adaptability and forbearance is sublimated. Although Justine adheres to the fundamental opposition of stereotypical gender roles, her poem counters Schiller's exaggerated, utopian praise of women with a more realistic perspective in which the female lyrical I repeatedly weighs the pros and cons of both role ideals and expresses reconciliation with her own fate in a self-reflexive, discursive, and subliminal manner, but not without ambivalence.

Nikolaus von Krufft's setting of *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost*

In his music (see Illustration 4), Nikolaus von Krufft reverts to the two-part arrangement already implemented in his setting of Schiller's work by combining, in a two-part musical stanza, a male text stanza to be played "stolz und feurig" (proudly and fiery) and a female text stanza to be performed in "sanfte(r) reine(r) Heiterkeit" (gentle pure cheerfulness). Unlike the setting of Schiller's *Würde der Frauen*, however, the 'male' part, characterized by a striking dotted rhythm, and the 'female' part, which flows in dance-like 6/8 time, do not share a mediant tonal relationship. Cast instead in C minor and C major, they express the different tonal characters of two scales that both start from
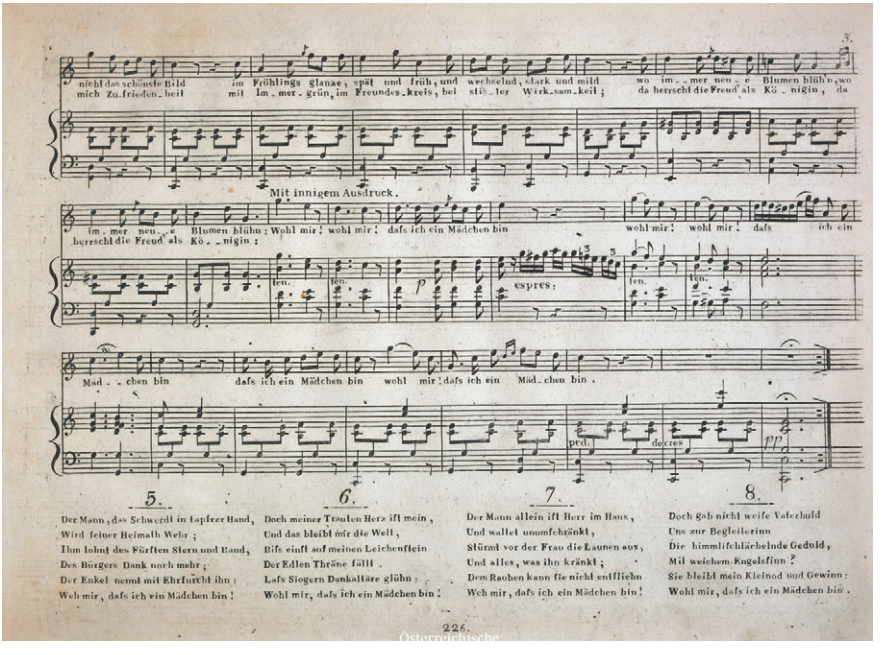




Illustration 4 a-b: Music pages of Nikolaus von Krufft, *Mädchenklage und Mädchentrost,* Vienna: Pietro Mechetti, 1813.

the same fundamental – just as the male/female pairs of stanzas in the text express two different perspectives on a corresponding fact.

What is emphasized in a striking musical way in Nikolaus von Krufft's setting is the sublimation of female self-effacement through the affirmative refrain at the end of the consolation stanzas. Thus the concluding "Wohl mir!" refrain – i.e. the affirmative final plea of the female lyrical self – is far longer than the "Weh mir" refrain, with a total of fifteen bars, and receives an extended and sustained affirmation through even more textual repetitions ("Wohl mir! wohl mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin..... wohl mir! wohl mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin, dass ich ein Mädchen bin, wohl mir! dass ich ein Mädchen bin."). Although the affirmation of female fate is not 'unclouded', as the intermittent shift to the deceptive A minor makes clear, a radiant C major sonority prevails as the final effect. The struggle of the female ego for a positive attitude towards her own gender, and the obviously necessary and almost auto-suggestively repeated self-affirmation, are thus made directly audible and perceptible in the music. In this way, Nikolaus musically profiles the very moment at which Justine's text stands out most strongly from Schiller's.

Without doubt, Justine von Krufft is not concerned with the task of abolishing, questioning or redefining established gender characteristics. Rather, by associating female perfection and self-realization with the realm of moral and spiritual integrity, she moves within the framework of common contemporary thought patterns.[26] What Justine does, however, is to introduce to contemporary discussion a new, specifically individual way of looking at things: she counters the male ideal of femininity characterized by Schiller's *Würde der Frauen* with a sovereign female voice that explicitly expresses the fact that the possibilities open to men also appear to be desirable to women, and that the renunciation of them in favor of the fulfilment of virtues considered feminine means, for women, an act of conscious, active, even painful ("Weh mir!") withdrawal. The fact that Nikolaus, after having already published his setting of Schiller's poem twice, followed it up with a setting of Justine's poem, and published it as a representative one-song print dedicated to his sister by a renowned Viennese publisher (Pietro Mechetti), at least allows the cautious conclusion that he was sensitive to his sister's critical attitude towards Schiller's *Würde der Frauen* and was prepared to give Justine's counter-version to Schiller's text the final word.

Nikolaus's repeated compositional examination of Schiller's contrasting images of gender roles in *Würde der Frauen*, Justine's poetic examination

26 See also Kyeonghi Lee, "Weiblichkeitskonstruktionen und Frauengestalten im theoretischen und literarischen Werk Friedrich Schillers" (PhD diss., University of Marburg, 2003) (https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/147498367.pdf).

of Schiller's poem, and finally Nikolaus's setting of his sister's literary reformulation provide clear indications that ideals of masculinity and femininity were not only thematized in the literary and art-ambitious Viennese salons of the time, but were also communicated and shaped in music. Reports from the music-loving salon of the Krufft family, which was frequented by Ignaz von Sonnleithner, whose house concerts would later become the premiere venue for numerous Schubert songs, document as early as the 1790s that Justine and her brother Nikolaus contributed to the entertainment successfully presented at illustrious Viennese evening parties: Justine by performing "fruits of her lyrical muse," Nikolaus by "self-composed songs, which he performed on the fortepiano."[27] Decades later, both Nikolaus and Justine are still mentioned in Karoline Pichler's memoirs, which name them both as close acquaintances and donors of witty lyrical-musical contributions.[28]

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It stands to reason that contrasting images of gender roles were topical for a brother and sister like Nikolaus and Justine, both of whom were active in the arts, and provided an opportunity for discussion. Perhaps a lively controversy about the appropriateness of Schiller's understanding of gender arose after a recital of Nikolaus von Krufft's setting of *Würde der Frauen*, which prompted Justine to write her more sober, genuinely feminine counter-draft, which Nikolaus then set to music and assigned to his sister as a sign of recognition. Such or similar scenarios seem quite conceivable as possible occasions for Justine's poem and Nikolaus' setting and dedication.

In any case, the general contemporary criticism of Schiller's poem did not leave Nikolaus von Krufft unaffected: when he published his collection of German songs accompanied by piano in 1812, into which he had also integrated some pieces from his earlier song publication of 1798 – partly supplemented by piano preludes – he did not fall back on Schiller's original version printed in the *Musen-Almanach* for the text of *Würde der Frauen*, on which his 1798 setting was based, but on the revised, radically abridged and pathos-reduced version (though practically unchanged in message), which Schiller had published in the first volume of his 1800 edition of poems in response to contemporary criticism.

27 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben: 1774–1852*, ed. and rev. Reinhart Bachofen von Echt (Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1940), 32.

28 Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben. 1769–1843*, mit einer Einleitung und zahlreichen Anmerkungen nach dem Erstdruck und der Urschrift neu herausgegeben von Emil Karl Blümml, vol. 2 (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914), 128.

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Representations on Stage

Women at Work: Sophie Schröder and Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient in Vienna around 1815

Anno Mungen

This chapter addresses how actresses can be contextualized within the field of work or labor at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] It will reflect on what this contextualization might tell us about both the creative process of art making within the theater, and of being on stage and performing as an actress or a singer.[2] What kind of 'work' can we understand acting and/or singing on stage to have been at the time? How is the presence of Sophie Schröder (1781–1868) and her daughter Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804–1860)[3] viewed in Vienna in 1815? How is the perception of the two female figures linked to the question of morality and to the topic of antiquity?

This investigation is part of a major project on the soprano Schröder-Devrient (see Illustration 1), who was a big star in nineteenth-century European musical culture in general and in opera specifically. My planned biography of her will deal also with her family and with her family relationships.[4] On the one hand these relationships reflect what a family, as an important social unit, in

1 This chapter refers in a very general sense to the nineteenth century as a whole, despite the fact that differentiations are necessary during this long period, especially if we look at the dynamics of gender and family.

2 A fundamental hint should be given at the beginning of this chapter which concerns the impossible distinction within the German-speaking theater system of the time: there is still no clear division made between the singers' and the actors' fields of work, which is why both can be thought of as one. Both women we are dealing with here were trained and active as actresses as well as singers, although one specialized as an actress (Sophie Schröder) and the other as a singer (Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient).

3 Despite the fact that she used different names during her career, I will mostly refer to her in this chapter by the name with which she became most famous, Schröder-Devrient. For literature on her, see Anno Mungen, *Die dramatische Sängerin Wilhelmine Schröer-Devrient. Stimme, Medialität, Kunstleistung*. Thurnauer Schriften zum Musiktheater 37 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2021).

4 This biography will be based on the fact that I tried to separate the artistic outcome of Schröder-Devrient from the biographical work in a first step. See Mungen, *Die dramatische Sängerin*. My book on her voice and her singing tries to approach the voice through performance sources such as reviews or parts written for her and does not focus on her biography.

the early nineteenth century was expected to be. On the other hand, those relationships are dominated both by gender constellations and the prevailing conception of womanhood at the time. The study of family and of gender is extremely relevant to the topic of labor in the nineteenth century.[5] The second person whom I discuss in this chapter, Sophie Schröder (see Illustration 2), was born in the late eighteenth century, a fact which is important to highlight since ideas on family and gender are changing entities.[6] She can be also considered a celebrity in her field, being one of the most famous actresses of her time. As a woman, daughter and mother, she is also connected to the analytical fields of family and gender. As a strong and public character, Sophie Schröder served as a role model for her children, and Wilhelmine especially seems to have been strongly influenced by her and not merely in the professional field of acting. In Schröder-Devrient's biography there are patterns to be observed where the daughter seems to have quite clearly followed in the footsteps of her mother.



Illustration 1: *Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient*. Engraving by Charles Auguste Schuler, [1834]. Public Domain.

5 Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere' – eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Klett, 1976), 363–393.

6 Andreas Gestrich, *Geschichte der Familie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (3rd. rev. edition, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2013).



Illustration 2: *Sophie Schröder*. Lithograph by Josef Kriehuber, 1828. Public Domain.

Gendered family constellations are at the center of this chapter. It will address how gender relates to the theater as an institution of work at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where the dichotomy of male and female is not yet clearly established. Only later in the century does a stricter dichotomy of male and female become dominant. This gender opposition can be understood as forming a basis for further oppositions which will be treated in my essay. But we should be keeping in mind that the dichotomy concept sometimes opens up a space for something else, especially in the world of the theater as it creates its own society. Just as we find moments in the theater where the dichotomy seems to be challenged – in the phenomenon of trouser roles and in the figure of 'musico' in opera, for example – all the oppositions I am dealing with may be called into question as well.

The title of my chapter, *Women at work*, addresses the major opposition that is crucial to my approach. Summarized in very general terms, women of the nineteenth century middle classes were not supposed to work and to make money to support the family financially. They were expected to stay at home fulfilling their domestic duties, which were not considered work or labor. So we might understand the nineteenth-century conception of work as referring to hard physical labor related to the phenomenon of industrialization. Vienna in 1815 was a fast-growing city which underwent dramatic changes through the

process of urbanization and changing living conditions. Low-income work in factories or at home with long hours of labor was executed by men but increasingly also by women, as was acknowledged toward the end of the century in the 1873 World exhibition in Vienna, where a pavilion for the first time was devoted to *women at work*.[7]

The two highly celebrated women discussed in this chapter, who had lived decades earlier, were not part of this low-income context of worker families. However, because of their profession they also did not fully belong to the middle or even upper classes, despite the fact that their audiences, who loved their performances, came from these circles. In fact, they were struggling to be seen as part of the bourgeoisie, a fact which is part of the legacy of how women in the theater had been perceived for centuries. 'Women at work' in that sense carries an undertone, since the work they were doing as actresses and female singers was potentially associated with immorality.

The concept of 'work'

How do we examine the main concept in question here, beyond its simple association with hard labor? I want to refer to two distinct approaches in which the concept of work is placed in a broader context: a history of the world as it might be narrated 'through' the idea of work, and a global history of the nineteenth century, where work plays an intrinsic role within society.

Anthropologist James Suzman takes the phenomenon of work as a topic around which the story of humanity can be narrated. 'Work' as "A History of How We Spend Our Time", to quote the subtitle of the British edition of his book, includes diverse perspectives on how work in different times and cultures might be considered. Some of the most important reasons Suzman presents of why humans work may be briefly summarized. Following Suzman, two general ideas on work are basic to any further understanding: We work in order to use time and energy and to attain goals.[8] The latter reason is connected to an understanding of work which is existential. We work to bring sense to our lives, but also to have fun and to be content.[9] The sociological perspective, that we work in order to distinguish ourselves within society, brings us to an important feature of how work creates identity.[10] All of these functions seem to, more

7 See the online exhibition on this topic at the Technische(s) Museum Wien: https://www.technischesmuseum.at/ausstellung/women_at_work, accessed 13 June 2023.
8 James Suzman, *Work: A Deep History, from the Stone Age to the Age of Robots* (London: Penguin Books, 2022), 7, 8.
9 Suzman, *Work*, 11.
10 Suzman, *Work*, 307, 290–291.

or less, reflect psychological dimensions. Last but not least, the most obvious reason for why we work is the fact that we need to support ourselves: working is an activity we undertake – in modern times – to make money. Through work, people are able to afford to maintain their existence in a physical sense.[11]

All of the reasons mentioned above may be applied to our cases. The two nineteenth century working women this essay deals with are doing what they are doing because they need to make a living, they want to make sense of their lives, they want to reach goals, and also because they are creating their own identity as famous female stars within their society. Another perspective on why they work addresses a phenomenon which is relevant for the 'industry' in question represented by theaters, concerts, and all other sorts of entertainments. A rather new differentiation comes into play: People use their time for work or they use it specifically to enjoy their being by not working. This may be summarized using the concept of leisure time. We either spend time to make money or we spent time to be entertained by paying money for what we are viewing or enjoying.[12] Theater can be related to this rather new concept in anthropological terms, where audiences expose themselves to entertainment or 'art' during their leisure time. And in this context acting was understood as a new profession in the nineteenth century. Women were accepted as part of this new field, while other areas of reputable male work were not accessible to them.

The second approach which this chapter draws upon, that of historian Jürgen Osterhammel, analyzes the history of work in the nineteenth century. If one wants to tell the history of the nineteenth century, a central place needs to be given to the question of work. Osterhammel's book *The Transformation of the World. A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* includes a chapter on the topic where he positions 'labor' as the "Physical Basis of Culture."[13] As such he does not want work to be taken as an abstract phenomenon, but rather situates it in the context of specific conditions, where work itself creates uncountable and individualized biographies in different regions all over the globe as well as at different times within the nineteenth century. He refers to four such cases at the beginning of his chapter in order to relate work to individuals specifically: to a butcher in Bombay in 1873, to a ship doctor working on the sea, and to a Chinese laborer in a South African goldmine, all of them male. With the fourth case he refers to work executed by women and addresses the situation

11 Suzman, *Work*, 6.
12 Suzman, *Work*, 335.
13 Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 637.

of female opera singers at the time of Rossini. Here, he brings into play a case of female work which we can reflect on, for not only does Osterhammel discuss an example of a female work situation, but he also implicates a certain understanding of nineteenth-century work as not just labor. Inherent to Osterhammel's example is the idea that the artistic labor of women is not productive in a materialistic sense, and that it is part of the entertainment industry.

It has to be pointed out that the paying audiences who attended the theater or concerts brought with them certain expectations. The nineteenth century idea of true and great art was constructed around a concept of genius mostly linked to male authors. It is linked to the assumption that an artist dedicates his life to no other purpose than his service to art. The fact that in the reproductive context of performance the concept of genius was also sometimes attributed to women should be taken into account here.[14] In fact, both Schröder and Schröder-Devrient were understood as 'geniuses' of the theatre in their time.[15] The dichotomy of working to make a living on the one hand and creating or producing high art on the other hand, is basic.

The Schröder family

Let's try to draw a rough sketch of the two women. With both Schröder and Schröder-Devrient we observe two powerful, strong and certainly unusual women of the nineteenth century. Importantly, both of them at certain moments in their biographies engaged themselves with politics, which was not usually considered a female task at all. Schröder had gotten into trouble in Hamburg because of a political comment she had publicly made at a theater performance during the French occupation in 1813. Similarly, Schröder-Devrient was part of the libertine and democratic movement of the literary group of *Junges Deutschland* and became involved in the Dresden revolution of 1849.

The positions of both mother and daughter within society also provided them with the option of making a career in fields in which they were extremely well paid. Finally, in contrast to this public image of the two, we also need to take a look at the other side of the coin. They, of course, had to play their parts within their families as well: as mother, daughter, wife. And although we cannot refer to this concretely, the discourse seems to suggest that they also might have had relationships outside of their marriages. As we can see, espe-

14 Julia Köhne and Barbara Ventarola, eds., *Weibliche Genieentwürfe. Eine alternative Geschichte des schöpferischen Subjekts* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2022). See also the chapter by Christine Hoppe in this book.

15 Philipp Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder wie sie lebt im Gedächtniß ihrer Zeitgenossen und Kinder* (Vienna: Wallishausser'sche Buchhandlung, 1869), XI and XIII.

cially with respect to the last assumption, the regular concept of the family in middle- and upper-class societies in the nineteenth century was in significant respects not in accordance with the reality of the lives of our two female protagonists.[16] This understanding of a 'normal' family was propagated as follows: men engaged in the public sphere, including doing the work and making money, while women represented a non-public setting. One of the sources which helps us to form a general understanding, especially retrospectively, is Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's book *Die Familie* from 1855.[17] However, the concept of actors' families such as those of the Schröders or the Devrients, which was the family Wilhelmine married into in 1824, differ in major respects from the general picture drawn by Riehl.

Let's take a look at the Schröders. This family consisted of the father who was a minor actor, the mother who was a celebrated superstar actress, and the four children of this marriage: Wilhelmine, Elisabeth or Betty, Auguste and Alexander.[18] The kids were involved in the theater from a very young age; the girls took part in a children's dance theater, and all of them playing child roles in the productions of their parents. Eventually, they became actors in opera or plays themselves. In 1815 they moved through a number of places where they were hired as actors, from Hamburg to Vienna. The most important figure of this family, the mother, was the reason for this move. As already mentioned, she had gotten into political trouble which is why the family had to flee Hamburg in 1813. The famous Burgtheater in Vienna was interested in hiring the well-known actress, and her family was to join her. It has to be pointed out that there is a double burden to be observed regarding the mother's role. Sophie Schröder was not only the main breadwinner, assuming a position the husband would usually fulfill, but she also took the responsibilities of being the mother within the family. There are several cases where famous female singers left the theater once they got married. [19] Sometimes they would still sing in concerts, as the cases of Henriette Sontag, Jenny Lind or Nanette Schechner show, but no longer on stage.

16 Andreas Gestrich, (2006): Art. "*Familie*," in: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 3, ed. by Friedrich Jaeger (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2006), 790–812; Albrecht Koschorke, et al., *Vor der Familie: Grenzbedingungen einer modernen Institution* (Konstanz: Konstanz University Press, 2010); Inken Schmidt-Voges (ed.), *Ehe – Haus – Familie: soziale Institutionen im Wandel 1750–1850* (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2010).

17 Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Familie* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1855).

18 Philipp Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder, wie sie lebt im Gedächtniss ihrer Zeitgenossen und Kinder* (Vienna: Wallishasser'sche Buchhandlung, 1870), 16; since there is no other information on Betty Schröder see also: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Betty_Schröder; https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz116410.html, accessed 13 June 2023.

19 Christine Fornoff-Petrowski, *Künstler-Ehe. Ein Phänomen der bürgerlichen Musikkultur* (Köln: Böhlau, 2021).



Illustration 3: *Betty Schröder*. Lithograph by Josef Eduard Telscher, 1826. Public Domain.

Another example where marriage and an uninterrupted stage career were not combined with each other can be observed in the case of Wilhelmine's sister Betty Schröder (see Illustration 3), born in 1806. Like her sister, she was trained as an actress and opera singer and was hired in 1824 at the Vienna court opera. She resigned from the stage when she got married in 1831 to the physician and writer Philipp Schmidt.[20] Many years later Schmidt published a book on his mother-in-law with the title "Sophie Schröder wie sie lebt im Gedächtniß ihrer Zeitgenossen und Kinder" (Sophie Schröder as she lives in the memory of her contemporaries and children), the only biography to date which came out shortly after the death of the famous actress in 1868.[21] In his writings about Sophie Schröder we encounter the idea that women of the theater were seen as morally unstable. They were not given the confidence that they would live up to notions of fidelity within their marriages. The public presentation of the

20 See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Betty_Schröder, accessed 13 June 2023. There is currently no research on Betty Schröder. The article does list historical encyclopedia articles and material on her mother and sister.

21 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*.

female body on stage, which could also be associated with questionable roles, was one of the reasons for the bad reputation these women had. Women on stage were seen as a phenomenon in which the actress, the female dancer or the female singer were paid for displaying their beauty and bodies in front of others. If they did not want to be associated with this sort of 'prostitution', they faced a dilemma. According to nineteenth-century understanding, their roles in the theater and their role within the family were in conflict with each other, representing different views of womanhood.

Schmidt's publication contains a short autobiographical sketch by Sophie Schröder where she herself distinguishes between the two worlds of being an artist on the one hand and being a 'regular' woman of the time on the other: "But I can only decide to write about my life as an artist, because my bourgeois life has too many shady sides that would affect others more than myself."[22] This second middle class ("bürgerlich") world included her role of being a mother and might have also included affairs with men. To be a mother was to maintain a role within the realm of a regular family and to observe what society expected. To become a (professional) actress was viewed as giving oneself up to semi-prostitution. This was the case despite the fact that the same society which condemned the person also received great pleasure from seeing her perform on stage. This liminal situation is probably the reason why Schröder speaks of herself as belonging to the "Schauspielerstand", as actors and actresses seemed to have formed their own – more or less unofficial – class within society, one which was parallel to the aristocracy, the church, the upper and the middle class as well as the working class. This situation demanded great strength, especially from the female representatives of that class. Professional life as an actress implies a tendency to go beyond boundaries bringing together the work as an artist and the duties within the family. In Schröder's biography, who like her daughter was married three times, there are hints to be found that her life was considered inappropriate by the wider society. The accusation of a dissolute life, which Schröder herself decided to not write about, resonates in the book by Schmidt, despite the fact that he mainly meant to sketch a positive picture of his mother-in-law and to present her in a good light.

Schmidt's book may also serve as a source to obtain information about the living conditions of the Schröder family. First of all, the mother had help leading the household. Part of the arrangement, common at the time, was that

22 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 3: "Doch kann ich mich nur über mein Künstlerleben entschließen zu schreiben, indem mein bürgerliches Leben zu viel Schattenseiten hat, die mehr Andere als mich compromittiren würden." (English translation by me.) She also refers explicitly to the "Schauspielerstand", the "class of actors", within this context; see Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 4.

other people – servants – were doing labor within a context where all the family members, including the children, were themselves working. Sophie Schröder, being also the child of an actress, stresses that she was fed by a wet nurse because her own mother was "indisposed" (unpässlich).[23] She in fact, as Schmidt points out, breastfed all five of her children (she had a son from a first marriage), despite the huge workload coming with her job.[24] A longer quote from Schmidt's book reflects on the general positioning of the Schröder household within Vienna. It excuses Schröder as a working woman who did not have the time to fulfill the regular duties of a mother, but reflects at the same time on how the children were taken care of:

> As for her middle-class circumstances, she kept a respectable, hospitable household. Her duties as an artist did not allow her any free time for the complete fulfillment of her motherly duties, but she did not deprive herself of them. She spared nothing in the education of her children. They lived under the supervision of a governess and enjoyed the instruction of the first teachers of the imperial city, whose religious leadership was entrusted to the highly respected preacher Schmalz [...] living in Vienna at that time.[25]

With these words, Schmidt, who most likely received this information from his wife, gives the impression of a very well-situated, upper middle-class household. Between the lines he refers in this passage to the financial capacity of the Schröders, because the family's income seems to have been of the kind which made an elaborate education affordable. The children, including the girls, enjoyed the privilege of an outstanding education, which was guided and executed by a figure of high religious and most likely also moral standards. We might associate the person mentioned in Schmidt's book with the theologian Moritz Ferdinand Schmaltz (1785–1860), a protestant priest and private teacher who was working and living in Vienna from 1813 to 1816. He later became somewhat famous for his public criticism of the Catholic Church.[26]

23 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 9.
24 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 84.
25 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 27: "Ihre bürgerlichen Verhältnisse betreffend, hielt sie einen anständigen, gastfreundlichen Hausstand. Für die vollständige Erfüllung ihrer Mutterpflichten gewährten die Pflichten der Künstlerin ihr keine Muße, dennoch entzog sie sich derselben nicht. Sie sparte nichts an der Erziehung ihrer Kinder, dieselben lebten unter Aufsicht einer Erzieherin und genossen des Unterrichts der ersten Lehrer der Kaiserstadt. Deren religiöse Leitung war dem damals in Wien lebenden hochgeachteten Prediger Schmalz [...] übergeben." (English translation by me.)
26 See the article "Schmaltz, Moritz Ferdinand," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31 (1890) https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Schmaltz,_Moritz_Ferdinand, accessed 13 June 2023.

The work of an actress or singer

The next section of this chapter asks what actually constituted the work of an actress or singer during the era in question. What kind of work are we dealing with, especially when it relates to celebrities like Schröder or Schröder-Devrient? It is not easy to cover all aspects of how women for the stage fulfilled their performance tasks in order to create art or entertainment on the high level for which they became famous. The difficulty arises not only because of a general lack of investigation in the social history of (female) acting and singing, but also because of a lack of sources.

The work of an actress or opera singer of the level indicated certainly included many dimensions. First of all, she had to deal with studying her part, including memorizing the text (words and music) of her role, and with rehearsing the work on stage. How much time was available to devote to studying the parts and also to rehearsal is difficult if not impossible to find out. The general preparation of a part could as well include the study of the broader historical context of a role beyond the actual learning of the musical text, as we know from Schröder-Devrient.[27] This was especially significant for a female singer since the context also determined her own choice of costumes, something which was important for Schröder-Devrient for several reasons. First, one assumes that with the costume she chose she wanted to place not only her art but also her body in a good light. The costume, of course, not only helped to shape the part which she was about to play in a specific manner, but at the same time represented her individuality. The choice of a costume was also of great interest to the audience because the costume's appropriateness formed part of the actress's moral evaluation. Within the framework of general morals she was the one to decide what part of the body could stay unclothed and which parts were covered. This especially concerns arms, legs and neckline. The example of Schröder-Devrient's role as Norma from Bellini's opera (see Illustration 4) is from 1836. Schröder-Devrient wears a costume with antique features showing her arms and her décolleté. There is a tension to be observed in this image: on the one hand the opera singer may be perceived as a goddess, which is especially applicable in this case since Norma's aria *Casta diva* reflects on the status of the goddess; on the other hand she might have been perceived on stage as an object in a context where eroticism became part of the performance.

27 Alfred Freiherr von Wolzogen, *Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des musikalischen Dramas* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 227f.



Illustration 4: *Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient as Norma in Bellini's Opera.* Print by Wilhelm Santner, based on a sketch by Josef Kriehuber [1818/36]. Coburg, Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Inventar-Nr. VI,456,1b.

Most important for what needs to be taken into account if we think of how actresses were 'working' within the theatrical arts is the performance itself. Next to the preparation of the theatrical event, the actual performance is the most important component of the work an actress carries out. The demands within the nineteenth century theater system were particularly heavy. The audience could ask for the repetition of individual numbers of an opera if the representation was particularly liked. The sheer number of performances during a season was very high – at least in the case of Schröder-Devrient. Finally, there were further dimensions to the performance that a famous star singer had to pay close attention to, and the organization and planning of the

logistics of her undertaking has to be especially highlighted. She had to ensure for herself that appropriate contracts were concluded, which was complicated, especially with regard to the several guest appearances during the many tours Schröder-Devrient undertook in her lifetime. But the fact that she was also engaged with other theaters in addition to her home institution was of great benefit to her. It made her more flexible and empowered her to make her own decisions, since she was not depending on just one employer.

The home institution in Schröder-Devrient's case for many years was the opera house of Dresden. From here she embarked on tours from the 1820s through the 1840s all over Europe. Deciding on where she wanted to perform as well as arranging her travel were big parts of her working agenda. Travelling itself was time consuming in the nineteenth century, especially the necessity of carrying large pieces of luggage not only for the costumes she needed but also for the staff and the household which accompanied her when she was on the road for months at a time.[28] All of this was exhausting but it also provided the artist with the ability to make her own choices. In this way, Schröder-Devrient decided which parts she would include in her repertoire and in which theatre she would perform. This important aspect of her work can be summarized as the programming of her art.

Antiquity and morality on stage

The costume and the female body were considered important features as performances were often connected to the reception of antiquity in the nineteenth century, especially by male audiences and critics.[29] By focusing here on the public exposure of actresses' bodies on stage, I would like to shed some light on how the attraction to women complicated nineteenth-century morality. To address this field, I refer first to a popular nineteenth-century theatrical phenomenon which was also seen in the realm of erotic art. One of the popular art forms of the time concerns the presentation of so-called 'attitudes' where the visual arts are extended to a performance practice within the theater. The staging of attitudes can be situated between dance, tableau vivant and sculpture. Great female theater performers were associated with this practice, as demonstrated by the German actress Henriette Hendel-Schütz in her role as Agrippina in 1812 (see Illustration 5).

28 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 84.

29 We also know of female fans of Schröder-Devrient, especially in her later years. However, these women seem to come from a feminist and lesbian background.



Illustration 5: *Henriette Hendel-Schütz as Agrippina.* Engraving by Ferdinand Bollinger, 1812. Public Domain.

Sophie Schröder became acquainted with the practice of attitudes in 1810. She saw performances in Hamburg not only by Hendel-Schütz,[30] but also by Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff alias Patrik Peale, who was one of the few men known for this kind of art at the time.[31] In his book on Schröder, Schmidt gives detailed descriptions of the techniques used by the actress to prepare herself for her performances, reflecting on her training exercises in detail. Not only does he mention how she trained her "Redeorgan",[32] that is her voice, but Schmidt also explains how Schröder aligned her physical work with the idea of ancient sculptures in preparing her bodily movements for the stage. Of interest here is the fact that she, according to Schmidt, had mastered "the wearing of Greek and Roman robes and the handling of the mantle in an admirable manner."[33]

30 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 18.

31 See Lodewijk Muns, "Gustav Anton Freiherr von Seckendorff, alias Patrik Peale: A Biographical Note," unpublished paper, available in *academia.edu* (2016) https://www.academia.edu/27922833/Gustav_Anton_Freiherr_von_Seckendorff_alias_Patrik_Peale_A_Biographical_Note, accessed June 13, 2023.

32 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 51.

33 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 53: "Durch Fleiß und Studium hatte sich die Künstlerin das Tragen der griechischen und römischen Gewandung und die Handhabung des Mantels auf bewunderungswürdige Weise zu eigen gemacht." English translation by me.

Schmidt highlights again the importance of the costume for actresses, here especially with regard to the performance of attitudes which, unlike strict tableau vivant presentations, also included movements of the body. Schröder did in fact stage her own attitudes in the manner of Hendel-Schütz or Peale from 1810 onwards. In Hamburg she presented a Niobe group, a sphinx, and a series of diverse "Gemüthsstimmungen" – that is moods or tempers – to the audience.[34]

The journalist and theologian Friedrich Gottlieb Zimmerman criticized her performances heavily, and Schröder responded in defense of her art. Zimmermann's reply can be found in Schmidt's biography. His comment is relevant here because it refers aggressively to the nineteenth-century understanding of what women should and should not be doing: "Women do not understand anything about antiquity and would do better to take care of their cooking pots."[35] Despite Zimmermann's suggestion, Schröder of course kept performing attitudes and presented them also in Vienna, as a report in *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung* from 16 November 1816 details. The report refers to a series of twelve tableaus called "Gemüthsbewegungen" which were split up into different movements within each tableau. Accompanying music by Ignaz von Seyfried was added. We have the individual titles of these tableaux, and it seems that this program was similar to what Schröder had presented in Hamburg in 1810. From the titles one would assume that her children were also involved in this program, particularly in the number *Die Niobe mit ihren Kindern* (Niobe with her children) or *Medeas Kindermord* (Medea's infanticide).[36] But none of the four children was listed in the review.

In June 1815, Schröder appeared in the title role of Carl Bertuch's play *Elfriede, ein Trauerspiel*. The part she played here must have been one of her first roles after she was engaged in Vienna. In this play she represented a different image of womanhood, probably being closer here to the general expectations of society. She was playing a devoted wife who commits suicide at the end of the tragedy in order to be loyal to her husband. The characteristics of Schröder's Elfriede, according to a critic from *Der Sammler*, were "thoroughly true, intimate love in tone and in giving, faithful attachment of wife to husband."[37] After the performance of this tragedy, a "kleines Divertissement" – a small extra performance – was added. Here, her two daughters Betty and Wil-

34 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 18.

35 Schmidt, *Sophie Schröder*, 18–19: "Frauen verständen nichts von der Antike und thäten besser, sich um ihre Kochtöpfe zu bekümmern." English translation by me.

36 See *Wiener Theater-Zeitung (Bäuerles Theaterzeitung)*, 16 November 1816, 362.

37 *Der Sammler* 68 (8 June 1815), 290: "Durchaus wahre, innige Liebe im Ton und in der Geberde, treue Anhänglichkeit der Gattinn an den Gatten".

helmine are mentioned by name, presenting a dance which was appreciated by the audience. There is no further information on the content of this to be found, but it is the first performance of Wilhelmine Schröder of which I could find evidence. The coming superstar of German opera in the nineteenth century was then ten years old.

Wilhelmine appeared sporadically by her mother's side with and without her sister in plays over the following years. Racine's *Phädra* in Schiller's version, where she portrayed Aricia, was one of those plays. By now she had trained not only in dance and drama, but also in singing. This kind of theatre formation within the private sector was typical for the German speaking theatre of the time in two respects. On the one hand, the education took place within the family sphere, and on the other hand, it was concerned with various practices of the theatre, not necessarily aimed at a specialization in singing or in acting. The breadth of the skills to be learned was oriented towards what would later make the child interesting for the German-speaking theatre system as a young woman. Coming from the eighteenth century, this system was not yet specialized to the degree it would be a few decades later. It was assumed that the daughters would be on stage as both actresses and singers if they were engaged, and even – at a young age – as dancers.

The training that concerned dancing was introduced as a training for body control. Schröder, her mother, was also known earlier in her career as an opera singer, but gave up singing after a while.[38] In the early years, Wilhelmine was mainly trained as an opera singer by her mother. On 4 December 1820, she turned sixteen and made her operatic debut shortly after in Vienna as Pamina in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Zauberflöte*. The opera singer was entering the special world of the theater at what we would now consider a young age, where her becoming a woman was now very much happening on a very public stage. The comment quoted below includes a warning by the critic:

> [...] we hope that Dlle. Wilhelmine Schröder, who started so gracefully, will also pursue art gracefully [and] will consider that there is no middle way; the muse is either a shining goddess, the highest of life, or a lowly 'girl' [Dirne].[39]

38 According to Schmidt (*Sophie Schröder*, 11), Sophie Schröder made her theatrical debut as a full actress where she played the part of a female lover in an opera (Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's *Das rote Käppchen*).

39 *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 13 (30 January 1821), 107: "[...] wir hoffen, Dlle. Wilhelmine Schröder, die so würdig begonnen, werde auch die Kunst würdig betreiben, werde bedenken, daß es keinen Mittelweg gibt; die Muse ist entweder eine strahlende Göttin, des Lebens Höchstes, oder eine niedrige Dirne."

The term 'Dirne' in German at that time was not yet associated with prostitution as it would later be. That is why I chose to translate it as 'girl'. But the adjective added here, "niedrige", does make a connection to morals, as is suggested through the context of the quote.

Conclusion

The issue of actresses as working women covers many dimensions, as we have seen. It is a complex phenomenon, especially if we include the relevant subsidiary themes of gender, family and sexuality. It seems that Schröder and Schröder-Devrient can – as Osterhammel suggests – be considered as highly specialized individuals devoting their lives to a specific work within a context of living conditions that reflected nineteenth-century society. Their being actresses can suggest a situation where women in nineteenth-century circumstances could have had their own successful career: making an income, making sense of their existence, achieving goals, etc. (according to Suzman). The ultimate basis of this profession was their performances. And both women relied, and also reflected with their performances, on contemporary images of womanhood and of maleness as well, as they were putting on stage a broad panorama of human characters, a topic which I did not address in this essay. These characters were usually invented through 'text' by male authors (writers, librettists, composers) and can be viewed as a mirror for the understanding of femininity within society as reflected through theater and opera. While the text side of theater was male dominated, the performance side of theater also provided space for female approaches, where actresses as stars were able to make a certain impact on cultural life and – maybe – to some degree also on society. As women they were publicly present on stage, showing themselves through their acting, speaking and singing bodies: Their voices were heard in a public setting in a way that probably no other system provided for women at the time.

If one wants to create a biographical narrative on a representative of the field of 'work' understood as 'art', the tension which emerges should be kept in mind. The performance is the artistic product of an opera singer which can be analyzed through a great diversity of source material. It can be seen from a contemporary angle as a 'Kunstleistung' – an 'art achievement', to use a nineteenth-century term; that is why the two women in question were considered artists and geniuses at the same time. Focusing on the question of work by looking at the biographies of the two women could also help us to consider the category of gender in a specific way, by sensitively including the almost constant danger for female performers in the theatre to be seen as semi-pros-

titutes, and the task of female performers to fulfil the general expectations of 'normal' mothers and housewives. The erotic aspect seems to also include traits of a more liberal conception of femininity, which can eventually cross over into the political sphere, as could be shown by Schröder-Devrient's participation in the Dresden May Revolution of 1849. Finally, both women were mothers and daughters, so they had to fulfill the double task of professional and upper middle-class life. It is quite stunning to observe how clearly certain aspects of the biography of Schröder-Devrient are rooted in family patterns, as these derived from the social class of actors and actresses.

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Remembering Clara Wieck in Vienna: Gender, Genius, and Genre in the Post-Beethoven Biedermeier

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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 Sigismund 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 hall of the Musikverein.

In chronicling how four distinct cultural stakeholders remembered her performance, this paper explores the limits of female artistic agency in the Biedermeier era. Critics like Heinrich Adami and Eduard von 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. Yet Grillparzer's verses were also open to radical reinterpretation. A setting of the poem by Johann Vesque von Püttlingen for solo voice and piano, for instance, used Wieck's celebrity as an opportunity to profile Vienna's central tradition of art song and domestic music-making. 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.

Wer gab dies Leben, wer schuf diese Laute?
Du warst es, Clara, der's ein Gott vertraute
Das heilige Geheimniß dieses Wunderklangs.
Wir hören Dich, das stumme Werkzeug schwindet,
Und in der Sphärenchöre Heimath findet
Der Geist sich, auf den Flügeln Deines Spiel-Gesangs.
– Theodore Hell[1]

On 7 January 1838, almost ten years after Schubert's death, the eighteen-year-old pianist Clara Wieck gave her third concert in the hall of the Musikverein in Vienna to a sold-out audience. Since her arrival in the Imperial city more than six weeks earlier, she had quickly become the most talked about musician of the season. Critics routinely praised her poise, discretion, and artistry. Audiences fought for a chance to see her play. Feuilletons fed rumors of upcoming concert engagements in Paris and Pest. Encouraged by this wave of support and enthusiasm from her public, she programmed an ambitious piece for her third concert: Beethoven's *Sonata no. 23 in F minor*, op. 57 ('Appassionata'), a work which she of all people knew could make or break her promising career in a city perpetually aware of, and often encumbered by, its mythic musical past.

Most of those in attendance came away from the concert elated. An anonymous critic in attendance, while unfamiliar with Beethoven's Sonata, was "completely won over by Wieck," and – as reproduced in Illustration 1 – concluded that her "playing of the variations of the second movement was so dignified that no doubt remains of her incredible talent."[2] The Baroness Dorothea Ertmann, pupil of Beethoven and dedicatee of his *Sonata no. 28 in A major*, op. 101, "declared after the concert was over that the sonata had never before been played in Vienna with such fine understanding and expression."[3] Eduard Hanslick reported thirty years after the fact that she created a furor with the 'Appassionata', noting that through her example the work assumed a primary place of importance within the virtuoso's repertoire.[4] Even the Wiecks – Clara

1 Theodore Hell (aka Karl Gottfried Theodor Winkler), "Clara Schumann, geb. Wieck," *Penelope* 6 (1846), [vii].

2 Entry 2 of Illustration 1 reads, "söhnte mich vollkommen mit der Wiek aus – die Variationen / des 2[.] Satzes trug sie so gediegen vor[,] daß ich an [ihrem] wirklich / ausgezeichneten Talent nicht zweifeln kann – freylich besticht / auch die Composition[,] die mir neu war NB also noch ungehört." I am grateful to Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl for her assistance in deciphering this passage. Notable for this critic's assessment is the numerous times he refers to her playing as "ausgezeichnet" – a clear indication that she excelled not only at the Beethoven Sonata, but the character pieces by Chopin, Henselt, and herself listed as entry no. 4 and Wieck's own Op. 8 Variations, listed as entry no. 6. Important, too, is the critic's (incomplete) list of notable attendees ("Zuschauer"), as well as the observation that the hall was "very full" ("sehr voll").

3 Florence May, *The Girlhood of Clara Schumann* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 233.

4 Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1869), 333.

and her father Friedrich – agreed that this was her best showing yet: Friedrich proudly informed his wife that "Clara has a magic wand; [...] all of Vienna is saying that there has never been such an artist."[5]

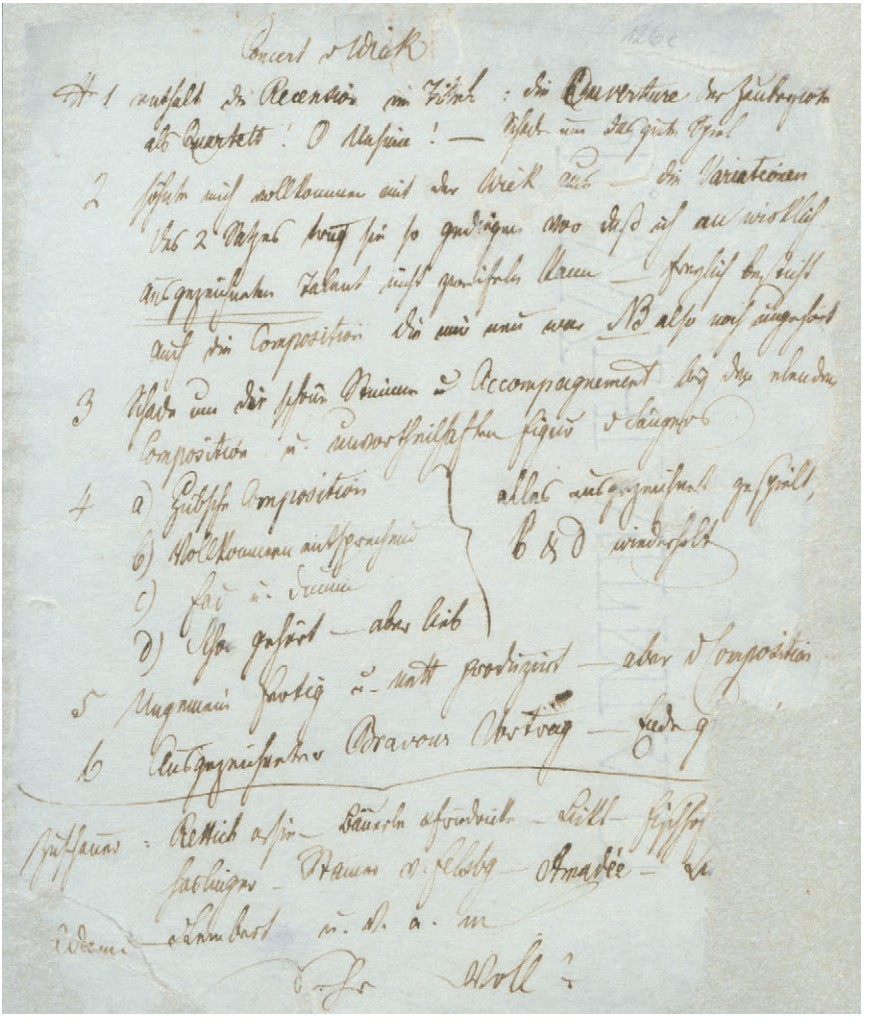


Illustration 1: "Concert v[on] Wiek [sic]." Notes by an anonymous critic of Clara Wieck's concert of 7 January 1838. D-Zsch 10463,126c-C3. Reproduced by kind permission of the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau.

5 Friedrich Wieck, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1830–1838*, ed. Käthe Walch-Schumann (Cologne: Arno Volk-Verlag, 1968), 79–80: "Clara hat den Zauberstab, [...] ganz Wien sagt, daß nie hier ein Künstler solche Sensation gemacht." Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

A small but vocal minority took issue with such claims. Eduard von Lannoy, a director of the local Concerts spirituels and former director of the Vienna Conservatory, presented a dissenting opinion. Writing as 'P. Körnbauer', Lannoy reported that

> the connoisseurs, piano virtuosos, and friends of art present at the concert were unified in the opinion that Wieck completely misunderstood the sonata. She made a bravura piece out of it, displaying nothing but a remarkable finger dexterity. [...] The material, the notes, were all there and executed properly, but the spirit was missing. Beethoven took the first movement a bit slower, and so it must be taken slower. The recurring main theme loses all grandeur at too fast of a tempo.[6]

Lannoy may have been a minority dissenter, but he was not alone in lodging a public complaint about Wieck's rendition of Beethoven's work. A sympathizer sarcastically wrote in *Der Humorist* eight days later that "In the ABCs, first comes B, then the C! Yes, yes, we all know our ABCs! But Beethoven would wonder: how could 'Clara Wieck' come before me?"[7] Wieck was only partially correct when she wrote her fiancé Robert Schumann a week later that "here the Clara-war is breaking out; it's funny! All for the sake of the sonata."[8] In reality, she had been conscripted into a Beethoven-war – a war over his intentions, his allegiances, and, most importantly, his legacy. And though these issues were being debated throughout much of Europe in the 1830s, the centrality of Beethoven to Vienna's musical identity meant that the polemics of the war of words were particularly acute in the Habsburg capital.

Wieck's performance of Beethoven's *Sonata* had immediate and long-lasting effects on her career. She gained increased access to the elite salons of the city, where she rubbed elbows with government officials, artists, and other influencers. Within six weeks, she was performing at the Hoftheater, the most important venue in the city. She was named an honorary member of the Gesellschaft

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6 P. Körnbauer, "Beethoven und Clara Wieck," *Der Wiener Telegraph* 3, no. 9 (19 January 1838), 39: "Unter den bei dem [...] Concerte anwesenden Kunstkennern, Claviervirtuosen und Kunstfreunden war nur Eine Stimme: daß Dlle. Wieck die F-moll-Sonate nicht gehörig aufgefaßt, ja, durchaus nicht verstanden habe. Sie hat daraus ein Bravourstück gemacht, und kaum etwas Anderes entfaltet, als eine bewundernswürdige Fingerfertigkeit. [...] Die Materie, die Noten waren da, richtig gebracht; aber der Geist fehlte. Beethoven nahm das erste Stück um ein ziemliches langsamer, und es muß auch langsamer genommen werden; der stets wiederkehrende Hauptgedanke verliert alles Grandiose bei zu schnellem Tempo."

7 *Der Humorist* 2, no. 16 (27 January 1838), 62: "Im ABC kommt zuerst das B, dann das C! Ja, ja, wir sind schon um unser ABC gekommen! Beethoven wird sich denken: wie kömmt mir 'Clara Wieck' vor?"

8 Letter of 27 January 1838 in *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, ed. Eva Weissweiler, trans. Hildegard Fritsch and Ronald L. Crawford (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 1:90. Friedrich Wieck (*Briefe*, 80) similarly writes to his wife on the same day that "Der Clarakrieg ist hier losgegangen – alle Blätter sind voll."

der Musikfreunde, and restaurants around the city offered a confection called 'torte à la Wieck'. Planning commenced in earnest for a Paris tour, with more stops hopefully to follow. Extended biographies appeared in journals around the continent, and by the end of the year she was featured in Gustav Schilling's *Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst*. Arguably the most impressive accolade came on 15 March 1838, when she was named k.k. Kammervirtuosin (see Illustration 2) – an artistic coup for the underage, Protestant, foreign pianist that not even Liszt would ever be able to secure.[9]



Illustration 2: Andreas Staub, *Clara Wieck as Imperial Virtuosa.* Lithograph by Andreas Staub, 1839. Public Domain.

As a result of her performance of the Beethoven *Sonata*, however, the press increasingly gave outsized attention to her outstanding ability to interpret the works of other composers. For instance, as Max Schmidt recounted in the *Österreichisches Morgenblatt* on 21 February 1838:

9 Thalberg had already received this honor on 12 May 1833.

> Demoiselle Clara Wieck delighted our music-loving audience. The appearance of this artist can only be seen as epoch-making, since she possesses the rare ability of combining the highest technical skill with the greatest ingenuity. [...] In particular, when she plays works of other composers, Wieck shows her own ingenuity, her own intelligence, with which she is able to penetrate down into the innermost core of each composition. Under her creative hands, the most ordinary passage, the most mundane motif, acquires a higher meaning, a coloring that only the most sophisticated in the world of art can accomplish.[10]

As her concert activities increased, and as her programs focused increasingly on Beethoven's sonatas and chamber works, Bach's contrapuntal productions, and contemporary pieces from Mendelssohn, Chopin, and her husband, the critical trope of the exalted interpreter only grew. She was the unassailable defender of the pantheon of composers, arguably even progenitor of a nascent, modern *Werktreue*. "How she played the Sonata!" wrote a reviewer overwhelmed by her performance at Leipzig in 1844: "Beethoven's spirit hovered behind her and kept time with a smile. When she stood up, the spirit kissed her on the forehead and on her beautiful, marble hands."[11] In fact, it was soon after her marriage in 1840 that critics began to hear Clara Schumann delivering what Alexander Stefaniak has called "authentic revelation – not authenticity in the sense that the performer revealed his or her genuine feelings but in the sense that they truly and fully revealed something inherent and defining to the work or composer."[12]

Such a capacity prompted Franz Liszt to create one of the most enduring images of Clara Schumann: as musical priestess practicing her rites. He wrote in 1855 that "Out of the sweet dilettante of the muses comes a holy, dutiful, and austere priestess. [...] When she ascends the tripod of the temple, the

10 Max Schmidt, "Silhouetten aus Wien," *Österreichisches Morgenblatt. Zeitschrift für Vaterland, Natur und Leben* 3, no. 23 (21 February 1838), 92: "Dlle. Klara Wieck hat unser musikliebendes Publikum [...] entzückt; das Erscheinen dieser Künstlerin kann als Epoche machend betrachtet werden, denn die höchste Kunstfertigkeit mit der größten Genialität vereint. [...] Dlle. Wieck zeigt auch da, wo sie fremde Kompositionen spielt, ihre eigene Genialität, ihr Auffassungsvermögen, mit welchem sie in das innerste Mark jeder Komposition einzudringen weiß; unter ihrem schöpferischen Händen gewinnt die gewöhnlichste Passage, das alltäglichste Motiv eine höhere Bedeutung, eine Färbung, wie sie nur die höchste Vollendung in der Kunstwelt zu geben vermag."

11 "Aus Leipzig," *Die Grenzboten* 3, no. 2/2 (1844), 566: "Wie hat sie die Sonate gespielt! [... Der] Geist Beethoven's stand hinter ihr und schlug lächelnd den Takt, und als sie aufstand, küßte er ihr die Stirne und dann die schönen marmornen Hände."

12 Alexander Stefaniak, *Becoming Clara Schumann: Performance Strategies and Aesthetics in the Culture of the Musical Canon* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2021), 68.

woman no longer speaks to us. She addresses us as a poetess."[13] His enduring depiction has encouraged scholars since the nineteenth century to pigeonhole Clara Wieck's activities as subservient, as an agent for another instead of as an agent for herself and her own self-interests.[14] Fortunately, pioneering work over the last thirty years by Nancy Reich, Christopher Gibbs, Janina Klassen, and Stefaniak[15] has loosened this historiographical stranglehold; but at least as Clara Wieck is concerned, it still remains too easy to fall into the teleological trap of fitting evidence to a predetermined narrative.

In January 1838, it was not a foregone conclusion that Clara Wieck's legacy would be one of service. Quite the opposite, in fact: she came to Vienna hoping to launch a career as a virtuoso pianist-composer, and her performance of the 'Appassionata' was designed to advance that goal. With that intent in mind, the following essay explores some limits of female artistic agency in the Biedermeier era by looking at how a handful of distinct cultural stakeholders remembered this particular performance. Critics like Heinrich Adami and 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 point to a hermeneutics of gender that afforded Wieck an unusual amount of creative capacity. Johann Vesque von Püttlingen radically reinterpreted Grillparzer's verses by co-opting and deploying musical ideas from Beethoven's op. 57 in ways that removed Wieck from public view while simultaneously elevating the status of German art song. 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 marginalize, contain, and control her.

13 Franz Liszt, "Clara Schumann," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 41, no. 23 (1 December 1854), 245–252, at 251: "Aus der lieblichen Spielgenossin der Musen ist eine weihevolle, pflichtgetreue und strenge Priesterin geworden. [...] Wenn sie den Dreifuß des Tempels besteigt, spricht nicht mehr das Weib zu uns. Sie unterhält uns als Dichterin."

14 Liszt's article is part of a significant body of critical literature written in the 1850s concerning the future of European art music. Meinhard Saremba comprehensively investigates Clara Schumann's perspectives on this changing cultural landscape in *"... es ist ein zu starker Contrast mit meinem Inneren!": Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms und das moderne Musikleben* (Hamburg: Osburg Verlag, 2021).

15 Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2001); Janina Klassen, *Clara Schumann: Musik und Öffentlichkeit* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2009); Christopher H. Gibbs, "'Just Two Words. Enormous Success': Liszt's 1838 Vienna Concerts," in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 167–230.

Beethoven, Grillparzer, Wieck

While Vienna was ground zero for the cult that grew around Beethoven after his death,[16] few individuals better sustained and nurtured it than Franz Grillparzer. As an internationally recognized poet and dramatist, his productions influenced the course of European, and particularly German, artistic culture. As a high-ranking civil servant and member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, he directly shaped the profile of Viennese artistic life. And his long relationship with Beethoven – particularly strong in the composer's difficult final years – gave Grillparzer's *Beethoven-Bild* a legitimacy that few could surpass.

Although Grillparzer had met Beethoven in 1805 when he was a boy of fourteen, it was only in the 1820s that their artistic relationship began in earnest. Following the success of Weber's *Der Freischütz* in Vienna in 1822, Beethoven began looking for a suitable libretto for a long-overdue opera. The Austrian poet had been working haphazardly on a stage work since June 1817, and it was probably through the intercession of Count Moritz Lichnowsky and later Anton Schindler that the two artists agreed on a project in March of 1823. Word immediately spread throughout the German-speaking world. The *Dresdener Abendzeitung* eagerly reported in March 1823 that "Grillparzer has written an opera, *Die schöne Melusine*, and Beethoven, as they say, is to set it to music. With it, one would finally expect to see the light shining its way through the darkness of German opera."[17] The two men met on 14 May 1823 and would do so again in July, but Beethoven, citing sickness and other, more pressing commissions, was unable to return to Grillparzer's text in the fall. Meanwhile, a dispute arose between Grillparzer and the Vienna Hoftheater over fees for the upcoming work. By the summer of 1825, both artists had moved on to other projects.[18]

While nothing ever came of the collaboration, their relationship remained strong enough for Anton Schindler to request the poet to write a funeral oration for Beethoven as he lay dying. On 29 March 1827, after thousands of Viennese and visitors had accompanied Beethoven's coffin to its final resting place in the

16 An excellent overview of Vienna's role in this regard can be found in Hermann Ulrich, "Beethoven-Pflege in Wiener Vormärz," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 26, no. 1 (January 1971), 17–36, and contributions by Silke Bettermann and Michael Ladenburger in *Drei Begräbnisse und ein Todesfall: Beethovens Ende und die Erinnerungskultur seiner Zeit*, ed. Beethoven-Haus Bonn and the Museum für Sepulkralkultur Kassel (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2002).

17 *Dresdner Abendzeitung* (12 May 1823): "Grillparzer hat eine Oper 'Die schöne Melusine' geschrieben und Beethoven soll sie, wie man sagt, in Musik setzen. Da wäre denn doch wieder ein Licht zu erwarten, das durch die Finsternis der deutschen Oper leuchtet."

18 Grillparzer's text for *Melusine* was eventually set to music by Konradin Kreutzer and premiered at the Königsstädtisches Theater in Berlin in 1833.

Währinger Cemetery, the actor Heinrich Anschütz delivered Grillparzer's message to thousands of mourners.[19] As a valedictory for the departed Beethoven, the importance of Grillparzer's text should not be underestimated, for it – and by extension its author – literally became the last word on the composer.[20]

With its emphasis on Beethoven's defiance, his isolation and humanity, and above all his devotion to art in spite of these traumas, Grillparzer's speech was one of the first to help shape the posthumous image of the composer and set the tone for many a subsequent Beethoven biography. Moreover, it went a long way in reinforcing Beethoven's insurmountable position in the musical world: "He was an artist, and who can stand next to him?" Although the question was rhetorical, it did not preclude Grillparzer from listing qualities that the suitable candidate would have to possess: "He who comes after him will not continue: he will have to *begin* anew, for his predecessor [that is, Beethoven] stopped only where art itself stopped."[21] When Grillparzer identified a potential prospect in Clara Wieck ten years later, most of the mourners that had heard his speech were still alive to recall those prophetic words.[22]

The way he chose to reveal his candidate came in the form of a poem entitled *Clara Wieck und Beethoven (F-Moll Sonate)*, published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* on 9 January 1838 – that is, two days after Wieck gave her concert in the Musikverein and treated her audience to pieces by Chopin, Henselt, her recently published Bellini concert variations (op. 8), and the 'Appassionata'. Friedrich Wieck encouraged the dissemination of these verses far and wide,[23] for in his opinion they "outclass[ed] every review and set the laurel wreath on Clara's head," as well as validated his tireless efforts to promote his daughter and the highest of artistic ideals that she embodied:

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19 The chain of events leading up to Anschütz's delivery of the oration is rather sensational, and is nicely summarized in Alfred Orel, *Grillparzer und Beethoven* (Vienna: Payer & Co. Verlag, 1941), 132–34.

20 As Peter Höyng posits, however, Grillparzer's admiration for the composer was not unqualified: "For Grillparzer, Beethoven mapped out the boundaries of both what music is capable of *and* what it is conventionally allowed to do. While praising Beethoven for unleashing frightening artistic potential, Grillparzer censured him for transgressing pleasing beauty and thus revealed his own adherence to a Kantian notion of beauty." See Höyng, "For Heaven's Sake, I will Have You Walk into the Dark: Grillparzer's Containment of Beethoven and the Ambivalence of Their 'Melusina' Project," *Goethe Yearbook* 17 (2010): 275–302, at 276.

21 Grillparzer, "Am Grabe Beethoven's," *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* 20, no. 69 (9 June 1827), 281: "Ein Künstler war er, und wer steht auf neben ihm? [...] Der nach ihm kommt, wird nicht fortsetzen, er wird *anfangen* müssen, denn sein Vorgänger hörte nur auf, wo die Kunst aufhört."

22 Grillparzer continued to write about Beethoven publicly after the Wieck poem, publishing his "Erinnerungen an Beethoven" in 1844.

23 For instance, the poem was translated into Italian as "Chiaretta Wieck e Bethoven [sic]" for appearance in *Rivista Viennese* (January–March 1838), 80–81, while Liszt called attention to it in his letter from Vienna addressed to Lambert Massart, first published in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 5, no. 35 (2 September 1838), 345–52.

> Immediately give [the poem] to [Theodor] Wenzel, so that it can be reprinted in (if possible) a political newspaper, in Schumann's journal, in the *Eleganten* and also in the *Tageblatt*. – We have been unrecognized and unknown, vegetated in abjection and oblivion, in Leipzig and yet – restlessly striving toward the highest regions of art, without encouragement and without thanks. Now comes the reward. Now the whole world will know that there is but one Clara who has the whole of Vienna at her feet, and that there is but one simple servant to whom Clara bows down.[24]

Robert Schumann, who republished the poem in his journal in Leipzig, was equally optimistic for her: "These few lines are more useful to you in the eyes of the public than all of those essays by [Viennese writer and editor Anton] Wiest, even if they came from his heart, for even the common man feels a certain awe for the pure poet; he trusts him and doesn't resist him."[25] The poem clearly held immense personal value to her as well, evidenced by the handwritten copy from her estate and currently housed at the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau (see Illustration 3).

Grillparzer's funeral oration of 1827 and his *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* of early 1838 form nice bookends to a decade that saw the rise of a new type of musical Romanticism, one that balanced hagiographic music biography with prophetic pronouncements of quasi-musical messiahs.[26] Indeed, critics, authors, and intellectuals routinely sparred over who belonged to a certain tradition, or who had been tapped to carry that tradition into the future. Grillparzer, steeped as he was in this tradition and mode of discourse, participated. For instance, while *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* draws on several references to contemporary German and classical literature, it also challenges the image of Beethoven fashioned by Bettina von Arnim in her well-known *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*, published in 1835. In the Clara Wieck literature, Arnim is best remembered for her notorious remark about the pianist's osten-

24 Wieck, *Briefe*, 79: "Das [Gedicht] schlägt alle Recensionen und setzt der Clara den Loorbeerkranz auf. [...] Gieb sogleich Wenzel, damit es abgedruckt werde in einer (womöglich) politischen Zeitung, in der Schumann'schen, in der Eleganten und auch im Tageblatt. – Wir haben unerkannt u. unbekannt, in Demuth u. Vergessenheit nur vegetiert, in Leipzig und doch – restlos nach dem Höchsten in der Kunst gestrebt, ohne Aufmunterung [...] u. ohne Dank – jetzt kommt der Lohn, nun soll aber auch die ganze Welt wissen, daß es nur eine Clara gibt, der ganz Wien zu Füßen liegt, und nur einen Lohnbedienten, dem Clara zu Füßen liegt."

25 Letter of 6 February 1838 in *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 1:93. Schumann reprinted Grillparzer's poem in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8, no. 8 (26 January 1838), 30.

26 On this situation, see Christian von Zimmermann, *Biographische Anthropologie: Menschenbilder in lebensgeschichtlicher Darstellung (1830–1940)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), esp. Chapter 2. More particular to music and Beethoven is Mark Evan Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome: Hearing Music as Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Table 1: Franz Grillparzer, *Clara Wieck und Beethoven*

	Clara Wieck und Beethoven. (F-Moll-Sonate.)	**Clara Wieck and Beethoven. (F-minor Sonata.)**
1	Ein Wundermann, der Welt, des Lebens satt,	A magician, fed up with his life in the world,
2	Schloß seine Zauber grollend ein	Locked his magic resentfully up
3	Im fest verwahrten, demantharten Schrein,	In a well-guarded, rock-solid shrine,
4	Und warf den Schlüssel in das Meer und starb.	And threw the key into the ocean and died.
5	Die Menschlein mühen sich geschäftig ab,	The little people take great pains,
6	Umsonst! Kein Sperrzeug löst das harte Schloß,	But for naught! No tool can break the obstinate lock,
7	Und seine Zauber schlafen wie ihr Meister.	And its magic, like their master, sleeps.
8	Ein Schäferkind, am Strand des Meeres spielend,	A shepherd's child, playing on the beach,
9	Sieht zu der hastig unberuf'nen Jagd.	Eyes the chaotic, uncalled-for hunt.
10	Sinnvoll gedankenlos, wie Mädchen sind,	Dreamy, thoughtless, as girls are,
11	Senkt sie die weißen Finger in die Flut,	She dips her white fingers into the tide,
12	Und faßt, und hebt, und hat's. — Es ist der Schlüssel!	And grasps, and lifts, and has it. — It is the key!
13	Aufspringt sie, auf, mit höheren Herzensschlägen,	Up she jumps, up, her heart beating faster,
14	Der Schrein blinkt wie aus Augen ihr entgegen:	The shrine looks at her, as if it had eyes:
15	Der Schlüssel paßt, der Deckel fliegt. Die Geister,	The key fits, the lid flies open. The spirits,
16	Sie steigen auf und senken dienend sich	They rise up and bow in service
17	Der anmuthreichen, unschuldvollen Herrin,	To the lady full of grace and innocence,
18	Die sie mit weißen Fingern, spielend, lenkt.	Who with her white fingers guides them while playing.

sibly poor musical manners in Berlin: "How pretentiously she seats herself at the piano, and without sheet music, too. How modest, on the other hand, is Doehler, who placed the music in front of him."[27] Arnim probably felt justified in making such aesthetic pronouncements by 1837, for as the pages of the *Briefwechsel* relate, both Beethoven and Goethe had attached their seals of approval to her artistic abilities almost a quarter century earlier.[28]

27 Quotation modified from Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 271.

28 On the other hand, Ann Willison Lemke argues that Bettina von Arnim suffered severe insecurity during these years. It was only through the encouragement of her friend and fellow musician Johanna Mathieux (later Johanna Kinkel) that she ventured into publishing her own music. See Lemke, *Bettine's Song: The Musical Voice of Bettine von Arnim, née Brentano (1785–1859)* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1998), 55–56.

It was of little consequence to European readers that Bettina von Arnim had severely rewritten most of the correspondence – by 1838 the book had been reviewed favorably in almost every major periodical in the German-speaking world. (While it had even found a home in some Russian, English, and Hungarian bourgeois bookshelves, its popularity remained for the most part in Germany.[29]) Grillparzer certainly did not seem to mind. He wrote in his diary in May/June 1835 that "[there is] something wonderful in this girl and her relationship," even if that relationship was hardly symbiotic.[30] Indeed, it has been suggested that one of Arnim's goals in rewriting the *Briefwechsel* was "to forge a relationship between Goethe and Beethoven, who to her embodied the two life-poles of 'Music' and 'Poetry'."[31] Grillparzer had intimated the same sympathies a year earlier, when he composed his epic poem *Zu Beethovens Egmont-Musik* for an 8 December 1834 concert arranged by the Akademie der Wiener Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in memory of the two artistic giants. There he muses that "Beethoven and Goethe walk hand in hand, / A pair, the likes of which you will never see together again."[32] Forging this bond was especially important for Grillparzer, who remembered Beethoven in his eulogy as "the hero of song in German language and tongue" – that is, the ideal fusion of poetry and music.[33]

29 See "Zur Rezeption und Wirkung" of the *Briefwechsel* in Bettina von Arnim, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. Walter Schmitz and Sibylle von Steinsdorff, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1986–2004), II:908–42.

30 Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. August Sauer and Reinhold Backmann (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1909–1948), II/9/308.

31 Bettina von Arnim, *Werke und Briefe*, II:909: "Bettina versuchte, zwischen Goethe und Beethoven, die ihr gleichsam die beiden Lebenspole 'Musik' und 'Poesie' verkörpern, eine Bindung zu stiften."

32 Lines 4–5: "Beethoven, Goethe, wandeln Hand in Hand, / Ein Paar, wie ihr vereint wohl nie mehr schaut." An analysis, along with an annotated text, can be found in Karl Konrad Polheim, *Zwischen Goethe und Beethoven* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1982), 66–76 and 151–56.

33 Grillparzer, "Am Grabe Beethoven's," 281: "Noch lebt zwar – und möge er lange leben! – der Held des Sanges in deutscher Sprach' und Zunge." This coupling was by no means unique to Grillparzer's aesthetic. Indeed, K.M. Knittel has observed that critics of Beethoven's late music cited, among other things, its failure to "breathe the poetic feeling," a sentiment which lasted well into the 1860s. See Knittel, "Wagner, Deafness, and the Reception of Beethoven's Late Style," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1998), 49–82, esp. 51–60. However, as professional quartets became more common in the nineteenth century (such as Josef Hellmesberger's in Vienna, founded in 1849), Beethoven's later quartets were performed more frequently.

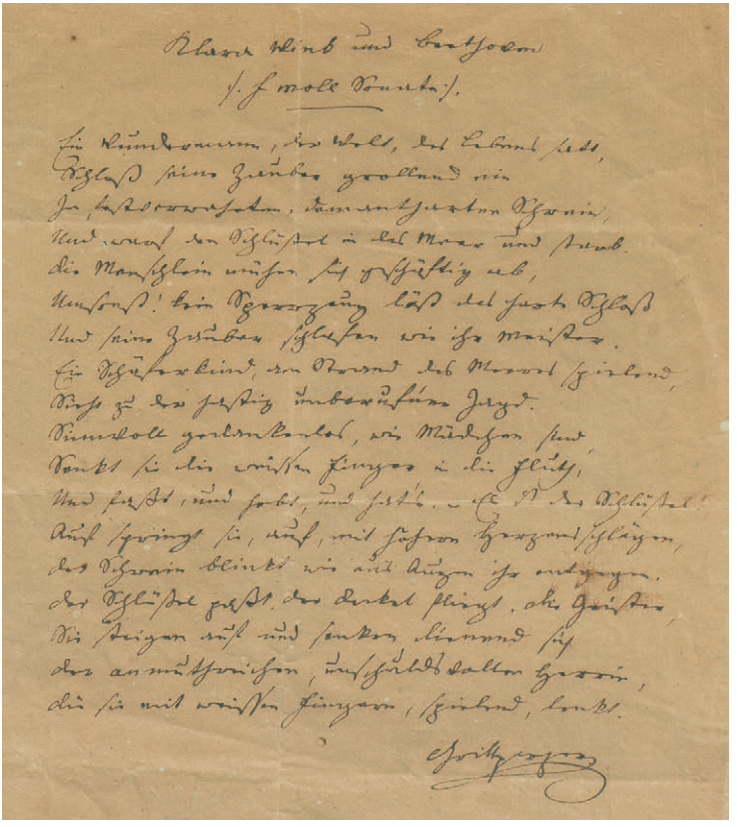


Illustration 3: *Clara Wieck und Beethoven,* by Franz Grillparzer. Copy in an unknown hand belonging to Clara Schumann. D-Zsch 5973-A3. Reproduced by kind permission of the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau.

Indeed, much of what Bettina von Arnim has to say about Beethoven harkens back to Grillparzer's oration at the grave. She, too, wonders whether the world will ever produce another artist of his caliber: "He strides far beyond the culture of the human race. Will we ever catch up to him?" She hopes that Beethoven himself will provide the answer:

> May he only live until the mighty and sublime riddle that lies in his spirit achieves its highest goal. Then he will no doubt leave the key to a heavenly knowledge in our hands, one which will bring us a step closer to true happiness. To you I can freely testify that I believe in a godly magic that is the foundation of spiritual nature. Beethoven practices this magic in his art. Everything that he can teach you about it is pure magic, every posture the organization of a higher

> existence. Beethoven believes himself to be the founder of a new sensuous basis in spiritual life. Who could replace this spirit? From whom could we expect the same?[34]

It is hardly unique that Grillparzer and Arnim attest to Beethoven's "magic" in their respective works, despite the expansion that the term underwent in the early 1830s to describe the effect that performances of virtuosos like Paganini and Liszt exhibited on their listeners. Here it is the image of the key that is most striking. Over the centuries, the key as a symbol had accrued a variety of connotations, some of which were contradictory: a key can keep intruders out as easily it can welcome guests; it can protect and reveal information.[35] Anton Schindler, for example, relates the famous story of Beethoven providing him with the key to the Fifth Symphony: Fate, Beethoven purportedly told him, was knocking at the door.[36] Bettina von Arnim revels in the thought of Beethoven offering her the key that can unlock the mysteries of true artistry.

For both Arnim and Schindler, however, Beethoven remains the keymaster. Like a priest, he guides the believer, so that all paths lead *through* him to some other goal, be it one interpretation of a single musical work or a more general aesthetic enlightenment. But when Grillparzer's *Wundermann* despondently casts his key (note the singular) into the ocean in the first sentence of the poem, the poet shifts Beethoven from agent to goal – all paths now lead *to* him. Thus, Grillparzer takes the metaphor of the key far beyond the mere reverential, and in doing so touches on its most ancient and well-known connotation (in the Western world, at least).

Jesus had rebuked the learned for being too possessive of their holy wisdom, ultimately blocking the road to God: "Woe unto you, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered" (Luke 11:52). Their failure compels Jesus to entrust

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34 Bettina von Arnim, *Werke und Briefe*, II:345: "[E]r schreite weit der Bildung der ganzen Menschheit voran, und ob wir ihn je einholen? [...] [M]öge er nur leben bis das gewaltige und erhabene Rätsel, was in seinem Geiste liegt, zu seiner höchstens Ziel erreichen, gewiß dann läßt er den Schlüssel zu einer himmlischen Erkenntnis in unseren Händen, die uns der wahren Seligkeit um eine Stufe näher rückt. Von Dir kann ich's wohl bekennen, daß ich an einen göttlichen Zauber glaube, der das Element der geistigen Natur ist, diesen Zauber übt Beethoven in seiner Kunst; alles wessen er Dich darüber belehren kann, ist reine Magie, jede Stellung ist Organisation einer höheren Existenz, und so fühlt Beethoven sich auch, als Begründer einer neuen sinnlichen Basis im geistigen Leben. [...] Wer könnte uns diesen Geist ersetzen? Von wem könnten wir ein gleiches erwarten?"

35 See "Schlüssel," in *Knaurs Lexikon der Symbole*, ed. Hans Biedermann (Munich: Knaur, 1998), 387–89.

36 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840), 241: "So pocht das Schicksal an die Pforte!"

the heavenly kingdom to a less orthodox candidate. He tells the fisherman Peter that "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matthew 16:19).[37] The key that Clara Wieck has fished out of the water opens the door to Beethoven himself. But crucially, Grillparzer apparently pre-figured a Hoffmannian aesthetic hierarchy of the Viennese classicists (although with a far harsher assessment of Haydn), noting in his diary in 1809 that Beethoven is to chaos what Mozart is to man.[38] That is, Beethoven is limitless in potency and possibilities but remains overwhelming and uncontrollable.

Beethoven was such a contentious issue for the Viennese for precisely this reason: the amount of power – musical, cultural, and even national – that Clara commands is immense, for she is inhabiting the realm of music's highest being when she sets her fingers onto the piano keys. That the "Menschlein," musical Pharisees that they are, keep fumbling with a lock that she has already opened signals a changing of the guard, the selection of a new musical priestess, and a significantly new Beethoven image. Arnim and Schindler are excellent examples of this old way of thinking: Just like Schindler's spurious recollections of Beethoven, Arnim's revision of the *Briefwechsel* with Goethe – her need to again come into communion with these two artistic luminaries – was partly an exercise in self-catharsis.

Arnim was not alone. Applying theories first suggested by the literary historian Harold Bloom, Mark Evan Bonds has identified the persistent Romantic notion of an anxiety of musical influence endemic mostly to Beethoven, whereby composers "willfully distorted" their compositions in order to simultaneously highlight and undermine parallels between their music and that of

37 Not surprisingly, the key is a frequent symbol in the *Book of Revelation* (1:18; 3:7; 9:1; 20:1). Luther's translation (revised 1984) of the Matthew passage (16:19) reads: "Ich will dir die Schlüssel des Himmelreichs geben: alles, was du auf Erden binden wirst, soll auch im Himmel gebunden sein, und alles, was du auf Erden lösen wirst, soll auch im Himmel gelöst sein"; and in Luke 11:32: "Weh euch Schriftgelehrten! Denn ihr habt den Schlüssel der Erkenntnis weggenommen. Ihr selbst seid nicht hineingegangen und habt auch denen gewehrt, die hinein wollten."

38 Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke: Ausgewählte Briefe, Gespräche, Berichte*, ed. Peter Frank and Karl Pörnbacher, 4 vols. (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1960–1965), III:880: "Es ist mir schon oft eingefallen unsere Tonkünstler mit den Werken der Schöpfungstage zu vergleichen. Das Chaos – Beethoven. Es werde Licht! – Cherubini! Es entstehen Berge! (große aber sehr unbeholfne Maßen) – Josef Haydn. Singvögel aller Art – die italienische Schule. Bären – Albrechtsberger. Kriechendes Gewürm – Girowetz. Der Mensch – *Mozart*!" Compare Grillparzer's assessment with E.T.A. Hoffmann's famous review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and Piano Trio, op. 70, in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 12, nos. 40–41 (4 and 11 July 1810), 630–42 and 652–59.

their predecessor.[39] Bonds traces these conscious musical misreadings of Beethoven throughout some of the most important symphonic works of the nineteenth century. But at its most basic psychological level, the anxiety of influence betrays a symptom of self-denial: most Romantic composers (and critics) simply could not let Beethoven rest in peace.

By contrast, Grillparzer's poem makes clear that this possessive obsession blocks any chance audiences have of communing with Beethoven the man. Indeed, Grillparzer's subject is not mythic, but rather human, at times even Christ-like in his suffering.[40] *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* illustrates a unique (artistic) relationship between Beethoven and Clara Wieck on several levels.[41] Readers are introduced to a weak Beethoven who, unlike virtually every contemporary account of his poignant situation, fails to overcome his deficiencies. Indeed, the ostensibly defiant Beethoven accepts a fate of death out of desperation and resignation in the first sentence of the poem.

But there *is* a move from weakness to power, resignation to strength, and Grillparzer throws Wieck's actions into sharp relief from Beethoven's by shifting from the imperfect to the present between lines four and five ("... und starb. / Die Menschlein mühen ...") of his poem. The effect reinforces the fact that Wieck's transformation from a clumsy girl into a commanding artist is happening now, at this very moment. And this "now," like the apostle Peter's oversight of his flock, is perpetual. Indeed, the framing of the second half of the poem by the word "spielend" at lines eight and eighteen suggests both a continually self-renewing artistic process with the teenage Wieck and an audible resurrection of the dead *Wundermann*. Grillparzer's moral is undeniable: Beethoven is not Beethoven without Clara Wieck. No wonder some Viennese were incensed.

Virtuoso priestess

But were it not for its title, the poem *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* arguably could have been presented to any well-deserving female performer. The Imperial

39 See Mark Evan Bonds, *After Beethoven: Imperatives of Originality in the Symphony* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996). While "willful distortion" only appears on p. 177 in the context of a discussion of Mahler's First Symphony, the phrase appropriately encapsulates the processes that composers often took to distance their creations from Beethovenian models.

40 Abigail Fine ("Beethoven's Mask and the Physiognomy of Late Style," *19th-Century Music* 43, no. 3 [Spring 2020]: 143–69) details how the image of Beethoven as a suffering figure grew throughout the remainder of the century and beyond, culminating in works like Romain Rolland's *Vie de Beethoven* of 1903.

41 Despite the elastic truths of the *Briefwechsel*, Arnim did know Beethoven personally. A more accurate account of their interactions is revealed in the original – and much shorter – *Briefwechsel*, reprinted in Bettina von Arnim, *Werke und Briefe*, II: 573–753. She met Beethoven in May 1810, long before the composer fully isolated himself from Viennese society.

capital certainly saw no dearth of candidates. Although considered conservative by contemporaries when compared to Paris or London, Biedermeier Vienna was a required stop on every serious musician's European tour. The artistic lacuna left by the deaths of Beethoven and Schubert in the late 1820s was filled almost immediately by virtuosos, Italian opera singers, and the waltzes of Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss Senior. Moreover, as Tia DeNora has observed, Viennese society had slowly been moving toward a new "set of alliances between aesthetic materials, physical practices of performing, and the emerging social structure of music as a professional and commercial enterprise."[42]

DeNora understands the process as beginning with Beethoven himself around 1800 and culminating with the next-generation public virtuoso. Most striking among the virtuosos was Niccolò Paganini, who initiated the virtuoso boom when he gave a concert on 29 March 1828 in the Redoutensaal, an event that spawned over a dozen more performances in less than four months. Frédéric Chopin followed a year later on his way to Paris. The 1830s witnessed Friedrich Kalkbrenner, Sigismund Thalberg, Marie Pleyel, Franz Liszt, and Henri Herz – to name but a few of the pianists – descending upon the city. In short, Grillparzer had his pick of the competition. What made Clara Wieck so special?[43]

She was one of the most unassuming virtuosos of her day. Florence May describes "the impression of her youth, her tall – but not too tall – slight, figure; of her big dark eyes with their pathetic look; the black, glossy hair that framed her face; the appealing, almost timid air with which she made her first curtsey to the audience, her simplicity of manner, her absolute self-forgetfulness."[44] Numerous critics documented a complementary connection between Wieck's outward appearance, amplified by her incomparably young age, and the interiority of her performances. In a comparison of Liszt, Thalberg, Wieck, and Henselt, for instance, a Vienna correspondent for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* observed that she possessed "Insichgekehrtsein," a character trait lacking in her pianistic rivals.[45] The imposing Viennese reviewer Heinrich Adami wrote that "If I were to explain how Clara Wieck plays, I would describe her exactly as she sits in front of the piano – but I would also give her wings, in order to

42 Tia DeNora, "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 185–97, at 193–94.

43 An excellent consideration of the various axes of celebrity by which Clara Wieck was measured in the 1830s can be found in Klassen, *Clara Schumann: Musik und Öffentlichkeit*, 99–178.

44 May, *The Girlhood of Clara Schumann*, 230.

45 "Liβt in Wien," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8, no. 34 (27 April 1838), 136.

emphasize how the frail shell that we call 'the body' can be elevated by a soul created expressly for music."[46]

The Wiecks extended their stay in Vienna in order to make the acquaintance of Franz Liszt, and they, like most of Vienna, were overwhelmed after attending his first public concert.[47] Besides demonstrating a phenomenal technique able to overcome heretofore unimagined difficulties, Liszt exploited his physicality in a way that the Wiecks immediately recognized. Clara Wieck wrote to Robert Schumann that "[Liszt has] caused a stir as Vienna has never known. He is truly an artist whom one must see and hear for oneself" and that "Ever since I heard and saw Liszt's bravura, I feel like a beginner."[48] Indeed, Liszt's on-stage persona threatened to overwhelm every other element of the performance – music included – to the extent that it assaulted its audience into submission: "He shakes our innermost nature," observed the Vienna correspondent. "One no longer thinks of his hands, their movements, or the instrument. Rather, one has the distinct impression that he is really seizing our soul and drawing it upward by force. This exasperates the Philistines."[49]

Largely due to his essentially conservative artistic orientation, Grillparzer was one of the few Philistines not to get caught up in what Heinrich Heine would call 'Lisztomania' a few years later. As Christoph-Helmut Mahling has observed,

> Grillparzer's musical home was really the works of Mozart and Beethoven. Indeed, musical form, which had experienced a monstrous expansion under Beethoven, was of primary importance. Grillparzer was entirely aware that he was experiencing the end of an era, and although he recognized new tendencies in the development of music, he largely dismissed them.[50]

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46 Heinrich Adami, "Concert der Dem. Klara Wieck," *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung* 30, no. 250 (16 December 1837), 1019: "Wenn ich andeuten sollte, wie Klara Wieck spielt, möchte ich sie so, wie sie ist, vor das Piano hinzeichen, aber Flügel möchte ich ihr geben, um auszudrücken, wie sehr die gebrechliche Hülle, die wir Körper nennen, durch die Macht einer für Musik geschaffenen Seele emporgetragen werde."

47 Liszt clearly takes pride in reporting to his mistress Marie d'Agoult that "[Wieck] was stunned in hearing me play" ("Elle a été abasourdie de m'entendre"). See Liszt and d'Agoult, *Correspondance*, ed. Serge Gut and Jacqueline Bellas (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 313.

48 Letter of 26 April 1838 in *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 1:163-64.

49 "Lißt in Wien," 135.

50 Christoph-Helmut Mahling, "'Das übrige so unbedeutend als die Komposition…': Gedanken und Beobachtungen Franz Grillparzers zur Musik und zum Musikleben seiner Zeit," in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms, 1993), 543–78, at 577–78: "Die eigentliche musikalische 'Heimat' sind für Grillparzer die Werke von Mozart und Beethoven. Wichtig ist für ihn in erster Linie die musikalische Form, die allerdings bei Beethoven schon eine ungeheure Erweiterung erfahren habe. Grillparzer ist sich durchaus bewußt, das Ende einer Epoche mitzuerleben. Klar erkennt er neue Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Musik, lehnt diese jedoch weitgehend ab."

Grillparzer's disposition, so heavily rooted in the Viennese Classicists, produced an ambivalent reaction to Liszt. While the poet respected Liszt for "know[ing] how to represent the dignity of art alongside the dignity of the artist,"[51] he could not help but detect an artistic confusion within the pianist that often manifested itself on the concert stage. His four-stanza poem celebrating Liszt, written at the end of the year 1843, introduces a judgmental element into the moral not found in *Clara Wieck und Beethoven*: "The domain of the arts is harmony and discord."[52] Most importantly, Grillparzer treats his subject in isolation: there is no mention of Liszt's relationship to his audience or to the composer whose works he is performing. Indeed, Liszt left no room for them: Dana Gooley has observed how Liszt employed numerous methods of focusing the audience's attention exclusively onto himself – often through displays of military-like domination – and forcing them to identify him as the sole hero.[53] Even in his arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies or Schubert's lieder for solo piano – celebrated both in their day and ours for their spiritual and sonic fidelity to the original – does Liszt distance his model composers from the typical salon dilettante by introducing exceedingly difficult stretches, arpeggios, and leaps. Grillparzer hardly considered Liszt's self-supremacy and self-possession of his canonical composers a virtue, however – for the poet there is no room for an artist who only exercises "Fürsichgeschaffensein" on stage. (Wieck's humble demeanor at the keyboard must have been thrown into even greater relief after the Viennese witnessed Liszt's performances.) Whereas Clara Wieck offers her audience a means to Beethoven, virtuosos like Liszt, Thalberg, and Paganini can offer nothing more than themselves.[54]

The process of artistic facilitation through self-renunciation prescribed in *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* appears in several other poems by Grillparzer that celebrate female artists. For instance, the last stanza of his tribute to the contralto Mistress Mary Shaw, dated 12 May 1839, reads, "There sounds from the shrub a tone of the miraculous throat. It rises and swells, echoes, fades, and dies. Thank you, you sorceress, o Philomele, in whom the lost one finds

51 Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Frank and Pörnbacher, III:895: "F.L.[,] der nebst der Würde der Kunst auch die Würde des Künstlers zu vertreten weiß."

52 Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer and Backmann, I/11/187 [no. 270]: "Der Donner wird zum Strahl, der Strahl zum Lichte, / Auf Augenblicke schwinden Nebeldünste, / Die Lust der Heimat weht durch die Gesichte – / Eintracht und Zwietracht ist das Reich der Künste."

53 See Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 2.

54 See Grillparzer, "Paganini. Adagio und Rondo auf der G-Saite [1828]," in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer and Backmann, I/11/85 [no. 199].

himself."[55] Jenny Lind's revelatory singing caused Grillparzer to see beyond color and instead behold pure light. Lind transcended the music itself to offer something more individualized, more provocative, more transformative; or, as he puts it in the final couplet of a poem from 1846, "here there is no body, hardly even sound; instead I hear your soul." And his poetic plea of 1851 to the Austrian dancer Fanny Elssler mourns less for the departing dancer than it does the art to which she offers privileged access: "Gentle power was given to you – be thankful for such favor! Your life does not belong to you. Do not give up the sacred art!"[56]

Grillparzer was hardly unusual for his time in separating male and female artists according to purported ability and responsibility in the field of music, particularly regarding composition and interpretation. W. Edgar Yates notes, "He was brought up in a period when in the German-speaking countries woman was still regarded predominantly as a creature of instinct, intuition, and feeling rather than of intellect and creative energy, which were seen as characteristically masculine qualities."[57] Nor was Grillparzer unusual in paying special attention to the bodies of his female subjects. Indeed, Clara Wieck's physical appearance on stage and her reliance upon the music of male composers for her concert repertoire made her a Biedermeier model of the feminine. Her youth projected to her audience an aura of purity, emphasized time and again in contemporary paintings and lithographs (recall Illustration 2). In fact, Wieck's body is a crucial linchpin in Grillparzer's account. He fixates on her "white fingers" (the only words besides "spielend" that are repeated in his verses), which are introduced in *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* as objects of exploration: the girl thrusts her hand into the water capriciously. By the end of the poem they have matured into objects of musical direction.

The sexual implications of these lines are hard to ignore. In characterizing the type of audience that came to hear Wieck play, Peter Gay notes that "The bourgeois character [...] is largely built from prohibitions, from things

55 Grillparzer, "Mistriß Shaw [12 May 1839]," lines 17–20, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer and Backmann, I/10/180 [no. 100]: "Da tönt vom Busch ein Laut der Wunderkehle, / Er steigt und schwillt, klingt nach, verhallt und stirbt. / Hab Dank du Zauberin, o Philomele, / In die verloren man sich selbst erwirbt."

56 Grillparzer, "An Fanny Elßler. Als sie von der Bühne Abschied nahm. 1851," lines 17–20, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer and Backmann, I/11/237 [no. 313]: "Dir ward die holde Macht gegeben; / Sei dankbar du für so viel Gunst! / Nicht dir allein gehört dein Leben, / Gib sie nicht auf, die heil'ge Kunst!"

57 W.E. Yates, "Grillparzer and the Fair Sex," in *Grillparzer und die europäische Tradition: Londoner Symposium 1986*, ed. Robert Pichl, Alexander Stillmark, et al. (Vienna: Hora Verlag, 1987), 71–83, at 73. Referencing Grillparzer's poems on Shaw, Lind, and Elßler, among others, Yates notes, "when women are alluded to not as artists but as women, it is in fact often enough as objects of slightly scurrilous and thoroughly sexist innuendo" (76).

that middle-class people will not do and words they will not allow themselves to say."[58] Virtuosos gave their audiences a controlled environment in which to indulge these prohibitions. Liszt, as Lawrence Kramer and Dana Gooley have argued, mainly tested the limits of vulgarity and violence.[59] And given the extraordinary fetishization of virginity during the Biedermeier, Wieck's blend of humility, alluring yet still untainted sexuality, and reverence for Beethoven and the greater musical good marked her and her playing as almost saintly.[60] That she was fixed this way in the minds of the Viennese can be seen by her subsequent visit to Vienna during the 1846/47 season. By all accounts it was a complete disaster, not because of her playing or choice of repertoire, but because the married Frau Schumann, mother of four, had betrayed Beethoven for a different, lesser spirit – her husband Robert Schumann. Margarethe Engelhardt-Krajanek notes that Clara Schumann, *Weib*, was no longer the same symbol for the Viennese as Clara Wieck, *Jungfrau*, had been almost a decade earlier, for she could serve "neither as a mystic nor erotic projection [of their desires]."[61]

Grillparzer cherished both of these characteristics in Clara Wieck and would continue to do so until his death in 1872. Two decades after Clara Wieck became Clara Schumann, he penned *Wenn der Priester opfern geht* (1859), a three-stanza poem describing the purity and selflessness demanded by the priesthood. The first five lines read: "When the priest makes a sacrifice, he does it with clean hands. Whoever does not condemn the filth of life will never be able to realize the noble. Thus, your entire being is dedicated to the people."[62] Wieck's self-abnegation of the virtuoso persona – the metaphorical cleansing of the

58 Peter Gay, *Schnitzler's Century: The Making of Middle-Class Culture, 1815–1914* (New York and London: Norton, 2002), 26.

59 See Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, and Lawrence Kramer, "Franz Liszt and the Virtuoso Public Sphere: Sight and Sound in the Rise of Mass Entertainment," in *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 68–89.

60 The challenges that Clara Wieck posed to the status quo vis-à-vis traditional gender roles is explored in Eva Rieger, "Vom 'genuin Weiblichen' zur 'Geschlechter-Differenz'. Methodologische Probleme der Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung am Beispiel Clara Schumann," in *Clara Schumann: Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*, ed. Peter Ackermann and Herbert Schneider (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1999), 205–16.

61 Margarethe Engelhardt-Krajanek, "Die schönsten Offenbraungen eines Weibes – Zwischen Sensationslust und Kunstsinn: Clara Schumanns Konzerttätigkeit in Wien rezensiert von der Wiener Presse," in *Ich fahre in mein liebes Wien – Clara Schumann: Fakten, Bilder, Projektionen*, ed. Elena Ostleitner and Ursula Simek (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1996), 31–40, at 36.

62 Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer and Backmann, I/11/270 [no. 341]: "Wenn der Priester opfern geht, / Geht er mit reinen Händen, / Wer nicht des Lebens Schmutz verschmäht / Wird nie das Edle vollenden; / Drum, ist dein Dasein dem Volk geweiht."

"filth" of the virtuoso life – confirmed her calling as Beethoven's one and only interpreter.[63]

Grillparzer would have been hard-pressed to find an artist more suitable than Clara Wieck, for he believed that she was the one pianist among the many he had seen and heard who could communicate the spirit of Beethoven to a public audience without diluting it with the suspect and often overwhelming theatricality of virtuoso performance. Indeed, her unassuming performance manner, humble appearance, and dedication to an art outside of herself not only distanced herself from the likes of Liszt and Thalberg, but, most importantly, Beethoven himself. Grillparzer could extol Wieck as much as he did precisely because she could complement, and never overshadow, Beethoven's own colossal image. Chaos, violence, and heroism were as foreign to the critical discourse on Clara Wieck as lyricism, sexuality, and purity were from his. Clara focused and managed Beethoven but never rivaled him, and in doing so she retrieved a vital element of the Viennese psyche lost for over a decade, her white fingers solemnly offering the key to their most beloved composer.

The triumph of song

Despite the enormous growth in public music-making during the Biedermeier era, many musical events still happened behind closed doors. It was in the salon that important connections were made, challenging compositions were premiered and debated, and careers blossomed or died on the vine.[64] Indeed, Viennese salons were paramount to Wieck's success: she relied on their connections to secure future engagements,[65] and she often rehearsed repertoire there that she was considering for public performance. It was at one of these soirees in early January 1838 that the Viennese diplomat, composer, and tenor Johann Vesque von Püttlingen heard her perform.

Soon after encountering the Wiecks, Vesque produced a setting of Grillparzer's *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* for solo voice and piano. As indicated on the

63 Further evidence of Clara's commitment to serious music comes in her letter to Grillparzer, dated 11 January 1838, in which she invites the poet to hear her play Robert Schumann's *Carnaval* to a distinguished audience of connoisseurs ("Kenner"). See Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906–1908), 1:171.

64 How Clara Wieck parsed repertoire between public and private spheres around this time is explored in David Ferris, "Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 351–408.

65 Writing his wife from Prague on 2 November 1837, Friedrich Wieck asked, "Do you know why we do not head down to Vienna, since there are no concerts here? We still need to secure recommendations – we have far too few." [*Briefe*, p. 75: "Du weißt: warum wir nicht nach Wien eilen, da hier mit den Concerten nichts ist? Wir müssen hier Empfehlungen nach Wien zu bekommen suchen – wir haben viel zu wenig."]

title page of Diabelli's print (Illustration 4), which appeared in February 1838, Vesque's work incorporates motives from Beethoven's 'Appassionata' into the fabric of a song. But rather than grafting a new melody onto an old frame, as in Charles Gounod's famous *Ave Maria* setting to the first prelude of J.S. Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* or Leopoldo Mastrigli's setting of Dante to the first movement of Beethoven's 'Moonlight' Sonata, Vesque completely reconceives all three movements of Beethoven's sonata along formal and hermeneutic axes.

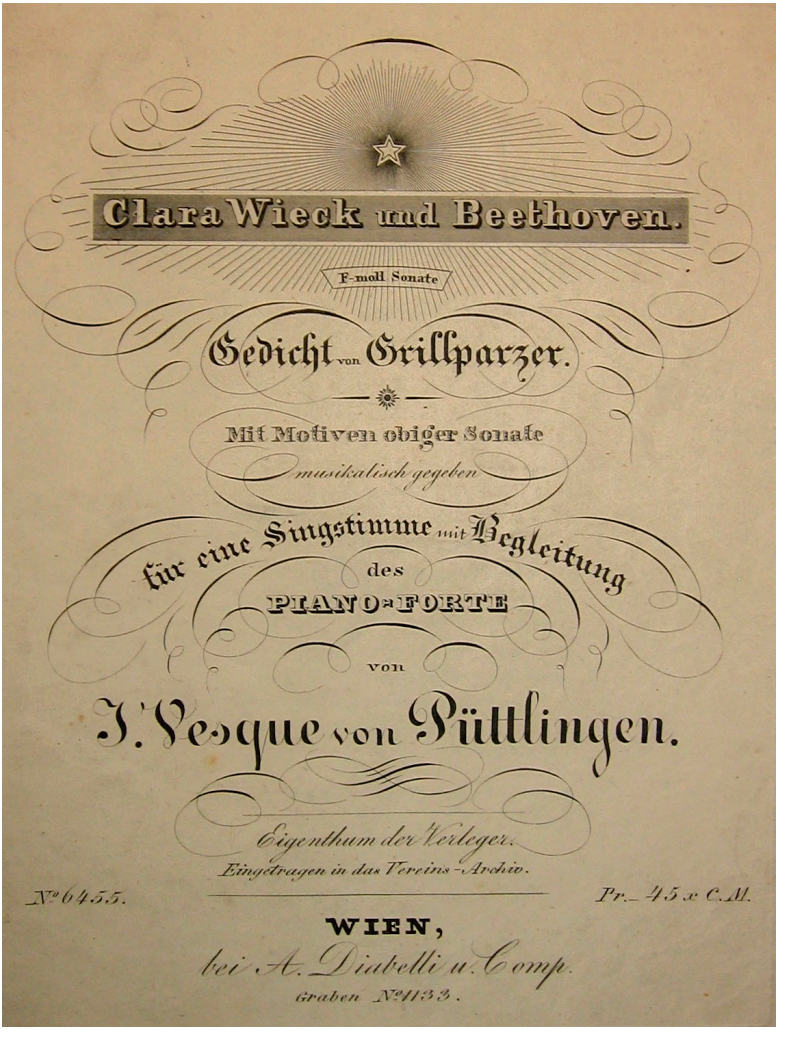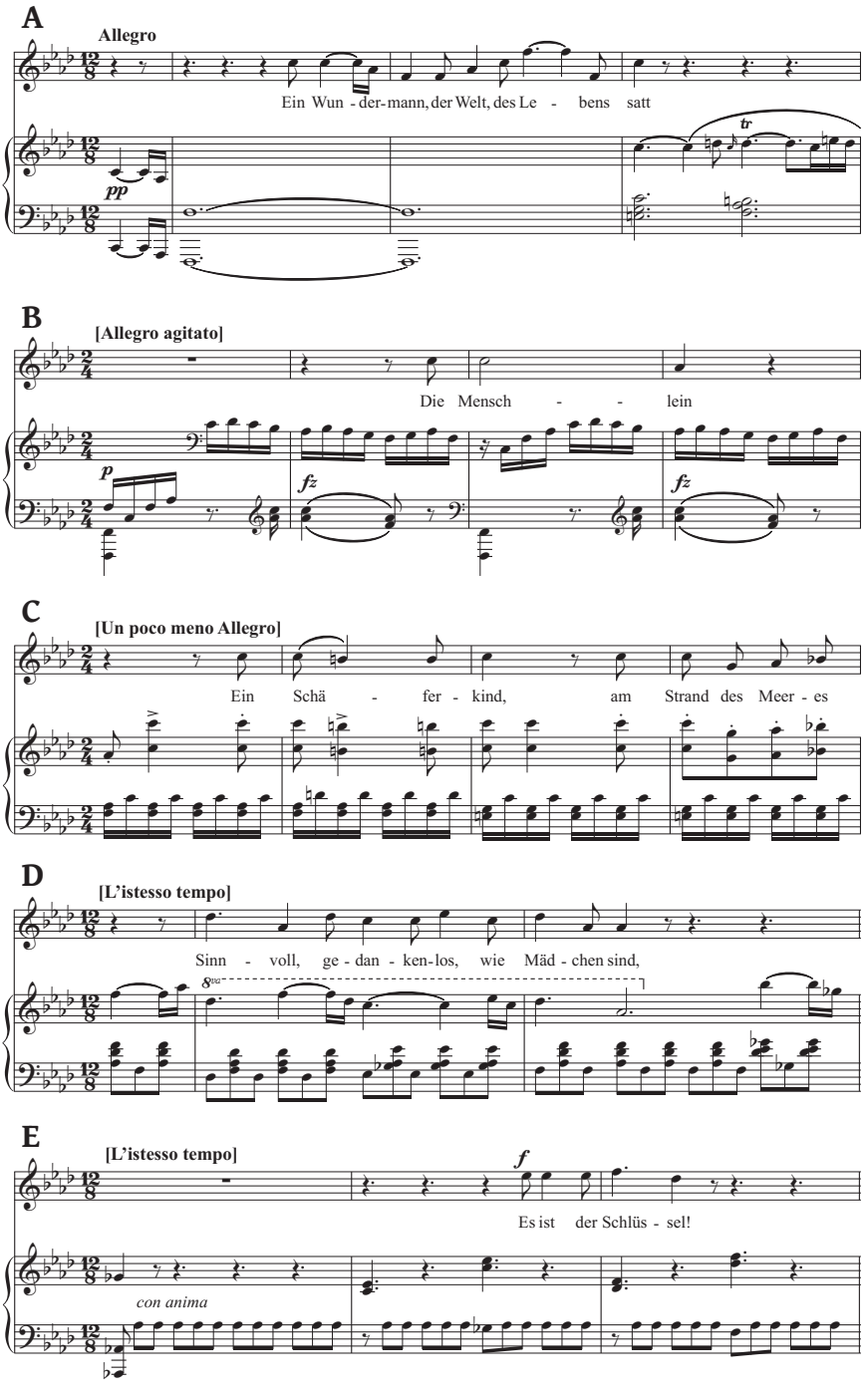


Illustration 4: Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, *Clara Wieck und Beethoven,* Title Page. Author's Copy.
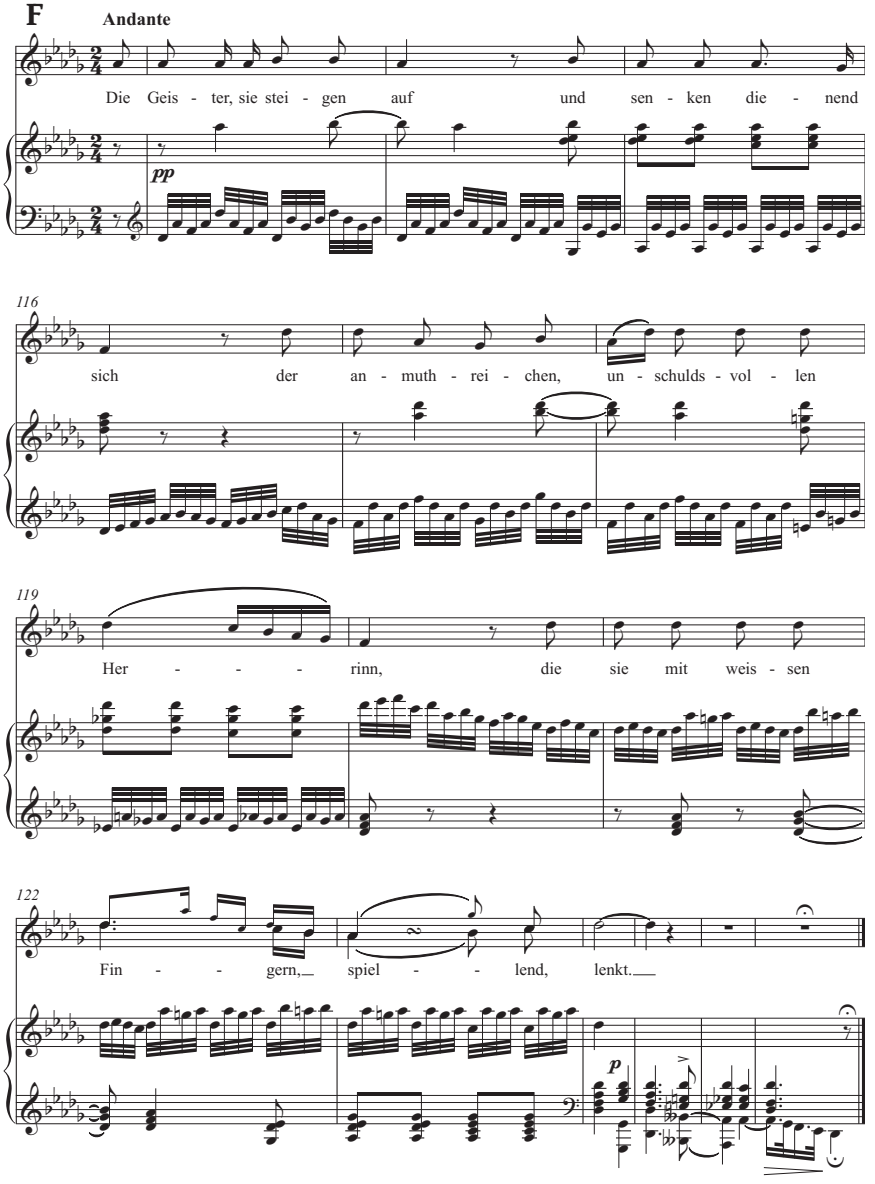
Over the course of his setting, Vesque draws on six distinct musical motives from Beethoven's sonata. It begins with the famous falling F-minor chord in the piano (Example 1a), moves through the nebulous material of the first fifteen measures with a call-and-answer between singer and pianist, and proceeds with a 'deceptive' cadence of sorts into the first theme of the third movement (Example 1b). It remains in various regions of the third movement, including Example 1c, until the heroic theme (Example 1d) of the first movement calls out like the horns from the distant "unberufne Jagd." A number of transitional passages from the first movement accompany the girl's transformation, including Example 1e, and the work culminates with the final variation of the second movement (Example 1f). A four-bar piano postlude returns the listener serenely to the theme itself.

Given the severe structural reconstitution of Beethoven's *Sonata*, the struggle for ownership of Beethoven's name and authority, and the Biedermeier climate characterized by appropriation, repression, and exclusion, Vesque's *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* offers several possible hermeneutic options. The first interpretation completely removes Clara Wieck from the public concert stage and consigns her to the (semi-)private salon. In ending his setting of a sonata with a song, Vesque generically 'devolves' Clara Wieck's artistic capacity. Yet generic status was not the only hierarchy that Vesque's *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* realigned, for it would have been axiomatic to their audiences that the genres of sonata and lied carried gendered personas. Matthew Head has traced the roots of these stereotypes back to late eighteenth-century ideological debates among theorists about what he calls the "March vs. Minuet."[66] While a serious, quantifiable, and structural musical element like harmony was given a stamp of the masculine, melody and song – charming, capricious, yet unsettling – were understood to possess a feminine character. As Jeffrey Kallberg has noted, the feminine association of a musical genre often led to its social devaluation.[67] Clara Wieck, in performing the sonata, severely overstepped the bounds of social and artistic decorum. Thus, the genre of Vesque's setting and the work's gradual transformation from dramatic to lyric modes forcefully back the status quo of the day. In short, Wieck falls victim to Biedermeier systems and norms.

66 Matthew Head, "'Like Beauty Spots on the Face of a Man': Gender in 18th-Century North-German Discourse on Genre," *The Journal of Musicology* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 143–67, at 152.

67 Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 41.


A
Allegro
Ein Wun - der-mann, der Welt, des Le - bens satt
pp
tr
B
[Allegro agitato]
Die Mensch - - lein
p
fz
fz
C
[Un poco meno Allegro]
Ein Schä - fer - kind, am Strand des Meer - es
D
[L'istesso tempo]
Sinn - voll, ge - dan - ken-los, wie Mäd - chen sind,
8va
E
[L'istesso tempo]
f
Es ist der Schlüs - sel!
con anima



Example 1a-f: Vesque, *Clara Wieck und Beethoven,* Major Themes

But Vesque's life, works, and generous spirit suggest a completely different way of hearing his setting. A lawyer by profession, but also educated in piano by Ignaz Moscheles and Jan Václav Voříšek, in voice by Giuseppe Ciccimara, and in counterpoint by Simon Sechter, he wrote over 300 lieder during a career

spanning the mid-1830s to the early 1860s. He was a close friend of Schubert, whom he viewed as "a down-to-earth embodiment of the Viennese musical spirit",[68] and became just as close to the Schumann family in the early 1840s.[69] His collection of eighty-eight songs to texts by Heinrich Heine, entitled "Die Heimkehr" and published in 1851, was the largest song cycle of its day and still might hold that record. In short, Vesque – with his colleagues Joseph Fischhof, Benedikt Randhartinger, and Josef Dessauer – was an important advocate for and torchbearer to Vienna's distinct tradition of art song after Schubert.

He was also an extraordinary advocate for the Wiecks during their Vienna sojourn. Within a couple weeks of befriending father and daughter Wieck, Vesque hosted a soiree in their honor, which provided them with a crucial entry point into the upper echelons of Viennese society.[70] Two weeks later, he unveiled his setting of *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* to a crowd of about thirty people that included Grillparzer, Leopold von Sonnleithner, and Ignaz Castelli. Friedrich noted in his diary that "all were enthusiastic [about it]."[71] Wieck's diaries recount several soirees, concerts, and meals that they shared over the next three months.

Arguably the greatest show of respect that Vesque gave to Clara Wieck came in the form of his *Allegro in G minor* for solo piano, op. 19, published around October 1839. Not only is the work dedicated to the pianist, but it formed the opening movement of an incomplete four-movement sonata that, as Helmuth Schultz has suggested, "owes its existence to the impression of Wieck's playing."[72] Stylistically, the *Allegro* is indebted to the 'brilliant' school of Moscheles, Weber, and especially Hummel that was in vogue during the 1820s and early 1830s. At 225 measures, it is a consequential work, cast in a modified sonata form that encompasses three subjects that are all based on a germinal three-note motive (Examples 2a, 2b, 2c). Arguably more interesting than these themes, however,

68 Helmut Schultz, *Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, 1803–1883* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1930), 26: "Dann erst ersteht in Schubert eine bodenständige Verkörperung des Wiener Musikgeistes."
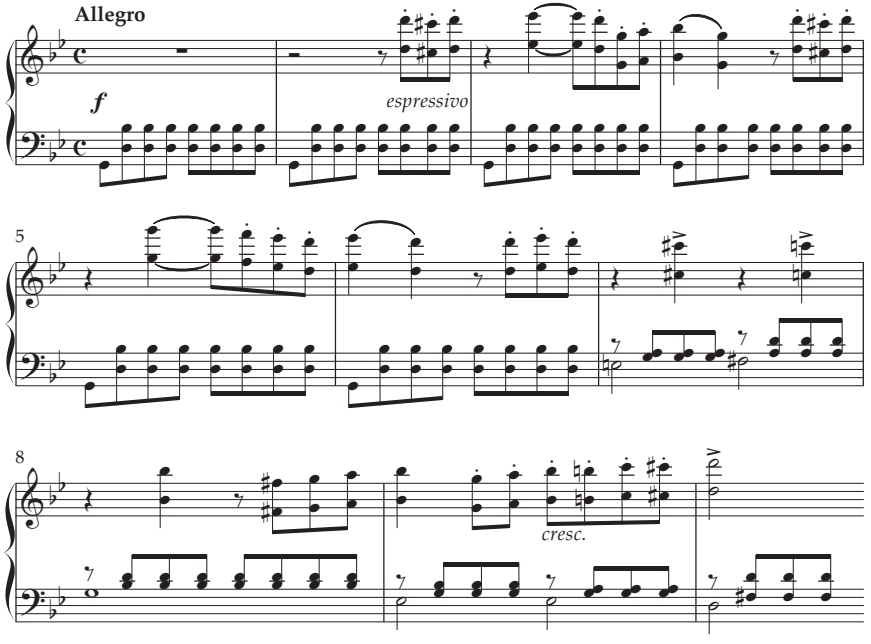
69 The most wide-ranging consideration of Vesque as song-writer appears in Susan Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 2.

70 Clara Wieck apparently first met Vesque on 15 December 1837. See Clara Schumann, *Jugendtagebücher, 1827–1840*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and Nancy B. Reich (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2019), 273: "Fischhof besucht uns mit dem Componisten West [recte: Vesque von Püttlingen]. Seine Besuche dauern gewöhnlich 2 Stunden." In a letter to his wife dated 2 January 1838, the night after Vesque's soiree, Friedrich Wieck characterized Vesque as a "bedeutender Mann in der Staatskanzlei bei Metternich u. Opernkomponist." See Wieck, *Briefe*, 75.

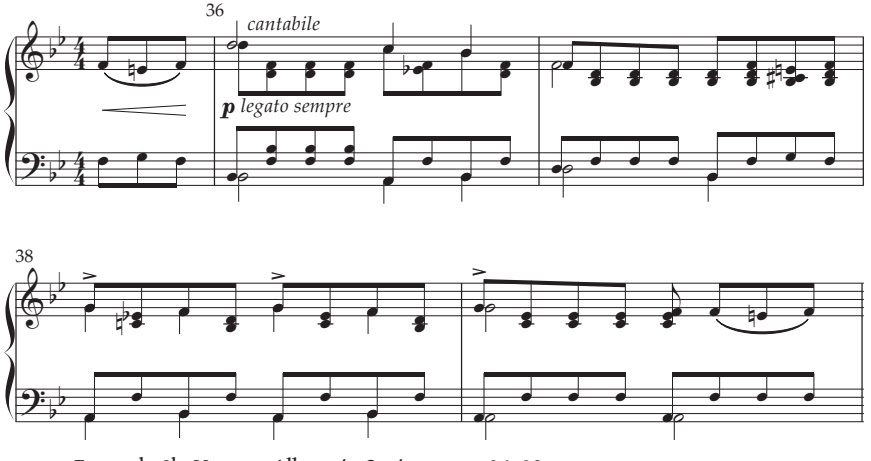
71 Entry of 14 January 1838 in Schumann, *Jugendtagebücher*, 278: "Vesque de Püttlingen hat das Gedicht auf Klara herrlich in Musik gesetzt – alle sind enthusiastisch."

72 Schultz, *Johann Vesque von Püttlingen*, 44: "[...] eine viersätzige Klaviersonate, die dem Eindruck des Spiels der Clara Wieck ihr Dasein verdankt und darauf berechnet war, durch den Vortrag der verehrten Virtuosin die gehörige Weihe zu erhalten."

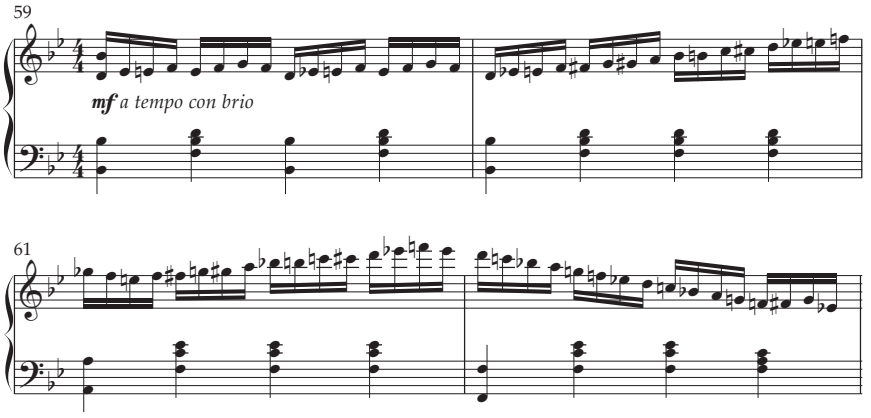
are the transitional passages that reflect Vesque's own affinities. Take Example 3, the stylistically incongruous octaves that lead into the second theme group. It is in this brief transitional moment that the modern virtuoso asserts herself, not unlike the way that Clara Wieck dramatically opened her *Piano Concerto in A minor*, op. 7, or the fourth variation of her *"Pirate" Variations*, op. 8.



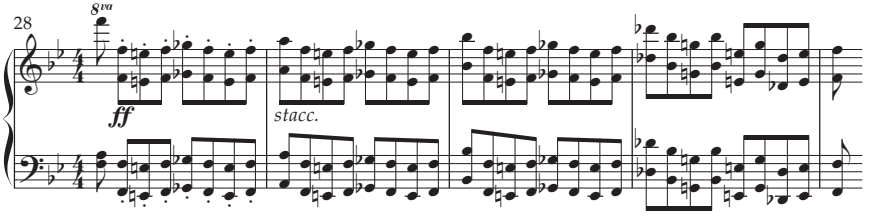
Example 2a: Vesque, *Allegro in G minor,* mm. 1–10.



Example 2b: Vesque, *Allegro in G minor,* mm. 36–39.
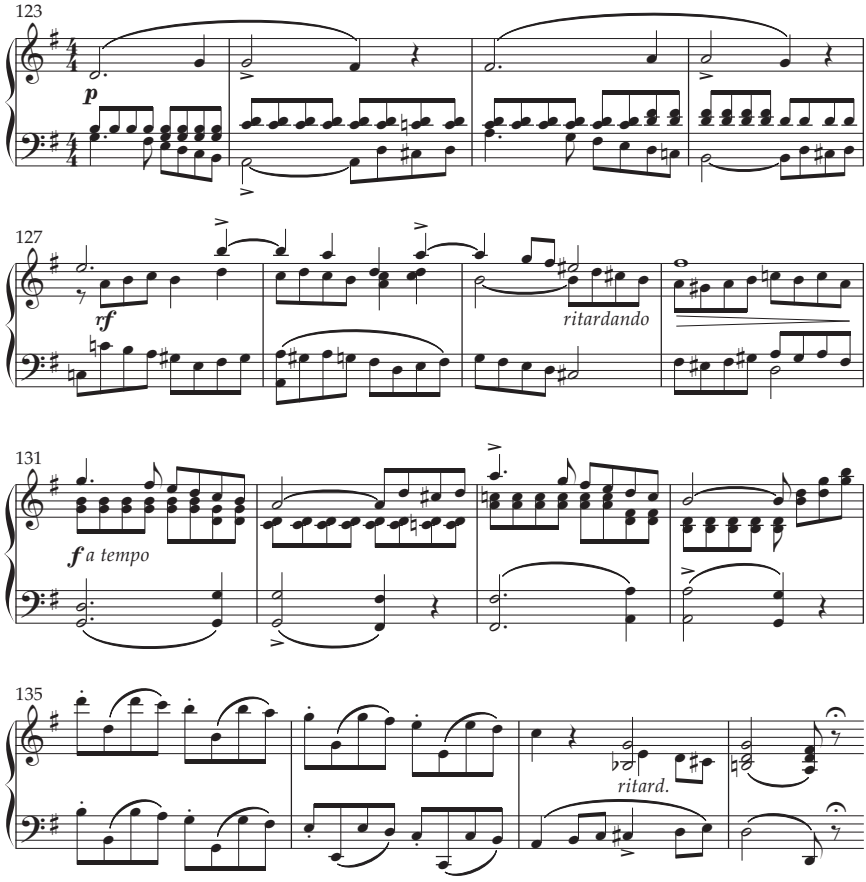


Example 2c: Vesque, *Allegro in G minor,* mm. 59–62.



Example 3: Vesque, *Allegro in G minor,* mm. 28–32.

Moreover, subsequent stylistic and structural disruptions skew increasingly toward Vesque's perennial passion for song. When it comes time for the "Clara" reference (Example 3) to return in the recapitulation, Vesque instead replaces it with an extended duet (Example 4). What serves here as abstract song becomes more focused by the end of the work. In particular, the beginning of the coda (Example 5) features a surprising modulation from G major to G minor by way of bVI (m. 205) and bVI+ (m. 206) that pays homage to Vesque's other major influence, Schubert. Inflected by the powerful reference, the Allegro concludes with quasi-orchestral tremolos, ponderous left-hand octaves, and dramatic diminished sevenths. Indeed, the sheer characteristic variety that Vesque displays in the coda is not unlike many of his more extended lieder, such as *Ritter Toggenburg*, op. 6,[73] *Der Säuferkampf*, op. 26, and *Frühlingsblüten*, op. 46, no. 1, in which abstract musical ideas underscore epic musical discourses.

73 This song, set to Schiller's celebrated text, also features a rare case of progressive tonality, beginning in C minor and ending in F-sharp major.
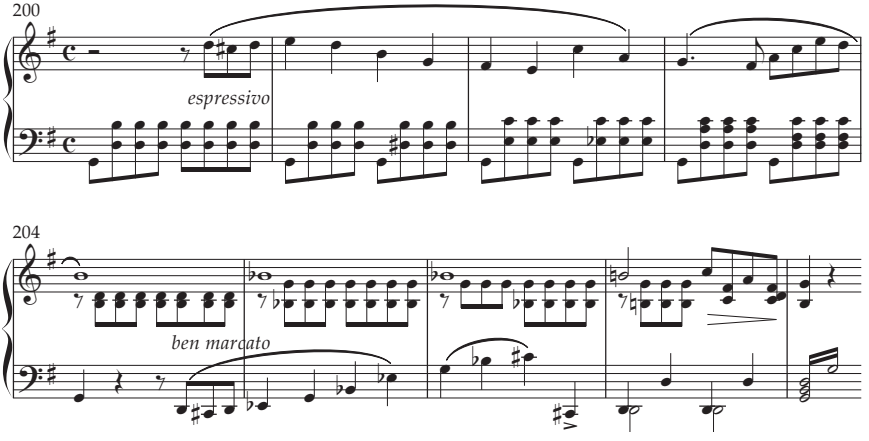


Example 4: Vesque, *Allegro in G minor,* mm. 123–138.

Like the *Allegro in G minor*, Vesque's *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* ultimately serves as an apotheosis of song itself, one built upon the structural foundation of a sonata. Grillparzer had eulogized Beethoven first and foremost as the "hero of song, [...] the last master of the musical lied."[74] Why should Vesque not exploit that feature of his artistry, one which Beethoven shared with Vesque's other 'musical heroes'? Indeed, as his setting develops, Vesque's composed melody slowly emancipates itself from the motivic constraints of Beethoven's sonata, giving the impression of a gradual move from narrative ballade to lyric song. With its rhythmic freedom and sparse accompaniment, the opening section of

74 Grillparzer, "Am Grabe Beethoven's," 281: "der Held des Sanges [...] der letzte Meister des tönenden Liedes." The early Romantic lied was predominantly lyric-focused.

the work (lines 1–4; recall Example 1a) is overtly recitational, with the ensuing portion gradually accumulating metric stability and intervallic caprice. It is only in the final section (lines 15–18; recall Example 1f), however, that a fully-realized, independent melody emerges. Vesque redirects the thrust of Grillparzer's poem, which as we recall cycles through the story of Wieck's self-discovery and consecration *ad infinitum*, by appropriating Beethoven's motives to situate her forever in a world of song. In this vein, then, Vesque creates a more refined sense of timelessness, one where beginning and end have no real meaning, by commencing this final section with a variation and ending it with the theme. Thus, Vesque's listeners are invited to lounge in the salon with Wieck for as long as her playing enchants them, just as Vesque had done on several occasions.



Example 5: Vesque, *Allegro in G minor,* mm. 200–208.

Given the ways that *Clara Wieck und Beethoven* elevated local luminaries like Beethoven, Schubert, and Grillparzer, one critic went so far as to hear Vesque's song as a tribute to Viennese society itself. Writing for the *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger*, a critic praised how Vesque revealed the poem's "truth of thought and adornment of speech" in song:

> This young composer, who follows so successfully in Schubert's footsteps, and has in fact already surpassed his role model, has done a great service to the world of music by bringing honor to Beethoven's near-forgotten Sonata in F minor in this way, and making it possible for more pianists to concern them-

selves with this piece. Many passages [...] possess drastic effect and – when well performed – will not fail to make an impression in social circles.[75]

Whose *Souvenir*?

Clara Wieck was repeatedly used during her first tour of Vienna. Critics used her to praise and criticize the cult of virtuosity. Grillparzer used her to weigh in on the myth of Beethoven. Vesque used her to advance notions of vocal preeminence. Amidst the din of these manifold competing artistic and aesthetic agendas, and with each passing voice adding more entries to the public historical record, the pianist herself was overwhelmed, subordinated to private correspondence and scattered diary entries. Yet it is clear that throughout her life, she was obsessed about not being forgotten.[76] How might have Clara Wieck wanted posterity to remember her time in Vienna?

Her opus 9, entitled *Souvenir de Vienne,* provides some clues. The genre of 'souvenir' was a relatively new one, cropping up in the 1830s along with 'réminiscences' and 'potpourris' as an extended, referential fantasy. Popular operas and dance tunes provided the lion's share of material to fantasy composers, who often played the resulting works exclusively and occasionally to great acclaim. Indeed, almost every one of Wieck's competitors had a cache of musical souvenirs to exhibit before the public. Audiences applauded Liszt for his fantasies on Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, Bellini's *Norma*, and Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, just as they did Thalberg on his creative reworkings of the operatic materials of Bellini, Rossini, and Verdi.

While Wieck had thrown down the gauntlet with concert variations on Bellini's *Il pirate* as her opus 8, her opus 9 plays with the memorial function of the 'souvenir' by allying it to a specific piece of music and a specific location. Both alliances are unusual. First, it was uncommon to 'recall' a city. While tan-

75 Anonynous reviewer "6," *Allgemeiner Musikalischer Anzeiger* 10, no. 7 (15 February 1838), 25: "[Wieck] begeisterte unsern Grillparzer zu einem wunderschönen, durch Wahrheit des Gedankens und Schmuck der Rede ausgezeichneten Gedichte [...] Dieser junge Tondichter, der in Schubert's Fußstapfen mit vielem Glücke tritt, und sein Vorbild bereits überflügelt hat, [...] hat wirklich der musikalischen Welt einen großen Dienst geleistet, daß er Beethoven's fast vergessene F-moll-Sonate auf diese Weise wieder zu Ehren gebracht, und mehrere Clavierspieler veranlaßt hat, sich um dieses Werk zu bekümmern. Manche Stellen [...] sind von drastischem Effecte und werden, gut vorgetragen, in Gesellschaftscirkeln ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlen." Oswald Lorenz's brief review of the song (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8, no. 24 [23 March 1838], 94) draws attention to the surprisingly tight relationship between Grillparzer's poem and Beethoven's music, such that those who do not know Beethoven's op. 57 would be at an experiential disadvantage.

76 See the chapter, "Gegen das Vergessen," in Borchard, *Clara Schumann: Musik als Lebensform* (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2019), 117–35.

talizingly titled, Adolphe Henselt's *Souvenir de Varsovie*, op. 51, of 1838, reveals nothing particular about the city of Warsaw. In fact, it de-values the localized reference by featuring a quaint waltz in ternary form. Equally unusual is Thalberg's contemporaneous *Souvenirs de Beethoven*, op. 39, which takes as its thematic basis the second movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. However, toward the end, the finale of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony suddenly intrudes before it is repelled by the primary theme.

Unlike the works of her competitors, Wieck's *Souvenir* clearly attempts to highlight the pianist's manifold connection to the Imperial city.[77] Its major theme is the Emperor's Hymn, which, since being composed by Joseph Haydn forty years earlier, had quickly become a popular patriotic folk song in its own right. Indeed, Wieck hoped to tap into this very element, writing to Robert that "Austrians become elated when they hear one of their folk songs."[78] This was something of a gamble for Wieck, given that the song's strong political associations had the capacity for inclusion and exclusion. Consider Grillparzer's 1818 poem about a Welsh singer who, in singing the *Kaiserhymne* in public, betrayed her outsider status: "You play around with opera songs, and who would ever really be concerned with sense and truth? With 'Gott erhalte,' a German heart is much more important than a Welsh throat."[79]
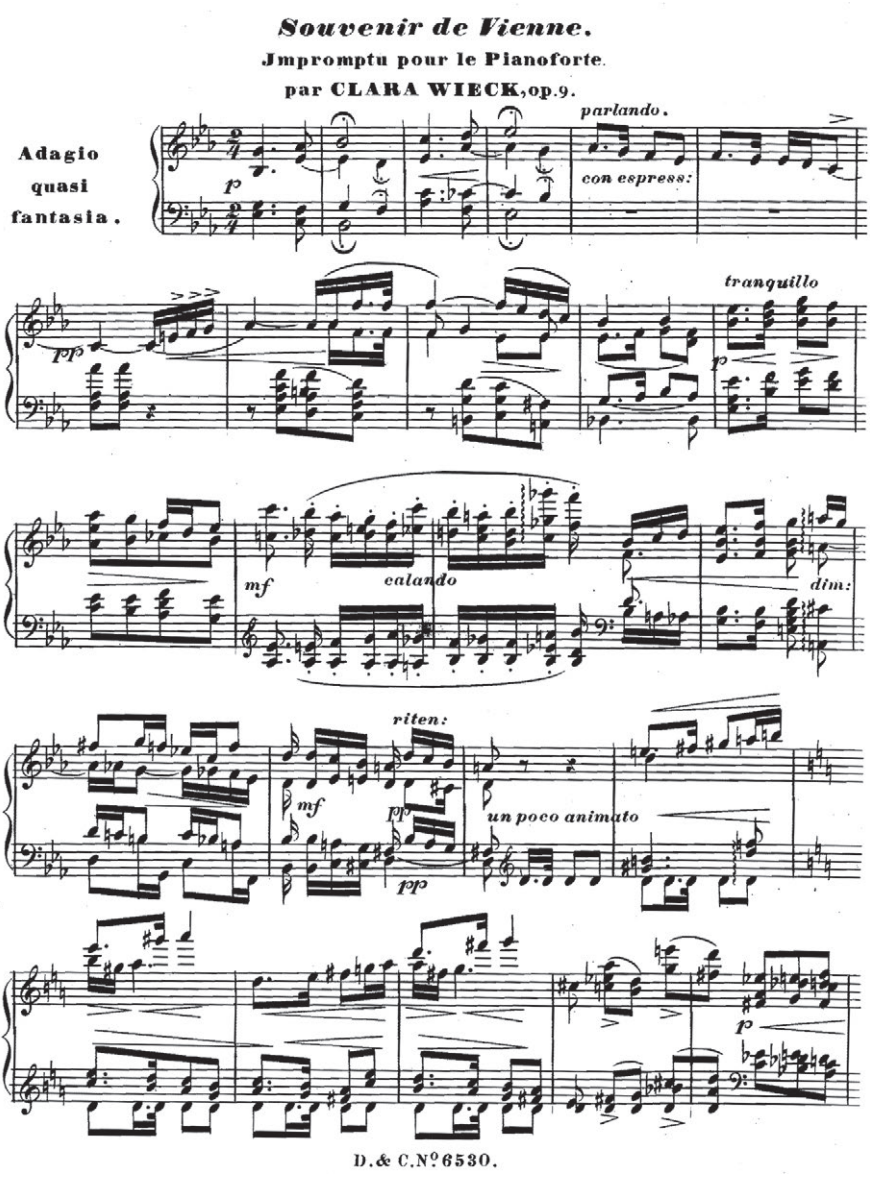
By grounding the *Souvenir* in a communal song, Clara Wieck incites memory, specifically, memories of the music she presented to her Viennese audiences. Indeed, as the *Souvenir* progresses, listeners haphazardly encounter snippets of music that recall the styles of other composers featured on her Viennese concert programs: Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Liszt, and – of course – Wieck herself. As Illustration 5 shows, the piece begins firmly in E-flat major, with segments of Haydn's tune bookending a plaintive melody – marked 'parlando' – that slowly falls by step, ascends by step, leaps dramatically, and then descends once again. The next rotation of the hymn tune, however, is interrupted by an austere, pseudo-Bachian sequence through the circle of fifths that not only

77 The composition was created entirely on Viennese soil: Wieck completed it on 11 April 1838 (see Schumann, *Jugendtagebücher*, 289), and performed it at her farewell concert on 30 April 1838 (*Jugendtagebücher*, 292). The *Souvenir* was published around July 1838, according to Hofmeister (see https://hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk, accessed 15 April 2023), and included a title page that oriented viewers geographically thanks to the spire of St. Stephen's Cathedral, while under Wieck's name stood her credentials as "Pianist of the Royal Apostolic and Imperial Court." Presumably, this was a marketing tactic of the piece's publisher, Diabelli, and not an idea hatched by Wieck herself.

78 Letter of 30 April 1838 in *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, 1:167.

79 Grillparzer, "An eine wälsche Sängerin als sie das Volkslied: *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* mit Variazionen sang [June/July 1818]," in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer and Backmann, I/10/15 [no. 17]: "Mit Operliedern treibe deinen Scherz, / Wer frägt da viel: Ob Sinn und Wahrheit fehle? / Zum: 'Gott erhalte' ist ein deutsches Herz / Weit nötiger, als eine wälsche Kehle."

severely destabilizes the key, but disrupts the natural flow of the Imperial hymn itself. The regal, orchestral writing breaks down via a series of advanced harmonies that reveals Wieck's mastery of modern compositional trends.
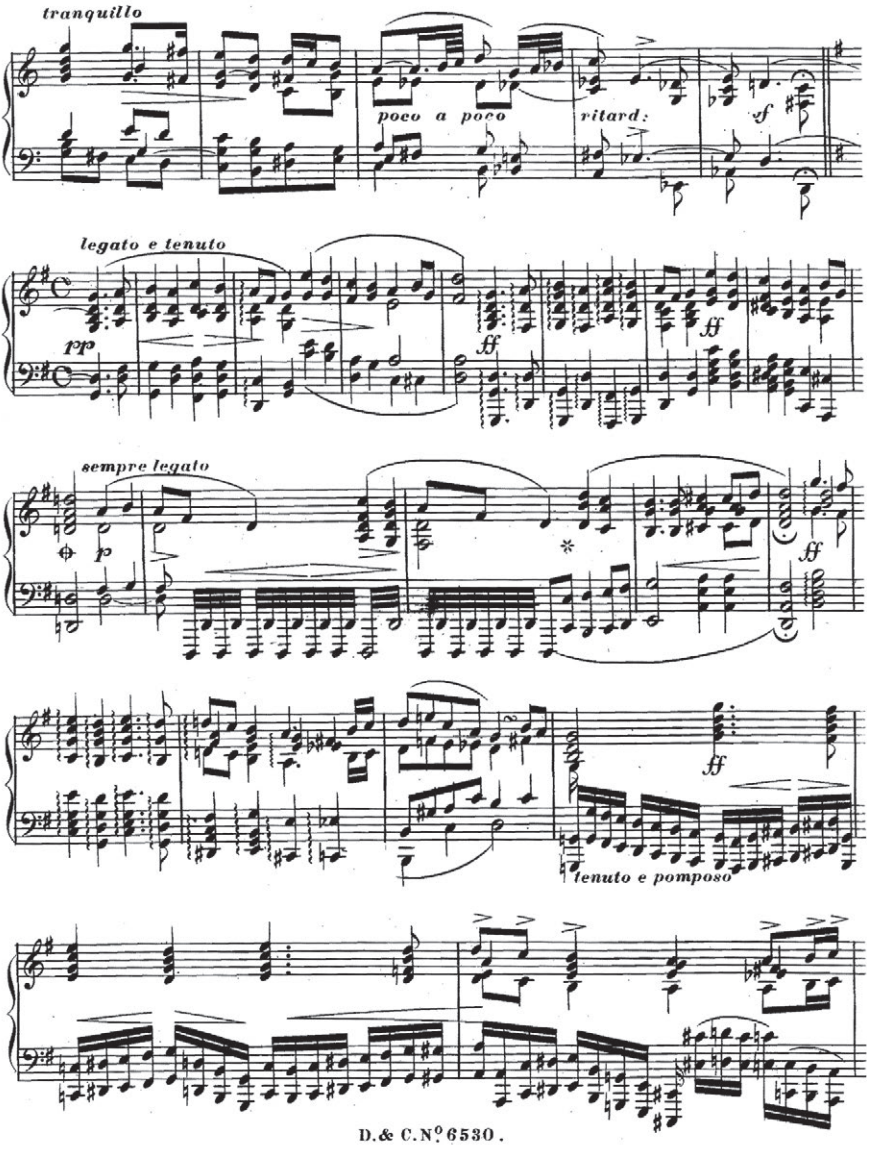




Illustration 5: Clara Wieck, *Souvenir de Vienne,* mm. 1–48. Vienna: Diabelli, 1838. Public Domain.

After the famous theme finally arrives at measure 30, the *Souvenir* undergoes several variations, as expected. Unlike opus 8, however, these operate under different compositional parameters. As Marian Wilson Kimber notes, "virtuosity is seemingly unchecked; the pianistic figuration changes phrase by phrase, rather than by individual variation. Ominous tremolos and running octaves appear even before the end of the theme. Only one complete variation follows; in what sounds like a second variation, the theme is fragmented, briefly subdued within clichéd tremolos, and finally yields to the expected turbulent finish."[80] Wieck provided the *Souvenir* with the subtitle of 'Impromptu', and the wild characteristic, technical, and formal swings that Kimber identifies speak to the ingenious ways in which Clara Wieck was able to move through – and ultimately amalgamate – an enormous catalogue of compositional and stylistic references.

If Wieck's composition remembers her Viennese debut differently than history, it is because it "re-members" differently. By reassembling cultural, topical, and musical references into a unique memorial document, the *Souvenir* serves as a counterweight to the voices that had thus far told her story. In this regard, it not only serves as a fitting autobiographical valedictory to her time in Vienna, but prophetic of her career to come.

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Imagined Virgin and Consecrated Genius on Stage: Schubert's *Ave Maria* and the Bodily (Re-)Presentations of the Instrumental Virtuoso

Christine Hoppe

Virtuoso instrumental performance on nineteenth-century stages challenged musicians, composers, and audiences, as its highly physical performances shattered notions of an ordered, polarized gender world. Public music-making, in particular, broke with existing notions, especially of female bodily decorum. One strategy for dealing with and countering this breaking of gender norms was for audiences and reviewers to re-imagine and so redefine the performing female body as 'virginal', associating it with legitimized images of femininity.

In my essay, I examine how this image of the virgin on stage, constructed as a narrative in reviews, affected the music performed and influenced both the performance of the musicians on stage and the perception of the audience. Using transcriptions for violin of Schubert's song *Ave Maria*, I show how both reviewers and (male and female) instrumentalists used the narrative of the Virgin in their musical practices. Through these interacting practices, they relate musically to, and simultaneously shape, the gender discourses of the time. Focusing on gender-led bodily (re)presentations on stage, I analyze the *Ave-Maria* transcription by Teresa Milanollo, who frequently performed it in her concerts in Vienna in 1853, as well as August Wilhelmj's transcription of the piece from the 1870s. I ask how the virtuosos staged their body (images) in their transcriptions and to what extent gender-specific identities of the time were negotiated, (re-)constructed, presented on stage and coded in the transcriptions. On a meta-level, I will ask whether and how a "sound of gender difference" (de Nora) can potentially be located as a sounding image of femininity in music.

> "[...] But the violin, which has always been dominated by the darkest, most powerful events, by the most secretive horrors of the male mind, was once allowed to sound by the hand of an angelic girl, the sweet, innocent longing, the heav-

> enly peace, the graceful serenity of a being unfolding into a virgin. This happened by the hand of Teresa Milanollo [...]."[1]

This description of a performance by the fifteen-year-old violinist Teresa Milanollo (1827–1904), published in the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* in 1843, both represents and reproduces a prototypical binary conception of gender in society. On the one hand, we find the "male mind" associated with "domination" and "violence" and on the other hand the "graceful", "angelic girl", the "sweet innocent longing", forming dichotomies that are also linguistically marked and reflected in their dramaturgical juxtaposition in the sentence. But these conceptions not only have an impact on the structuring of language. They not only describe, but also have a restrictive effect on musical practice on stage. Accordingly, the space (the stage) that potentially allows for a crossing of these existing boundaries between the two binary poles is strictly limited. The phrase "has always been" additionally marks this dichotomous notion of gender as natural. These images work as normative, not just descriptive, images of femininity of the time: With the help of her violin, the hand of the "angelic girl" Teresa Milanollo shapes the innermost stirrings of her soul and emotions into sound. Thus, according to the narrative, she – apparently automatically and passively – transforms herself into "a being unfolding into a virgin." She is perceived as a violin-playing virgin, not as a young woman making music on stage. With the metaphor of the virgin, the reviewer seems to legitimize both Teresa's physical being and her musical action on stage. Her music-making and her moving physical body is superimposed by the image of the body of the innocent virgin and therefore becomes invisible to the audience.

What can be observed here is the close interaction of existing norms, public discourse, and actions on stage that impact both the music being performed and the final sounding event, as it informs the musicians' performance on stage as well as the audiences' perception of it. Music is not only a reflection of, but – with Tia DeNora – also a resource for performances of gender imagery.[2] It provides a venue for negotiating and demonstrating categories, capacities, and social distributions of actions and experiences. Information about

1 F. Wend, "Correspondenz," *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 3 (12 August 1843): 407, "[...] Aber es ward der, von den dunkelsten gewaltigsten Vorgängen, von den geheimnißvollsten Schrecken des männlichen Geistes seit jeher beherrschten Violine auch einmal vergönnt, unter der Hand eines engelzarten Mädchens die süße unschuldsvolle Sehnsucht, den himmelklaren Frieden, die graziengewiegte Heiterkeit eines zur Jungfrau sich entfaltenden Wesens auszutönen. Dieß geschah unter der Hand der Teresa Milanollo [...]." (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.)

2 Tia DeNora, "Music into action: performing gender on the Viennese concert stage, 1790–1810," *Poetics* 30 (2002): 19–33.

the musical constitution of gender differences in the nineteenth century can therefore be accessed by attempting to reconstruct the sonic event on stage.[3] In the following elaborations, I will analyze the transcriptions of two violin virtuosos, Teresa Milanollo and August Wilhelmj (1845–1908), each representing one of these two binary poles. Searching for the "body in the music, music in the body,"[4] my analysis of transcriptions of Schubert's *Ave Maria* investigates the musical localization of (gender-led) bodily (re-)presentations and gender difference on stage, and thus towards a sounding image of femininity.[5]

The female virtuoso body on stage

Virtuoso instrumental performance on nineteenth-century stages posed challenges for musicians, composers and audience, as their performance shook conceptions of a well-arranged, polarized gender world and, in particular, the "images and ideas" that moderate "the cultural manifestations of femininity" that can be seen as fundamental to the conceptualization of gender roles.[6] The virtuosos' public display and emphasis on the visual aspects of the body, as well as their pleasure in physical movement on stage, was met with critical skepticism, resulting in the construction of two opposing types of artists in the media: Through the attributes used in contemporary reviews, which emphasize either power, genius, intellect and depth, or affectation, sentimentality, and lack of strength, the two types of artists – the "male artist" and the "female virtuoso" – are discursively fixed and demarcated from each other.[7] Both categories of reflection first appear as social attributions detached from biological

3 DeNora, "Music into action," 19–20.

4 Christine Hoppe, and Sara Avischag Müller, eds., *Music in the Body – The Body in Music. Der Körper an der Schnittstelle von musikalischer Praxis und Diskurs* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2021).

5 In doing so, I am aware that I am taking the focus away from other influences that may have affected the differences between the two versions, which after all are separated by twenty years. While I do not completely exclude the historical dimension of the development of violin playing, my analytical focus lies elsewhere. My analytical approach builds on my study of the inscription of individual bodies in the compositions of instrumental virtuosos, see e.g. Christine Hoppe, "Ernst's Concepts of Virtuosity," in *Exploring Virtuosities*, ed. Christine Hoppe, Melanie von Goldbeck, and Maiko Kawabata (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 33–51.

6 Silvia Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1979), 56. For theoretical-methodological considerations on the transformation of images of femininity, see also Katharina Deserno, *Cellistinnen. Transformationen von Weiblichkeitsbildern in der Instrumentalkunst* (Köln: Böhlau, 2018): 32–49.

7 Cornelia Bartsch and Beatrix Borchard have dealt with the question of women as virtuosos (Bartsch) and the virtuoso as a 'female' type of artist (Borchard). See Cornelia Bartsch, "Virtuosität und Travestie. Frauen als Virtuosinnen," in *Musikalische Virtuosität*, ed. Heinz von Loesch, Ulrich Mahlert, and Peter Rummenhöller (Mainz et al: Schott, 2004), 77–90, and Beatrix Borchard, "Der Virtuose – ein 'weiblicher' Künstlertypus?" in *Musikalische Virtuosität*, ed. Heinz von Loesch, Ulrich Mahlert, and Peter Rummenhöller (Mainz et al: Schott, 2004), 63–76.

sex, yet they are clearly located on either the positive (male artist) or negative (female virtuoso type) side of the binary. The establishment of 'male' and 'female' as fundamentally opposed modes of performance in turn reflects "the social gender conception of bourgeois society."[8]

This categorization, of course, also affected male musicians on stage. But they were able to gain their place as virtuosos of the female-artist type on stage:

> The gender reinterpretation of 'female' characteristics, linked to the cultivation of the romantic concept of genius, was at the same time a strategy to positively portray male representatives of the 'female' virtuoso type. [...] Characteristics of the 'female' virtuoso type are [...] exaggerated as part of a productive wholeness and thus ultimately again presented as genuinely male. Under the protection of the concept of genius, the creative man, and especially the virtuoso, could live out characteristics that deviated from the male norm without having to fear social ostracism.[9]

In contrast, the physical female body was not allowed to present itself as a female virtuoso body on stage, for it broke with existing notions of the time – especially of female bodily decorum. As Camilla Bork puts it:

> In the nineteenth century, virtuosity as self-staging and masquerade enters into an inextricable conflict with female music-making. In the context of the modern concept of virtue, which obliges women to chastity and truth, the masquerade of the virtuoso inevitably appears indecent.[10]

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8 See e.g. Katharina Deserno, "Cellistinnen und ihre Lehrer im 19. Jahrhundert. Transformation der polarisierten Geschlechtergrenzen in der künstlerischen Ausbildung am Beispiel der Violoncellistinnen aus der belgischen Celloschule von Adrien-François Servais," in *Musikerinnen und ihre Netzwerke im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Annkathrin Babbe, and Volker Timmermann (Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag, 2016), 111: "Als Rezeptionskategorie diente die Unterscheidung von 'weiblicher' und 'männlicher' Spielweise dazu, die Performance von Interpretinnen und Interpreten wie einen Spiegel für die Geschlechterkonzeptionen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft zu verwenden." There is a great deal of research on the construction of gender through the use of language and the interaction of linguistically manifested attributions and gender identity.

9 Cordelia Miller, "Der Orgelvirtuose – ein 'männlicher' Künstlertypus?" in *Die Musikforschung* 67/4 (2014), 345: "Die geschlechtliche Umdeutung 'weiblicher' Eigenschaften, verknüpft mit der Kultivierung des romantischen Geniebegriffs, war zugleich eine Strategie, um männliche Vertreter des 'weiblichen' Virtuosentypus positiv darzustellen. [...] Eigenschaften des 'weiblichen' Virtuosentypus werden [...] als Teil produktiver Ganzheit überhöht und damit letztlich doch wieder als genuin männlich ausgegeben. Unter dem Schutz des Geniebegriffs konnte der kreative Mann und insbesondere der Virtuose Eigenschaften ausleben, die von der männlichen Norm abwichen, ohne gesellschaftliche Ächtung fürchten zu müssen."

10 Camilla Bork, "Virtuosität," in *Lexikon Musik und Gender*, ed. Annette Kreutziger-Herr, and Melanie Unseld (Kassel: Bärenreiter 2010), 511: "Virtuosität als Selbstinszenierung und Maskerade tritt im 19. Jahrhundert in eine unauflösbare Spannung zum weiblichen Musizieren. Im Kontext des neuzeitlichen Tugendbegriffes, der die Frau zur Keuschheit und Wahrheit verpflichtet, erscheint die Maskerade der Virtuosin zwangsläufig als anrüchig."

A performance that was perceived as too physical was regarded either as crossing a boundary or as part of a masquerade, often associated with the image of the Amazon. Likewise, it was considered inappropriate for a woman to practice masculine, intellectual, powerful ways of playing. In order to be accepted, the form of bodily presentation on stage had to be considered appropriate to the images of femininity, which meant that attention had to be diverted away from the movements of the physical female body in performance. Above all, cantabile, low-movement, low-virtuosity playing was accordingly considered appropriate for women.

It becomes clear that the bodies of the male and female instrumentalists bring theoretical discourses to the stage, which appears as a place that reveals the effects of gender-based body norms in musical action. I argue that the socially constructed body can be localized as 'embodied sound' not only in the reception, but also in the structuring and organization of the sounding event. In this way, the body – gendered and nationally, socially, and culturally located and equipped with individual technical dispositions – effects the sounding event coded in the music notation. For my analysis, I use the (historical) instrumentalist's body as a key concept by taking it as the interface of musical interpretation, reception and composition, and as a site where performers can individually relate to ongoing discourses.

The myth of the virgin, or a chance to make the female body visible

The dichotomous thought and language structures of these musical discourses have identity-constructive effects on the musicians' performances, because they not only *des*cribe, but they also *pre*scribe or *in*scribe themselves. They affect the selection of the repertoire, the performer's self-presentation, and their handling and presentation of the specific instrument on stage.[11] The dilemma faced by female instrumentalists is obvious:

> Teresa [Milanollo]'s technique is still in the process of formation and is surpassed by many, certainly by Vieuxtemps. Is she diverse in the choice of her concert pieces? In all her concerts, she moves within a narrow repertoire and, moreover, in compositions that are not considered classical music. Did she give

11 Freia Hoffmann and Volker Timmermann have done basic research on this subject. See Freia Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper. Die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1991); Freia Hoffmann, and Volker Timmermann, *Quellentexte zur Geschichte der Instrumentalistin im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2013), and Volker Timmermann, *"...wie ein Mann mit dem Kochlöffel". Geigerinnen um 1800* (Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag, 2017).

> us any samples of a talent for composition? None yet. And yet this enthusiasm for her? this sympathy? The depth of heart, the obliviousness to the world, the elegiac in her playing is certainly what draws us in – but it is not only this! Let's just admit it – the strange new appearance had captured our imaginations.[12]

Everything is described as deficient: Milanollo's performance is not technically demanding enough, her repertoire is not varied enough, and she is not active as a composer, but with these 'defects' Milanollo only fulfills implicit restrictions and acts within the framework of action assigned to her. At the same time, all these negative markings lead to a different focus that transcends the marked boundaries, as it irritates but also stimulates: the perception of the "foreign appearance" ("seltsame Erscheinung") as a visible female body on stage. The instrumentalist's female body appears as a place where these norms become visible and audible as stylizations, according to Judith Butler:

> Gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self. [...] As an intentionally organized materiality, the body is always an embodying of possibilities both conditioned and circumscribed by historical convention. In other words, the body is a historical situation, [...] and is a manner of doing, dramatizing, and reproducing a historical situation.[13]

The 'disciplining' of the socially constructed body becomes visible at this point in the individual physicality of Teresa Milanollo. By using the image of the virgin on stage, the most likely male reviewer was able to effectively deal with the blurred gender boundaries that arose as a result of women taking the stage. One way of neutralizing this public music-making by women was to locate it in the prevailing discourses. Therefore, the 'imagined virgin on the stage' could be used as a strategy to proactively assign the physical female body a place in the existing public discourses and retake control of women's sexuality and

12 *Sonntags-Blätter* 2 (May 1843): 21, letter to the editor by A[ugust] S[chmidt]: "Die Technik Teresa [Milanollo]'s ist noch im Bildungsgange begriffen und wird von Manchem, von Vieuxtemps gewiß alpenhoch überragt. Ist sie mannigfaltig in der Wahl ihrer Konzertstücke? Sie bewegt sich in allen ihren Konzerten in einem engen Repertoire und überdies solcher Kompositionen, die eben nicht zur klassischen Musik gereiht werden. Gab sie uns Proben eines Komposizionstalentes? Noch keine. Und doch diese Begeisterung für sie? diese Theilnahme? Die Gemüthstiefe, das Weltvergessene, das Elegische in ihrem Spiele gewiß ist es, was uns hinreißt – aber dies ist es nicht allein! Gestehen wir es nur zu – die neue, seltsame Erscheinung hatte unsere Fantasie gefangen genommen."

13 Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution. An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 519–31, at 519.

self-determination.[14] By adapting the image to the male gaze,[15] the socially accepted purity comes to the fore, and virtually cleans up the dirty fact that the independent woman is on stage as a sexualized object. At the same time, a religious level of meaning is opened up when recourse is made to the narrative of the Virgin: The purity of the abstract image of the Virgin refers to her concrete representative, the Virgin Mary. At the same time, the use of the image transforms the concrete female body into an abstract-metaphorical, well-known and acceptable image of the female that, in contrast to the female musician's body, can be looked upon as innocent by the audience. This strategy to legitimize women's public music making also marked and confirmed the 'boundaries of femininity' that these music making female bodies on stage acceded to, putting the musician and her body back into the 'right' place again to fit into both contemporary gender hierarchies and images of femininity.

Let's return to the article quoted at the very outset and see with which words Teresa Milanollo's performance was described in 1843:

> That Teresa's playing, in its inwardness, is the purest expression of a childlike, feminine mind transfigured by a vision of heaven is obvious to every poetic-musical institution; [...]. As I said, Teresa Milanollo is a singularly glorious figure in the history of art [...] and when the ecstatic, adoring criticism of our time calls Teresa 'the Maid of Orleans' of the violin, we have nothing against such comparisons, but we ask you not to forget that there were Scipios, Alexander and Napoleon, who played the violin, and still do. The enthusiastic maiden is the

14 On the theory and history of virginity, see Anke Bernau, *Virgins: A Cultural History* (London: Granta Books, 2007).

15 The term 'male gaze' was introduced in film-theory by Laura Mulvey in 1975. It "assumes a standard point of view that is masculine and heterosexual," see Carolyn Korsmeyer, and Peg Brand Weiser, "Feminist Aesthetics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2021 Edition), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2021/entries/feminism-aesthetics/, accessed 12 April 2023. The male gaze ordered the world and culture described here in the nineteenth century. It is not tied to biological sex, but women also used and exploited this view – on stage and as spectators – through their socialization: "But of course women are also subjects who exercise taste. This implies that women are unstably both aesthetic subject and object at the same time. As a rule, the connoisseur, the so-called man of taste, was indeed male, and female bodies – in reality or represented in art – figured among the objects of aesthetic pleasure. However, women were also participants in the development of aesthetic ideals", Korsmeyer and Weiser, "Feminist Aesthetics." Silvia Bovenschen's concept of "imagined femininity" (1979) reveals the contrast that exists between the "imposing wealth of images that comes to us in literature as far as female figures are concerned, and the fact that there are very few women only who have been able to distinguish themselves as writers". The images of femininity sketched in literature thus appear predominantly as male fantasies, to which women, as soon as they want to participate culturally, must relate: "Their cultural fate," as she put it in *The Imagined Femininity*, "is depicted in the story of the race between the hedgehog and the rabbit. The hedgehog – the given design – is always already there." Bovenschen, *Imaginierte Weiblichkeit*, 264.

> more enchanting appearance, but whether it is also the greater one is left to our worthy readers to decide for themselves.[16]

The sounding virgin, incarnate on stage?

In his analysis of *The Maiden's Prayer* (1856) by Tekla Badarcewska, Peter Wicke describes the reason for using the narrative of the maiden in the context of this prominent musical example as follows:

> It was not the immaculate conception that the topos 'virgin', so often quoted in the nineteenth century, evoked, but the complete opposite: suppressed desire. It doesn't take much to see the lascivious desire of the male gaze behind the presentation of virginity with the subtly emphasized bodily contours of youthful femininity in demure, chaste gestures of humility, as was customary in the nineteenth century on postcards for private collectors, in magazines and weeklies.[17]

This is also reflected in the cover designs of numerous editions of this composition (see Illustration 1).

Actively taking up the image that was legitimized by the male gaze on stage can protect the (female) musician on stage as well as create a safe space to transform or even extend existing boundaries. It was – consciously or unconsciously – used as an opportunity to find new possibilities of performing music on stage and, through this, to extend women's agency on stage. By composing certain bodily images, gestures and playing movements into the musical

16 Wend, "Correspondenz," 407: "Daß Teresens Spiel seiner Innerlichkeit nach der reinste Ausdruck eines von Himmelsahnung verklärten kindlich-weiblichen Gemüthes sey, liegt vor jeder poetisch musikalischen Institution offen; [...] Wie gesagt, Terese Milanollo ist eine einsam herrliche Erscheinung in der Kunstgeschichte, und es kann ohne die geringste Übertreibung gesagt werden, alle Völker, welche sie auf ihrer Kunstfahrt besucht, werden das wundersame Kind liebkosen und vergöttern, das ist, denke ich, genug gesagt, und wenn die verzückte anhimmelnde Kritik unserer Zeit Terese 'die Jungfrau von Orleans' der Violine nennt, so haben wir nichts gegen solche Vergleiche, bitten aber nicht zu vergessen, daß es Scipionen, Alexander und Napoleone auf der Violine gegeben hat und noch gibt. Die begeisterte Jungfrau ist die hinreißendere Erscheinung, ob aber auch die größere, bleibt unsern werthen Lesern selbst zur Entscheidung überlassen."

17 Peter Wicke, "'Move Your Body'. Über die Zusammenhänge von Klang und Körper," in *Das Populäre in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts. Wesenszüge und Erscheinungsformen*, ed. Claudia Bullerjahn, and Hans-Joachim Erwe (Hildesheim: Olms 2001), 61–81, at 72: "Nicht unbefleckte Empfängnis nämlich war es, die der im 19. Jahrhundert viel zitierte Topos 'Jungfrau' heraufbeschwor, sondern das ganze Gegenteil: unterdrückte Begierde. Es braucht nicht viel, um hinter der Präsentation von Jungfräulichkeit mit den dezent betonten Körperkonturen jugendlicher Weiblichkeit in sittsam-keuscher Demutsgeste, wie sie im 19. Jahrhundert auf Postkarten für private Sammler, in Magazinen und Wochenblättern üblich wurde, die lüsterne Begierde des männlichen Blicks zu entdecken."

template, instrumentalists could relate musically to the discourses described above.



Illustration 1: Tekla Badarcewska, *La Priere d'une Vierge. The Maiden's Prayer*. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co [n.d.].

The eighteen-year-old Tekla Badarcewska herself probably did not recognize this potential when she composed not only sounding music, but visible motion in her piano piece *The Maiden's Prayer*.[18] But taking the composition as a staging of an encoded body, as Peter Wicke demonstrates, it can be interpreted as a provocation of gender-specific body images – which can certainly be seen as

18 Unfortunately, not much is known about the career and education of Tekla Badarcewska. She did not perform publicly in concert, but certainly played the piano in a semi-public setting. It was in this context that she composed her piano pieces which, in contrast to the compositions of other technically and compositionally more accomplished concert pianists, were rather characteristic of salon music. She composed about forty pieces for piano, of which *The Maiden's Prayer* is the most famous.

a reason for the piece's negative reception by contemporaries.[19] Through the role of the pianist on stage, the imagined body of Virgin Mary – fixed by the title of the piece – Badarcewska creates a space where the pianist's body can be looked at safely: "It is a symbiosis of sound and body, literally 'embodied sound', which symbolically reflects the most secret desires of the male gaze as in an imaginary game."[20] By creatively using the space for action that is socially granted to her, she expands it in the sense of Matthew Head's idea of the "Sovereign Feminine", and thus individually relates to ongoing discourses.[21]

Transcriptions as a means to fix individual interpretations and an idealized personal style

As a musical source that can be used to examine the impact that the described discourses may have had on the historical sounding event, I will take a look at song compositions that virtuosos transcribed for themselves and their instruments. In addition to the musical practice of bringing popular melodies from current operas to the stage in the form of rather free paraphrases which gave virtuosos the opportunity to incorporate and present even the most difficult virtuoso techniques, it was also common practice to play individual interpretations of current popular song compositions in the concerts as a way of giving space to the presentation of cantabile, lyrical playing. These transcriptions were considered an optimal vehicle to transport the cantabile style and the 'beautiful tone' into the instrumental realm and were more strictly oriented to the original than the opera-paraphrases. In most cases, the instrument for which the original song was transcribed takes over only the melodic line and is accompanied by the piano, as in the original. The challenge to the instrument is to replace the ideal of the human voice without the medium of text.

In the published versions of these transcriptions, instrumentalists recorded their individual interpretations of popular foreign works and provided information about individual playing styles and dispositions. Since they often reverted to the same famous melodies, they can also be used for a comparative

19 One reads in the entry in the *Conversations-Lexicon* from the year 1870: "Ein frühzeitiger Tod im J. 1862 zu Warschau verhinderte sie, die Welt mit weiteren demoralisierenden Producten einer Aftermuse zu überschwemmen" (An early death in Warsaw in 1862 prevented her from flooding the world with further demoralising products of an aftermuse). Hermann Mendel, ed., *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon. Eine Encyklopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften. Für gebildete aller Stände*. First Volume (Berlin: L. Heimann, 1870), 409.

20 Wicke, "'Move Your Body'," 73.

21 Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). I thank Melanie Unseld for pointing out the link to Head's ideas.

study to work out differences in the handling and use of (virtuoso) techniques at a point where one would otherwise have to turn to sources such as reviews, pedagogical books and, later, sound recordings. Transcriptions can thus be used to supplement written language evidence.[22]

In contrast to opera paraphrases, transcriptions of popular songs were often less technically demanding. Accordingly, it was attractive for publishers to publish them, even though they presumably often originated from spontaneous improvisation in concert.[23] This musical practice, which made songs accessible to a broader music-making public and at the same time made music reproducible in a variety of contexts, also helped Schubert's songs to become much more widely known and popular.

For the virtuosos themselves, the publications could be connected with different goals which were not only pecuniary: they could, for example, protect their individual versions of foreign originals from misuse by other virtuosos. Personal playing styles and sound ideas are used to set one's own version apart from that of other colleagues, and individual transcriptions could function as a representation or an image of an individual body. In this way, virtuosity is established in relation to the living physical body of the musician, the composer or the composition.[24]

On the other hand, a publication gave them the opportunity to record their playing style in notation and not only to disclose it to students and admirers for emulation, but also to pass it on to future generations. The published transcription is therefore not the realization of a unique sound event on stage at a single, specific performance, but rather an idealized and optimized version of an individual style, or of what the performer wanted to be represented as his or her style.

22 The Institute for Interpretation Research at Bern University of the Arts under the direction of Kai Köpp, for example, is dedicated to the method of historical embodiment. Sound films, annotated performance material and interfaces are used to reconstruct and recreate the interpretation practice of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See e.g. Kai Köpp, "Musikalisches Körperwissen: Embodiment als Methode der (historischen) Interpretationsforschung," *Dissonance: Schweizer Musikzeitschrift für Forschung und Kreation* 135 (2016): 14–18.

23 More details about the improvisational practice of virtuosos in the nineteenth century can be found in Dana Gooley, "Violin Improvisation in the Early Nineteenth Century: Between Practice and Illusion," in *Exploring Virtuosities. Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Nineteenth-Century Musical Practices and Beyond*, edited by Christine Hoppe, Maiko Kawabata, and Melanie von Goldbeck, (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 117–129.

24 See: Hoppe, "Ernst's Concepts," 46.

Franz Schubert's *Ave Maria* – the original

Schubert's art song *Ave Maria – Ellen's Gesang III (Hymne an die Jungfrau)* D 839 is probably one of the most popular works to be transcribed (not only for the violin) in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is considered a prime example of how to play the violin in a cantabile, lyrical way, to make the instrument 'sing' with a human-like voice. It offers a good opportunity for the virtuoso on stage to excel with an inspired performance and was very popular with instrumental virtuosos. Numerous virtuosos played their own versions on various instruments in their concerts, with *Ave Maria* often serving as an encore. For female instrumentalists, the use of *Ave Maria* served primarily to confirm the given scope of action since cantabile, motionless playing was expected anyway. For the male virtuoso, it could be used as a strategy to add another facet to body-based, technique-heavy playing, and offered a good opportunity to show his best side with a soulful performance.[25]



Illustration 2: Domenichino, *Saint Cecilia Playing the Viol,* 1616–17. Oil on canvas, Musée de Louvre.

25 It is not known why exactly the versions of Wilhelmj and Milanollo were published. Also, the versions were not published in connection with their first performances, but much later. Wilhelmj's version was published only shortly after his death. Either he deliberately did not want to publish it, or after his death its publication was intended to give a wider circle of buyers the opportunity to learn to play and interpret like Wilhelmj.

But in the context of these elaborations, this example is appropriate for another reason: the subtitle of the song, "Hymn to the Virgin", encourages the perception of the instrumentalist as a virgin on stage. We find the following associations in a review of a performance of the cellist Lise Cristiani (1827–1853) in 1847:

> One cannot, of course, refrain from admiring her external skill, for like the falcon from the sky, her winged hand shoots from the uppermost notes to the usual fingerings and back [...]. Edgard's Dying Song and Schubert's *Ave Maria* wafted the sighs of death and the religious feelings of the listener, which fade away in sweet melancholy, echoing in the bosom [...]. I remember a beautiful painting by Dominichino, where the cello appears as a religious instrument. The Holy Cecilia plays it with an exalted look and an angel stands in front of her [...]. The picture could now be presented musically and vividly.[26]

In the review, the reception of the cellist as a virgin on stage, here in the person of Saint Cecilia, is guided and controlled by the sounding *Ave Maria*: Cristiani and St. Cecilia appear in synthesis. It is striking that in the painting St. Cecilia does not compromise the viewer with a disreputable posture of the legs, which is necessary when playing the cello. This additionally defuses the physical presence of the instrumentalist. At the same time, the perception of external abilities, such as virtuosity, is only made possible and authorized through the painting insofar as the performance is linked to the narrative of the virgin: what once was frozen in the picture (St. Cecilia), can now appear on stage as sound and motion ("The picture could now be presented musically and vividly").

This suggests that the female instrumentalist, limited by existing gender norms, may have actively opened a space for musical (gender) difference: she may have intentionally staged her performance to make her own physical body as invisible as possible so that she could at the same time make her playing

26 Ferdinand Raabe, *Königlich Preußischer Staats- Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeitung* (1 Feburary 1847): "Dabei kann man freilich nicht unterlassen, auch ihre äußere Fertigkeit zu bewundern, denn wie der Falke aus der Höhe, so schießt ihre geflügelte Hand von den obersten Tongriffen zur Applikatur und zurück [...]. Edgards Sterbelied und Schuberts *Ave Maria* wehten Todesseufzer und religiöse Gefühle des Zuhörers entgegen, die in süßer Wehmuth wiederhallend im Busen verklingen [...]. Ich erinnere mich eines schönen Gemäldes von Dominichino, wo das Cello als religiöses Instrument vorkommt. Die heil. Cäcilie spielt es mit hocherhabnem Blick und ein Engel steht vor ihr [...]. Das Bild könnte jetzt musikalisch-plastisch vorgestellt werden." Quoted from Freia Hoffmann. *Instrument und Körper* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag 1991): 411–412, at 412.

visible to the audience and reviewers by becoming the resonating symbol of the virgin.

Perception is not only controlled by the visual template of St. Cecilia, but also by the underlying original text, a translation of Walter Scott's poem *The Lady of the Lake* (1810). In this poem, the protagonist Ellen reveals herself as a virgin ("Listen to a maiden's prayer") and thus creates closeness to the Virgin Mary whom she addresses with the words "Ave Maria! Maiden mild". This provides space for personal identification, expressed with the words "Then, Maiden! Hear a maiden's prayer". At the same time, she localizes herself in the role of the child ("Mother, hear a suppliant child"). Her role remains unclear, but in any case, she stages herself as pure, innocent, and unsophisticated. Since Ellen, while praying, is observed by a man who adores and desires her and thus seen through the male gaze, the range of interpretation between innocence and desire, between a religious message and the triggering of sensual desire is already laid out in the original.[27] As Maria Behrendt puts it, "Ellen oscillates between heavenly consolation, subtle desire, girlish vulnerability and the intuition of the eternally feminine."[28]

The transcriptions of *Ave Maria* by Milanollo and Wilhelmj

Let's have a look at the two versions of the *Ave Maria* by Teresa Milanollo and August Wilhelmj: (how) do virtuosos stage the image of their body in and through their transcriptions? To what extent are gender-specific identities of the time negotiated, (re-)constructed and presented on stage in the performance documented in this transcription? To what extent do they negotiate the idea of the virgin in the text of the underlying poem?

Born in Piemont, Teresa Milanollo was raised as a 'stage-creature'[29] from an early age and appeared as a child prodigy on the European stages. When her sister Maria (1832–1848) was old enough, they became the first violin-playing

27 The words that introduce the *Ave Maria* come from Ellen's admirer Roderick, who speaks at the end of verse XXVIII: "What melting voice attends the string? / Tis Ellen, or an angel, sings," *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott.* Complete in one Volume. With all his Introduction and Notes (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co, 1857), 178.

28 Maria Behrendt, "Von Franz S. bis Beyoncé: Schuberts 'Ave Maria', das Ewig- und das Heutig-Weibliche," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 71, no. 6 (2016): 53–59, at 58. In her elaborations, Behrendt analyses the disparate roles that the protagonist Ellen assumes in the different versions of Schubert's piece, depending on what the composer or performer focuses on and to what extent he or she uses the piece for self-staging. Behrendt also addresses the significance of the Latin text underlying Schubert's composition.

29 I seize this term suggested by Natasha Loges during the conference *Women's Agency in Schubert's Vienna* to describe the conscious training for presentation and performance on stage, the conscious construction of a stage persona.

(female) sibling duo in the history of music. Teresa received lessons from a wide variety of teachers whom she met on her travels, including Charles de Bériot (1802–1870) and Charles Lafont (1781–1839). As a sister-duo, the Milanollos caused quite a sensation. They achieved success not only with the public, but were also praised almost unanimously by the critics. Both sisters, Teresa and Maria, had complementary roles in their duo and, accordingly, complementary nicknames. While Teresa's nickname was "Mademoiselle Adagio", Maria was called "Mademoiselle Staccato".[30] In the perception of Maria, the childlike was in the foreground, whereas the adolescent Teresa was already perceived as a woman and serious female violinist, "in whom one sees an almost blossomed virgin, in whom at least the virginal gains the upper hand over the childlike",[31] who could no longer be judged solely on the basis of being a child prodigy.

After their career as a violin duo ended abruptly with the death of her younger sister Maria in 1848, Teresa continued her career as a soloist (see Illustration 3). From then on, the focus was even more on her technical playing skills, and she began to expand her repertoire with virtuoso compositions of the time. Her concert tours were always well attended and successful. In 1857 she married the French general Théodore Parmentier and – like most women of the time – retired from public concert life.

In her later concerts, she frequently played her own version of the *Ave Maria*, including her concerts in Vienna in 1853. Her transcription is one of her few published works for violin, published only twenty-five years after the first documented performance of the piece. Most of her compositions use the cantabile style, but there are also two technically demanding compositions based on the principle of variation, which emphasize the physical side of virtuosity, the *Rheinweinlied* and the *Variations sur l'aria di Marlborough*. Milanollo was

30 E. Heron-Allen, and Albert Mell: Art. "Milanollo, (Domenica Maria) Teresa," *New Grove*^{2}, 2001, 670–671, at 671.

31 *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 8 (21 Feburary 1844): 135: "[...] in der man eine schon fast erblühte Jungfrau sieht, bei der wenigstens das Jungfräuliche vor dem Kindlichen die Oberhand gewinnt [...]." Volker Timmermann did detailed research on life, work and repertoire of Teresa Milanollo. Cf. Volker Timmermann, "Die Schwestern Teresa und Maria Milanollo – auf dem Weg zu einer 'weiblichen' Form der Violinvirtuosität?" in *Exploring Virtuosities. Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, nineteenth-century musical practices and beyond*, ed. Christine Hoppe, Melanie von Goldbeck, and Maiko Kawabata (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 337–56; Volker Timmermann, "'So kann aber auch kein Mann spielen!' Der zeitgenössische Blick auf die Schwestern Milanollo in Wien 1843," in *'...mein Wunsch ist, Spuren zu hinterlassen ...' Rezeptions- und Berufsgeschichte von Geigerinnen*, ed. Carolin Stahrenberg, and Susanne Rode-Breymann (Hannover: Wehrhahn-Verlag, 2011), 27–43. For information on her early career as a child prodigy, see Jonas Traudes, *Musizierende "Wunderkinder": Adoration und Observation in der Öffentlichkeit um 1800* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2018). A summary of the concerts and sojourns of the Milanollo Sisters and later of Teresa Milanollo in Vienna can be found in Theophil Antonicek's article in Theophil Antonicek, "Die Schwestern Milanollo in Wien," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 57 (2013): 241–73.

therefore definitely also physically present on stage. Still, cantabile playing is not perceived as complementary to her virtuoso-image, but characterizes her as "Mademoiselle Adagios". One can assume that, for this reason, reviews do not go into detail about her performance of the piece. Cantabile, motionless, emotional playing is expected; the use of the *Ave Maria* thus first serves to confirm her image and – as we saw in the quote about the cellist Cristiani – to also transform it: program notes and reviews show that it always forms a contrast to the surrounding pieces of the concert. As such, it sometimes formed part of the main program and was sometimes played as an encore.[32] In her concert at the Theater an der Wien in June 1853, for instance, *Ave Maria* was placed in the middle of the second section of the program (see Illustration 4).



Illustration 3: *Italian violinist and composer Teresa Milanollo.* Lithograph by Marie-Alexandre Alophe (1812-1883), 1850.

32 "Frl. Milanollo wurde am Schlusse des Concertes dreimal gerufen und gab dann dankend 'das Rheinweinlied' als Agio und nach fernerem dreimaligen Hervorrufen das 'Ave Maria' als Superdividende dem entzückten Publikum zum Besten," (Miss Milanollo was called out three times at the end of the concert and then gratefully gave 'the Rhine Wine Song' as an encore and, after being called out three more times, the 'Ave Maria' as a super dividend to the delighted audience), *Die Presse* 3, no. 109 (10 May 1853), without page number.



K. K. pr. Theater an der Wien.

Heute Sonntag Abends ½9 Uhr:

Concert

des Fräulein Theresa

Milanollo.

1. Abtheilung:

1. Ouverture.
2. „Die langen und die kurzen A und O" von Saphir, gesprochen von Frl. Schwelle.
3. Grande Fantaise par Lafont, vorgetragen von Frl. Th. Milanollo.
4. „Das Blümlein", Lied vom Kapellmeister Proch, gesungen von Frl. Rudini.
5. Fantaisie caprice par Vieuxtemps, vorgetragen von Frl. Th. Milanollo.

2. Abtheilung:

6. Ouverture.
7. Grande Fantaisie par Ernst, vorgetragen von Frl. Th. Milanollo.
8. a) „Das Wiedersehn", b) „Der gute Rath", Lieder, gesungen von Frl. Schiller.
9. Ave Maria par Schubert, vorgetragen von Frl. Th. Milanollo.
10. (Auf Verlangen.) „Der Wunsch: Gute Nacht", in verschiedenen Charakteren gesprochen von Herrn Julius Findeisen.
11. Carneval de Venice par Ernst, vorgetragen v. Frl. Th. Milanollo.

Donnerstag den 9: **Abschieds-Concert.**

Samstag den 11.: Drittes u. Abschieds-Concert in **Preßburg**. — Montag den 13.: Erstes Concert in **Pest**.

Illustration 4: Announcement of a Concert of Teresa Milanollo in the *Theater an der Wien, Fremden-Blatt*, 5 June 1853.

August Wilhelmj (1845–1908)[33] (see Illustration 5), after his education in violin and composition in Wiesbaden and Frankfurt, traveled throughout Europe from 1866. He extended his tours overseas in the late 1870s. In all the countries where he performed – especially in the U.S.A. – he enjoyed great success and, like Milanollo, was celebrated by audiences and the press alike; early on he was treated as the new Paganini. From 1882 he concentrated on his teaching activities, but was only moderately successful here and is no longer one of those people who, beyond their violinistic activities, are also associated with a style-forming violin school – such as Joseph Joachim or Louis Spohr.[34]

Wilhelmj mainly played his transcription of the *Ave Maria* as an encore in his concerts in the 1870s. His style of playing is mostly described with the male attributes typical of the time, stressing his strong masculine tone which becomes even stronger in the higher registers, and which led to him being per-

33 A detailed study on August Wilhelmj, his violin playing, and his compositions has been recently provided in Mareike Beckmann, *August Wilhelmj: Der deutsche Paganini?* (Baden-Baden: Tectum, 2019). In this study, Beckmann evaluates previously unseen sources on Wilhelmj and takes a closer look at his *Ave Maria*.

34 For more detailed information on the life of Wilhelmj, see Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*.

ceived as a German Paganini.[35] On stage, he had an strong physical presence. So, unlike Teresa, he – the male virtuoso – could use cantabile to emphasize another facet of his playing and personality. He could use it as a strategy to enrich the physically demanding, technique-focused playing with a facet that elevated him above the simple virtuoso, the "finger charlatan",[36] to the level of the "consecrated genius":[37] "Mr. Wilhelmj enraptured all listeners with his mighty and soulful playing. His masterful recital is noble and pure, so devoid of any showmanship."[38] So, the question is how or if at all he 'sings' *Ellen's Song*.



Illustration 5: *August Wilhelmj.* Album-print on card by Napoleone Sarony, about 1880. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, ARC.006535.

35 For a detailed investigation of this already contemporary attribution to Wilhelmj, see Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 30–52.
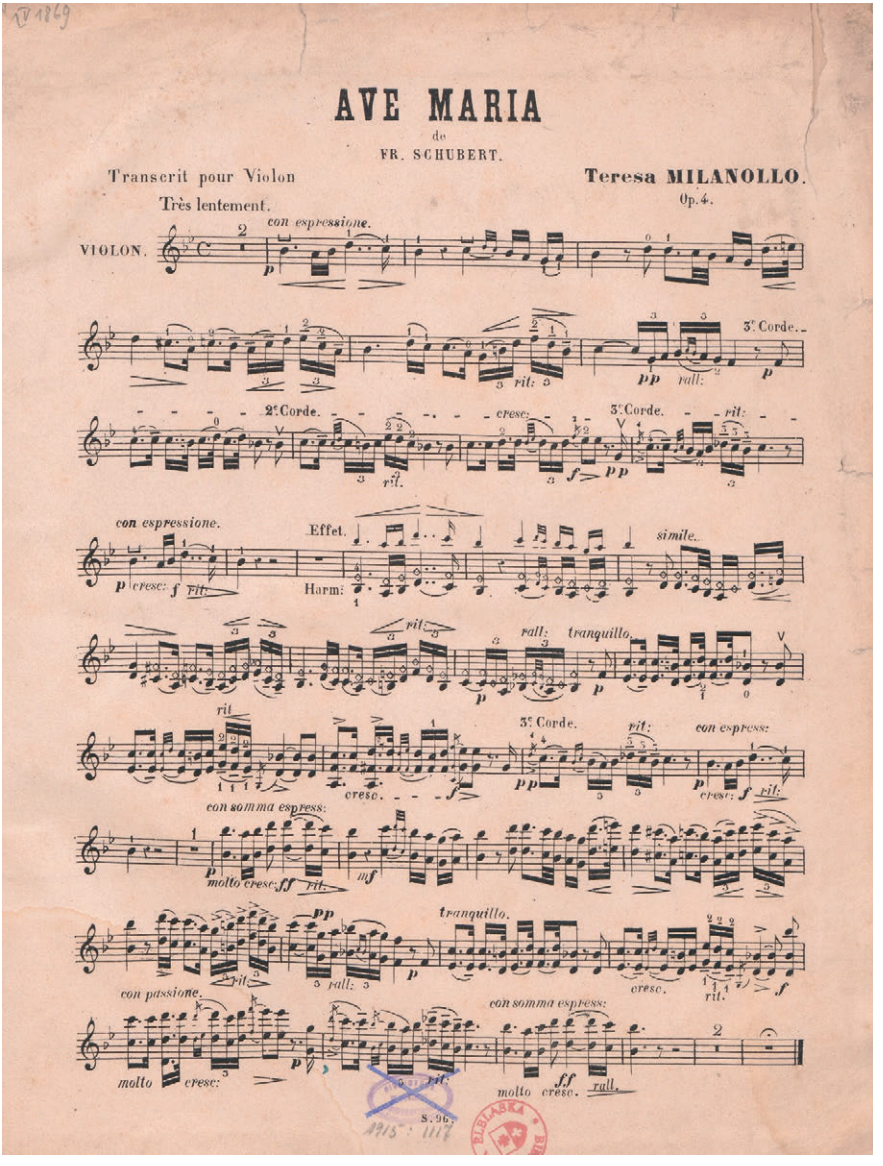
36 Friedrich Wieck, *Clavier und Gesang. Didaktisches und Polemisches* (Reprint of the edition: Leipzig: Whistling, 1853), 108.

37 *Louisville Anzeiger*, 21. December 1878, W.-A. S, 24/4, quoted from Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 68.
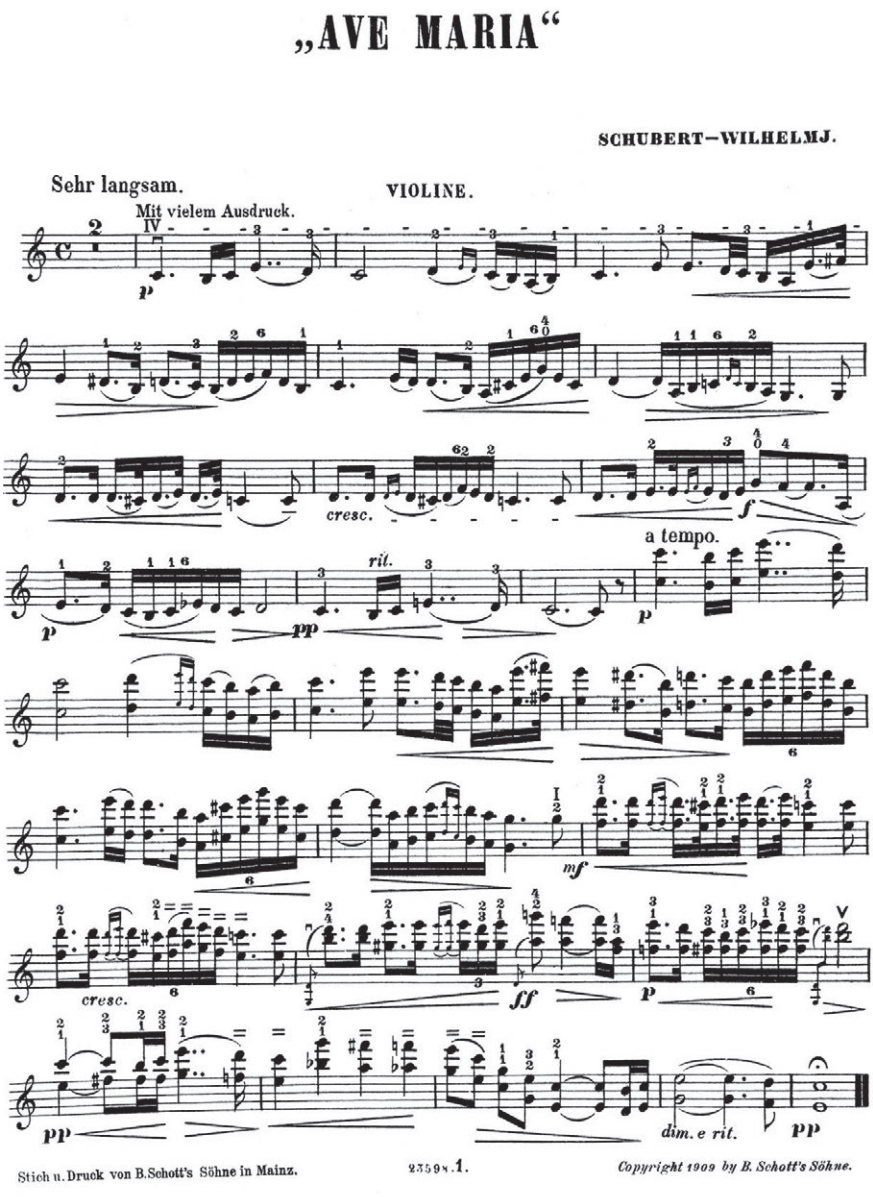
38 Undated review after a concert in St. Petersburg, Wilhelmj-Archiv, 106. Quoted from Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 252: "Herr Wilhelmj riß mit seinem gewaltigen und seelenvollen Spiele alle Zuhörer hin. Sein meisterhafter Vortrag ist edel und rein, so frei von jeglicher Effekthascherei."

Comparing *Ellen's Song* on the violin

Let's have a general look at the settings of the two versions and the first verse:



Example 1: Teresa Milanollo, *Ave Maria. Hymne à la vierge. Chant d'Ellen de la Dame du Lac de Walter Scott.* Mainz: Schott [1880]. Elbląska Bibliotka Cyfrowa, Sgn. Muz. IV 1869.



Example 2: August Wilhelmj, *Ave Maria. Mainz: Schott's Söhne 1909.*
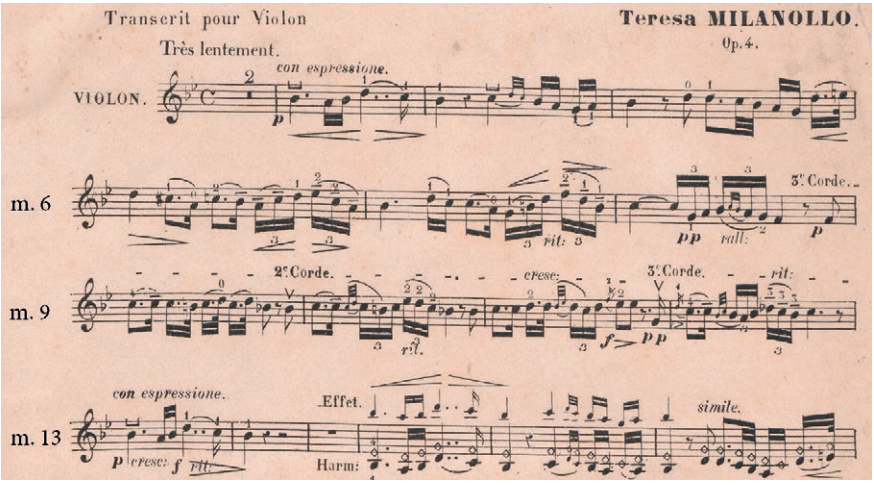
First of all, Milanollo keeps the original key and pitch. She takes over all three verses of the poem which Schubert set to strophic music in his original, and uses the verses as a formal template to employ a wide variety of virtuoso tech-

niques. While the violin varies the melody that is repeated in the verses, the piano accompaniment remains the same throughout the whole piece.
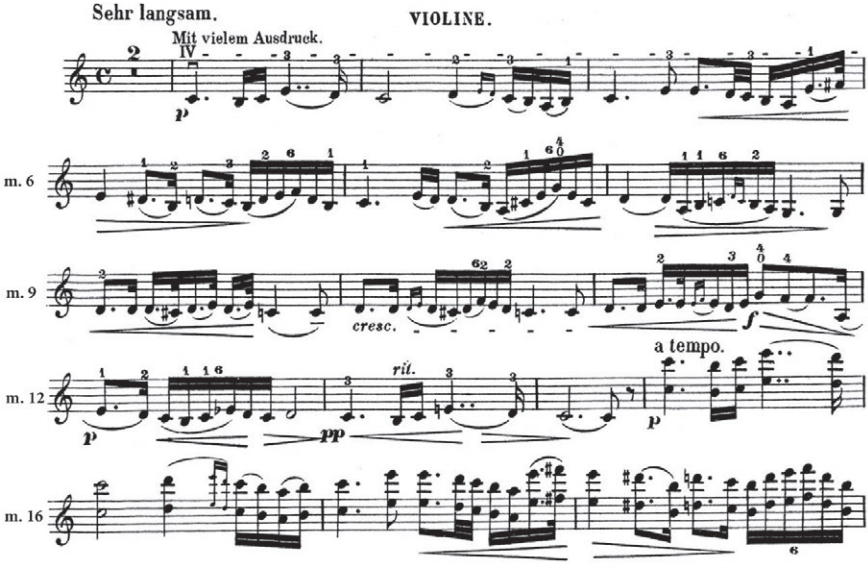
Wilhelmj, on the other hand, composes only two verses and transposes his version to *C* major. In this way, on a technical level, he ensures that another added performance instruction can be implemented in the first place: he starts an octave lower than in the original song and gives the instruction to play the first verse exclusively on the *G*-string (see Example 4, "IV" in m. 3). The playing on the *G*-string is a very effective virtuoso technique, which Paganini also used to great effect and which was accordingly always associated with his way of playing.[39] The exposed use of this technique was a reference of which the other violinists were well aware. Musically, the advice to play on the *G*-string was primarily used for tonal reasons. It is on the one hand used to prevent breaks in tone color produced by too many string changes. At the same time, the numerous changes of register that this technique entails create a resemblance to singing. Since this technique is also associated with a more exposed posture and obvious arm movement, especially for the bow arm, I will return to it later in another context to see how women were able to relate to this technique and its reference to Paganini.

In contrast to Wilhelmj, Milanollo thinks in smaller musical units and thus preserves a greater closeness to the underlying poem. This is her way of creating proximity between the poem, the musical model, and her transcription for violin. Milanollo also uses the possibility of defining timbre by specifying the string on which each passage is to be played ("3^{e} Corde", "2^{e} Corde" in Example 3 and 5, mm. 8, 9/10, 11/12, 25). However, she does not use only one string throughout the whole first verse and does not exploit the technique of composing passages on the *G*-string only. Due to her small-scale conception, the violin switches back and forth between the *A*- and *D*-strings in measures eight to twelve. This fits better with her initial pitch at this point, but at the same time also confirms the more appropriate framework of (non-)movement provided by the two middle strings. Milanollo also puts her focus on a fixed timbre by using sporadic harmonics in alternation with natural tones here (Example 3, mm. 5, 6, 7, 9).

39 Carl Guhr devotes an entire chapter in his book on Paganini's technique to compositions for the G-string, since large parts of his mystical impact on audiences can be attributed to this technique, see Carl Guhr. *Ueber Paganinis Kunst, die Violine zu spielen*. (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne: [1830]): 39–42.



Example 3: Teresa Milanollo, *Ave Maria,* mm. 1–18.



Example 4: August Wilhelmj, *Ave Maria,* mm. 1–15.

Technically, Wilhelmj, by using the the *G*-string, focuses on linking virtuosity and cantabile. By doing so, he simultaneously adapts the pitch of the composition to better suit his own position as an interpreter. The voice which is singing here, if at all human, is at least no longer a woman's voice, and certainly not a virgin's or child's voice. In the context of the piece, the change of key to *C*

major can also be interpreted in terms of the characters attributed to the keys. *C* major as pitch is associated with purity and simplicity. Its innocence can be seen as the starting point and basis of all further development in Wilhemj's setting.[40]

It is clear that, at least in the first few bars, both versions orientate themselves towards the ideal of the singing voice, the imagined sound of language set to music: both virtuosos use pronounced portamento (e.g. Example 3, mm. 3, 7, 8, 10, 12; Example 6, mm. 26, 27, 28).[41] This technique, which was very popular in the nineteenth century, especially in cantabile pieces for the violin, is also used and virtually celebrated by Isolde Menges (1920) and Valentina Busso (2014) in their recordings, which I have used as references that set the codified sound to music here.[42] In addition to the similarity to the singing voice that is achieved by this technique, bodily movements, especially moments of the left arm, are minimized by the use of portamento – a fact that might have been especially helpful to the women on stage who were condemned to immobility. Another way to create proximity to the human voice is shown in the performance instruction "con expression" (Milanollo, Examples 3) and "Mit vielem Ausdruck" (Wilhelmj, Example 4). Both virtuosos give these instructions at the beginning of their arrangement, trusting that in combination with the legato passages a melodic line will be strengthened.

While Wilhelmj tries to come close to the human singing voice, he also further alienates his version from the original song and from the underlying text. On a formal level, we can observe a detachment from the textual basis and from the virgin Ellen's voice: As already mentioned, Wilhelmj does not set all three verses of the original piece to music, but only transcribes two verses. On a technical level, Wilhelmj deletes every single (breathing) pause of the original song that separate phrases from each other, thereby creating an even more explicit emancipation from the human voice, a 'dehumanization'. So, on the one hand,

40 See e.g. Christian Friedrich David Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: Degen, 1806), 377: "C dur, ist ganz rein. Sein Charakter heißt: Unschuld, Einfalt, Naivetät [sic], Kindersprache." Beckmann points out that Joachim accuses Wilhelmj of ignoring the characters of the keys in most his compositions: Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 5.

41 Detailed elaborations on the use of portamento in nineteenth-century violin music can be found e.g. in: Clive Brown, "Understanding the notations: 'Portamento' as an essential feature of Ernst's *Élégie*," in *Exploring Virtuosities*, ed. Christine Hoppe, Melanie von Goldbeck, and Maiko Kawabata (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 93–115.

42 Several historical and modern recordings of the Wilhelmj version of the *Ave Maria* exist. I chose the version by Isolde Menges from 1920, with Eileen Beattie at the piano (HMV, No. 1313) because it implements Wilhelmj's playing instructions quite faithfully and at the same time stands out with a strong tone – a quality that was also attributed to Wilhelmj's playing. The only recording of the version by Teresa Milanollo is by Valentina Busso in 2014, with Eliana Grasso at the piano (Musica Viva). Both recordings are available on Spotify.

the human voice is the ideal to be achieved, while on the other the actual goal seems to be to surpass it, to enhance it, by detaching the endlessness of the melody from earthly needs such as breathing.

In the second verse, Milanollo begins with the use of harmonics, a technique that is capable of presenting virtuosity and simultaneously referring to Paganini's playing style (Example 5, mm. 16–21). The use of harmonics is subject to very different, mainly aesthetic, evaluations, but was considered a tested and effective virtuoso technique in the hands of women.[43] On the one hand it is associated with little visible body work, and at the same time it does not allow for a strong sound and is associated with transparency and transcendence in music. Furthermore, the use of harmonics can be used to support the reception of the female violinist on stage as a transcendent being. It can therefore be interpreted as a good compromise between virtuosity and the image of a pure and natural, weak femininity that supports the narrative of the virgin. However, playing on the *G*-string requires an open posture of the right arm, somewhat detached from the body, which certainly did not quite correspond to the female regulation of a posture as motionless as possible on stage. We can assume, on the basis of illustrations and descriptions in various violin schools, that in the nineteenth century the bow arm was generally held closer to the body than we know it today.[44] String changes were also made via wrist adjustment and a more relaxed wrist. The posture of the right arm becomes more open in the course of the nineteenth century, just as the overall playing movements become larger, as Wilhelmj himself testifies.[45] At this point, however, the temporal gap between the two versions comes into account: it can be assumed that Milanollo's posture was oriented towards the older tradition of bowing. At the same time, the passages Milanollo composed in harmonics on the *G*-string are not about sudden, expansive, extrovert body movements, that would put the movement, not the sound, in the foreground.
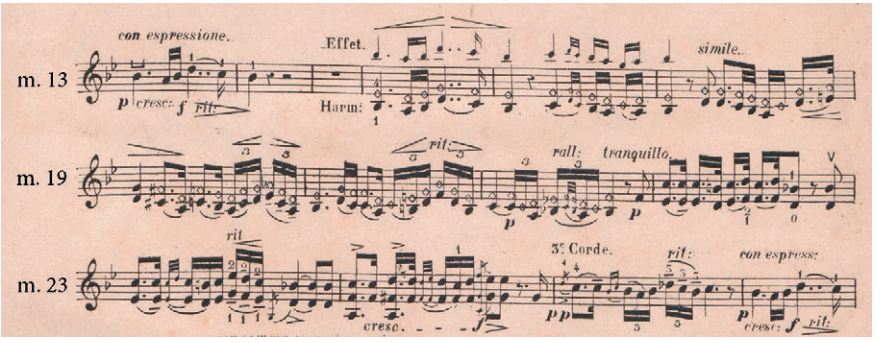
In addition, Milanollo increases volume and intensity by composing the second part of the verse in double stops (Example 5, mm. 22–26). However, she continues to regulate and differentiate dynamics and expression by giving the performance indication *tranquillo*. Towards the end of the verse (mm. 26–27)

43 On the use of harmonics in the Romantic period, see e.g. the corresponding chapter in Christine Hoppe, *Der Schatten Paganinis. Virtuosität in den Kompositionen Heinrich Wilhelm Ernsts* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2014), 179–183.
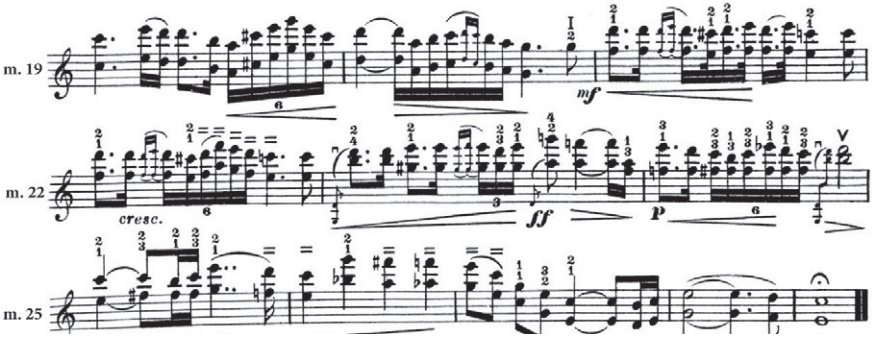
44 In the Violin school he published together with James Brown, Wilhelmj himself gives the advice "Bowing [...] (3) The elbow should remain low, and generally touching the body." August Wilhelmj, and James Brown, *A Modern School for the Violin.* In Six Books (London: Novello, 1898), no pagination: Book Ia: "First Book of Technical Practice." Spohr and David give similar instructions in their Violin Schools.

45 See Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 132–34.

the music again calms down, based on the confirmation-seeking words *Ave Maria!* in Schubert's song.



Example 5: Teresa Milanollo, *Ave Maria,* mm. 13–26.
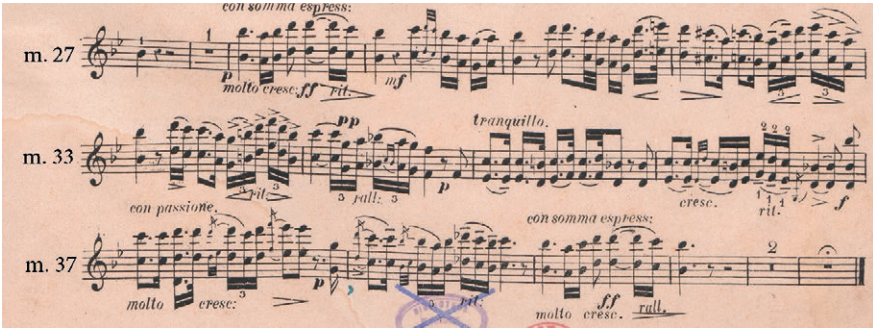


Example 6: August Wilhelmj, *Ave Maria,* mm. 19–29.

Wilhelmj, after essentially de-feminizing and then de-humanizing or super-humanizing Ellen's singing in the first verse, starts his second verse by reaching out for the higher registers (see Example 6): he puts the next phrase in double stops, which, due to the strong, powerful, masculine tone of Wilhelmj's play, does not become thinner in the high notes, but even causes an intensification: "Wonderful is the amplitude and fullness of his tone, reminiscent of the tone of the cello. It was precisely because of this that Schubert's 'Ave Maria' made such a great impression."[46]

46 Unlabeled review of a concert given in Krefeld, 14. April 1888, *Wilhelmj-Archive*, 1890, 113/1, quoted from Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 244: "Wunderbar ist die Größe und Fülle seines Tones, der an das [sic] des Cellos erinnert. Zum großartigen Eindruck gelangte eben hierdurch Schubert's 'Ave Maria'."

In measures twenty-three to twenty-nine, the power in the higher registers becomes audible. With the broken chords, set as grace notes (mm. 23–24), Wilhelmj opens the violin's entire range of action and finally also brings the right arm into a visible swing. The *tempo rubato* also increases and culminates in the climax of the composition in measure twenty-three.

What is striking is that Wilhelmj's published version – unlike Milanollo – does not make use of harmonics, even though the subject of the underlying poem would make it obvious to use this technique. This is even more astonishing, since this technique is said to be one of his specialties and one of the reasons that earned him the title 'German Paganini'.[47] Wilhelmj makes the violin sound until the very last measure. His ending appears as an epilogue, like a repercussion on the violin, in which he returns to the initial sound from the beginning, fading out in *pianissimo*.



Example 7: Teresa Milanollo, *Ave Maria,* mm. 27–43.

In verse three (see Example 7), which is only set to music in Teresa Milanollo's version, Milanollo uses double stops throughout the whole verse. By setting it in double stops, it merges the sound of the first verse with the sound of the second verse, but replaces the spherical nature of the harmonics in the second verse with a further intensification of the now homophonic, yet polyphonic, sound of the violin. The performance instruction *con espressione* given in the first two verses is now intensified to a *con somma espressione*. It is additionally repeated and confirmed in m. 39, after first being regulated down to a *con espressione* (m. 37). These kinds of performance indications still intended to create proximity to the human voice. Milanollo finally takes a short trip to the

47 Considering that the use of harmonics has been considered disreputable and artistically inferior in German violin practice since the time of Spohr, it can be assumed that the editor of the posthumously published edition altered and straightened out the image of Wilhelmj.

G-string in form of grace notes (m. 36 and m. 23 in Example 5).[48] The strong and abrupt arm movement we met in the Wilhelmj version when moving from the *G* to the *E* string is captured and softened in Milanollo's version by an inserted intermediate chord which confines this string change to a more moderate arm movement than at the relevant passage by Wilhelmj and, with this, regulates the visible movements on stage. Milanollo puts the dynamic climax on the last *Ave Maria,* composed as a duet: Ellen and the invoked Mary sing together, united in the end in *fortissimo*. Like Schubert, Milanollo ends her composition with a postlude played by the piano solo.

Summary

Both violinists use the same audience favorite as a starting point for their individual arrangement. They put the transferred song on paper and staged it in their own interpretation. The transcriptions are codifications of their interpretation and contain instructions that I understand as recording their musical ideas. Both versions of the *Ave Maria* thus take up and use narratives and attributions of the time. The transcriptions fixed concrete, historically located options of action, bodies and motions on stage by transforming them into the medium of musical notation. As we have seen, they proceed differently at crucial points within the limits set by a transcription – and therefore give us the chance to reconstruct the impact and interaction of public discourse and music via the musical world.

In his version, Wilhelmj 'de-feminizes' the song of the Virgin Ellen, so to speak, by 'removing' the text (shortening, no pause) and the voice from her by transposing it into a lower octave. In this way the arrangement is reinterpreted as his own prayer: no female singer, "if heaven had also given her the highest gifts," succeeds in singing the *Ave Maria* more gloriously than it bursts out from Wilhelmj's violin,[49] but "[l]ike a pious man's prayer, the powerful sublime melody resounds from beneath his bow"[50] when Wilhelmj sings it on his violin. At the same time, he 'dehumanizes' the song by adapting the cantabile so strongly to the possibilities of the violin that the melody seems breathless

48 The harmonics Milanollo used in the second verse were already played on the *G*-string, but the sound produced corresponds to notes on the *E*-string.

49 Undated and unlabled article, *Wilhelmj-Archive*, 1890, 126/4, quoted from Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 245: "und hätte ihr auch der Himmel die höchsten Gaben verliehen, [...] das Schubert'sche *Ave Maria* herrlicher zu singen, als es der Geige Wilhelmj's entquoll."

50 *Tägliche Illinois Staatszeitung*, 6.1.1879, W.-A., p. 29/1, quoted from Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 245: "Wie das Gebet eines frommen Mannes tönt die kräftige hehre Melodie unter seinem Bogen hervor."

and endless. In the selection of the techniques – calculating with his individual possibilities of playing – he confirms the male attributes of instrumental playing and at the same time can retain the cantabile. In doing so, he used the *Ave Maria* to complete his artistic presentation on stage:

> Everyone can see by looking at him that he is no ordinary mortal, but that the benevolent gods have pressed the consecrating kiss of genius on his forehead.[51]

Milanollo, on the other hand, exploits the possibilities of the high – but not too high – registers, and relies on heavenly transfiguration through tonal imitation of childlike innocence and purity (harmonics). Her version sounds airy, gentle and reserved; music and body become transparent on stage in harmony. On the one hand, she confirms the given framework, but with her choice of the piece she consciously directs perception and uses the image of the Virgin to give her own body a sonic contour, without leaving the protective realm of the imaginary. In this way, Milanollo also succeeds in penetrating the atmosphere of the "consecrated genius" without irritating the tone-setting male gaze too much or even embarrassing it – and with this, she becomes a recognized artist who has extended women's agency on stage:

> Miss. Milanollo is a priestess who urgently speaks the word to the heart of heavenly art. It is the pure music of the daughter of heaven that we listen to with sweet devotion in the lectures of Miss Milanollo.[52]

51 *Louisville Anzeiger*, 21.12.1878, W.-A. S, 24/4, quoted from Beckmann, *Wilhelmj*, 68: "[D]as sieht ihm ein Jeder an, daß er kein gewöhnlicher Sterblicher ist, sondern daß die gütigen Götter ihm den Weihekuß des Genius auf die Stirn gedrückt haben."

52 C. Naumann, "Drittes Concert des Frl. Milanollo," *Presburger Zeitung*, no. 134 (15 June 1853): 533: "Frl. Milanollo ist eine Priesterin, welche der himmlischen Kunst das Wort zum Herzen dringend redet. Die reine Himmelstochter Musik ist es, der wir in den Vorträgen des Frl. Milanollo in süßer Hingebung lauschen."

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Female Gatekeepers

The Contribution of Women to Viennese Art Collections in the Nineteenth Century: Stereotypes, Networks, Collecting Strategies, and Afterlife

Anna Frasca-Rath

The realm of women art collectors in Vienna during Franz Schubert's era remains a largely unexplored domain. In contrast to the situations in France, Great Britain, and the United States, there is a notable absence of comprehensive investigations into the collecting endeavors of Viennese women art collectors throughout the nineteenth century. However, delving into this subject matter presents an opportunity to build upon the methodologies and findings derived from ongoing research into analogous case studies spanning Europe from earlier periods through the nineteenth century, as well as the current inquiries into art collections within the Viennese context.

These inquiries reveal a consistent trend among women collectors, irrespective of their social standing, wherein they exercised autonomy in selecting items for their collections. These women not only determined the manner and location of their exhibits but also made decisions regarding the eventual disposition of their acquisitions, thus embracing a curatorial role. The central concern of this chapter is the question of how best to identify and delineate their respective roles within the context of their collecting endeavors.

The women art collectors of Vienna during Franz Schubert's lifetime are an unresearched field. Unlike for France, Great Britain, and the United States, there have been no comprehensive studies on the collecting activities of women in Vienna in the nineteenth century.[1] However, a study that takes up the topic can draw on the methods and results of current research on simi-

1 Cynthia Lawrence, ed., *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Diane Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture, 1800–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Terri Baker, "Nation and Narration in Victorian Women's Collections," in *Contemporary Collecting: Objects, Practices and the Fate of Things*, ed. Kevin M. Moist and David Banash (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 173–92; Julie Verlaine, *Femmes collectionneuses d'art et mécènes de 1880 à nos jours* (Paris: Hazan, 2014); Arlene Leis and Kacie L. Wills, eds., *Women and the Art and Science of Collecting in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2021).

lar case studies from the early modern period until the nineteenth century in Europe and on current studies on the Viennese art collections.[2] These studies show that women collectors "over time [...], regardless of their social rank, chose what they wanted to collect," and that "they decided how and where to present the collection; they also decided when to part with objects, thus assuming a curatorial role."[3] Thus, the topic treated here is neither new nor an exceptional case, and the question is not whether women collectors existed in Vienna at the time, but rather how to first locate them, and also to characterize them in their collecting activities. This is the reason why this essay goes beyond Schubert's lifetime in chronology and expands the topic to the whole of the long nineteenth century. The sources, as will be discussed below, are few in number, but provide a good initial insight precisely when viewed over a broader period of time.

"Knowing as much of art as any cat" – stories of discrimination

One point made by Tom Stammers explaining the relative absence of women as art collectors or the small group of known female collectors in nineteenth-century publications is that the concept of 'collector' at this time cannot be applied to women in an uncomplicated way.[4] However, if one takes as a point of departure the ideas of femininity at the time, and not the (male) figure of collector, the phenomenon takes on a different dimension. The stereotypes that circulated in the nineteenth century about women and their taste in art are numerous. If we first look to Great Britain, which has recently been the subject of extensive research, the British writer and philosopher John Ruskin (1819–1900), for example, judged the art critic Anna Jameson (1794–1860) to

2 For the research on women collectors see especially the thematic issue in Journal *19* edited by Tom Stammers. Tom Stammers, "Women Collectors and Cultural Philanthropy, c. 1850–1920," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 31 (2020), https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3347. For the history of Viennese art collections see: Sebastian Schütze, ed., *Kunstsammler in Wien. Biografische Profile zwischen Statuskonkurrenz, Kunstmarkt und Kennerschaft* (Berlin and Boston: Deutscher Kunstverlag, forthcoming); as well as the recent volumes of the series Sebastian Schütze, ed., *Sammler, Sammlungen, Sammlungskulturen in Wien und Mitteleuropa. Forschungen aus dem Vienna Center for the History of Collecting* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2021–).

3 Adriana Turpin, "Foreword," in *Women Patrons and Collectors*, ed. by Adriana Turpin, Andrea M. Galdy, and Susan Bracken (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars publishing, 2021), xiii–xv, at xiv, quoted in Stammers, "Women Collectors," 6.

4 Stammers, "Women Collectors," 6.

"know as much about art as any cat."[5] This is remarkable in that Jameson wrote magazine articles, translations, books and reviews for over thirty years. Her role as an art critic has been recognized by recent British scholarship, as has her contribution to early art historiography of the first order.[6]

The case study of Jameson is striking and exemplary for the series of gender stereotypes it manifests with regard to artistic sense, taste, and understanding that can be found in the source material of the nineteenth century. All social groups are affected: aristocratic, bourgeois, industrial or Jewish women collectors. Even women whose collections were already dispersed were not immune to such judgment. For example, Theodor von Frimmel (1853–1928), who did significant pioneering work with his publications on Viennese painting collections, was extremely disparaging about the collection of countess Josephine Forgatsch (died 1865), which had been auctioned off at the Golden Lamb in Vienna in 1858.[7] In his *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen* he states:

> As far as this auction of 1858 is concerned, a critical view is exceedingly difficult. For the catalog proves to be immensely talkative, but it lacks useful picture descriptions. Instead of any comprehensible information – even the dimensions are missing – highly simple-minded discussions are spread out before the reader in an obtrusive manner page by page. There is no lack of great names: Tintoretto, Raphael, Paolo Veronese, Correggio, Rembrandt (six works at once), Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, Giorgione, Murillo and some Bolognese fill almost the entire catalog, which by its entire conduct from the outset inspires little confidence. One is safe in thinking at least thirty-nine of the forty-one paintings advertised are misnamed.[8]

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5 The National Gallery held a symposium on women art critics under this title in 2017. In 2019, the conference proceedings appeared in Journal *19*, see: Maria Alambritis, Susanna Avery-Quash, and Hilary Fraser, "Introduction," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019), https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.857.

6 Susanna Avery-Quash, "Illuminating the Old Masters and Enlightening the British Public," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): 2 and 17, https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.832.

7 Theodor von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig and Munich: Verlag von Georg Heinrich Meyer, 1899–1914), vol I.2, 403–4.

8 "Was diese Versteigerung von 1858 betrifft, so fällt eine kritische Betrachtung überaus schwer. Denn der Katalog erweist sich zwar als ungemein redselig, doch lässt er brauchbare Bildbeschreibungen vermissen. Statt irgendwelcher fasslicher Angaben – sogar die Abmessungen fehlen – werden in aufdringlicher Weise höchst einfältige Erörterungen seitenweise vor dem Leser ausgebreitet. An großen Namen fehle es nicht: Tintoretto, Raffael, Paolo Veronese, Correggio, Rembrandt (sogleich sechs Werke auf einmal), Leonardo da Vinci, Tizian, Giorgione, Murillo und einige Bolognesen füllen fast den ganzen Katalog, der durch sein ganzes Gebahren von vornherein wenig Vertrauen erweckt. Man geht sicher, wenn man von den einundvierzig angepriesenen Bildern mindestens neununddreissig für falsch benannt hält." Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen,* I.2, 403. Translation by the author.

This assessment of the description of the collection, which was not known to him because it had already been dispersed during his lifetime, is partially understandable insofar as the auction catalogs of the nineteenth century often peddle big names that do not always prove to be correct. Nevertheless, it is striking that he also questioned women's sense and judgment of art with regard to another collector, Julie von Benedek (1811–95) (see Illustration 6). Benedek assembled a large collection of early modern and nineteenth-century European painting and was later supported by Frimmel himself as an agent in purchases:

> With strong passion she [Julie von Benedek] sought to acquire such [paintings], which bore great names. In the process, the lady, who was somewhat gullible with regard to the names of paintings and who was always dazzled by the scenes depicted, was deceived for years by a worthless agent. The baroness thought that every picture, as it stood there, must necessarily have been created by one of the few hundred painters listed in the small artists' encyclopedias. So there could be no lack of bad mistakes and unpleasant disappointments.[9]

Frimmel's and Ruskin's judgments are part of a long tradition; a century earlier, contemporaries accused Napoleon's sister Caroline Murat (1782, Ajaccio –1839, Florence), queen of Naples, art collector and patron, of being uneducated and superficial, in clear contrast to her commitment to the education of women and girls.[10] The perpetuation of these gender stereotypes can be observed throughout the nineteenth century in all areas of society and especially in various fields of the arts, and is closely related to the emancipatory aspirations of the time.[11]

Another dimension of absence is, according to Stammer's study, caused by legal discrimination against women. Under the legal concept known as 'couverture' in English common law, introduced in the Middle Ages and valid until the last decades of the nineteenth century, a married woman's legal identity

9 "Mit starker Leidenschaft suchte sie [Julie von Benedek] solche [Gemälde] zu erwerben, die große Namen trugen. Dabei wurde die in bezug auf Bildernamen etwas leichtgläubige Dame, die sich stets durch die dargestellten Szenen blenden ließ, jahrelang von einem nichtswürdigen Agenten hintergangen. Die Baronin meinte, jedes Bild, wie es da stehe, müsse unbedingt von einem der wenigen hundert Maler geschaffen sein, die in den kleinen Künstlerlexika aufgezählt werden. So konnte es denn nicht an argen Mißgriffen und unangenehmen Enttäuschungen fehlen." Theodor von Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 7 vols., (Vienna: Verlag Gerold & Co: 1907), vol. III, 12.

10 Ornella Scognamiglio, "Caroline Murat und deren Gemälde. Privatsphäre einer Königin," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 60 (2018): 433–61, at 433–36.

11 On this topic also Anna Frasca-Rath, "Butter. Fat Lions and Dairy Girls," in *The Gender of Things. How Epistemic and Technological Objects Become Gendered*, ed. Maria Rentetzi (London: Routledge, 2023), 38–51.

was merged with that of her husband, thereby depriving her of an independent legal existence. Married women were in consequence not legally allowed to own property or enter into contracts independently of their husbands.[12] The Austrian *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (ABGB) of 1811 was instead much more liberal in this respect. Prepared by Empress Maria Theresa (1717–80) and Joseph II (1741–90) and completed during the Napoleonic wars, it granted women more autonomy than other major civil law codifications in Europe of the time. Thus, in Austria, "not only unmarried but also married women were in principle capable of conducting business and taking legal action."[13] Also, the establishment of the legal property regime of property division represented an important step for women's independence. This meant that both spouses remained owners of their property – of both property that had been brought into the marriage and that was acquired during the marriage. Moreover, unless otherwise agreed, women could in principle dispose of their own property independently. However, this did not mean fundamental equality; after all, under the programmatic principle of civic equality in the commentaries, for example, "in principle, the legal subordination of the wife was justified by the 'natural superiority' of the man."[14] And contrary to the independent property rights of the woman, the legal presumption applied almost as a matter of course "that the woman had transferred the administration of her property to the man on the basis of a tacit agreement."[15] Thus, women could not always make use of their legally inscribed rights. As is well known, this was also true in the early decades of the twentieth century as in the case of the well-known patron and art collector Adele Bloch-Bauer (1881–1925) (see Illustration 1), who bequeathed her Klimt paintings to the Österreichische Galerie in her will, but her husband initially disregarded this without any legal consequence for him.[16]

12 Stammers, "Women Collectors," 7. He refers here to Margot Finn, "Women, Consumption and Coverture in England, c. 1760–1860," *Historical Journal* 39 (1996): 703–22.

13 Ute Gerhard, "Der Partikularismus der Frauenrechte im 19. Jahrhundert. Rechtslagen und Rechtskämpfe der Frauenbewegung in der westlichen Welt," in *Frauenbewegungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Irmtraud Fischer, Angela Berlis, and Christiana de Groot (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2021), 29–106, at 44. See also the chapter by Andrea Griesebener in this book.

14 Gerhard, "Der Partikularismus der Frauenrechte," 44.

15 Gerhard, "Der Partikularismus der Frauenrechte," 44.

16 On Adele Bloch-Bauer as art collector see Sylvia Stegbauer, "Adele Bloch-Bauer," in Sebastian Schütze, ed., *Kunstsammler in Wien. Biografische Profile zwischen Statuskonkurrenz, Kunstmarkt und Kennerschaft* (Berlin and Boston: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2023), 451–9. On the bequest see Burkhard Hess, "Altmann v. Austria. Ein transatlantischer Rechtsstreit um ein weltberühmtes Gemälde Gustav Klimts im Wiener Belvedere," *Kunstrechtsspiegel* 2 (2007): 39–47.



Illustration 1: Gustav Klimt, *Adele Bloch-Bauer,* 1907. New York, Neue Galerie. Copyright Wikicommons.

Source material on Viennese women art collectors in the nineteenth century

The source material on nineteenth-century Viennese women collectors is scattered and only partially published in individual case-studies. Only a few monographic publications on the major collections in Vienna deal explicitly with women.[17] The two most important directories on Viennese art collections in the nineteenth century, Frimmel's *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen* and Wilhelm von Weckbecker's (1859–1936) *Handbuch der Kunstpflege in Österreich*, list around sixty-five women who collected art in Vienna in the nineteenth

17 An exception is the recent study by Mark Ferraguto on the promotion of art by the Russian ambassadorial couple Razumovsky, which explicitly includes both spouses. Mark Ferraguto, "Representing Russia. Luxury and Diplomacy at the Razumovsky Palace in Vienna, 1803–1815," *Music & Letters* 97, no. 3 (2016): 383–408.

century.[18] Furthermore, among the thirty-eight coin and medal collectors in Vienna recorded by Joseph Bergmann (1796–1872) in 1863, five women are mentioned (see Table 1 in the Appendix).[19]

Due to the publication dates of the directories, most of the collectors mentioned were active in the second half of the nineteenth century, but collectors from the first half of the century are also represented. The entries on the respective women are cursory and vary in quality and length. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw conclusions about the collecting strategy or the history of the collections from the listing; it becomes apparent which genres of art the collections encompassed, whether paintings were sent to exhibitions, whether there are auction or sale catalogs, and whether the collections are dispersed, inherited, auctioned, or preserved.

There are no prioritizations of certain objects collected by women in the respective entries, and there do not seem to have been any gender-specific conventions with regard to collecting. The entries document collections that include Old Master paintings and sculpture as well as contemporary art. Women are also characterized as collectors of coins and medals, arts and crafts, miniatures, porcelain, drawings, watercolors or copper engravings. They not only collected, but also commissioned art. Theresia Countess Meerveldt (1768–1822), for example, assembled what can be characterized as a rather encyclopedic collection, including not only art, but also books, maps, engravings and a dactyliotheca. Elisabeth Louise Vigée-LeBrun (1755–1842), one of the most famous women artists of the time, portrayed Meerveldt during her stay in Vienna in 1793 (see Illustration 2).

The women collectors can be assigned to different social groups. They came from the aristocracy or the industrial-bourgeois class, were Jewish collectors, artists themselves, or wives or relatives of artists. Accordingly, they had contacts in networks of scholars and art connoisseurs, participated in salons or salon-like meetings, or they ran their own salons, such as Josephine Wertheimer von Wertheimstein (1820–94).[20] Nee Gomperz, she came from a respected and wealthy Jewish family and enjoyed a good education. At the age of twenty-three she married Leopold von Wertheimstein (1801–83), the author-

18 Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*; Wilhelm von Weckbecker, *Handbuch der Kunstpflege in Österreich*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Schulbücher-Verlage, 1902).

19 Joseph Bergmann, "Pflege der Numismatik in Österreich durch Private, vornehmlich in Wien bis zum Jahre 1862," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Phil.-Hist. Classe 41 (1863): 15–89, at 23–28 (Archduchess Maria Anna), 36–37 (Roux and Spöttl), 48 (Dickmann-Secherau). Many thanks to Andrea Mayr, who is currently doing research on these collectors, for providing me with this information.

20 See *The Place to be. Salons als Orte der Emanzipation*, eds. Werner Hanak-Lettner, Astrid Peterle and Danielle Spera (Vienna: Amalthea, 2018).

ized signatory of the Viennese banking house Rothschild. The Wertheimsteins' flat in Singerstraße became a meeting place for critics of the regime in the Vormärz period and beyond.



Illustration 2: Elisabeth Louise Vigée-LeBrun, ***T**heresia, Countess Kinsky née Dietrichstein later von Meerveldt,* 1793. Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum. Copyright Wikicommons.

Not all of the documented women are described as active collectors themselves; many of them, such as Antonia Brentano-Birckenstock (1780–1869), inherited larger collections. They often sold the inherited collections after the death of their spouse. An interesting case is that of Madame d'Angoisse (died in 1822), who sold her husband's collection of Old Master paintings in 1827. This collection is not mentioned by Frimmel or Weckbecker, but is documented in a detailed sales catalogue in the archives of the Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien. The catalogue lists more than 120 paintings by famous early modern artists, such as David Teniers (1610–90), Albrecht Altdorfer (1480–1538), Correggio

(1489–1534), Francesco Solimena (1657–1747) and Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665).[21]

Case Study 1: Elizabeth Thun-Razumovsky

In the years around 1800, Vienna was home to a number of large art collections which were housed in the palaces of the high nobility and were often made accessible to travelers. Among the most famous collections were those of the Esterházy family, the Liechtensteins and the Russian ambassadorial couple Razumovsky. The Razumovskys had a magnificent palace built near the Rennweg in the first decade of the nineteenth century to house their extensive collection. The interplay of architecture, landscape garden and musical performances for the purposes of the ambassador's self-expression has recently been studied in detail by Mark Ferraguto. He addresses the significance of the luxury on display for Andrej Razumovsky's role as ambassador. However, Ferraguto also pointed to a possible reassessment of the role of Elisabeth Thun, Razumovsky's wife, in the construction of the palace. Although women did not have the opportunity to appear as diplomats themselves in the nineteenth century, they were nevertheless involved in their husbands' diplomatic business. Especially in Napoleon's time, they ran their own salons where they promoted exchanges between various cultural, political, and intellectual circles in their private rooms, creating social meeting places. Salon culture enabled women to participate in public life and to influence cultural and political affairs.[22]

Elisabeth Thun-Razumovsky (1764–1806) (see Illustration 3) was considered an important *salonniere*, bringing together influential people from politics and culture. She came from a prestigious Viennese noble family which was characterized by a great interest in promoting the arts, especially music: Countess Maria Wilhelmine (1744–1800), Elisabeth's mother, was a patron of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; Elisabeth's sister and her husband Prince Karl von Lichnowsky (1761–1814), were considered one of Ludwig von Beethoven's most important patrons.[23] Like the salons of her contemporaries, however, Elisabeth's salon was not only a place where intellectuals and artists exchanged

21 Joseph Grünling, *Choux des Tableaux de la Collection de Madame d'Angoisse* (Vienna, Charels Gerold, 1827).

22 See also the chapters on salon culture by Gundela Bobeth, Elisabeth Grabenweger, Birgit Lodes and Nancy November in this book.

23 Birgit Lodes, "Gaben und Gegengaben. Ehepaare des Wiener Hochadels als Beethovens Mäzene," in *Beethoven. Menschenwelt und Götterfunken*, ed Thomas Leibnitz (Salzburg and Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2019), 54–67.

ideas, but it was also a political place where anti-Napoleonic sentiment was spread.[24]



Illustration 3: Heinrich Friedrich Füger, *The Countesses Elisabeth Thun-Hohenstein,* 1787. Moscow, Pushkin Museum. Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Foto.

The Princess played an important role in Razumovsky's network. For example, the letters she wrote during her stay in Italy in 1804 attest to her excellent contacts with the Neapolitan elite.[25] In Naples she was very well connected at the local court, attended theater and concert performances, and reported to her husband on political events. As can be seen from the correspondence between

24 Mark Ferraguto, "Representing Russia," 405.

25 Elisabeth Razumovsky to Andrei Razumovsky, 7 October 1804, published in Alexandre Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski,* trans. Alexandre Brückner, vol. 3/2 (Halle: Tausch & Grosse, 1893–1894), 186–87, cited in Mark Ferraguto, "Representing Russia," 406.

Elizabeth and her husband, in Naples she received an offer to purchase ancient mosaics from Capri, commissioned several color drawings of them and coordinated the purchase with her husband. It is also known that she ordered a bust from Antonio Canova (1757–1822) in Rome for the collection. This correspondence is only a brief glimpse into the interaction of the two spouses in acquiring works of art for their famous collection – and yet, it is clear that Elisabeth Razumovsky played a key role in the purchase of at least two works and that the couple coordinated on the possible acquisition of new objects for their collection.

The Razumovsky collection included paintings of international standing. It was mostly located in the garden wing of the Razumovsky Palace (located between today's Rasumofskygasse, Marxergasse, Erdberger Lände, Wassergasse and Gesaugasse) and included works by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Rembrandt (1606–69), Carlo Marattas (1625–1713) and Francesco Albani (1578–1660).[26] A special emphasis was placed on landscape painting, with works by Josef Vernet (1740–89), Francesco Casanova (1727–1803) and Joseph Anton Koch (1768–1839). From Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807) the Razumovskys acquired a series of twenty landscapes, which he had executed together with Angelika Kauffmann (1741–1807), one of the few female painters of the time. The Razumovskys' sculpture collection was also significant and ranked on a par with the sculpture galleries of the most important aristocratic palaces throughout Europe.[27] This can be understood as a kind of fad of the time and must be compared not only in terms of the sculptures themselves, but also in terms of their integration into the palace architecture and the function of the premises.

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26 On the Palais Razumovsky, see Margareta Girardi, *Das Palais Rasumofsky. Geschichte und Schicksale eines Alt-Wiener Palais* (Vienna: Ludwig Auer, 1937); Katharina Miehlke-Hiess, "Das Palais Razumovsky und sein Architekt Louis de Montoyer" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2005).

27 On the sculpture collection of Ambassador Razumovsky, see Roberto Pancheri, "Andrej Razumovskij committente e collezionista nella Vienna neoclassica," in *Settima Settimana di Studi Canoviani. Committenti, Mecenati e Collezionisti di Canova,* ed. Giuliana Ericana and Fernando Mazzocca, 2 vols. Proceedings of the International Study Day, Bassano del Grappa, October 25–28, 2005 (Bassano del Grappa: Istituto di ricerca per gli studi su Canova e il Neoclassicismo, 2009), 45–60; Roberto Pancheri, "Una danzatrice per l'ambasciatore. Trionfo e fine di un sogno canoviano," in *Canova e la danza*, ed. Mario Guderzo and Giuseppe Pavanello (Possagno: Fondazione Canova, 2012), 183–94. Specifically on Canova's *Dancer,* see the recent exhibition catalog: Volker Krahn, ed., *Canova und der Tanz* (Crocetta del Montello: Antiga edizioni, 2016), 60–71; Ursula Schlegel, *Die italienischen Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Stein, Holz, Ton, Wachs und Bronze mit Ausnahme der Plaketten und Medaillen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1988), 43–49; Ursula Schlegel, "Canovas Tänzerin," *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 18 (1981): 187–200; Anna Frasca-Rath, "Der Wert des Marmors. Wertkriterien und Preisgestaltung von Skulptur zwischen Rom und Wien um 1800," in *Perspektivenwechsel. Sammler, Sammlungen, Sammlungskulturen in Wien und Mitteleuropa*, ed. Sebastian Schütze (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 113–36.

At the same time as the Razumovskys, Napoleon's first wife Josephine de Beauharnais (1763–1814), for example, built one of the first neo-classical sculpture galleries on the continent, the so-called 'Grande Galerie', added to the rooms of Château de Malmaison near Paris.[28] Beauharnais was one of the most important patrons of neo-classical sculptors and her gallery became a prototype for other such buildings at Woburn Abbey, Chatsworth House, and Pommersfelden. Her gallery included major works by Europe's leading artist Canova , such as *Cupid and Psyche, Paris, Hebe*, the *Three Graces,* and the *Dancer*. The neo-classical sculpture galleries have in common that they conditioned an interplay between art and music, which can also be observed in the case of the Razumovskys. [29] The Canova Room in their Garden Palace contained the *Dancer with Cymbals* by Canova on a revolving pedestal in the center of the room, four plaster casts after his *Venus*, *Apollino* and two unknown statues. Plaster casts of Canova's *Perseus* and *Apollo Belvedere* were also located in the niches of the adjacent salon. The wing of the building in which the room was located was used for lavish balls and concerts. The statue of the dancer was located in the immediate vicinity of the salon, also called the Beethoven Hall, where musical events were staged. It was installed on a rotating pedestal, which actively supports the dynamics of the statue that captures a moment of dance and movement.

Even if, due to the current source situation, it cannot be fully clarified what exact part Elisabeth Razumovsky played in the compilation and presentation of the collection, the few known sources do allow for the conclusion that, in this case, the ambassadorial couple had a common interest in the art collections. Elisabeth's networks were, moreover, not only important for their common collecting activities – they were also fundamental for Andrej Razumovzky's standing because he had decisively consolidated his own role within Austrian society by marrying into the Viennese elite.

28 Mariana Scheu, "Die Skulpturengalerie der Joséphine de Beauharnais in Schloss Malmaison" (MA thesis, University of Vienna, 2009).

29 On this topic see for example Anna Frasca-Rath, "On the reception and agency of neo-classical sculpture and its material. Case Studies from Viennese Sculpture Galleries (c.1780–1820)," *The Sculpture Journal* 30, no. 2 (2021): 177–87; Alison Yarrington, "Art and Nature. The Country House Sculpture Gallery in the Post-Napoleonic Period," in *Sculpture Collections in Europe and the United States 1500–1930*," ed. Malcolm Baker and Inge Reist (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2021), 194–220.

Case Study 2: Maria Carolina of Habsburg and Caroline Murat, the Queens of Naples

Easier to understand and better researched is the patronage of art and collecting activities of the two queens of Naples. Maria Carolina of Habsburg (1752–1814, see Illustration 4) was queen by the time when Elisabeth Razumovsky made her trip to Italy. The queen had returned to Naples in 1802 after her first escape from the French and remained in Naples until 1806. She was one of the most important Austrian collectors and patrons of the period, though she lived in Italy. Maria Carolina was responsible for the interior decoration and design of the English Garden of the Caserta Castle and ran an important salon where she brought together people from politics and culture and is associated with Masonic circles. Her patronage of the arts and role as a collector are currently undergoing a new evaluation.[30] It was not limited to merely building up her



Illustration 4: Anton Raphael Mengs, *Maria Carolina von Habsburg,* 1772/73. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

30 See Cigdem Özel's dissertation project entitled "Maria Carolina (1752-1814) von Neapel-Sizilien als Mäzenin. Studien zur Kunstpatronage einer Königin," University of Vienna.

own collection, which was as representative as possible. Rather, the commissioning of diplomatic gifts, for example, also played an important role in her activities as a patron, as has been investigated in the context of the centerpiece in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[31] The centerpiece, made of precious stones and depicting the temples of Paestum *en miniature,* was sent to Vienna by the queen in 1805 as a birthday gift for Emperor Franz II/I (1786–1835), probably also serving as a kind of invitation to the emperor (and her nephew) for a visit to Naples. Centerpieces were highly prized collectibles at the time and were considered a popular gift. They were in the tradition of porcelain services, which had become the 'diplomatic gift par excellence' since the eighteenth century, as they could be easily produced and transported. Both the centerpieces and the porcelain were usually accompanied by printed descriptions, which provided knowledge about the often antique motifs depicted on the tableware, thus turning the table decoration into a kind of portable museum.[32] The Viennese centerpiece can also be understood in this way and was probably intended to refer to the treasures in Maria Carolina's kingdom. The queen planned to organize an excavation on the occasion of a visit of Emperor Franz II/I to Naples, emphasizing the entertainment value ("cella l'amuseroit").[33] Enthusiasm for antiquities, politics and art collecting go hand in hand in this example.

Maria Carolina was succeeded as queen by another ambitious art connoisseur, Caroline Murat (1782–1839; see Illustration 5), whose collection found its way to the vicinity of Vienna in the course of the decline of Napoleon's rule.[34] Caroline Murat was Napoleon's youngest sister. She was married to French military commander and statesman Joachim Murat (1767–1815), later Joachim-Napoleon, King of Naples (1808–15), and was Queen of Naples from 1808 to 1815.

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31 Cigdem Özel, "Der Tempel von Paestum als Deser. Der Tafelaufsatz einer Königin im Kunsthistorischen Museum," in *Fortunata Neapolis. Kunst und Kulturtransfer zwischen Neapel, Wien und Mitteleuropa*, ed. Sebastian Schütze (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 175–201.

32 Cf. Özel, "Der Tempel von Paestum," 184.

33 Özel, "Der Tempel von Paestum," 187.

34 There is a wide range of source material on Caroline Murat, mainly her correspondence, which is scattered among various archives and published by Roswitha Juffinger and Ornella Scognamiglio. Roswitha Juffinger, "Caroline Bonaparte-Murat, Ex-Königin von Neapel, in Österreich 1815–1823," in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 60 (2018): 367–8, Ivi., "Caroline Murats Kunstsammlungen aus Neapel. Zu den Verkaufsmodalitäten während ihres Aufenthalts in Österreich," in *Ibid.*, 395–432, and Ornella Scognamiglio, "Caroline Murat und ihre Gemälde: Die Privatsphäre einer Königin," in *Ibid.*, 433–60; and more detailed: Ornella Scognamiglio, *I dipinti di Gioacchino e Carolina Murat. Storia di una collezione* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2008); Maria Teresa Caracciolo, ed., *Les Sœurs de Napoléon. Trois destins italiens*, (Paris: Hazan 2013); Jehanne Lazaj and Maria Teresa Caracciolo, eds. *Caroline, sœur de Napoléon, reine des arts* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editore, 2017).



Illustration 5: Èlisabeth Vigée Lebrun, *Caroline Murat and her daughter Laetitia,* 1807. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Caroline Murat's collection of paintings reflects both the taste typical of her social position and her personal taste.[35] The inventory of the royal palace of Portici is significant, because it proves the ambiguous character of the collection: a large number of François-Marius Granet's (1775–1849) paintings were found in the private chambers, which gave the collection a kind of *Biedermeier* character. In addition, the inventory reveals a focus on the field of landscape painting. Basically, the collection can be characterized by its combination of random purchases and souvenirs and probably had no overall claim to representation or publicity, but rather reflected private interests. Thus, it included views of her residence and the castle in which she held her wedding. In addition, Caroline Murat appeared as a patron of women painters, and ordered,

35 Scognamiglio, "Caroline Murat und deren Gemälde".

for example, from Henriette Lorimier (1775–1854) a painting entitled *Mother, who cannot nurse her child, has it nursed by a goat*. She also had her portrait painted by Vigée Lebrun and commissioned a portrait of her daughter stealing a bust of Napoleon from Jeanne-Elisabeth Chaudet (died 1832).[36] Moreover, her collection included antiquities such as coins, medals, vases and statuettes from the excavations of ancient sites situated by that time in the kingdom of Naples.

In June 1815, Caroline Murat initially fled to Trieste, from where she sought a new domicile in a protracted process and operated under the new name Comptesse de Lipona (an anagram of Napoli). After Trieste her first place of lodging was near Graz where she gradually retrieved 115 boxes of belongings. In 1817 Countess Lipona moved her residence to Frohsdorf Castle. There she presented her collection in what she herself called a 'museum' from May of the same year onwards.[37] Caroline initially tried to sell parts of her art collection *en bloc*, but without success. The collection was subsequently fragmented: Some pieces were probably sold for cash. Paintings were bought by the third Marquess of Londonderry (1778–1854) in 1822 and medals and coins by Franz II/I in 1819. In 1826, King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786–1868) acquired parts of the collection of antiquities for Munich.

Caroline's collection thus turned out to be a kind of life insurance and investment capital after her escape, which, through its sale, enabled her to secure her lifestyle even after Napoleon's reign. In addition, through skillful negotiation with several potential buyers, she succeeded in selling the collection at a high price.

Case Study 3: Julie von Benedek

Also of major importance is the collection of the already mentioned Julie von Benedek (see Illustration 6). She can be considered today as one of the most important patrons of the Alte Galerie in Graz and left 155 works from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century to the collection.[38] Benedek was born in 1811, the daughter of Baroness Dorothea Krieg, née Wadawska, and the Galician Gubernial President Baron Franz Krieg von Hochfelden.[39] Her first husband,

36 Scognamiglio, "Caroline Murat und deren Gemälde," 448.
37 Juffinger, "Caroline Murats Kunstsammlungen aus Neapel," 410.
38 For the collection see Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde,* I.3, 11–13; Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Testament und Legat, LG Graz – 377/1895.
39 Verein für Kulturvisionen Graz, ed., *Schätze & Visionen. Der Traum des Sammlers. Mäzene der Alten Galerie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Graz: Verein für Kulturvisionen, 1996), 50; Oskar Regele, *Feldzeugmeister Benedek, Der Weg nach Königgrätz* (Vienna: Herold, 1960), 33–35; Heinrich Fredjung, *Benedeks Nachgelassene Papiere* (Leipzig: Grübel & Sommerlatte, 1901), 7–8.

Moritz Count von Woyna, a wholesaler and member of the Lower Austrian Diet, died as early as 1839. In 1843 she married Ludwig August Ritter von Benedek (Lovag Benedek Lajos) (1804–1881), a graduate of the Wiener Neustadt Military Academy. The latter was first commander of the infantry regiment in Italy and later succeeded Radetzky as commanding general there. From 1861 to 1865 the couple lived in Vorderbrühl near Mödling. At the end of the 1860s, they left Vienna after the following events: in 1866, at the outbreak of the German War, Ludwig Benedek was appointed commander-in-chief of the Northern Army on the basis of his numerous awards and honors and was later blamed – probably unjustly – for the bitter defeat in the decisive battle of Königsgrätz on 3 July 1866. As a result, he lost not only his command but also his hitherto outstanding reputation. Although a court martial was quashed by imperial order, an article appeared in the press passing scathing judgment on Benedek's role.[40] The couple then retreated to Graz, where they lived in a villa at Beethovenstrasse 8, which nowadays no longer exists.[41] The collector died on 15 September 1895 and was buried in the joint grave with her husband at St Leonhard Cemetery in Graz.[42]

As already mentioned, Frimmel had advised Julie von Benedek on the expansion of her collection, especially in the last years of her life. This can be seen from a report of the Curatorium of the Landesgalerie from 1896.[43] In his article *Aus der Steiermärkischen Landesgalerie zu Graz* Frimmel discusses a number of the paintings from Benedek's collection and characterizes the collector as a "lively, art-loving nature",[44] who since the death of her second husband, in 1881, lived "mostly for her paintings."[45] This assessment is at odds with his unflattering characterization of their collecting activities quoted above.

The collection consisted mainly of Mannerist and Baroque works of Flemish and Dutch provenance. Among the main works were Henri Bles' (1500/10–60) *Landscape with Mine*, Pieter Brueghel the Younger's (1564–1638) *Fair*, Gillis

40 Friedjung, *Benedeks Nachgelassene Papier*, 409–11.

41 Heidemarie Simon, ed. *Schätze und Visionen. Der Traum des Sammlers. Mäzene der Alten Galerie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Graz: Verein für Kulturvisionen, 1996), 50; Regele, *Feldzeugmeister Benedek*, plate 39.

42 Julie von Benedek left her nephew a volume of letters from and to her husband and a large number of documents and newspaper clippings that she had collected and arranged about him during his lifetime. These were published by Heinrich Friedjung (1851–1920) in 1901 and are an important source on the life of Ludwig Benedek. The documents trace a military career, probably serve primarily his posthumous rehabilitation, and provide little information about Julie von Benedek or her collection. See Friedjung, *Feldzeugmeister Benedek*, XIII–XVI.

43 Kuratorium des Steiermärkischen Landesmuseums Joanneum, ed., *LXXXIV. Jahresbericht Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum aus dem Jahr 1895* (Graz: Verlag des Joanneums, 1896), 16.

44 Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 12.

45 Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 12.

Remeeus' (1559–1626) *Bust of a Lute Player*, and Dirk Stoop's (1616–68) *Equestrian Combat*. Italian works, such as Dosso Dossi's (1469–1542) *Hercules and the Pygmies*, were the exception. According to Frimmel, the latter came from the Gérard Collection in Vienna, where it was initially attributed to Giorgione (1478–1510).[46] The portrait of the collector herself is of particular importance (see Illustration 6). It was made by Friedrich von Amerling and was the first work mentioned in the takeover protocol of the bequest to the will.[47] The painting shows her in 1832, still as Julie von Woyna, and was to find an honorable place in the rooms of the Steiermärkische Galerie at the request of the collector.



Illustration 6: Friedrich Amerling, *Julie von Woyna, née Benedek,* 1832. Graz, Schloss Eggenberg, Alte Galerie. Copyright Wikicommons.

46 Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 14–15; Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen,* II, 34.

47 *Schätze und Visionen,* 52.

Julie von Benedek bequeathed her entire collection to the Alte Galerie in Graz. In a bequest of 10 November 1893 to her will, she stipulated that the collection was to be preserved and displayed in its entirety, that it was not to be "placed among other paintings"[48] and that no works were to be sold. In the annual report of the Board of Trustees of the Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum of 1895, the receipt of the collection is documented:

> By the decree of her Excellency Mrs. Julie von Benedek, the Landesmuseum has been bequeathed a stately picture gallery, a collection that is not only artistically considered, but also according to its monetary value a very significant gift, since it unites in 153 numbers works by extremely capable artists.[49]

Already during her lifetime, Julie von Benedek had chosen the rooms for the exhibition of her collection, so that the museum had to be completely rearranged after the arrival of the paintings.[50] For the years 1898 and 1903, the hanging of the paintings is documented in accordance with these wishes. However, since the separation of the collection into the Old and New Galleries, all nineteenth-century paintings have been transferred to the latter.

Women collectors and the public sphere

In her important 1995 anthology, Clarissa Campbell Orr challenged scholars to think about women's entry into the "extended public sphere," which in turn feminized a range of professions and changed the dynamics of the cultural marketplace.[51] By the late eighteenth century, women were already involved in the production, reproduction, exhibition, and even restoration of works of art.[52] Aside from the case of Julie von Benedek, little research has been done to

48 *Schätze und Visionen,* 51.

49 "Durch die Verfügung ihrer Excellenz Frau Julie von Benedek ist dem Landesmuseum eine stattliche Bildergallerie vermacht worden, eine Sammlung, die nicht nur künstlerisch betrachtet, sondern auch nach ihrem Geldwerthe ein sehr bedeutendes Geschenk ist, da sie in 153 Nummer Werke äusserst tüchtiger Künstler vereint." *Jahresbericht*, 8. English translation by the author.

50 Kuratorium des Steiermärkischen Landesmuseums Joanneum, ed., *XCI. Jahresbericht des Steiermärkischen Landesmuseums Joanneum über das Jahr 1902* (Graz: Verlag des Joanneums, 1903), 16.

51 Cf. Stammers, "Women Collectors," 35, Clarissa Campbell Orr, "Introduction: Women in the Victorian Art World," in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1995), 1–30, at 13.

52 Noémie Étienne, "La pensée dans la pratique: le cas de Marie-Jacob Godefroid, restauratrice de tableaux au XVIIIe siècle," in *Plumes et pinceaux: discours de femmes sur l'art en Europe*, ed. Melissa Hyde, Mechtilde Fend, and Anne Lafont, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Presses du réel, 2012), 77–98. Cited in Stammers, "Women Collectors," 35, fn 81.

date on the contribution of nineteenth-century women collectors to Viennese exhibitions and museums.

However, the sources show that a number of woman art collectors sent works from their holdings to exhibitions in Vienna and bequeathed objects to a number of museums. Countess Josephine Forgatsch exhibited paintings at the Academy Exhibition in 1841 (and gifted at least one painting to the former "Franzensmuseum" [today Moravian Museum] in Brno), and Marie Charlotte Duchesse de Berry (1798–1870) also sent several paintings there in 1843.[53] Countess Anna Amadei (1828–1927), who had acquired mainly Italian Old Master paintings and contemporary art at the end of the nineteenth century, bequeathed most of her paintings to the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest and the Viennese Academy.[54] The contribution to the Academy exhibitions is of particular interest, since the institution itself did not admit any women as students throughout the nineteenth century. This was quite common in Europe, and women faced similar restrictions in Munich and London, for example. However, the exclusion of women from studying art did not mean exclusion from submitting paintings from their respective private collections to the exhibitions of the Academy.

Beyond Vienna, the recent exhibition on Marianne Kautsch (1842–1919) at the Stadtmuseum Steyr discussed the role of women in Austrian museum foundations.[55] Together with her husband Jakob Kautsch, she is considered the founder and curator of the *Steyr Museum Arbeitswelt*. The Linz-born collector and scholar founded the *Gesellschaft für Altertumsfreunde* (Society for Friends of Antiquities) together with her husband and was committed to the preservation of cultural monuments in the Enns Valley. She organized exhibitions, arranged excavations and wrote a number of essays for the *Steyrer Tagesblätter*.

53 See the respective entries in Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*. For page numbers see table 1.

54 Highlights of the collection are discussed by Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, VI.10, 165–9.

55 *Österreichische Biographisches Lexikon, 1815–1950* XVI (Vienna, Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2022), 274.



Illustration 7: Eduard Veith, *Ida von Gutmann, c1899.* Baden, Rollettmuseum.



Illustration 8: Friedrich von Amerling, *Marie Hoyos Amerling,* 1870. Wien Museum.

Kautsch's case is exemplary, as the number of women collectors in and around Vienna increased significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The largest number is found in the years around 1900 (see table 1 in the Appendix). Women collectors were by that time much more aware of their role in the public sphere. The portraits of Ida von Gutmann (died 1924) and Marie von Hoyos Amerling (died 1914), both born in 1847 and both mentioned by Frimmel and Weckbecker, show two women of the Viennese art world of this time (see Illustration 7 and 8). Gutmann was married to the successful Jewish businessman Wilhelm von Gutmann who founded and led the largest coal company in Austria-Hungary. She collected mainly porcelain, but was above all well-known for the lavish events that she organized for the Viennese society.[56] Marie Hoyos von Amerling was the last wife of the artist Friedrich von Amerling. She inherited his large art collection and bequeathed all her belongings to the *Marie Gräfin Hoyos Amerling Stiftung* in order to support young artists in need.[57] In an exemplary way, both prove how women were involved in the art world of the time and how women shaped the cultural life of the city of Vienna in the long nineteenth century.

APPENDIX

Table 1: List of women art collectors in Vienna in the long nineteenth century

Women art collector	Dates[58]	Frimmel[59]	Weckbecker[60]	Collection
Elisabeth Thun-Razumovsky	1764–1806			Italian Art
Maria Anna Spöttl	born 1766			Coins and medals. Listed in Bergmann.
Elise Hertz	1768–1835	II, 155		Around 50 nineteenth-century paintings. Auctioned in 1889.
Josephine Brunsvick	1779–1821	I,2, 240		No details given.

56 Maria Stonawski, "Ida v. Gutmann-Wodianer," *Neue Freie Presse*, 12th June 1924 (Vienna), 4.
57 For Amerling's bequest see *Nachlaß Friedrich von Amerling. Stiftung für die Genossenschaft der Bildenden Künstler Wiens. Versteigerung von Mittwoch den 3. bis Samstag den 6. Mai 1916 (Katalog Nr. 263)* (Vienna: Dorotheum, 1916).
58 The dates included in this table refer to biographical data, if precise dates are known. If a period is given, it refers to estimated years of collecting activity of the respective person.
59 Theodor von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen,* 3 vols. (Leipzig and Munich: Verlag von Georg Heinrich Meyer, 1899–1914).
60 Wilhelm von Weckbecker, *Handbuch der Kunstpflege in Österreich,* 3rd ed. (Vienna: Kaiserlich–Königliche Schulbücher–Verlage, 1902).

Women art collector	Dates	Frimmel	Weckbecker	Collection
Antonia Brentano-Birckenstock	1780–1869	I,2, 114		Early modern paintings, drawings, engravings, and decorative arts
Johanna Dick-mann-Secherau	1786–1822			Coins and medals. Listed in Joseph Bergmann 1863.
Theresia Countess Meerveldt	1786–1822			Sales Catalog in the Archives of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien.
Ottilie von Goethe	1796–1872	II, 46–8		Daughter in law of the poet. Mainly portraits of the poet.
Marie Charlotte Duchess de Berry	1798–1870	I,2, 105–6		Collection of early modern paintings auctioned in France in the 1860s.
Madame d'Angoisse	early 19th century			Mainly early modern paintings. Sales catalog in the archives of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien.
Theresia de Roux	early 19th century			Medals and coins. Listed in Bergmann.
Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria	1804–58			Coins and medals. Listed in Joseph Bergmann 1863.
Julie von Benedek	1811–95			Early modern and contemporary paintings.
Josephine Forgatsch	c. 1820–1865?	I,2, 403–4		Early modern paintings; she exhibited paintings from her collection at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste. 41 of her paintings were sold in 1858
Countess Anna Amadei	1828–1927	I,2, 52		Italian and early twentieth-century paintings
Baroness Amélie Langenau	1833–1902	II, 499–500		Netherlandish paintings from the 1850s and 1860s.
Baroness Stummer von Tavarnok	1835–1916		301	Early modern paintings and decorative arts
Ella von Lang	1840–1912	II, 496–8		Inherited collection of Viennese paintings, above all Dannhauser and Amerling. Sends the paintings to exhibitions such as the "Schubert-Exhibition" from 1897.
Henriette Edle von Klarwill	1845–1927	II ,386		Netherlandish and Flemish paintings.
Ida von Gutmann (see Illustration 7)	1847–1924	II, 110	270	Viennese porcelain, nineteenth-century paintings.
Marie Hoyos Amerling (see Illustration 8)	1847–1914		274	Inherited collection of her husband, the artist Friedrich Ritter von Ammerling including paintings, drawings, musical instruments, and decorative art.

Women art collector	Dates	Frimmel	Weckbecker	Collection
Mathilde von Gutmann			270	Porcelain from Sèvre.
Marie Lederer	2nd half of the 19th century	II, 506		Inherited collection from parents and collected herself. Sends frequently paintings to exhibitions at Vienna Künstlerhaus. Collection of early modern to contemporary art.
Emma Jäger	died in 1892	II, 267	274	Inherited collection of paintings from the Jägersche Galerie.
Henriette Kerpel	around 1880	II, 370–1		Collection of Austrian art. Sends many paintings in 1880 to the exhibition of the Vienna Künstlerhaus.
Regine Kuranda	2nd half of the 19th century	II, 481	276	Inherited around seventy Netherlandish early modern paintings from her husband.
Baroness J. Kutschera	2nd half of the 19th century	II, 483		Collection auctioned in 1909 at Dorotheum.
Therese Lindner	died 1877	II, 534		Small collection, sends paintings to exhibitions in the Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien.
Julie Wertheimer			305	More than 2000 engravings from the early modern period. Paintings, gold and silver ware, porcelain, decorative arts. Collection auctioned in 1926
Countess Marie Kinsky	1864–1939	II, 378–9	275	Engravings and paintings.
Solly Herz	around 1870	II, 157		Collection was auctioned in 1873 by Miethke. Early modern and nineteenth century paintings.
Hermine Hollauer Edle von Hohenfelsen	before 1898	II, 205		Early modern paintings. Collection auctioned in 1898.
Bettina Holzapfel	1879–1948	II, 207		Early modern paintings
Adele Bloch-Bauer	1881–1925			Paintings of Secessionists, above all Gustav Klimt.
Antonia Lahousen, Edle von Viuremont	last decades of the 19th century	II, 486		Inherited part of the Jäger Collection.
Marie Fischer		I,2, 398		Nineteenth–century paintings
Marie Dumba	around 1900		261	Early modern to nineteenth-century paintings and sculpture

Women art collector	Dates	Frimmel	Weckbecker	Collection
Rosa Eissler	around 1900		262	Paintings and drawings of contemporary art
Marie von Gerl	around 1900	II, 35		Collection of contemporary art.
Elise Gomperz	around 1900	II, 61		Contemporary art. Sends paintings to exhibitions in Ottakring.
Karoline von Gomperz-Bettelheim	around 1900	II, 62		Contemporary art. Sends paintings to exhibitions in Ottakring.
Bertha Hartmann	around 1900	II, 125		Contemporary art
Baronin Hasslinger	around 1900	II, 126		Early modern paintings.
Clementine Horwitz	around 1900	II, 218		Contemporary art. Sends paintings at least twice to exhibitions at Vienna Künstlerhaus, e.g. in 1898.
Fanny Edle von Lehnert	around 1900	II, 510–2		Inherited collection from her father. Austrian paintings from the 1860s and1870s.
Marie Buschmann		I,2, 244		Inherited parts of the Jäger Collection.
Marie Bauernfeind	around 1900		251	Paintings and watercolors
Albertine Beckers	around 1900	I,2, 99		Portrait miniatures and watercolors
Josephine Brüll	around 1900		255	Early modern paintings
Minna Danyczek–Puteani	around 1900	I,2, 280		124 early modern paintings of her collection were auctioned on 11 October 1906 at the Dorotheum.
Mrs. Anton Drasche	around 1900		261	Porcelain
Marie von Ebner Eschenbach	around 1900		261	Decorative Arts
Charlotte Freiin von Ferstel	around 1900		263	Inherited the collection of her father. About 90 early modern paintings.
Auguste Hardtmuth	around 1900	II, 125		Inherited a part of Ahrens Collection. Sends paintings to Exhibitions.
Katharina Heidmann	around 1900	II, 144		Inherited paintings from her husband.
Frau Jonárz	around 1900	II, 294–5		Early modern paintings, seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Women art collector	Dates	Frimmel	Weckbecker	Collection
Frau Kadich Edle von Pferd	around 1900	II, 298		Early modern paintings, about 40 items.
Emma Komers	around 1900	II, 447		Early modern paintings from the Gindrich collection in Prague.
Baronin Marianne Konradsheim	around 1900	II, 448		Collection of miniatures
Henriette Dux	around 1900	I,2, 295		Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings
Emma Göhl	around 1900	II, 46		Collection of paintings by Carl Rahl
Emilie von Pfeiffer	around 1900		290	Paintings of contemporary artists
Gisela Probst	around 1900		292	Contemporary art
Mathilde Reichert	around 1900		293	Contemporary art
Ernestine Thorsch	around 1900		303	Contemporary art, 40 paintings
Baroness Elisabeth Exterde	around 1900	I,2, 334	263	Miniatures, sculpture, porcelain, silverwork
Lucie Forster	around 1900	I,2, 404		Owns part of the Ahrens collection and other paintings.
Henriette von Galatti	around 1900	II, 4–5		Early modern to 19th-century paintings; Collection inherited from her husband.
Johanna Galvagni-Kailan	around 1900	II, 21		Early modern paintings
Bertha Kurtz	around 1900	II, 482		Married to an art dealer.
Clarisse von Lindheim	around 1900	II, 533–34	281	Early modern paintings and sculpture
Lucy von Lippmann-Lissingen	early 20th century		281	Paintings (17th-century Netherlands), ceramics, engravings, arts and crafts, and a large collection of Japanese art
Marie List	early 20th century	II, 553		Small collection of Early modern paintings.
Editha and Magda Mautner von Markhof	Editha: 1883–1968		284	Early modern paintings.
Clementine Salcher	early 20th century		296	More than 90 paintings of contemporary artists.

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"A very valuable donation" Anna (Nanette) Fröhlich and her Music Collection

Eva Neumayr

Anna (Nanette) Fröhlich (1793-1880) was the first female professor of the conservatory of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. During her life, she was in close contact with Franz Schubert, Franz Grillparzer, Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and many other important proponents of musical life in the Vienna of the early nineteenth century. After selling the Schubert autographs she owned to pay for a Grillparzer monument in Baden, she gave the rest of her music collection to the Dommusikverein and Mozarteum in Salzburg in 1874. Nowadays, the collection is preserved both in the holdings Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum and Archiv der Erzdiözese. This paper, for the first time, tries to reconstruct the collection. It discusses the reasons for Fröhlich's donation, her various musical activities and some of her relationships with important musicians.

On 29 April 1874 the *Salzburger Volksblatt* ran a short notice regarding the donation of a valuable music collection:

> The Mozarteum archive has recently received a very valuable donation. Miss Anna Fröhlich, the former singing teacher of our Mozarteum director's wife, Mrs. Bach-Marschner, from Vienna, has generously donated to the Mozarteum a valuable treasure trove of music from the estate of the immortalized court councilor, Herrn v. Kiesewetter, who is most famous in the artistic world. These include sacred music from the old Italian school: Leo, Durante, Marcello, Pergolese, Tomelli, Rossini, Girolamo Abos, Blanpini, Cimarotti; from the German school an engraved score of the opera Alceste by Gluck; then compositions for voice by Schubert, Fesch, Grane, Kreutzer, Mosel; also a manuscript

by Grillparzer and a collection of French novels (!) by the ex-Queen Hortense of Holland, etc.[1]

According to this notice, a certain "Miss Anna Fröhlich" had given her music collection to the Mozarteum, with which she had established a connection because her former student, Therese Bach-Marschner, was at the time the wife of the Kapellmeister of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum, Otto Bach. There are several mistakes in this newspaper item apart from the fact that it was hardly the much larger collection of Raphael Kiesewetter (1773–1850), today preserved in the holdings of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, that had been donated.[2] Most notably, the writer had gotten several composers wrong – "Tomelly" is Niccolò Jomelli (1714–1774), "Scolatti" is Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), "Blanpini" is probably Felice Blangini (1781–1841) and "Cimarotti" is Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1840). Moreover, Hortense Eugénie Cécile de Beauharnais, queen of Holland (1783–1837), did not compose novels ("Romane") but romances ("Romanzen").[3]

In 1874, the "Mozarteum" was not an independent institution but part of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum. This institution had been founded in Salzburg in 1841 with the aims of reorganizing the music in the churches of the city as well as concert life, and preserving, cultivating and researching Wolfgang Amadé Mozart's music and maintaining a music school, the Mozarteum, to provide talent for sacred music and concerts. The first large event the new society organized was the erection of the Mozart monument in 1842. When Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880) made her donation in 1874, the proponents of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum were already discussing the possibility of splitting the society. The separation finally happened in 1881 and is the reason

1 *Salzburger Volksblatt*, April 29, 1874, 3 (author's translation): "Das Archiv des Mozarteums hat jüngsthin eine sehr werthvolle Bereicherung erfahren. Fräulein Anna Fröhlich, die ehemalige Gesangslehrerin unserer Mozarteumsdirektors-Gattin Fr. Bach-Marschner, aus Wien, hat nämlich dem Mozarteum in großmüthigster Weise einen kostbaren Musikalien-Schatz, aus dem Nachlasse des in der Künstlerwelt rühmlichst bekannten verewigten Hofrathes Herrn v. Kiesewetter, zum Geschenke verehrt. Es befinden sich darunter Kirchen=Tonwerke aus der altitalienischen Schule: Leo, Durante, Marcello, Pergolese, Tomelli, Rossini, Girolamo Abos, Blanpini, Cimarotti; aus der deutschen Schule eine vollständige gestochene Partitur der Oper *Alceste* von Gluck; dann Werke für Gesang von Schubert, Fesch, Grane, Kreutzer, Mosel; ferners ein Manuscript von Grillparzer und eine Sammlung französischer Romane von der Exkönigin Hortense von Holland u.s.w."

2 A-Wn, SA Signaturen MUS MAG, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13811437, accessed 12 September 2023.

3 Of the remaining composers, the author was not able to identify "Grane". Perhaps it is an erroneous spelling of "Graun", then it would refer to Carl Heinrich Graun (1701-1759), whose *Der Tod Jesu*, according to the *Verzeichnis* (cf. footnote 35), should be in the collection but has not been identified yet.

why the collections of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum today are divided between the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum (International Mozart Foundation, ISM) and Archiv der Erzdiözese Salzburg (Archive of the Archdiocese of Salzburg, AES).

Anna Fröhlich and her context[4]

Anna (Nanette) Fröhlich was the oldest of four sisters who all take a prominent place in the music history of the first half of the nineteenth century in Vienna. She was born on 19 November 1793 to Mathias Fröhlich (1756–1843) and Barbara, née Mayr (1764–1841), who ran a business maintaining wine barrels, which was apparently kept up by Barbara alone for several years. Mathias Fröhlich stemmed from a noble family and is reported to have worked as a French teacher. He also filled the honorary position as an 'Armenvater' (father of the poor), a position providing social services for the poor. Several facts indicate that he was well connected in the musical world, e.g. he apparently assisted Ludwig van Beethoven when the latter was striving for a position at the Cassel court. Nevertheless it was Barbara Fröhlich, the mother of the family, who was responsible for the early music education of her daughters,[5] who all distinguished themselves musically later on. Barbara (Babette) Fröhlich (1797–1878), the second daughter, was a much acclaimed concert singer in her youth, who even once took the role of a page in a performance of François Adrien Boieldieu's (1775–1834) *Johann von Paris* at the Theater an der Wien.[6] She later worked as a painter. Josephine (1803–1878), the youngest daughter, was appointed court singer in Copenhagen and, back in Vienna, performed in concerts and gave voice lessons. Katharina Fröhlich (1800–1879) was the only one who did not perform, although she played the piano well enough to accompany Franz Schubert's songs. She seems to have seen her role as that of presiding over the household of the sisters, a member of which was, from 1849 on, Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872). His relationship with Katharina has been dealt

4 For more on Anna Fröhlich, please refer to Ingeborg Harer, "anna fröhlich – erste professorin," *Spiel|mach|t|raum – Frauen*, https://www.mdw.ac.at/spielmachtraum/artikel/anna-froehlich, accessed 1 April 2023; Ilona Pichler, "*Die Schwestern Fröhlich im Wiener Musikleben zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*" (MA thesis, University of Salzburg, 2017); Johanna Blaha, "Die Schwestern Fröhlich" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2002).

5 Cf. a letter by Josephine Fröhlich to her sisters from Kopenhagen, 20 March 1824, cited in Blaha, "Die Schwestern Fröhlich," 31.

6 *Wiener Zeitschrift*, October 12, 1816, 8 (535), cited in: Pichler, "*Die Schwestern Fröhlich*," 15.

with in numerous works of fiction.[7] He described Katharina as an avid listener and music enthusiast in his poem *Als sie, zuhörend, am Klavier saß*.[8]

Anna (Nanette) Fröhlich (1793–1880) was not only a singer, but also an excellent pianist who may have had lessons with Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837). As a singer, she was a pupil of the then famous tenor Giuseppe Siboni (1780–1839), as was her youngest sister Josephine.[9] A member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna from the beginning, she became the first female voice teacher at the conservatory in Vienna in 1819 and held this position, with some interruptions, until 1854. In addition to that, she was active as a pianist, voice soloist, accompanist and choirmaster in several salons in Vienna, among them those of the Hohenadl family and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter.[10]

Born in 1773, Kiesewetter came to Vienna in 1792 to study law and entered the civil service in 1794, becoming a high official of the War Office. Interested in music from childhood, he played the flute and is mentioned as a singer with a beautiful bass voice by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, who must have heard him in the year 1808 or 1809.[11] Kiesewetter was also one of the soloists when Georg Friedrich Händel's oratorio *Timotheus oder die Macht der Musik* in Mozart's adaption was performed in Vienna in 1812.[12] Apart from writing several books on different topics in music history, Kiesewetter began to compile a large collection of music scores around 1816, when he also started the – later famous – concerts of historic music at his home. These took place regularly until 1838

7 E.g. Richard Plattensteiner, *Der Grillparzer Franz und seine Kathi. (Das Schicksal einer Dichterliebe.) Ein Bilderreigen*, Wien: Anzengruber-Verlag, 1916; Christine Strahner, *Wiener Verhältnisse prominente Liebeleien um die Jahrhundertwende*, Wien: Metro-Verlag, 2010, to name just two examples.

8 Cf. Deutsch, DDok, 118.

9 Siboni's first wife was the sister of Schubert's friend Franz von Schober. Cf. https://webergesamtausgabe.de/de/A001823.html; Michael Lorenz: "'Viele glaubten und glauben noch, absichtlich.' – Der Tod der Ludovica Siboni", *Schubert durch die Brille* 23 (1999): 47–74.

10 Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen aus Alt-Wien I," *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* 47 (29 November 1841), 737–41.

11 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Oesterreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810), 466.

12 Direktion der K.K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, ed., *Geschichte der K.K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*. 1. Abteilung: Richard von Perger. *1812–1870*, 2. Abteilung: Robert Hirschfeld. *1870–1912*. In einem Zusatz=Bande*: Die Sammlungen und Statuten* (Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1912), 6.

and after that with interruptions until 1842.[13] Between 1825 and 1827 these concerts were conducted from the piano by Anna Fröhlich.[14]

According to an anonymous article in the *Wiener Allgemeine Musikzeitung* from 1841, Anna Fröhlich's students at the conservatory of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde took the upper voices in the choir at Kiesewetter's concerts, while her private students and her sister Josephine sang the solo parts:

> The participants were and are usually skilled musicians or excellent dilettantes of the capital. The female choir – sopranos and altos – consists of the singing students of the local conservatory's higher class under the direction of their teacher Miss Nanette Fröhlich, the solo voices having recently been entrusted to the private students of the latter or to her sister Josephine Fröhlich. This trust has never been betrayed, and was always brilliantly justified. In general, the four Fröhlich sisters may have had a greater impact on music, especially on singing, than many an 'Amazon of the Throat' famous all over Europe, and were gratefully acknowledged by all members of this association for their lively participation and their tireless endeavors for these classical concerts, and viewed and admired as the pillars of this effort.[15]

Already in the 1820s, Anna Fröhlich was an important active participant in the concerts at the salon of the Sonnleithner family as well as in the *Musikalische Abendunterhaltungen* of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Although her name is not mentioned in a program which survives from one of the concerts in the Sonnleithner salon,[16] it was she who played the piano part on 1 December 1820 when August Ritter von Gymnich performed Schubert's *Erlkönig* for the first time in semi-public.[17] This had been preceded by the following scene at the

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13 For a more thorough discussion of these concerts, cf. Herfrid Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850). Wegbereiter des musikalischen Historismus*. Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts 13 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1968), 57–82.

14 Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter,* 185.

15 *Wiener Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 51 (April 29, 1841): 209–10, cited in: Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter*, 68. (author's translation). The author was probably Aloys Fuchs: "Die Mitwirkenden waren und sind gewöhnlich Künstler vom Fach oder doch ausgezeichnete Dilettanten der Hauptstadt. Der weibliche Chor – Soprani und Alti – besteht aus den Gesangsschülerinnen der höheren Klasse des hiesigen Konservatoriums unter der unmittelbaren Leitung ihrer Lehrerin des Fräuleins Nanette Fröhlich, die Solostimmen wurden in der letzten Zeit den Privat-Schülerinnen der Letzteren oder ihrer Schwester Josephine Fröhlich anvertraut, und dieses Vertrauen nie getäuscht, jedesmal glänzend gerechtfertigt. Überhaupt dürften die vier Schwestern Fröhlich für die Kunst, namentlich für den Gesang, mehr gewirkt haben als so manche europa-berühmte Amazone von der Kehle, und wurden in dankbarer Anerkennung ihrer regen Teilnahme, ihrer unermüdlichen Bestrebungen für diese klassischen Konzerte von allen Mitgliedern dieses Kunstvereins als die Stützen desselben betrachtet und bewundert".

16 Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Archive and Library, shelfmark 10520/133.

17 Deutsch, DDok, 112, commentary.

apartment of the Fröhlich sisters, related to Gerhard von Breuning (1813–1892) by Anna Fröhlich:

> "Schubert", recounted Anna, "we got to know in the following way: the barrister, Dr. Leopold Sonnleithner [...] brought us some songs, as he put it, by a young man, which were said to be good. Kathi immediately sat down at the piano and tried through the accompaniment. Thereupon Gymnich – a government official who also sang charmingly and who happened to be with us – suddenly became attentive and said: 'What is that you are playing? Is it your own invention?' – 'No.' – 'But it is magnificent, it is something quite out of the ordinary. Let me see it!' And then the whole evening, a period of several hours, was spent singing the songs. A few days later Sonnleithner brought Schubert to our house. We were still at 18 Singerstraße and subsequently he often came to see us. [...]"[18]

Anna Fröhlich's friendships and connections with Franz Grillparzer[19] and the representatives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (among them the central figures of Ignaz and Leopold Sonnleithner and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter) formed a central network in Vormärz Vienna. Anna Fröhlich – as the only one of the sisters working continually and professionally at the conservatory – was ideally suited to promote Schubert's interests, and she seems to have acted on his behalf whenever she could. The works by Schubert she commissioned or that are connected to her and her students include the following compositions: *Psalm 23* D 706 (1820), premiered at an exam concert at the Gundelhof on 30 August 1821 by her class; the vocal quartet *Gott in der Natur* D 757 (1822), performed by twelve of her students on 8 March 1827 at an Abendunterhaltung; *Ständchen* D 920, composed for Louise Gosmar's birthday[20] and premiered privately by her students and her sister Josephine as a soloist on 11 August 1827;[21] and possibly also the cantata *Miriams Siegesgesang* D 942, the latter two com-

18 Deutsch, DMem, 250."'Schubert', erzählte Anna, 'lernten wir folgenderweise kennen: Advokat Dr. Leopold Sonnleithner [...] brachte uns Lieder, wie er sagte, von einem jungen Menschen, die gut sein sollen. Die Kathi setzte sich gleich zum Klavier und versuchte das Akkompagnement. Da horcht mit einem Male Gymnich – ein Beamter, der auch hübsch sang und eben bei uns war – auf und sagt: 'Was spielen Sie denn da? Ist das Ihre Phantasie?' – 'Nein' – Das ist ja herrlich, das ist was ganz Außergewöhnliches. Lassen Sie doch sehen!' Und nun wurden den ganzen Abend, einige Stunden lang, die Lieder gesungen. Nach ein paar Tagen führte Sonnleithner Schubert bei uns auf. Es war noch in der Singerstraße 18, und dann kam er oft zu uns." Gerhard von Breuning, "Aus Grillparzers Wohnung," in: Deutsch, DEr, 286.

19 Grillparzer's mother was Ignaz von Sonnleithner's sister, consequently, he was Leopold Sonnleithner's cousin.

20 Louise Gosmar was Leopold Sonnleithner's future wife.

21 Schubert valued the *Ständchen* high enough to include it in the program of his only private concert on 25 March 1828. Cf. Deutsch, DDok, 502; for earlier performances see Deutsch, DDok, 484.

posed on texts by Franz Grillparzer.[22] *Miriams Siegesgesang* was premiered in public at a concert for the erection of a gravestone on Schubert's tomb which was organized by Anna Fröhlich at the end of January 1829 and had to be repeated because of its great success. According to a late memory of a friend, Fröhlich might also have been involved in the commission of the quartet *Des Tages Weihe* D 763 (1822) on behalf of Barbara von Geymüller.[23]

Anna Fröhlich's connections with the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum in Salzburg

In Leopold von Sonnleithner's description of the concerts at Raphael Georg Kiesewetter's house, a certain "Therese Janda, später verehelichte Marschner" is mentioned amongst the soloists along with Anna and Barbara Fröhlich.[24] Therese Bach-Marschner, neé Janda (1826–1884), was enrolled at the conservatory in Vienna between 1838 and 1844 as Anna Fröhlich's student.[25] A much acclaimed Alto, from 1848 to 1849 she performed at the Vienna Court Opera, then moved to the Court Theatre at Hannover, where she met and married *Hofkapellmeister* and composer Heinrich Marschner (1795–1861). After his death, she returned to Vienna and apparently taught voice at the school of the Vienna Court Opera. With her second husband, Otto Bach (1833–1861), she moved to Salzburg in 1868, when he succeeded Hans Schläger (1820–1885) as *Kapellmeister* of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum.[26] In 1870 she took over the female voice class from Heinrich Schnaubelt (1814–1870). However, when she demanded better pay she was replaced by Anna Ott a year later. [27]

If the friendly relationship with her former student Therese Bach-Marschner was the strongest connection Anna Fröhlich had with the Salzburg Dommusikverein und Mozarteum, it was hardly the only one. As early as 1822, Franz Heinrich Böckh, in his survey of Vienna's living artists and dilettantes,

22 Cf. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Lachner vollendet Schubert: 'Mirjams Siegesgesang' D 942," in *Franz Lachner und seine Brüder. Hofkapellmeister zwischen Schubert und Wagner. Bericht über das musikwissenschaftliche Symposium anlässlich des 200. Geburtstages von Franz Lachner*, ed. Hartmut Schick (Tutzing: Schneider, 2006), 85–109.

23 Deutsch, DEr 291 (Gerhard von Breuning: Aus Grillparzers Wohnung).

24 Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Musikalische Skizzen aus Alt-Wien II," *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* 48 (1 December 1841): 753–57, at 757.

25 Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter*, 185.

26 Eva Neumayr, "'... den Unterricht im Mozarteum auch auf das weibliche Geschlecht ... auszudehnen ...' Frauen am Mozarteum 1841–1922," in *Von der Musikschule zum Konservatorium. Das* Mozarteum *1841–1922*, ed. Julia Hinterberger. Veröffentlichungen des Arbeitsschwerpunktes Salzburger Musikgeschichte 4; Geschichte der Universität Mozarteum Salzburg 1; Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Universität Mozarteum Salzburg 10 (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2017), 212–37, at 219.

27 Anna Ott taught voice at the Mozarteum from 1871 to 1876. Life data are unknown.

mentions "Hilleprandt[,] Franz Edler von (Violin)" among the active members of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.[28] Franz von Hilleprandt moved to Salzburg in 1826 and later became one of the founders of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum, as well as its secretary and leading organizer from 1841 until his death in 1871. It is not impossible, therefore, that Anna Fröhlich knew Hilleprandt. Why Fröhlich donated her collection to the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum in Salzburg and not to the institution she had worked for so long, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, is an open question and leaves room for speculation.

According to Beate Henneberg, doubts first arose at the end of the 1830s whether Anna Fröhlich had the skills to prepare her students for a career in opera, having herself no experience on the stage at all.[29] However, at that time, her supporters Kiesewetter, Leopold Sonnleithner and Grillparzer were still active in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, so this came to no avail. When the conservatory was closed between 1848 and 1851 due to the revolution in 1848, Anna Fröhlich was one of the teachers who continued teaching at her home. However, when the conservatory was reopened, she had been removed from the list of teachers. Only after Sonnleithner intervened was she given another contract for three years.[30] After some agitation against her in the newspapers, she was finally sent into retirement against her will in 1854.[31] Whether her discontent with the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna or her friendship with Therese Bach-Marschner and her husband (or another, unknown reason) was the decisive factor for the donation of her collection to Salzburg, is hard to say. According to her first biographer, August Sauer,[32] she bore no grudge against the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and later donated two valuable violins to it, one of which had been played by Joseph Haydn.

28 Franz Heinrich Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler und Dilettanten im Kunstfache: Dann Bücher=, Kunst= und Naturschätze und andere Sehenswürdigkeiten dieser Haupt= und Residenz=Stadt. Ein Handbuch für Einheimische und Fremde* (Vienna: Bauer, 1822), 357.

29 For the following cf. Beate Henneberg, *Das Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien. Konzepte zur musikalischen Bildung in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Präsens-Verlag, 2013), 379–80.

30 Henneberg, *Das Konservatorium*, 382.

31 Henneberg, *Das Konservatorium*, 382. Mathilde Marchesi (1821–1913) took her place as a singing teacher at the conservatory.

32 August Sauer, "Zur Biographie der Schwestern Fröhlich," in *Grillparzerstudien* 1924, ed. Oskar Katann (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1924), 276–77, quoted in: Blaha, "Die Schwestern Fröhlich," 259.

The collection and its repertoire

The fact that the Fröhlich collection has not been preserved intact is not only due to the aforementioned split of the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum into the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum and the Dommusikverein at the beginning of the 1880s. The *Repertorium über die musikalische Bibliothek des Dom-Musik-Vereines u. Mozarteum's zu Salzburg* (short: *Repertorium*) shows that the musical sources, according to their genre, were assigned to different categories of the *Repertorium* as early as 1874. Pieces from the collection are found in the sections "Mozart-Nachlass" (2 items), "Kirchen-Musicalien" (6 items), "Gesang-Musicalien" (26 items), "Schul-Musicalien" (5 items) and "Bücher-Register" (3 items). All in all, the *Repertorium* has forty-two catalogue entries from the Fröhlich collection[33] that can be identified by notes like "Geschenk des Frl. A. Fröhlich in Wien" (A present of Miss A. Fröhlich in Vienna) or similar, but always mentioning her name.

In addition to the *Repertorium* an individual list of the Fröhlich collection has been preserved at the AES (see Illustration 1). This *Verzeichnis der von dem Fräulein Netty Fröhlich in Wien dem Mozarteum geschenkten Musikalien* (short: *Verzeichnis*) comprises seventy-two entries in total.[34] The difference in numbers is due to the fact that some of the entries in the *Repertorium* are cursory, while the *Verzeichnis* is more detailed.[35]

33 Cf. also Pichler, "Die Schwestern Fröhlich," Anhang, II–III. Pichler lists forty-one entries.

34 AT-AES 1.2.19.A1 396. Many thanks to Till Reininghaus for drawing my attention to this list.

35 So far, the following four entries from the *Verzeichnis* have not been identified in the *Repertorium*: Terzetto a due Sopr. ed Alto by G. Carlo Maria Clari, a fugue by Gasparini (musical source in A-Sd, without shelfmark), a cadenza by an unknown composer and the choruses from *Der Tod Jesu* by C. H. Graun.

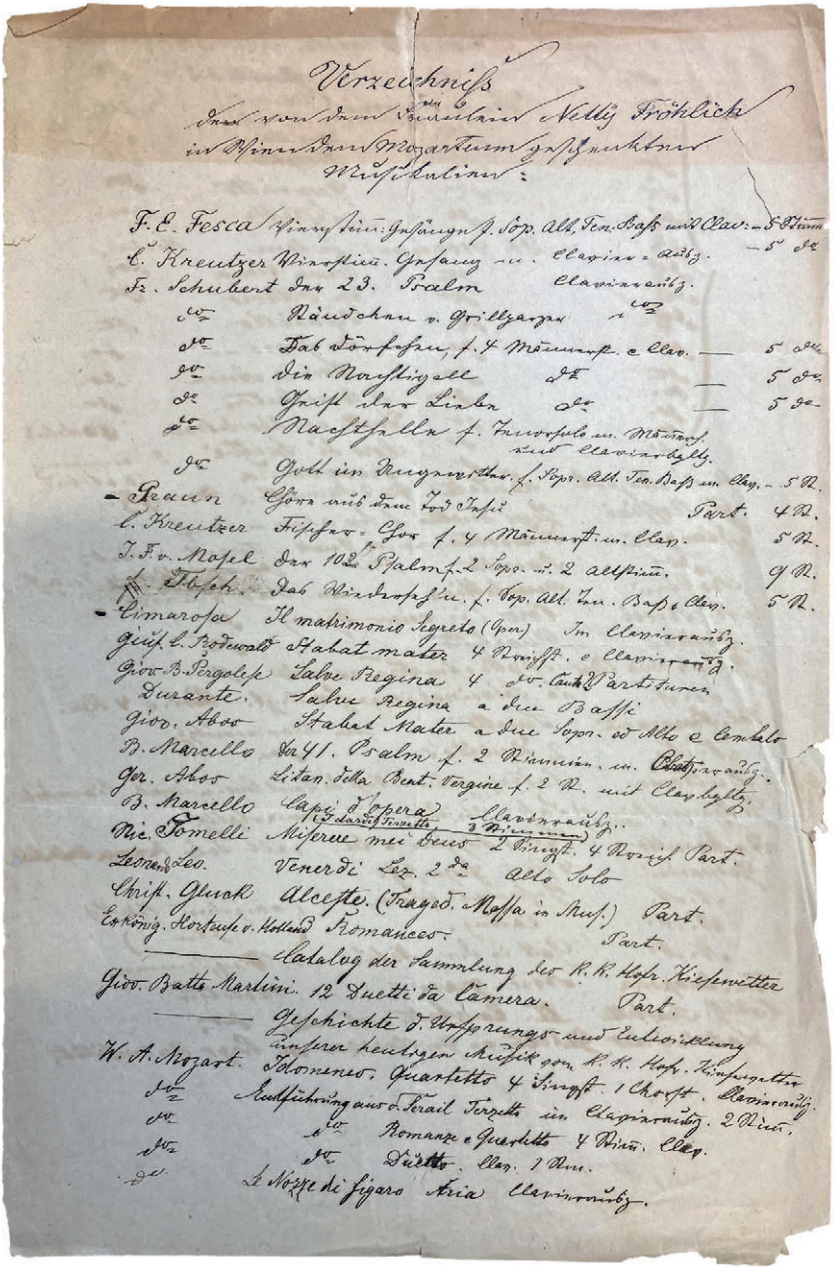


Illustration 1: *Verzeichnis der von dem Fräulein Netty Fröhlich in Wien dem Mozarteum geschenkten Musikalien*, p. 1. AES, Akten Dommusikverein und Mozarteum, AT-AES 1.2.19.A1 396).

Hardly surprising for the collection of a voice teacher, the *Verzeichnis* mentions predominantly vocal compositions, among them arias, ensembles and choruses popular in the early nineteenth century by composers like Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849), Ignaz Mosel (1772–1844), Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801), etc. The collection also shows Anna Fröhlich's interest in earlier repertoire with works by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787), Niccolò Jomelli (1740–1774), Girolamo Abos (1715–1760), Francesco Durante (1684–1755), Leonardo Leo (1694–1744), etc. [36] As Anna Fröhlich is reported to have been an excellent pianist, it is remarkable that there are no piano compositions in her collection at all. Equally astounding is that solfeggios, as well as singing treatises are almost completely missing. While Gioachino Rossini's (1792–1868) works were the rage of that time, they are hardly represented in the collection. Two duets for soprano voices and two quartets mentioned in the *Verzeichnis* have yet to be identified in the holdings of ISM or AES. This may indicate that the collection Anna Fröhlich donated to the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum was only part of a large amount of music she must have worked with during her long life as a musician. Consequently, a passage from her contract with the Conservatory, which reads: "The necessary music will be provided by the society and will remain its property," may point to other musical sources she used.[37]

Arias and ensembles from Mozart's operas and a few of his inserts make up the largest part of the collection (see Table 1 in the Appendix). There are manuscript copies from *Die Entführung aus dem* Serail K 384, *Le Nozze di Figaro* K 492, *Don Giovanni* K 527 as well as Mozart's inserts for Francesco Bianchi's *La villanella rapita* K 479 and the vocal trio *Mandina amabile* K 480. The quartet 'Andrò ramingo e solo' from *Idomeneo* K 366 is mentioned in the *Verzeichnis* but has not yet been identified in the holdings of the ISM or AES. These materials seem to correspond closely with compositions by Wolfgang Amadé Mozart performed in the concerts at the Sonnleithner family's home[38] and the Abend-

36 Nanette Fröhlich owned a printed catalogue of the Kiesewetter-Collection: Catalog der Sammlung alter Musik des k.k. Hofrathes Raphael Georg Kiesewetter Edlen von Wiesenbrunn in Wien. 1847. Gedruckt bei den P.P. Mechitharisten (A-Sd, without shelfmark). According to *Repertorium* and *Verzeichnis*, Fröhlich also had Kiesewetter's publication *Geschichte d. Ursprungs und Entwicklung unserer heutigen Musik*, Leipzig, 1834.

37 "Die nötigen Musikalien werden von der Gesellschaft herbeygeschafft werden, und in deren Eigentum verbleiben," Faszikel 29/1819, Protokoll 74, 76 and 80, Index GdMfr., cited in: Blaha, "Die Schwestern Fröhlich," 233.

38 Cf. e.g. the program of 1 December 1820: "5. Terzetto /:Mandina amabile:/ aus: La villanella rapita, v. Mozart." (A-Wgm, 10520/133).

unterhaltungen.[39] While there are some scores in the collection, the majority of the materials are vocal parts and short-scores. This points to the fact that both the Abendunterhaltungen and the concerts at the Sonnleithner family's home took place in a salon-like environment,[40] where excerpts of operas were performed mostly with piano-accompaniment. The collection also mirrors the personal relationships described above: amongst the music sources there are two that definitely came from the Kiesewetter collection, namely a copy of Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Salve Regina* with possession marks by Kiesewetter and Anna ('Netty') Fröhlich;[41] and a *Stabat mater* by Joseph Karl Rodewald, the score of which is written in the hand of Kiesewetter and carries the dedication "To his highly esteemed friends Nanette and Babette Fröhlich as a remembrance from Raph. Kiesewetter" (see Illustration 2).[42] Works surviving in both collections include a "Salve Regina a due bassi" by Durante, the *Miserere* for two sopranos by Jomelli and *12 Duetti da Camera* by Giambattista Martini. The dependence of the two collections remains to be investigated.

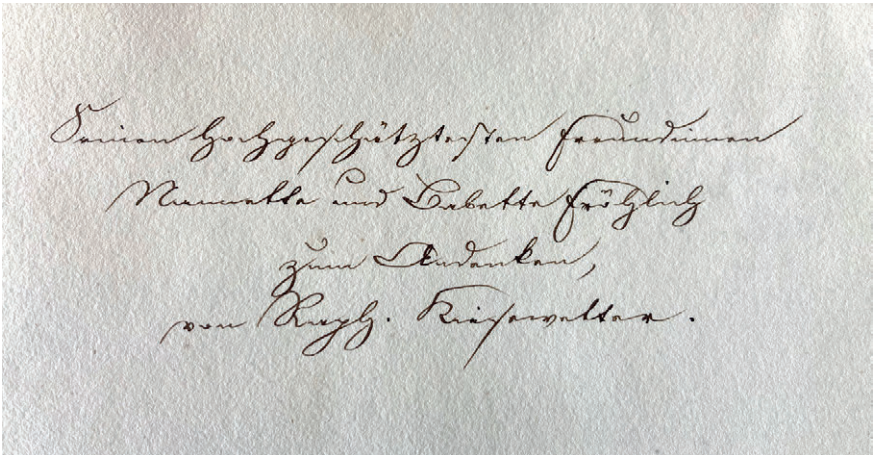


Illustration 2: Kiesewetter's dedication of his short-score of Rodewald's *Stabat mater* to Anna und Barbara Fröhlich. A-Sd, Gr. 409.

39 Cf. Deutsch, DDok, 135, on the "Konservatoriums-Prüfung" of 30 August 1821: "Bei der selben Gelegenheit wurde das auf der Bühne lange vernachlässigte Sextett aus Mozarts 'Don Giovanni' gesungen, mit [Wenzel] Nejebse und [Johann] Nestroy undter den Sängern." Anna Fröhlich is reported to have been an excellent pianist and sight reader, so she may have accompanied the Sestetto from the surviving score.

40 Cf. Beate Henneberg, *Das Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien. Konzepte zur musikalischen Bildung in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Präsens-Verlag, 2013), 85.

41 A-Sd, Gr 503.

42 A-Sd, Gr 409.

Schubert sources in the collection

Originally, Anna Fröhlich owned at least four autographs by Franz Schubert: two versions of *Ständchen* ("Zögernd, leise") D 920 for male as well as female choir and solo alto, *Der 23. Psalm* ("Gott ist mein Hirt") D 706 and one other work, probably *Gott in der Natur* D 757.[43] While the version for female voices of the *Ständchen* D 920 was given to Joseph von Spaun in 1828, who had been asked by Schubert to copy the piece for the Cäcilien-Verein in Lviv and its conductor Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart (1791–1844),[44] the version for male voices of the *Ständchen* and the two remaining autographs were sold to the collector Nikolaus Dumba, to help pay for a Grillparzer monument in Baden.[45] In the same year, Anna Fröhlich donated the rest of her collection to the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum. However, manuscript copies of the *Ständchen*, *Psalm 23* and another of Schubert's compositions, *Nachthelle,* have survived in the collection (see Illustration 3). They are written in the hand of a copyist closely associated with the Fröhlich family, for a large part of the collection (e.g. most of the Mozart sources) are by his or her hand.[46] *Gott in der Natur* D 757 is preserved in a manuscript copy from a different hand, while the remaining works of this group – *Das Dörfchen* D 598, *Die Nachtigall* D 724, and *Geist der Liebe* D 747 (all parts) as well as *Gott im Ungewitter* D 985 (score) – are printed copies (see Table 2 in the Appendix). In the *Verzeichnis* (see Illustration 1) the vocal works by Schubert are grouped together.

In addition to the music, two manuscript copies of the poem *Ständchen* by Grillparzer have been transferred to Salzburg (see Illustration 4). The words of the poem are neither fully identical with the first nor with the second version of Schubert's composition.[47]

43 Cf. Constantin Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Österreich*, vol. 32 (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1876), 101–2; Pichler, *Die Schwestern Fröhlich*, 58.

44 See Critical Comment to the edition of the *Neue Schubert Ausgabe, Serie III: Mehrstimmige Gesänge*, Band 3 by Christine Martin and Walther Dürr (Tübingen, 2021), 210-11.

45 See *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* 29 July 1874, col. 477.

46 Until his or her identification he/she has been called "Copyist of Salzburg 554", which refers to the Salzburg Catalogue of Copyists that was started in the 1970s by Manfred Hermann Schmid and continued by Ernst Hintermaier, Petrus Eder OSB, Lars Laubhold and Eva Neumayr. The sources from this hand in the Fröhlich-collection show dates between 1807 and 1827. Cf. also Christine Martin's comments on this copyist in the Critical Comment of the *Neue Schubert Ausgabe, Serie III: Mehrstimmige Gesänge*, Band 3, 216–17.

47 For more on the textual deviations in both versions cf. the Critical Comment of the *Neue Schubert Ausgabe*, 212–14; 222–23.

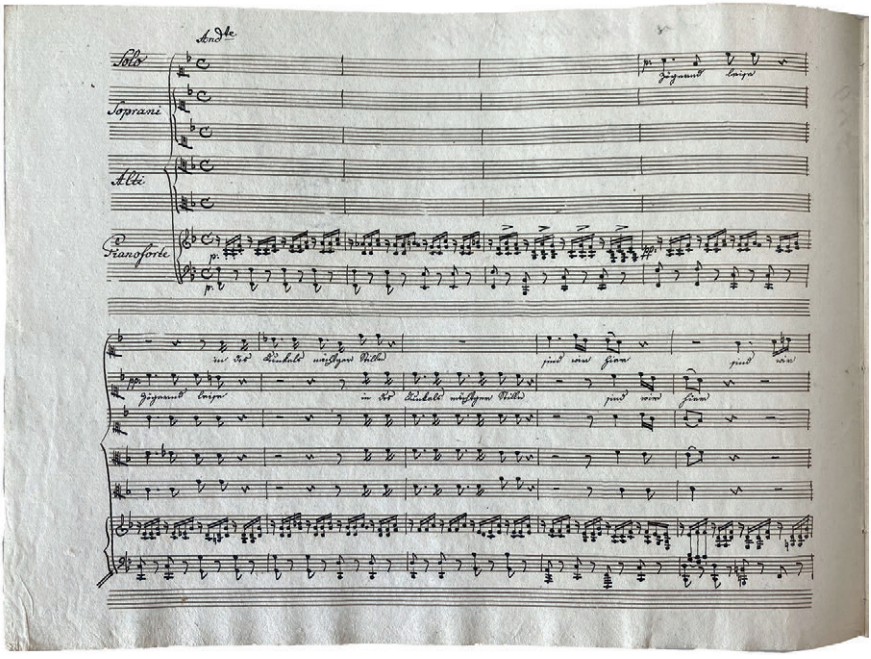


Illustration 3: Franz Schubert, second version of *Ständchen* D 920, manuscript by Copyist of Salzburg 554, from the Anna Fröhlich collection. A-Sm, RaraHs Schub 2, p. 2.

That Grillparzer had been a piano pupil of Johann Gallus Mederitsch (1752–1835)[48] in his youth and later on was an active and leading member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde attests to his interest in music. However, that he also tried composition himself is virtually unknown: the Fröhlich collection preserves the autograph of his composition of an ode by Horaz, *Integer vitae scelerisque purus* (A-Sm, Autogr Var 17). In addition, a printed poem given to him on his eightieth birthday by Prague University survives in the collection (A-Sd, Buch: Reg: N° 14). Several of Grillparzer's other compositions have been preserved in his collection in the Wienbibliothek (A-Wst).[49]

48 Mederitsch was also Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart's (1791–1844) counterpoint teacher, to whom he bequeathed his valuable music collection. Cf. Eva Neumayr, *Der "Mozart-Nachlass". Musikalien aus dem Besitz der Mozart-Söhne in Salzburg. Katalog,* with contributions by Armin Brinzing and Till Reininghaus. Beiträge zur Mozart-Dokumentation 3; Schriftenreihe des Archivs der Erzdiözese 25 (Stuttgart: Carus, 2021), 9.

49 https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&curPos=1&identifier=251_SOLR_SERVER_1621714835 accessed 20 September 2023 (e.g. A-Wst, MHc-10265, MHc-10266, MHc-10269 and MHc-10270). The Grillparzer-collection was inherited by Katharina Fröhlich, who donated it to the City of Vienna.

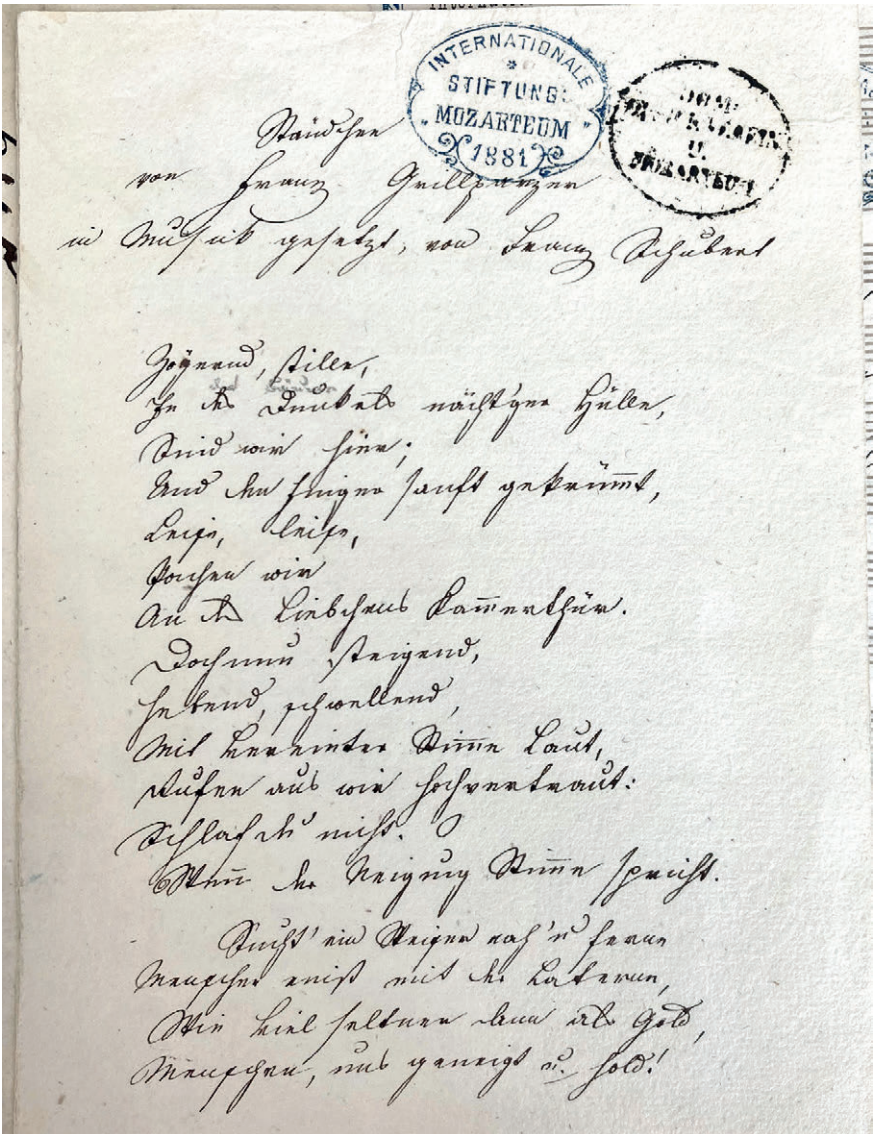


Illustration 4: Copy of Franz Grillparzer's poem *Ständchen.* A-Sm, RaraHs Schub 2.

The most valuable source of the collection, namely, the first edition of Schubert's op. 1, *Erlkönig*, is still missing. From Gerhard von Breuning's memories we learn that Fröhlich owned a copy of this edition which was marked with the letter "S" on the back to prevent fraud. Because it was included in the Salzburg donation, Otto Bach, chief conductor of the Domusikverein and Mozarteum's orchestra,

went to Vienna specifically to thank Anna Fröhlich for this valuable piece.[50] Unfortunately, the print has not been found at the Bibliotheca Mozartiana or at the Dommusikarchiv, although several searches have been conducted.

Summary

While Anna Fröhlich's collection was donated in 1874 to the Dommusikverein und Mozarteum Salzburg, it was not until the beginning of the twenty-first century that researchers began to find out who "Frl. Fröhlich" from Vienna was, and what she had contributed.[51] The Fröhlich collection and several other donations by female musicians, patrons or collectors are now part of an ongoing research project that will deal over the next four years with female music patronage and agency between 1760 and 1840. Therefore, this paper does not present the final results of a long research project, but stands at its commencement. Already, the collection demonstrates some of the types of female agency typical for the early nineteenth century.

Anna Fröhlich (1793–1880) and her sisters had close contact with Franz Grillparzer, Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, Franz Schubert and other important musicians of their time. Schubert in particular was the object of their patronage. In giving him commissions, referring him to other interested parties, performing his music, and so on, Anna Fröhlich emerges as one of his most important promotors in Vienna's musical world. Further research on the Fröhlich sisters and their music collections may unveil one of the hubs of musical and cultural life in Vienna.

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50 Cf. Breuning, "Aus Grillparzers Wohnung," in Deutsch, DEr, 286–87.

51 The first to make the connection between the provenance note "Geschenk des Frl. Fröhlich" in the *Repertorium* and the Fröhlich sisters in Vienna was the author of this paper.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: The Mozart sources in Anna Fröhlich's collection

Description in *Repertorium*	**Category and no. in *Repertorium***	**Description in *Verzeichnis***
No 1 Cavatina No 2. Terzetto N. 3 Quartetto aus La villanella rapita.	I. Mozart-Nachlass 53	[La Villanelle rapita] *Quartetto* [Dite almeno]
		La Villanella rapita Terzetto
Die Entführung Oper in 3 Aufzügen.	III. Gesangsmusicalien 20	*Entführung aus d. Serail Terzetto im Clavierausz.*
	III. Gesangsmusicalien 20	[Entführung aus d. Serail] *Romanze e Quartetto*
	III. Gesangsmusicalien 20	[Entführung aus d. Serail] *Duetto.*
"Idomeneo" Oper in 3 Acten.	III. Gesangsmusicalien 35	*Idomeneo. Quartetto*
Figaros Hochzeit. Kom: Oper in 4 Acten	III. Gesangsmusicalien 37	*Le Nozze di Figaro Aria*
No 1 Das Lob d: Freundschaft.	III. Gesangsmusicalien 44	*Cantate für 3 Männerst. u. Clavierbgltg.*
Don Giovanni 8 einz. Nummern in geschr. Partit[ur]	III. Gesangsmusicalien 594	[Don Giovanni] *Quartetto*
		[Don Giovanni] *Duetto con Recitativo*
		Don Giovanni (Leporello) Finale I | Finale 2
		[Don Giovanni] *Sestetto*
		[Don Giovanni] *Duetto*
		[Don Giovanni] *Coro di Spettri*
		[Don Giovanni] *Donna Elvira*
		[Don Giovanni] *Donna Anna*
		[Don Giovanni] *Don Ottavio*
		[Don Giovanni] *Leporello*
		[Don Giovanni] *Zerline*
		[Don Giovanni] *Il Comendatore*
		[Don Giovanni] *Ouvertura*
		[Don Giovanni] *Terzetto*
		[Don Giovanni] *Don Giovanni*

	Materials in *Verzeichnis*	**Cat. Nr.**	**Depository, shelf-mark (today)**
	1 St. Clavierauszg.	K 479	A-Sm, M.N. 53e
	3 St. Clavierauszg.	K 480	A-Sm, M.N. 53g
	2 Stim.	K 384	A-Sm, Rara 384/11 [?]
	4 Stimm. Clav.	K 384	A-Sm, Rara 384/20
	Clav. 1 Stm.	K 384	A-Sm, Rara 384/21
	4 Singst. 1. Chorst. Clavierausz.	K 366	A-Sm, Rara 366/5
	Clavierausz.	K 492	A-Sm, Rara 492/23
		K 623	A-Sm, Rara 623/1 od. 3
	Clavierausz.	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/12
	Partitur	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/7
	Clavierausz.	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/16 [Finale 1]; Rara 527/28 [Finale 2]
	Clavierausz.	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/22
	Clavierausz.	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/27
	2 Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/31
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/35
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/36
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/37
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/38
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/39
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/40
	Partitur	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/5
	Clavierausz.	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/21
	Stimmen	K 527	A-Sm Rara 527/34

Table 2: Schubert sources in Anna Fröhlich's collection

Description in *Repertorium*	Category in *Repertorium*	No.	Description in *Verzeichnis*		Cat. Nr.	Depositary, shelf-mark
Drei Lieder / für vier Männerstimmen mit Pianof. / 1. Das Dörfchen, 2. Die Nachtigall, / 3. Geist der Liebe	III. Gesangsmusicalien	641	*Das Dörfchen, f. 4 Männerst. e Clav.*	pr.	D 641	A-Sm, RaraDru Schub 598/1
			Die Nachtigall [*f. 4 Männerstimmen e Clav.*]	pr.	D 724	A-Sm, RaraDru Schub 724/1
			Geist der Liebe [*f. 4 Männerstimmen e Clav.*]	pr.	D 747	A-Sm, RaraDru Schub 747/1
Ständchen / von Grillparzer	III. Gesangsmusicalien	645	*Ständchen v. Grillparzer* [*Clavierausz.*]	ms.	D 920	A-Sm, RaraHs Schub 2
Der 23. Psalm	III. Gesangsmusicalien	646	*der 23. Psalm Clavierausz.*	ms.	D 706	A-Sm, RaraHs Schub 3
Nachthelle / für Tenor Solo mit Männerchor / und Clavierbegleitung.	III. Gesangsmusicalien	647	*Nachthelle f. Tenorsolo m. Männerch. / und Clavierbgltg.*	ms	D 892	A-Sm, RaraHs Schub 4
Gott im Ungewitter / für Sopr. Alt. Ten Bass im Clavierbgl. / Op. 112	III. Gesangsmusicalien	649	*Gott im Ungewitter f. Sopr. Alt. Ten. Baß m. Clav. 5 St.*	pr.	D 985	A-Sm, RaraDru Schub 985/1
I. Gott in der Natur. (4stimm. Gsg.)	III. Gesangsmusicalien	648	*Gott in der Natur*	ms.	D 757	A-Sm, RaraSchub 5

Schubert's Imperial Connections

Birgit Lodes

After Schubert had successfully gone public with an Akademie on the anniversary of Beethoven's death, the widow Charlotte Princess Kinsky offered him the opportunity to give a concert at her palace in the early summer of 1828. Schubert performed his songs together with the singer Carl Freiherr Schönstein, and followed the performance by improvising dances for the noble guests. The importance of this evening for Schubert can be better understood through a comprehensive historical contextualization: apparently only a small circle of the very high nobility was present, including the "Duke of Reichstadt" (Napoleon II) and most probably also Archduchess Sophie, for whom Princess Kinsky worked as Obersthofmeisterin (Lord Chamberlain) at the imperial court. The documented concert and dance evening in the Princess's palace, which at the time was famous for private dance events of the high aristocracy, shows that not only Schubert's friends, but also music-loving members of the Viennese aristocracy and the imperial family enjoyed evenings of listening to and dancing to Schubert at the piano. Schubert consolidated this success by dedicating a set of four songs Op. 96 to the Princess, thus publicly confirming her role as a patron of music and song. A similar event was planned for the following winter but it never took place due to Schubert's death. However, as this article shows, the doors of the high nobility and even the imperial family were wide open to Schubert in the last months of his life.

In the early summer of 1828, Princess Charlotte Kinsky invited Franz Schubert and the singer Carl Freiherr von Schönstein to a concert at her palace on the Freyung in Vienna. We know of this through a letter of thanks from the hostess to Schubert:

> Please receive my thanks once again, dear Herr Schubert, both for the interest you took in the success of my concert and for the dedication of the songs just received, which I look forward to admiring next winter, if your and Baron Schönstein's complaisance will afford me that delight. Please accept the enclosed as

> a poor token of my gratitude, and thus greatly oblige your devoted Charlotte, Pncs. Kinsky. Vienna, 7 July 1828.[1]

This appreciative letter is so far the only surviving document confirming that Schubert performed in high aristocratic circles in Vienna. The concert at Princess Kinsky's is occasionally mentioned in the literature, although historiographical interest – if the document is considered at all – has so far been satisfied with the interpretation of the event as a kind of business transaction: Schubert took part in a concert in high aristocratic circles, thanked Princess Kinsky for it with the dedication of a song print, was paid by the princess (the letter was apparently accompanied by a sum of money, 'Inlage') and invited to another concert the following winter. But was this really primarily a matter of economics?

In the following, I would like to explore Schubert's appearance at Princess Kinsky's social gathering in greater depth by means of a contextualization of the surviving sources and an attempt to trace the personal networks behind them. I explore the musical spheres of action and the networks of a widow of high nobility who was in contact with Schubert and interested in music. This opens up new perspectives on what this event meant for Schubert, and what it might have meant in the longer term had he not died a few months later. The posthumously established narrative of Schubert as a stranger to the aristocracy and almost exclusively devoted to his bourgeois friends will have to be revised.[2] As will be shown, it certainly defines Schubert's social relationships and musical-cultural spheres of activity too narrowly.

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1 Deutsch, DDoc, 790. "Empfangen Sie nochmals meinen Dank, lieber Herr Schubert, sowohl für den Anteil, den Sie an dem Gelingen meines Konzerts hatten, als für die Zueignung der letzterhaltenen Lieder, welche ich mich freue, den nächsten Winter zu bewundern, wenn Ihre und Baron Schönsteins Gefälligkeit mir diesen Genuß verschaffen wollen. Empfangen Sie die Inlage als einen schwachen Beweis meiner Erkenntlichkeit, und Sie werden sehr verbinden Ihre ergebene Charlotte Fstn. Kinsky. Wien, d. 7ten Juli 1828." (Deutsch DDok, 526). The document is lost today.

2 In doing so, I am continuing a thesis by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, who, with reference to Schubert's dedications from the 1820s, among other things, recently established that Schubert did indeed maintain more intensive relations with the (high) nobility than is traditionally portrayed in research and biography; Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, "Adelige Musikfreunde, Franz Schubert und das Wiener Musikleben im Vormärz," in *Adel im Vormärz. Begegnungen mit einer umstrittenen Sozialformation*, ed. Urte Stobbe and Claude D. Conter (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2023), 147–76; cf. Emily H. Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785–1850* (Rochester NY: Univ. of Rochester Press, 2019), 23–24.

Charlotte Princess Kinsky: singer, music lover, and widow

In order to pursue the question of how the concert at Palais Kinsky came about in the first place, it is first necessary to find out more about the organizer, Charlotte Princess Kinsky. She was the widow of Ferdinand Prince Kinsky, who has gone down in music historiography – together with Archduke Rudolph and Prince Lobkowitz – as Beethoven's pensioner.[3] Until now, little was known about the Princess herself. [4]

The surviving life testimonies show that Charlotte von Kerpen (married Kinsky) had received a profound musical education, performed as a singer in family circles and in musical gatherings, and cultivated her image as a music connoisseur throughout her life. This image formation was rooted in her childhood and youth: Charlotte had grown up in the highly respected, emperor-loyal, as well as decidedly musical Kerpen family in Koblenz.[5] Due to the Napoleonic Wars, the family had to emigrate from Koblenz to Prague in 1792, where Charlotte von Kerpen finally married the imperial commander Ferdinand Prince Kinsky in 1801. The fact that Ferdinand Prince Kinsky waived a dowry suggests that the bride did not bring much money into the marriage,[6] but apparently had beauty, charm, a good education, and an excellent training as a musician (see Illustration 1).

3 Kinsky committed himself in February 1809 to the payment of the highest sum, 1,800 florins annually, Archduke Rudolph 1,500 and Lobkowitz 700.

4 There is still virtually no research on Charlotte Princess Kinsky, née von Kerpen. In the early family history, which today remains the only monograph on the family, she typically appears in only one context: as a link between her husband, who died too early, and her still minor firstborn. Thus her role is defined as a widow, careful educator, and administrator of the Kinsky estates until the heir came of age. Cf. Josef Erwin Folkmann, *Die gefürstete Linie des uralten und edlen Geschlechtes Kinsky. Ein geschichtlicher Versuch* (Prague: Verlag von Karl André), 71. I am preparing a separate study on Charlotte Kinsky-Kerpen, especially on her role for Beethoven's work.

5 Cf. a letter from Leopold Mozart of 26 September 1763, reporting on his family's ten-day visit to Koblenz in 1763: The Mozarts found the court pretty dull but were excited about the Kerpen family because they were all such good musicians. Charlotte's father, a violinist, was the eldest of the nine Kerpen children. (*Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – Online Edition:* https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=622&cat=).

6 The Kerpen family of Free Imperial Knights had lost access to their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; William D. Godsey, *Nobles and nation in Central Europe. Free imperial knights in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 159–60.



Illustration 1: Maria Charlotte Princess Kinsky, born Baronesse von Kerpen (1782–1841). J.[osef] Skala, 1825. (Austrian State Archives, AVAFHKA, Kinsky family archive, carton 37.7).

Charlotte collected music for her own use as a soprano. In the Kinsky library in Prague, part of her music library is preserved and consists of hundreds of items of vocal music: arias and excerpts of Italian and German operas; Italian ariette, canzonette, duettos and duettinos; German lieder; some piano music, and quite a lot of guitar music (which indicates that she, and probably also her husband, played the English guitar, which was very popular at the time). She took care of this personal music collection herself.[7] She was also the dedicatee of at least ten different printed compositions, almost all vocal works.[8] The composers apparently proceeded from the assumption that she herself would sing

7 Bastlová prepared a catalog of this music collection: Eliška Bastlová, *Collectio operum musicalium quae in Bibliotheca Kinsky adservantur*. Artis musicae antiquioris catalogorum series 8 (Prague: National Library of the CR, 2013).

8 Jan Václav Tomásek, *VI Lieder fürs Klavier* [op. 2] (Prague, [1800]); Paolo Sandrini, *VI. Cavatine coll'accompagnamento di Chitarra* (s.l., s.a.); Friedrich August Kanne, *Grande Sonate pour le Piano-Forte* (Vienna, [1805]); Ludwig van Beethoven, *Sechs Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte [...]*, op. 75 (Leipzig, [1810]); Beethoven, *Vier Arietten und ein Duett mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 82 [probably intended for Kerpen-Kinsky, but printed without dedication] (Leipzig, [1811]); Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, *Sechs Lieder von Heinrich Schmidt* (Vienna, [1811/12?]); Giovanni Liverati, *Sei Ariette* [...] *Sua Scolara*, op. VI (Vienna, [1811]); Beethoven, *Drey Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte [...]*, op. 83 (Leipzig, [1812]); Beethoven, *An die Hoffnung* from Tiedge's *Urania [...]*, op. 94 (Vienna, 1816); Franz Schubert, *Vier Lieder*, op. 96 (Vienna, [1828]).

the works or that she was primarily interested in song compositions.[9] Through Johann Friedrich Reichardt's letters, there is even evidence of a performance by her in January 1809 in a concert at the Palais Lobkowitz.[10]

On 3 November 1812, Charlotte Kinsky's husband, the deserving war hero and patron of the arts and music Prince Ferdinand, died suddenly as the result of a riding accident. After an elaborate funeral befitting his station, the young widow mourned in moderation and spent the next few years responsibly and rather reclusively bringing up her sons, while her brother-in-law Franz Anton Count Kolowra acted as executor of the estate.[11] Being a widow abruptly changed her life in many respects, not least with regard to her musical practice: from the surviving musical records, one gets the impression that singing had been an important medium for Charlotte to express her love for her husband in a small circle in the sense of 'Liebesgaben' (gifts of love) during their married life together.[12] After her husband's death, she seems to have performed less or not at all as a singer. The main indication for this thesis lies in the fact that her extensive collection of music after 1812 no longer records any additions under her name,[13] but many later scores bear an owner's note with

9 Cf. Birgit Lodes, "Gaben und Gegengaben. Ehepaare des Wiener Hochadels als Beethovens Mäzene," in *Beethoven. Menschenwelt und Götterfunken*, ed. Thomas Leibnitz (Salzburg and Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2019), 54–67; Gundela Bobeth, "Lieddedikationen an den Wiener Adel. Zur Neupositionierung und Kontextualisierung der Gattung 'Lied' zur Zeit Beethovens," in *Beethoven-Geflechte. A Beethoven Tapestry. Networks and Cultures of Memory,* ed. Birgit Lodes and Melanie Unseld, 271–288 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2024).

10 Report by Johann Friedrich Reichardt who praises her voice after hearing her sing Romeo in Zingarelli's *Romeo et Juliette*, one of her prime roles; Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Kunst- und Industrie-Comtoir, 1810); I quote here and in the following from the edition by Gustav Gugitz, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, 2 vols. (Munich: Georg Müller, 1915), 1, 287–88.

11 Thus, she fulfilled the role expected of widowed aristocratic women; on the norms and the comparatively large scope for action in widowhood, see e.g. Martina Schattkowsky (ed.), *Witwenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Fürstliche und adlige Witwen zwischen Fremd- und Selbstbestimmung,* (Leipzig: Leipziger Univ.-Verlag, 2003); Gesa Ingendahl, *Witwen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eine kulturhistorische Studie* (Frankfurt a.M. etc.: Campus Verlag, 2006); Ulrike Ilg (ed.), *Fürstliche Witwen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte eines Standes* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, [2015]).

12 Cf. the ariettas by Giovanni Liverati composed especially for the joint summer stay in Budenice in September 1808, with relevant inscriptions and texts: *Serenata | A voce Sola, con Accompagnamento d'Arpa | o Piano Forte | Piccol sorpresa A: Sua Altezza Il Signore Principe Ferdinando de Kinsky | ed eseguito nel suo Giardino di Budenice | la sera del 2. Settemb: 1808 | M[usica]: e P[oesia]: di G: Liverati* (Bastlová no. 134); the first two ariettes begin with the lyrics "Sorgi o Cara è già Mattino" and "È la garrula famiglia". In the same summer, Liverati also composed the canzonetta "Dal di ch'io ti mirai" and the three ariettas "Ah si mio cor t'intendo," "Scaccia dal petto o Nice," and "Tu m'offendesti o Dori", all for soprano and guitar, for Charlotte Kinsky (Bastlová no. 121 and no. 120).

13 The handwritten and printed sources that can be securely attributed to her collection stem almost exclusively from an earlier time, before her husband died suddenly in 1812.

the name of her daughter-in-law Wilhelmine Elisabeth Princess Kinsky, née Colloredo-Mansfeld (1804–1871, since 1825 married to Rudolf Prince Kinsky).[14]

Nevertheless, for the widowed princess, music remained formative to her self-image: as shown in an interior painting by her mother, Maria Antonia Baroness von Kerpen (1757–1828), the princess placed a portrait of her deceased husband together with portraits of her two sons above her grand piano. In her salon, at the grand piano, the family members – both living and deceased – thus continue to be together (see Illustration 2).



Illustration 2: Salon of Charlotte Princess Kinsky (née Kerpen) in the Palais Kinsky in Prague, Altstädter Ring. Maria Antonia Baronesse von Kerpen (mother of Charlotte Kinsky). Tempera, 23.5 x 33.5 cm, probably c. 1825–1830. (Kinsky family archives).[15]

As William Godsey has shown, Charlotte Kinsky, even as a widow, with her wealth, standing and social network, functioned as an anchor for various mem-

14 For a comparable case see Susanne Rode-Breymann, "Höfe als Orte der Musik. Komponierende Fürstinnen und andere 'musicallische Weibspersohnen'," in *Der Hof. Ort kulturellen Handelns von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Rode-Breymann and Antje Tumat (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), 52–63, here 58.

15 The image is taken from Gottfried Stangler and Dagmar Leindl (ed.), *Zeugen der Intimität. Privaträume der kaiserlichen Familie und des böhmischen Adels. Aquarelle und Interieurs des 19. Jahrhunderts (Ausstellung Schallaburg 1997)* (Vienna: Amt der nierderösterreichischen Landesregierung, 1997), plate 75 (description 6.22 on p. 183); cf. Květa Křížová, *Šlechtický interiér 19. století v dobových zobrazeních ze zámeckých sbírek* (Prague: Vyd. Panorama, 1993), 127.

bers of related *émigré families* who had to find a new footing in Prague or in the empire – similar to her own family in 1792.[16] This agency is also evident with respect to music: with the dedication of the song *An die Hoffnung*, op. 94, in 1816, Ludwig van Beethoven, on the one hand, continued the earlier dedications of the Lied opp. 75 and 83 to the former singer during Ferdinand Kinsky's lifetime (see footnote 8); on the other hand, he thereby confirms Charlotte Kinsky's current agency as a patron of music. After the death of Prince Kinsky, Beethoven had corresponded directly with the widowed Princess in order to obtain the continuation of the pension payments that were vital for him, which the widow was not able to order herself, though she apparently later successfully lobbied the legal representatives of her two still minor sons and heirs.[17]

A new life at the Imperial court: Princess Kinsky as *Obersthofmeisterin* to Archduchess Sophie

Rights and duties of a Obersthofmeisterin

In 1824, after her two sons had grown up,[18] Charlotte Princess Kinsky accepted one of the most prestigious and influential positions at court attainable for a woman: by a decree of 12 October 1824, she was appointed Obersthofmeisterin (female Lord Chamberlain) to the future Archduchess Sophie Friederike, Princess of Bavaria,[19] who was to marry Archduke Franz Karl of Austria, the second eldest son of Emperor Franz I, on 4 November 1824.[20]

The appointment to the office of Obersthofmeisterin to Archduchess Sophie may be seen as the crowning achievement of Charlotte Kinsky-Kerpen's long life of loyalty to the monarchy, and a sign of the high social esteem in which she was held. A few years earlier, she had already been awarded the honorary imperial titles of "Lady of the Order of the Star Cross" ("Sternkreuzordens-

16 Godsey, *Nobles and nation*, 159.

17 Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff: "'O Unseeliges Dekret': Beethovens Rente von Fürst Lobkowitz, Fürst Kinsky und Erzherzog Rudolph," in *Beethoven und Böhmen. Beiträge zu Biographie und Wirkungsgeschichte Beethovens*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Martella Gutiérrez-Denhoff (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1988), 91–145; on Beethoven's legal dispute against the Kinsky heirs and the related liabilities, cf. more recently Birgit Lodes, "Friendship, Death, and Transfiguration in Late-Enlightenment Context: Beethoven's *Elegischer Gesang,* op. 118," in *Rethinking Beethoven and the Enlightenment,* ed. Daniel K.L. Chua and Nicholas Chong (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), [forthcoming].

18 Rudolf Kinsky (*1802) married Wilhelmine Elisabeth Countess Colloredo-Mansfeld in 1825; Josef Kinsky (*1806) was to marry Marie Countess Czernín of Chudenitz in November 1828.

19 Godsey, *Nobles and nation*, 159.

20 One of the singers at the wedding festivities was Caroline Unger, who was well acquainted with Schubert and Carl Baron Schönstein. Unger's godmother was Caroline Pichler.

dame", the highest order of ladies in the Empire) and "Dame du Palais" of Her Majesty the Empress, Karoline Auguste.[21] The primary task of these unpaid honorary offices for selected noble women was to represent the empress at official festivities in splendid dress in the empress's entourage and in this way to contribute to the splendor of her majesty. Of course, all three of Princess Kinsky's titles are also listed on the title page of Schubert's print dedicated to her, op. 96, mentioned at the beginning of this article (see Illustration 3). The title page reads: *Die Sterne von Leitner. Jaegers Liebeslied von Schober. – Wanderers Nachtlied von Göthe. und Fischerweise von Schlechta. in Musik gesetzt für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte und Jhrer fürstl. Gnaden der Frau Fürstin v. Kinsky. geb. Freyinn v. Kerpen, Sternkreuz-Ordens-Dame, Dame du Palais Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin und Obersthofmeisterin Ihrer k.k. Hoheit der Durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Sophie in tiefester Ehrfurcht geweiht von Franz Schubert*.

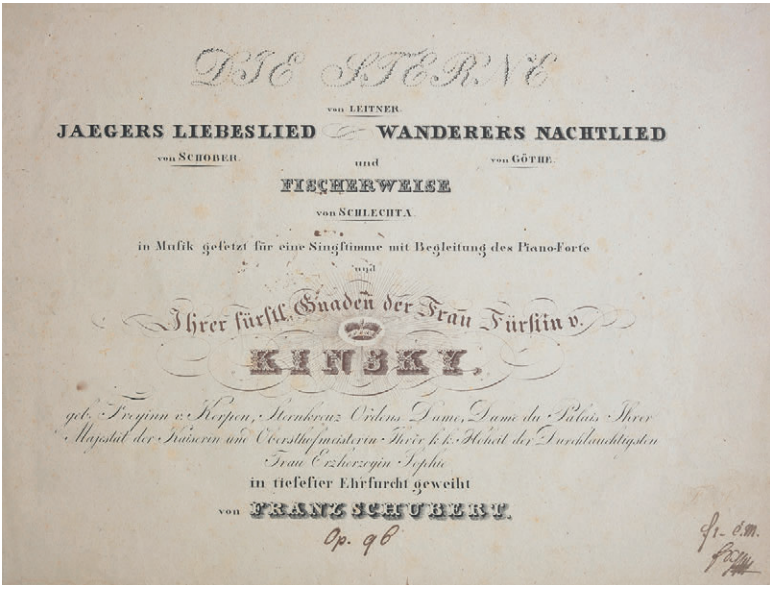

Die Sterne
von Leitner.
JAEGERS LIEBESLIED — WANDERERS NACHTLIED
von Schober. und von Göthe.
FISCHERWEISE
von Schlechta.
in Musik gesetzt für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte
und
Jhrer fürstl. Gnaden der Frau Fürstin v.
KINSKY,
geb. Freyinn v. Kerpen, Sternkreuz Ordens Dame, Dame du Palais Ihrer Majestät der Kaiserin und Obersthofmeisterin Ihrer k.k. Hoheit der Durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Sophia
in tiefester Ehrfurcht geweiht
von FRANZ SCHUBERT.
Op. 96

Illustration 3: Franz Schubert, *Die Sterne* [etc.], [op. 96], title page. Vienna 1828 (Austrian National Library, Music Collection, SH.Schubert.353.22).

21 *Kalender zum Gebrauche des Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlichen Hofes für das Jahr 1828, welches ein gemeines Jahr ist, und 365 Tage hat* (Vienna: Edle von Ghelen'sche Erben, [1827]), 53, 62, and 67–68.

22 "Op. 96" was added here in handwriting, most probably by Schubert, and was printed in posthumous editions; Michael Raab, *Franz Schuberts Werke in Erst- und Frühdrucken (Schubert-Drucke-Verzeichnis). Teilband a* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 336. The title page is designed in two colors.

However, the title of Obersthofmeisterin held by Archduchess Sophie was not merely an honorary post, but was also a position of responsibility at court with many duties, rights, regular remuneration, and a markedly close relationship to the archduchess and the imperial family. After the sovereign, the Obersthofmeisterin was the most important person in the hierarchy of the women's court (Frauenhof). She was charged with the supervision of all the female personnel in the women's room, managed the household, ensured that ceremonial rules were observed, and supervised personal access to the archduchess by receiving letters from women and clergy and announcing audiences.[23] In addition, the duties associated with Charlotte Princess Kinsky's role also brought her personally very close to the sovereign, in that she was obliged "to tell her the truth at all times without severity and with reverence."[24] She had access to the bedchamber and was also involved, for example, in her prostrations (at which Kinsky was alone with her, with only a midwife) and the baptisms (at which Kinsky symbolically carried the hereditary princes).

When Charlotte Princess Kinsky took up her duties, she had to move her residence from Prague to Vienna. There she spent most of her time not at Palais Kinsky on the Freyung, but at the respective places of residence of the young archducal couple: they lived in specially adapted rooms at the Hofburg in Vienna,[25] and at the Laxenburg Palace, at the Flora Villa in Baden or at Schönbrunn Palace in summer.[26] As the archduchess's Obersthofmeisterin, Kinsky had to keep herself available day and night and also accompanied Sophie on activities outside the home, either personally or by sending one of the two younger ladies-in-waiting along to report to her. [27]

In order to ensure the necessary closeness, Princess Kinsky was provided with her own apartment in the Reichskanzleitrakt of the Hofburg, which she occupied until her death.[28] Two watercolors show the princess concentrating

23 Katrin Keller, *Hofdamen. Amtsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2005), 109–112.

24 From the requirements for the Obersthofmeisterin of the Prussian Queen Luise of 1793, quoted in Christa Diemel, *Adelige Frauen im bürgerlichen Jahrhundert. Hofdamen, Stiftsdamen, Salondamen 1800–1870* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Verlag, 1998), 117.

25 *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835. Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus,* ed. Hellmut Lorenz and Anna Mader-Kratky (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021), 349, 403–4.

26 Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität,* 156–69, with plans and extensive pictorial documentation.

27 Keller, *Hofdamen,* 166, 106.

28 Since the dissolution of the Reichskanzlei (1806), the rooms were used as archives and living quarters; among others, the Duke of Reichstadt resided there (on him, see below). From Kinsky's apartment, which faced Schauflergasse, it was only a few minutes to her palace on the Freyung (plan in Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität*, 163).

on her reading, surrounded by personal objects (see Illustration 4):[29] private paintings (portraits of the family, as well as a current interior view from the Kinsky Palace in Prague),[30] a wide-format panorama of Rome,[31] to which she had traveled with her two sons in 1823, and small collector's items such as the replica of the famous *Hebe* by Bertel Thorvaldsen, which her sons had given her on the same trip.[32] A Spanish wall covers the door, which – probably as a sign of the exemplary permanent readiness of the Obersthofmeisterin – is half open in both watercolors.

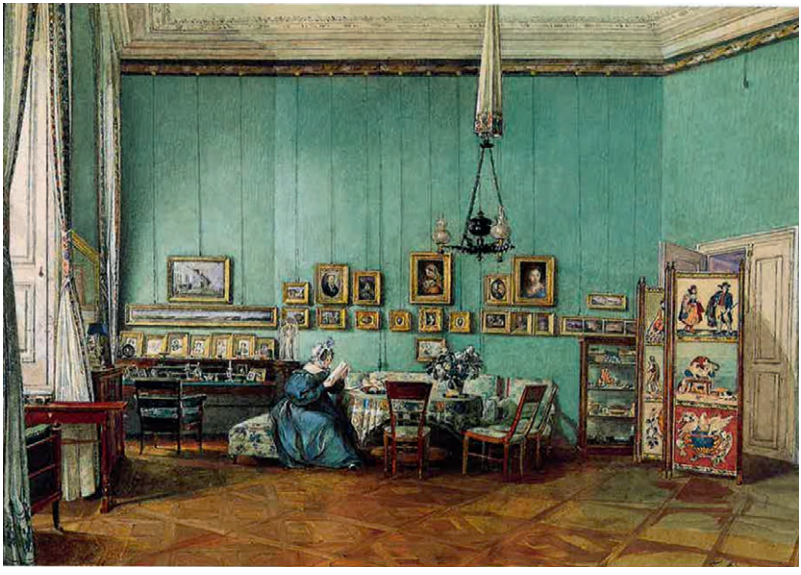


Illustration 4: Charlotte Princess Kinsky in her official apartment as Obersthofmeisterin to Archduchess Sophie in the Reichskanzleitrakt of the Vienna Hofburg. Franz Barbarini (1804–1873), watercolor on paper (after 1832). (Kinsky family archives).[33]

29 A slightly earlier watercolor, dated 1832, is by Josef Matthäus Kern (1801–1852); illustrated as plate 23 (cat. no. 4.17) in Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität.* For a brief description of both watercolors, see Lieselotte Hanzl, "Interieurs des Wiener Hofes Franz' II. (I.)," in Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität,* 23–38, esp. 32; Křížová, *Šlechtický interiér 19. století*, 22.

30 The corresponding gouache from 1829 has survived to this day (Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität*, plate 60, cat.no. 6.02 [p. 177]).

31 The panorama used to be in her sons' room in the Prague Palace.

32 Many of the paintings and objects are still privately owned by the Kinsky family except for the *Hebe*. This small sculpture is present also in Illustration 2 in this essay (Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität*, 162).

33 Image taken from *Palais Daun-Kinsky. Wien, Freyung,* ed. Andrea Stockhammer (Vienna: AMI-SOLA Immobilien AG, 2002), fig. 265 on p. 235.

The Shared Interests of Archduchess Sophie, Lord Chamberlain Kinsky and Lord Chamberlain Széchényi

Princess Kinsky was probably not chosen for the office of Obersthofmeisterin (female Lord Chamberlain) merely because she fulfilled the necessary basic requirements as a widowed noblewoman with experience in the management of a large court who came from an old family loyal to the emperor, and who had a virtuous lifestyle and impeccable character.[34] Rather, the imperial court certainly felt obligated toward her since her late husband Ferdinand Prince Kinsky – faithful to the family motto "Deus, honor, patria"[35] – had held high offices at court and had rendered heroic services to the emperor in the war: in May 1809, after the victorious battle of Aspern, he had been awarded the Order of Maria Theresa (the highest military decoration of the Habsburg monarchy) while still in the field.[36] Finally, we may also assume that Kinsky's appointment as Obersthofmeisterin was also favored by the fact that the pronounced musical and artistic interests of the archduchess corresponded splendidly with those of the princess. As is well known, one of the duties of an Obersthofmeisterin was to coordinate musical performances in the domain of the sovereign[37] as well as to encourage the ladies-in-waiting under her command to participate – whether in theater, opera, dance, *tableaux vivants* or music – both at tea in the inner circle of the imperial family and at larger events at court.[38]

As Obersthofmeisterin to archduchess Sophie, Charlotte Kinsky had her work cut out for her. The archduchess was an educated, politically and culturally interested person who, after her arrival at the Habsburg court, was quickly held in high esteem by both Emperor Franz II/I and Minister of State Clemens Wenzel Prince Metternich. She enjoyed going to the theater, the opera, concerts and dances, and in her letters to her mother she gave detailed accounts of

34 Keller, *Hofdamen*, 109.
35 Jaroslav Macek, "Beethoven und Ferdinand Fürst Kinsky," in *Ludwig van Beethoven im Herzen Europas. Leben und Nachleben in den bömischen Ländern*, ed. Oldřich Pulkert (Prague: České Lupkové Závody, ed. Resonus, 2000), 218–44, at 219.
36 Folkmann, *Geschichtlicher Versuch*, 70.
37 Katrin Keller, "Das Frauenzimmer. Hofdamen und Dienerinnen zwischen Transfer und kultureller Praxis," in *Der Hof. Ort kulturellen Handelns von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne Rode-Breymann and Antje Tumat (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), 185–206, at 198.
38 Keller, *Hofdamen*, 105; Diemel, *Adelige Frauen*, 118.

the performances.[39] She was not only a good pianist,[40] but even took lessons in cello playing at her own expense – something considered highly unseemly for women in the nineteenth century according to gender norms.[41] Already in her first years in Vienna, she purchased numerous musical works and subscribed to Anton Diabelli's music editions.[42]

Archduchess Sophie invited musicians, family members and courtiers to her salon almost daily for 'tea' or musical evening entertainment: they usually met from 6 p.m. until at least 7 p.m., sometimes as late as 8 p.m. – in any case more extensively than other members of the imperial family. These private musical gatherings, at which Princess Kinsky as Obersthofmeisterin was certainly present, if not involved in the organization, have hardly been researched yet. As Elisabeth Hilscher has been able to ascertain, Sophie often played the piano herself, both solistically and as accompanist, and these gatherings also included declamation and recitation.[43] Occasionally professional musicians were guests, and Sophie was particularly interested in meetings with female artists and musicians[44] – in this respect, too, she resembled her Obersthofmeisterin, Princess Kinsky.[45] In 1825, Sophie had a music salon in Laxenburg Palace fashionably adapted[46] and an exquisite grand piano by Conrad Graf installed, which has even been preserved (see Illustrations 5a and 5b).

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39 Ingrid Haslinger, *Erzherzogin Sophie. Eine Biografie nach den persönlichen Aufzeichnungen der Mutter Kaiser Franz Josephs* (Salzburg and Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 2016), 43–44.

40 Shortly after her wedding, Sophie had already rented a piano and paid a piano master (Haslinger, *Erzherzogin Sophie,* 45). Her teacher was, among others – as documented in Beethoven's conversation book of June, 1825 – the famous pianist, composer and piano teacher Katharina Cibbini-Koželuch (1785–1858) who dedicated her op. 3 to her: *Deux Divertissments brillants et d'un Style elègant: pour le Piano-Forte: sur des Motifs favoris* (Vienna: Ant. Diabelli et Comp., c. 1827); Michaela Krucsay, *Katharina Cibbini-Koželuch. Musikerin und Mäzenin* (Strasshof, Vienna, Bad Aibling: Vier-Viertel-Verlag, 2008), 69; Karl-Heinz Köhler and Grita Herre (ed.), *Ludwig van Beethovens Konversationshefte* 7 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978): 308.

41 Freia Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper: die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel-Verlag, 1991), 196–207.

42 Sophie paid for all music-related expenses (lessons, payment of invited musicians for their participation in her musical salons, piano rental, tuning, purchase of musical instruments) from the 'Spennadlgeld' at her personal disposal (Haslinger, *Erzherzogin Sophie,* 45; with receipts from the Generaldirektion der Privaten Familienfonds, Rechnungsbücher, vol. 1431).

43 Elisabeth Th. Fritz-Hilscher, "Höfisches Biedermeier. Der Salon der Erzherzogin Sophie," in *Musizierpraxis im Biedermeier,* ed. Barbara Boisits (Vienna: Mille-Tre-Verlag, 2004), 21–36, at 22–23.

44 Caroline Pichler reports a very appreciative audience with her (Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 4 vols [Vienna: Pichler, 1844], vol. 4, 89–91). In the 1840s and 50s, the archduchess admired the young Jenny Lind (Haslinger, *Erzherzogin Sophie,* 43). Finally, the autograph of Emilie Mayer's D minor Piano Trio (RISM 464122261) reveals that the composer was also received by the archduchess.

45 Cf. Bastlová, *Collectio operum musicalium*, 30.

46 The chamois(= beige)-blue-silver color combination was too fashionable for an imperial residence in the opinion of the emperor's deputy Obersthofmeister Johann Rudolf Count Czernín (1757–1845). On the Czernín family, see the epilogue below.



Illustration 5a: Johann Stephan Decker (1784–1844), Music salon of Archduchess Sophie in Laxenburg Castle near Vienna (newly adapted and furnished in 1825), after 1825, SPSG, GK II (5) 481. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg. Foto: Roland Handrick.[47]



Illustration 5b: Conrad Graf (1782–1851), Fortepiano, ca. 1820. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, collection of musical instruments (room 14), no. 396 (www.khm.at/de/object/85094/), most likely from the estate of Archduchess Sophie.

47 Room plan and description in Stangler and Leindl, *Zeugen der Intimität*, 156–57.

In view of the occupation of the highest offices at the court of Archduchess Sophie, it is probably more than mere coincidence that her Obersthofmeister, Lajos Count Széchényi of Sárvár-Felsö-Vidék (1781–1855),[48] was also active both literarily and musically: he was not only a respected poet, but also an occasional composer[49] and a member of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Schubert had set two poems (*Die abgeblühte Linde* D 514; *Der Flug der Zeit* D 515) by Széchényi to music, which were published in 1821 (together with *Der Tod und das Mädchen* by Matthias Claudius) as op. 7 with a dedication to the count.[50] In addition, the singer and composer Benedict Randhartinger, who was well acquainted with Schubert, had served as Széchényi's private secretary since 1825.[51] Thus, Schubert potentially had a connection to the imperial court also through the person of Sophie's Obersthofmeister, Count Széchényi.

On the social position of Princess Kinsky

The contact between the archduchess and her Obersthofmeisterin produced, of course, various joint effects, as can be illustrated by two portraits by Josef Karl Stieler from 1832 (see Illustrations 6 ab). On behalf of King Ludwig I of Bavaria,[52] Stieler had traveled in 1828 to Weimar to portray Goethe. Soon after that he went to Vienna in order to portray the daughter of Ludwig I, Archduchess Sophie with the two-year-old heir to the throne Franz Joseph on her arm, for the Habsburg imperial family.[53] On this occasion, Sophie's Obersthofmeisterin, Princess Charlotte Kinsky, apparently also had herself portrayed: proud, beautiful, gazing prudently into the distance, clad in costly dresses, luxuriant fur,

48 *Kalender zum Gebrauche des Oesterreichisch-Kaiserlichen Hofes für das Jahr 1828*, 67–68.

49 See, e.g., *10 Ländler und 1 Masurka a Piano Forte* (1812) in A-Wgm XV 2218 (Q 20237); *Die Rose und die Liebe* in A-Wn Mus.Hs.44534; *6 Lieder* in H-Gk (RISM ID 530012222).

50 Obersthofmeister Count Széchényi married (his second marriage) the sister of one of Archduchess Sophie's two ladies-in-waiting, Franziska von Wurmbrand-Stuppach. As was so often the case, the court service successfully functioned as a marriage market.

51 Katalin Szerzö suspects that this employment would have been due to a recommendation by Schubert and that "the world of the Viennese 'Schubertiads' also made its way into the Széchényi family home in Sopronhorpács, Vienna and Pest." Katalin Szerzö, "Benedict Randhartingers Beziehungen zu Graf Lajos Széchényi und Gábor Mátray-Róthkreph," in *Wien – Budapest – Bratislava. Facetten biedermeierlicher Musikkultur*, ed. Andrea Harrandt and Erich Wolfgang Partsch (Tutzing: Schneider, 2012), 163–68, at 163. – In 1826 Randhartinger's *Grand Trio* op. 10 appeared in print with a dedication to Count Lajos Széchényi (Vienna: Artaria).

52 Stieler had been associated with the Bavarian royal court since 1812 and had been a permanent employee there since 1820.

53 WV (as n. 55) nos. 157 and 158. Stieler copied and adapted the painting (without child) in 1841 for the beauty gallery of Sophie's father, King Ludwig I (WV no. 302, today in Nymphenburg Palace). For this gallery, Stieler painted a total of 38 paintings of women of different statuses since 1827 to represent the idea of beauty.

the most precious jewelry, a conspicuous hat with a feather, and in her hand a pair of white gloves as a sign of her highest rank. One gets the impression that Stieler wanted to tangibly stage Charlotte's self-confident nature.[54]



Illustration 6a: Princess Charlotte Kinsky (1782–1841) in 1832. Josef Karl Stieler (1781–1858). (Kinsky family archives).[55]

54 On Stieler as an exquisite 'soul painter' ('Seelenmaler'), as Ludwig I of Bavaria called him, cf. Silke Bettermann, "In bester Gesellschaft. Das Beethoven-Bildnis im Kontext der Gelehrten- und Dichter-Porträts von Joseph Stieler," in *In bester Gesellschaft. Joseph Stielers Beethoven-Porträt und seine Geschichte*, ed. Silke Bettermann (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2019), 58–67, here 65.

55 Von Hase's catalog raisonné does not list the Kinsky portrait; Ulrike von Hase, *Joseph Stieler 1781–1858. Sein Leben und sein Werk. Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1971) [WV]; but see Andrea Stockhammer, "Die wechselvolle Ausstattungsgeschichte des Palais Kinsky im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Palais Daun-Kinsky. Vienna, Freyung*, ed. Stockhammer, 185–219, n. 14 on p. 216, giving the date 1832. Illustration 6a is taken from p. 232.



Illustration 6b: Archduchess Sophie (1805–1872) with the two-year-old Franz Joseph in 1832. Josef Karl Stieler (1781–1858). (Wien Museum, on loan at Kaiserappartements). Image taken from https://www.habsburger.net.

The high standing and considerable influence at court created by the new activity were not without consequences for Charlotte Kinsky's general social intercourse. Caroline Pichler, who had met the widowed princess in Prague in spring 1825 shortly before she moved to Vienna,[56] perceived this metamorphosis and contrasts the informal sociability experienced with Princess Kinsky in Prague with the clearly stricter etiquette and social reclusiveness she experienced in Vienna:

56 Pichler had visited her daughter in Prague from c. April to c. June 1825. Cf. the contribution by Anja Bunzel in this volume. Apparently, Charlotte Kinsky did not take up her duties immediately after her appointment on 12 October 1824, but moved to Vienna only after June 1825, and maybe as late as in the winter of 1825–26, as Pichler states (Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 4, 61–62). At the imperial wedding on 4 November 1824, Obersthofmeister Széchényi was present, but Obersthofmeisterin Kinsky was not; *Erinnerungen an die stattgehabten Feierlichkeiten bei der Vermählung Sr. kaiserl. Hoheit des Erzherzogs Franz Karl von Österreich, mit Ihrer königl. Hoheit Sophie, Prinzessinn von Baiern* (Vienna: Sollinger, 1824), 3–4. It can be assumed that the Bavarian Obersthofmeisterin and the ladies of the Bavarian court, who accompanied Sophie at the wedding, continued to serve her at the new court for some time.

> So all these persons whom I adored [i.e. among others Charlotte Princess Kinsky and Franz Anton Count Kolowrat with his wife Maria Rosa, née Kinsky, Charlotte's sister-in-law][57] were now native to Vienna. But this proximity did not prove as satisfying for us as one should have thought at first sight. In Prague, in the provinces, the bourgeois acquaintances had freer access to their high-ranking patrons, and although I have not had the slightest cause to complain [...] of any disrespect or coldness or arrogance in their behaviour towards me, the position of these persons and their relationship to the imperial court meant that the more informal contact that took place in Prague could not be continued here.[58]

Due to her role as Obersthofmeisterin to Archduchess Sophie, which was appreciated and valued by the court,[59] Princess Kinsky, it can be summarized, held a very influential position at the imperial court from the end of 1825, was a witness to the private conversations at the court and, due to the archduchess's enthusiasm for theater and music, attended numerous musical performances in Archduchess Sophie's salon, and possibly organized them in part. In any case, the demand for her presence left the princess little time for her own activities outside of her work at the imperial court: her "position" and the "relationship to the imperial court" meant, as Pichler notes, that in contrast to her time in Prague, cross-establishment contact was hardly possible.

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57 Pichler had met Princess Kinsky and her sister-in-law Maria Rosa Countess Kolowrat (the sister of Charlotte's late husband Ferdinand and wife of Franz Anton Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky) in spring 1825 in Prague and had spent "a very nice evening" in the "Count Schönborn's garden": Maria Anna Charlotte Countess von Schönborn, née Kerpen, was the younger sister of Charlotte Kinsky, née Kerpen. Franz Anton Kolowrat was at that time Prague's Oberstburggraf, and was State Minister in Vienna from 1826. Josephine Deym (formerly von Brunsvick) had also been in good contact with Countess Kolowrat and her sister-in-law Princess Kinsky during her time in Prague much earlier and had played music with them (cf. Josephine's letter to her mother in H-Bol: P 68/5/XVIII-Levél, fols. 32–33; cited in Rita Steblin, *The Marriage Letters of Joseph Deym and Josephine Brunsvik-Deym. Documents for Beethoven's Milieu 1799–1804* (Vienna: Hollitzer, in press).

58 "So waren denn alle diese von mir verehrten Personen jetzt in Wien einheimisch. Aber diese Nähe erweis sich nicht so befriedigend für uns, als man es auf den ersten Anblick hätte denken sollen. In Prag, in der Provinz, hatten die bürgerlichen Bekannten freieren Zutritt zu ihren hochgestellten Gönnern, und obwohl ich nicht die geringste Ursache hatte noch habe [...] über irgendeine Hintansetzung oder Kälte oder Hochmut in ihrem Benehmen gegen mich zu beklagen, so brachte es doch die Stellung dieser Personen und ihr Verhältnis zum Kaiserhofe mit sich, daß der ungezwungenere Umgang, wie er in Prag stattgefunden, hier nicht fortgesetzt werden konnte." Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 4, 62.

59 Charlotte Kinsky's high standing at the imperial court is shown for example by the fact that in December 1830 she was offered the post of Obersthofmeisterin to the future Empress Maria Anna of Savoy (who was to marry Crown Prince Ferdinand I of Austria on 12 February 1831), which she apparently declined; Godsey, *Nobles and nation,* 159, esp. n. 63.

The concert with Schubert and Schönstein in the palace of the Princess Kinsky in a new light

So in 1828, when Franz Schubert and Carl Freiherr von Schönstein performed at Palais Kinsky, the music-loving princess was one of Vienna's most highly respected aristocrats with the closest ties to the imperial family. With Schubert as the best-known contemporary Viennese song composer and the tenor baritone Schönstein as a song interpreter who was highly esteemed by Schubert and others,[60] the princess brought an outstanding musical duo into the house which was able to inspire listeners and move them to tears with its song performance – as has been proven elsewhere.[61] This impression is also conveyed by the letter of thanks from the princess quoted at the beginning of this article.

Charlotte Princess Kinsky's agency as concert host

In Schubert literature, there is a standard explanation to the question of how or through whom the contact between Schubert and Charlotte Princess Kinsky came about. Mostly it is assumed that the singer Schönstein introduced

60 Schönstein himself described their relationship with the words: "Schubert had grown fond of me and enjoyed making music with me, which he did often; he admitted to me repeatedly that from this time on, in his songs, he generally had in mind only a voice of my range." (Deutsch, DMem, 101); "Schubert hatte mich liebgewonnen, machte gern und viel mit mir Musik, er gestand mir wiederholt, daß er von da ab bei seinen Liedern meist nur meine Stimmlage berücksichtigte." (Deutsch, DEr, 117). Schubert had dedicated the print of his cycle *Die Schöne Müllerin* to Schönstein in 1824. Ernst Hilmar (art. "'Schönstein', Carl Freiherr von," in *Schubert-Enzyklopädie,* ed. Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremski, 2 vols [Tutzing: Schneider, 2004], 653–64) lists various testimonies to the special nature of Schönstein's voice, such as from Sonnleithner, who called Schönstein "perhaps the best Schubert singer" ("vielleicht de[n] beste[n] Schubertsänger").

61 Cf. for example a letter from the pianist Irene Kiesewetter of 11 March 1832: "[...] if Schoenstein had not come and sung, so very soulfully with his soft voice! Oh, it was too much, all the stanzas trembled in me, I believed all the fibers of my heart wanted to tear! Afterwards, the two songs Pilgerweise [D 789] by Schober and An mein Herz [D 860] by E. Schulze shook me immensely – I had to leave the room, had to cry because I was suffocatingly afraid and heavy." "[...] wäre nicht Schönstein gekommen u. hätte gesungen, so ganz seelenvoll mit der weichen Stimme! Ach, es war zu viel, Alle Stanzen zitterten in mir, ich glaubte alle Fasern Meines Herzens wollten reißen! Hernach die beiden Lieder Pilgerweise [D 789] von Schober u. An mein Herz [D 860] von E. Schulze erschütterten mit ungemein – ich mußte aus dem Zimmer, mußte weinen, denn es war mir zum Ersticken bang u. schwer." (Quoted from Harer, "[...] Deine lieben Noten," 106).

Schubert to the high noblewoman.[62] Even if this is possible, there is no evidence for it. The thesis is apparently based on the assumption that in Vienna around 1800 aristocrats would have found easier access to each other than a bourgeois (like the composer Schubert) would have had to them. Certainly, this is generally true for the few families of the First Society that were closely intertwined. However, a member of the 'second society', such as Schönstein as a k.k. court official (Hofkonzipist), was by no means per se closer to a high noblewoman than a respected artist, poet, or composer in the society of pre-March Vienna.[63]

Moreover, a narrative based on the assumption that Schönstein had initiated the contact might have been able to successfully congeal because it would correspond to the gender-connotated options for action of the time: a male artist would actively want to obtain a performance opportunity; otherwise, one would have to grant a lady the agency to actively appear as an organizer.[64] But this is precisely what we should assume: on the one hand, it is well documented that the organizers of musical sociabilities – as in all European cities, also in Vienna – were often women. In this specific case, the organizer, Charlotte Princess Kinsky, was widowed and employed. This left a wide range of options at her disposal, not least in financial terms: she had a generous widow's pension from her late husband[65] and a regular salary as Obersthofmeisterin, including special allowances and gifts.[66] Thus, Charlotte Kinsky could unques-

62 As suggested e.g. in Lindmayr-Brandl, "Adelige Musikfreunde," 156; Spaun's recollection that Schönstein performed Schubert's "songs with enthusiasm, also making them known and loved in higher circles of society" ("Lieder mit Begeisterung vortrug und sie auch in höheren Kreisen bekannt und beliebt machte" Deutsch, DMem, 135; DEr, 157) seems to fit with this. Strikingly, this passage comes immediately before Spaun's recollection, quoted above in the main text, that Charlotte Princess Kinsky endeavored to compensate for Schubert's neglect by the audience: it is thus possible that Spaun's remark "also in higher circles" precisely recalls the evening at Palais Kinsky.

63 Significantly, Schubert's contact with the Esterházy house, where he had met Schönstein, had also come about through a bourgeois man of letters: Carl Unger, the father of the singer Caroline Unger. On the often casual interactions between members of the high aristocracy and musicians, for example when making music together, as well as the related phenomenon of the softening of social and spatial status boundaries around 1800, see Elisabeth Reisinger, *Musik machen – fördern – sammeln. Erzherzog Maximilian Franz im Wiener und Bonner Musikleben* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2020), 123–31.

64 Significantly, older literature occasionally even states that the concert took place "at Prince Kinsky's" (with the Princess only cited as the "housewife") – although the evidence is clearly otherwise. E.g. Andreas Liess, *Johann Michael Vogl. Hofoperist und Schubertsänger* (Graz–Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1954), 106.

65 The property situation for the widow's case had – as usual – already been clarified in the marriage contract with Ferdinand Prince Kinsky of 8 June 1801 (Kinsky family archive, carton 37.7: the bride, who could continue to dispose freely of her own (smaller) assets after the marriage, undertook to waive all claims to her husband's estate in the event of his death. The groom, on the other hand, undertook to pay his wife 2,000 guilders a year for the first five years of marriage, then 3,000 guilders a year for life, and 10,000 guilders a year in the event of widowhood.

66 Keller, *Hofdamen*, 157–65. In addition, there was an apartment and meals at the Hofburg.

tionably afford to organize a concert in the family palace she shared and to pay the musicians accordingly. Kinsky may have received the suggestion to invite Schönstein and Schubert from Johann Karl Count Esterházy (1775–1834), who was well acquainted with them, and his family: Schubert and Schoenstein had first met at the latter's country estate in Zselíz in 1818, and in 1824 had again spent time together there making music with the family members.[67] Schubert taught Esterházy's daughter Caroline Comtesse Esterházy, to whom he was closely connected, in the spring of 1828 in their Viennese palace at the corner of Herrengasse and Landhausgasse.[68]

Regarding the repertoire, it is sometimes assumed that among the songs that Schönstein and Schubert performed at the Kinsky Palace were the four songs from the Liederopus, op. 96, dedicated to the princess (Leitner: *Die Sterne* D 939; Schober: *Jägers Liebeslied* D 909; Goethe: *Wandrers Nachtlied* D 768; Schlechta: *Fischerweise* D 881). The letter of thanks from the princess, however, suggests that these songs were not yet (or by no means all) sung at the concert: Kinsky's formulation that she "looks forward" to admiring the songs "next winter, if your and Baron Schoenstein's complaisance will afford me that delight" unmistakably expresses that the princess had not yet heard them and that they were to be performed only at a subsequent concert. On the other hand, we may assume that at the concert in the summer of 1828, the princess heard songs by Schubert. Which songs these were exactly, however, must remain an open question – as must the question of whether only Schubert and Schönstein performed that evening or if they were joined by other musicians. It is true that mixed programs, often with different performers, were common in contemporary concerts. I suspect, however, that the evening consisted only of Schönstein and Schubert's performance – similar to an evening a few months later, on 27 September 1828, in the apartment of the physician Dr. Ignaz Menz on Kohlmarkt, where Schönstein sang (accompanied by Schubert) and Schubert

67 Schubert composed several pieces there for the musical rounds in the noble house, including numerous works for piano four hands which he played with Karoline Baronesse Esterházy, but also – at the explicit request of the countess – a vocal quartet with piano accompaniment, the parts of which he made to measure for all members of the noble host family, including the singer Carl von Schönstein as a guest; on this, Dietrich Berke, "'Leise, leise laßt uns singen.' Die mehrstimmigen Gesänge," in *Schubert Handbuch,* ed. Walther Dürr and Andreas Krause (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), 283–86.

68 In February 1828, Bauernfeld wrote in his diary: "Schubert seems to be seriously in love with the Comtesse E.[sterháza]. I like that about him. He gives her lessons." "Schubert scheint im Ernst in die Comtesse E.[sterháza] verliebt. Mir gefällt das von ihm. Er gibt ihr Lektion." *Neue Dokumente zum Schubert-Kreis. Aus Briefen und Tagebüchern seiner Freunde*, ed. and commented by Walburga Litschauer (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1986), 68.

apparently played extracts from his three last, just completed piano sonatas.[69] In addition, there is further evidence, hitherto little noted in research, including concrete programs for private musical gatherings with Baron Schönstein from the period shortly after Schubert's death, at which only songs by Schubert were heard, introduced (and sometimes interrupted) by a piano piece.[70] I suspect that the program at the concert at Princess Kinsky's, which certainly also took place rather in a private small circle, was a similar one.

When exactly this concert took place, or more precisely how long before the presentation of the Lieder opus op. 96 to Princess Kinsky, is less certain than previously thought. The date usually given, 'July 5 or 6, 1828', is not substantiated and represents a sheer conjecture by Ernst Hilmar, who apparently simply dates the concert immediately before Princess Kinsky's thank-you letter of 8 July.[71] On the other hand, the private concert with subsequent dancing (see below) might actually have taken place during the period of nine weeks after Easter (6 April to 6 July 1828).[72] At least, it can be stated that it took place after Schubert's great public concert on 26 March 1828, the first anniversary of

69 Deutsch, DDok, 538. Comparably, on 30 January 1828, an evening entertainment ("Abend-Unterhaltung") or Schubertiade with subsequent supper and ball took place at Hofrat Josef Wilhelm Witteczek's with the singer Johann Michael Vogl and Schubert (Deutsch, DDok, 485, 488). Other interpreters cannot be ruled out with certainty, but they are not mentioned either.

70 On the private musical social gatherings at the Kiesewetter home in the years 1830–1832, at each of which Baron von Schönstein sang about twenty songs by Schubert accompanied by Irene Kiesewetter, and at which she (partly together with acquaintances) played individual original compositions and arrangements on the piano, see Ingeborg Harer, "'...deine lieben Noten werden Seele in die Worte athmen...' (1832). Irene Kiesewetter und Anton Prokesch-Osten im musikalischen Dialog – ein Spiegel des Lebens im Biedermeier," in *Jahrbuch des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs* 3 (2020): 95–112, at 98–101. In 1832, Irene Kiesewetter married Anton Prokesch von Osten (from 1845 'Freiherr,' only from 1871 'Graf'), who was a great lover of Beethoven's and Schubert's music and had been a close confidant of the Duke of Reichstadt since 1830 (more on the Duke below).

71 Ernst Hilmar, "Nachweisbare Daten über private Aufführungen von Werken Schuberts zu Lebzeiten des Komponisten," in *Schubert durch die Brille* 19 (June 1997): 17–56: at 54; also Hilmar, HDok, no. 624a on p. 306. Hilmar thus substantiates a remark by Otto Erich Deutsch, who had more cautiously stated: "The princess's musical evening, which must have taken place shortly before [7 July 1828], [...]" (Deutsch, DDoc, 791; DDok, 526).

72 I exclude a date in the carnival season (i.e. before the beginning of Lent on 20 February 1828): for one thing, the Princess's letter suggests that the concert took place rather close in time to 8 July. On the other hand, a date in early 1828 also seems too early from a source-critical point of view, since opus 106, which immediately preceded opus 96, was not composed until April 1828 (NSA 5a: XVI). On the ban on dancing during Lent, see Reingard Witzmann, *Der Ländler in Wien. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Wiener Walzers bis in die Zeit des Wiener Kongresses* (Vienna: Arbeitsstelle für den Volkskundeatlas in Österreich, 1976), 5–6. Unfortunately, I did not receive permission from the House of Habsburg (Karl Habsburg-Lothringen) to view Sophie's letters to her mother or the letters of the Duke of Reichstadt, which might still contain information about the concert.

Beethoven's death,[73] and that Charlotte Princess Kinsky possibly conceived the plan for it at or on the occasion of this public concert; as Beethoven's former patron, she was probably present there.[74] In this commemorative concert, two of the four songs that Schubert included in the print dedicated to Kinsky (as no. 3 and no. 1) were heard for the first time: *Jägers Liebeslied* (2nd version, op. 96 no. 3, probably composed in April 1828) as well as the opening song of op. 96, *Die Sterne* (composed in January 1828), the autograph of which Schubert probably gave to the princess herself (see the epilogue at the end of this article).

The place of the concert was certainly not the Hofburg, but the oval, ninety square meter ballroom of the Palais Kinsky on the Freyung, which Charlotte Kinsky – in accordance with family tradition – continued to occupy and use for festivities even as a widow.[75] There she had a good grand piano from the workshop of Andreas and Nannette Streicher which she sometimes even lent out within Vienna for concerts in high society.[76] Evidence of comparable musical gatherings at Princess Kinsky's after the death of Prince Ferdinand in 1812 has hardly survived.[77] However, in 1819, on Rose Monday, 22 March, Princess "Lotte Kinsky" had invited the cellist Bernhard Romberg and his eight-and-a-half-year-old son to a concert in the Prague Palace, where the two played

73 Christopher H. Gibbs, "Schubert's *Tombeau de Beethoven:* Decrypting the Piano Trio in E-Flat Major, Op. 100," in *Franz Schubert and His World,* ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Morten Solvik (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2014), 241–98.

74 As concertgoers, "the numerous friends and protectors assembled" are summarily noted in a review (Till Gerrit Waidelich [ed.], *Franz Schubert. Dokumente 1817–1830. Erster Band, Texte* [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993], no. 624 [WDok]). Ernst Hilmar (HDok no. 624) assumes that among the latter were perhaps Ignaz v. Mosel, Moritz Prince Dietrichstein, Charlotte Princess Kinsky.

75 The spacious Baroque palace had been renovated and modernized for the last time in 1798 by Charlotte's mother-in-law, Maria Rosa Princess Kinsky, née Harrach (1758–1814), who had received the palace from her family as sole heir (Wilhelm Georg Rizzi and Hellmut Lorenz, "Das Palais seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert," in *Palais Daun-Kinsky. Vienna, Freyung*, ed. Stockhammer, 159–83, at 160–62). Charlotte resided there as needed even after her husband's death in 1812. (A specific source for this has not been found; but cf. analogously a letter from her daughter-in-law Princess Wilhelmine, widow of Rudolf Prince Kinsky, dated 21 September 1843, in which she expresses the intention "to spend the winter with my family in Vienna and to move into the second floor of my[!] house." ["den Winter mit meiner Familie in Wien zuzubringen und den zweiten Stock meines[!] Hauses zu beziehen."] Quoted from Stockhammer, "Die wechselvolle Ausstattungsgeschichte," 189.) Since Rudolf and Wilhelmine lived mainly in Prague and, from 1835, in Linz, and preferred the first-floor rooms in Vienna, which were better suited to the Biedermeier lifestyle (Rizzi and Lorenz, "Das Palais seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert," 165), it may be assumed that Charlotte Kinsky probably continued until her death in 1841 to occupy the – largely unchanged – Beletage on the second floor. Her daughter-in-law, who had been widowed since 1836, was not registered in Vienna again until 1840.

76 Reichardt and Gugitz, *Vertraute Briefe*, vol. 1, 281.

77 One of the very few testimonies comes from the carnival of 1809. Reichardt gushes about an evening of music with piano trios by Prince Louis Ferdinand in the beautiful rooms at Prince Kinsky's with a very lavish dinner and dancing together afterwards (more details below). (Reichardt and Gugitz, *Vertraute Briefe,* vol. 1, 328).

cello duets, among other things.[78] With this invitation, the princess continued a musical relationship that dated back to the time she had spent with her husband Ferdinand: in the spring of 1808, he had planned to hire the famous cello soloist Romberg permanently as the head of a string quartet formation[79] for which a contract had already been drawn up (with a salary of 2,000 florins per year, a widow's pension and three free months for concert tours).[80] In view of this employment, Romberg had composed a *Rondoletto pour le violoncelle, avec accompagnement de deux violons, alto, violoncelle et contrebasse* op. 21 in A major during his stay with Prince and Princess Kinsky from 19 March to early April 1808.[81]

Thus, although Charlotte Kinsky invited Schubert to another concert after the summer break, everything indicates that the concert in her palace in the spring of 1828 was not one evening in a series of regular – roughly weekly – musical social gatherings. Rather, her concerts seem to have been exceptional events given by artists she knew personally, attended primarily by a narrow circle of the highest society.

The memoirs of Josef Spaun and Franz von Schober

In addition to the princess's thank-you letter, there are two other sources about the concert evening in question at Charlotte Kinsky's: Josef Edler von Spaun and Franz von Schober, two close friends of Schubert, remember it thirty and forty years later, respectively.

Spaun, who after meeting Schubert in 1808 at the Stadtkonvikt acted as Schubert's artistic mentor from 1811, provided him with countless important contacts and encouraged him in his compositional plans. He is the author of

78 Rita Steblin, *Beethoven in the Diaries of Johann Nepomuk Chotek* (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus, 2013), 239, n. 563, quotes from Johann Nepomuk Chotek's diary 1819, p. 137. Romberg had arrived in Prague on 12 March and had given two very lucrative concerts there. Kinsky's brother-in-law, the Oberstburggraf Franz Anton Graf Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, offered him employment, but he declined; Martin Blindow, *Bernhard Romberg (1767–1841). Leben und Wirken des großen Violoncell-Virtuosen* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 2013), 119.

79 Romberg had responsibility for recruiting the remaining musicians; Blindow, *Bernhard Romberg*, 78–79; Reichardt and Gugitz, *Vertraute Briefe* 1, 217.

80 Blindow, *Bernhard Romberg*, 79; in addition, Romberg's letters to his friend Friedrich Kunst (with whom he had lodged in Vienna) of 18 March, 12 April, and 27 April 1808 (D-Bs, Mus. ep. Romberg, B. H. 12, B. H. 15, and B. H. 16).

81 "zu Prag 1808 bei Graf Kinsky"; Aloys Fuchs, "Beitrag zur Künstlergeschichte des königl. Preußischen Capellmeisters Bernard Romberg," *Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 106 (September 4, 1841): 454–55; reproduced in Blindow, *Bernhard Romberg,* 232–36. The *Rondoletto* was published by Gröbenschütz & Seiler in Berlin (RISM A/I R 2358) and by Artaria in Vienna (RISM R 2359 [1515]).

extremely revealing memoirs of Schubert from the years 1829, 1858 and 1862,[82] which are often quoted in research. In his *Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert* (1858), he reports on the allegedly very successful concert evening at Princess Kinsky's as follows:

> Once, when he [Schubert] was invited, with Baron Schönstein, to a princely house in order to perform his songs before a very aristocratic audience, the enraptured audience surrounded Baron Schönstein with the most ardent appreciation (and with congratulations on his performance). But when no one showed any sign of vouchsafing so much as a look or a word to the composer sitting at the piano, the noble hostess, Princess K[insky], tried to make amends for this neglect and greeted Schubert with the highest encomiums, at the same time intimating that he might overlook the fact that the audience, having been absolutely carried away by the singer, paid homage only to him. Schubert replied that he thanked the princess very much but she was not to bother herself in the least about him, he was quite used to not being noticed, indeed he was really very glad of it, as it caused him less embarrassment.[83]

Spaun's account that Princess Kinsky particularly emphasized the overly modest Schubert corresponds with my thesis that she herself had invited Schubert to a concert and – as also documented in the letter quoted at the beginning – cultivated an appreciative relationship with him.[84] The fact that she supposedly did this as a "noble housewife" (edle Hausfrau), i.e., as the head of the household of high status and excellent disposition, reflects contemporary ideas of norms and gender stereotypes:[85] as Spaun points out, the princess, who as lady of the house had invited confidants to the concert in her palace, took an almost maternal interest in Schubert. The formulation is reminiscent

82 Deutsch, DEr, necrology "Über Schubert" (24–38), "Aufzeichnungen über meinen Verkehr mit Franz Schubert (1858)" (147–68), from Spaun's family chronik (403–29).

83 Deutsch, DMem, 135. "Als er [Schubert] mit Baron Schönstein einst in ein fürstliches Haus geladen war, um seine Lieder einem sehr hohen Kreis vorzutragen, umringte der entzückte Kreis den Baron Schönstein mit der feurigsten Anerkennung und mit Glückwünschen über seinen Vortrag. Als aber niemand Miene machte, den am Klavier sitzenden Kompositeur auch nur eines Blickes zu würdigen, suchte die edle Hausfrau Fürstin B. diese Vernachlässigung gut zu machen und begrüßte Schubert mit den größten Lobeserhebungen, dabei andeutend, er möge es übersehen, daß die Zuhörer, ganz hingerissen von dem Sänger, nur diesem huldigten. Schubert dankte und erwiderte, die Fürstin möge sich gar keine Mühe diesfalls mit ihm geben, er sei es ganz gewohnt, übersehen zu werden, ja es sei ihm dieses sogar recht lieb, da er sich dadurch weniger geniert fühle." Deutsch, DEr, 157–58 (recollection of Josef von Spaun, 1858).

84 To illustrate Schubert's boundless modesty, Spaun had already reported on similar situations in 1829 (Deutsch, DMem, 28; DEr, 36).

85 Cf. the lemma "Hausfrau" in *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm* [online version https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB#0], vol. 10, col. 663.

of Anton Schindler's stories about another noble housewife, Christiane Princess Lichnowsky, who – although only five years older – allegedly took care of Ludwig van Beethoven like a "second mother."[86] Through this behavior, these highly noble ladies ennobled the 'modest' musicians Beethoven and Schubert – although whether this occurred in fact or only in legend remains to be seen.

Ludwig August Frankl wrote down Franz von Schober's memoirs following a conversation with Schober on 10 June 1868. Otto Erich Deutsch warned in the commentary of the edition that this memoir of the "journalist"[87] Frankl should "not be taken literally"[88] and corrected numerous facts – with the result that Schober's memoirs were rarely referred to in research. If one looks at Deutsch's corrections a little closer, however, it becomes clear that they mainly refer to erroneous chronological contexts or names – which, admittedly, from a distance of at least forty years from the events, is rather a common phenomenon and should not discredit the memoirs *per se.* Some of the events from the last years of his life in particular – such as the mention of the dancer Gusti Grünwedel at Schober's house balls, or Schubert's affection for Caroline Comtesse Esterházy (not, as Frankl writes, princess) – are also documented by other sources.

Schober's recollections of the concert evening, which open up entirely new perspectives, are as follows:

> [On the occasion] at the princess, I think her name began with a U and he also dedicated songs to her, he celebrated great triumph. Society, also the Duke of Reichstadt there. He [Schubert] sang and played his pieces. People started to dance, he played and improvised waltzes, people listened, asked to continue

86 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840), 27; on the bourgeois fantasy of the adoption of an artist by members of the high nobility that resonates in this narrative, see recently Martin Eybl, "Beethoven as a Bourgeois Artist: Self-Dramatization, Patterns of Perception, Historiographical Construction," in *Beethoven-Geflechte*, 309–326 (2024). Both narratives follow the topos, common in artist legends, that a genius or hero is of higher descent (i.e., divine or, by proxy, high nobility) and that the bodily parents are of little relevance; Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Die Legende vom Künstler. Ein geschichtlicher Versuch* (Vienna: Krystall-Verlag, 1934), esp. the chapter "Die Entdeckung des Talents als mythologisches Motiv," 37–47.

87 This occupational designation by Deutsch is tendentious rather than neutral; for a scholarly reassessment of Frankl, see Louise Hecht, ed. *Ludwig August Frankl (1810–1894). Eine jüdische Biographie zwischen Okzident und Orient* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2016). Deutsch possessed outstanding knowledge and, through his editions of the countless documents and accompanying publications, has given Schubert research a completely new profile. This does not relieve him of the weakness of occasional biases – as, for example, with regard to Schubert's relationship with Caroline Comtesse Esterházy; on this, see Rita Steblin, "Neue Forschungsaspekte zu Caroline Esterhazy," in *Schubert durch die Brille* 11 (1993): 21–33.

88 Deutsch, DEr, 305–6.

> playing, completely forgot about dancing, so it went on until late after midnight. Every one left delighted, he himself so, who reveled in his triumph.[89]

Deutsch himself suggested that Schober's memory of a successful princely concert in fact referred to the evening at the (unnamed) Princess Kinsky's, since she was the only princess to whom Schubert had ever dedicated songs (op. 96). The fact that Schober did not give her correct name ("I think her name began with a U") may again be due to a weakness of memory. In addition to Deutsch's arguments mentioned above, in the following I will assume that the concert recalled by Schober was the one in the palace of Princess Kinsky, for the following reason: Schober – like Spaun – had certainly not been personally present at the illustrious gathering but had received a first-hand report. Since Schubert lived with him at 'Zum blauen Igel' (Tuchlauben 14) in the years 1827–1828, he was in very close contact with Schubert during the months in question – even closer than Schubert's lifelong confidant Spaun.[90] In addition, Schober, as head of the Lithographic Institute in Vienna, was the printer and publisher of the song print op. 96 dedicated to Princess Kinsky in the summer of 1828. One may even assume that this private print,[91] which clearly had the goal of strengthening Schubert's relationship with Charlotte Kinsky, came about at all only through Schober's involvement. Significantly, Schubert's setting of Schober's poem *Jägers Liebeslied* (op. 98 no. 2), written in February 1827, was also included in this Liederdruck and placed as a self-conscious counterpart to Goethe's *Wanderers Nachtlied* (op. 98 no. 3). In this respect, it seems hardly surprising that a good part of Schober's recollections of 10 June 1868, written down by Frankl and not particularly comprehensive, refers to the concert at

89 Deutsch, DMem, 265 (Remembrance of Franz von Schober, noted by Ludwig August Frankl, 1868). "Bei der Fürstin, ich glaube mit U fing ihr Name an, der er auch Lieder widmete, großer Triumph gefeiert. Gesellschaft, auch der Herzog von Reichstadt da. Er sang und spielte seine Sachen. Man schickte sich zum Tanzen an, da spielte und improvisierte er Walzer, man horchte auf, bat weiterzuspielen, vergaß das Tanzen völlig, so ging es fort bis spät nach Mitternacht. Man trennte sich begeistert, er selbst so, der Triumph hatte ihn entzückt." Deutsch, DEr, 304.

90 That Spaun also had a great deal of contact with Schubert in 1828 is evidenced, among other things, by the organization of Schubertiads at Spaun's home, various visits and, last but not least, by the fact that Schubert gave his Four Italian Canzonettas for alto (D 688), which he had composed in January 1820, to Franziska Roner von Ehrenwerth at the occasion of her wedding with Spaun on 14 April 1828; cf. Deutsch, DEr, 166–7.

91 Raab calls it a "Privatdruck", which means that it was not sold officially; opus number and imprint are missing; Raab, *Franz Schuberts Werke in Erst- und Frühdrucken*, vol. a, 56; vol. b, 336.

the Princess's [Kinsky], which must have been a very central event for Schubert and him at that time.[92]

"seine Lieder einem sehr hohen Kreis vorzutragen": Schubert and Schönstein in high aristocratic and imperial company

Who exactly was present at the concert is, of course, difficult to ascertain. Based on Spaun's recollection that Schubert "performed his songs to a very high circle", Schober's choice of the word "Gesellschaft" (society), followed by the naming of a member of the imperial family,[93] and Caroline Pichler's recollection that Charlotte Princess Kinsky, unlike in Prague, surrounded herself in Vienna primarily with people of the highest rank, I assume that these were exclusively high-ranking personalities from the close circle of the widow Kinsky – and most likely a small group of interested and educated listeners[94] rather than a large concert audience typical of the later nineteenth century.

92 In addition, the concert coincided with Schubert's lessons with Caroline Comtesse Esterháza, with whom he was in love (cf. Bauernfeld's testimony in footnote 68). In this respect, it may be more than coincidence that Schober also mentions this love in his memoirs immediately following the concert at the Princess's: "He had love for a Princess [recte: Comtesse] Esterházy, his pupil." "Er hatte Liebe für eine Fürstin Esterházy, seine Schülerin." (Deutsch, DEr, 304).

93 In this context, "Gesellschaft" ("society") means (high) aristocrats ("Standesgenossen"). Cf. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's diary entry in Franzensbad on 9 September 1810: "In the evening, a large concert. The following were present from society: the two Princesses Lobkowitz, the Landgravine of Fürstenberg, Prince Lobkowitz the cousin, Landgrave of Fürstenberg, Fräulein von Kerpen [i.e., the younger sister of Charlotte Princess Kinsky], and a young Princess Lobkowitz." "Abends groß Concert. Von der Gesellschaft waren: die zwey Fürstinnen Lobkowitz, die Landgräfin von Fürstenberg, Fürst Lobkowitz der Vetter, Landgraf von Fürstenberg, Fräulein von Kerpen und eine junge Prinzessin Lobkowitz." *Goethe's Werke. Weimarer Ausgabe, III. Abteilung,* vol. 4, 151 http://www.zeno.org/nid/20004863984.

94 A musical sociability did not necessarily require many attendees, only musically educated personalities who understood the mutual communicative process and who were able to concentrate on the artistic presentation and actively participate in it; Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Ludwig van Beethoven. Musik für eine neue Zeit* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Berlin: Metzler, 2019), 45–51. As an example of such a concert for music lovers at which, at the end of 1808, Princess Kinsky was also present (and had provided her own grand piano) is the concert evening at two pianos at the home of the piano-making couple Andreas and Nanette Streicher: "The beautiful, soulful Princess Kinsky [...] with her sister and her brother-in-law, the Frau von Henikstein, and Prince Lobkowitz making up the entire noble audience." "Die schöne, gefühlvolle Fürstin Kinsky [...] mit ihrer Schwester, und ihrem Schwager, die Frau von Henikstein, und der Fürst Lobkowitz machten das ganze edle Publikum aus." (Reichardt and Gugitz, *Vertraute Briefe,* vol. 1, 281); see also Tobias Debuch, *Prinz Louis Ferdinand von Preußen (1772–1806) als Musiker im soziokulturellen Umfeld seiner Zeit* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2004), 196.

The public 'song recital' in the modern sense had, of course, not yet established itself.[95]

Among the listeners could have been the minister of state and conference Franz Anton Count Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky and his wife Maria Rosa; Charlotte Kinsky's sister-in-law (the couple had celebrated their double wedding with Ferdinand and Charlotte Kinsky in Prague on 8 June 1801 and were among Charlotte's closest confidants in Prague and Vienna even after Ferdinand's death; after their move to Vienna in 1827, the Kolowrats initially lived in the Palais Kinsky, from 1828 to 1834 a few houses away in Herrengasse 241); Carl Friedrich Count Schönborn and his wife Maria Anna, Charlotte Kinsky's younger sister (who had lived at Palais Kinsky until her marriage and is also documented at earlier musical sociabilities; cf. footnote 57; Charlotte Kinsky's closest colleague at the imperial court, Archduchess Sophie's Obersthofmeister, poet Lajos Count Széchényi von Sárvár-Felsö-Vidék with his wife Franziska von Wurmbrand-Stuppach (the sister of one of Archduchess Sophie's ladies-in-waiting); in addition, Kinsky's elder son, the reigning Prince Rudolf (1802–1836) with his dance-loving wife Wilhelmine, née Colloredo-Mansfeld (1804–1871)[96] and the younger son Josef (1806–1862) with Marie Countess Czernín zu Chudenitz (1806–1872), who were to marry in the same year may have been in attendance, as may have several other music-loving confidants of the highest rank.

Admittedly, the persons just mentioned are only obvious guesses. However, one of the persons present mentions Franz von Schober by name: the "Duke of Reichstadt."[97] This was none other than the son of Napoleon Bonaparte and his second wife Marie-Louise of Austria: Napoleon Franz Bonaparte, called "L'Aiglon", Son of the Eagle (1811–1832). As the only legitimate male descendant, he had borne the title "King of Rome" since 1811 and had been proclaimed emperor three times as "Napoleon II", but then had to move to the court of his maternal grandfather, Emperor Francis I of Austria. The latter appointed his

95 Cf. Leopold von Sonnleithner ("Bemerkungen zur Gesangskunst. IV. Ueber den Vortrag des Liedes, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Franz Schubert," *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* 6, no. 45 [7 November 1860]: 697–701, at 697): "The Lied was considered [in the 1810s and 20s] exclusively as a form of domestic music for one's own enjoyment and at most for the entertainment of a small private circle." "Das Lied wurde ausschließend als ein Theil der Hausmusik zum eigenen Genusse und höchstens zur Unterhaltung eines kleinen Privatkreises betrachtet."

96 However, the couple lived mostly in Prague at the time.

97 Otto Erich Deutsch's comment, "but the Duke of Reichstadt, Napoleon's son, had never been a guest there [i.e. at Palais Kinsky]" ("aber der Herzog von Reichstadt, Napoleons Sohn, war dort nie zu Gaste gewesen"), is incomprehensible to me (Deutsch, DEr, 306). Obviously, Deutsch knew neither of Charlotte Kinsky's activity as Obersthofmeisterin for Archduchess Sophie nor of the close relationship between the Duke of Reichstadt and Sophie. "Maria Karolina" (DEr, 306) is the given name of Princess Kinsky (née Kerpen), but she always referred to herself as "Charlotte".

grandson, who in the meantime had no title, as "Duke of Reichstadt" (a small town in Bohemia, which the duke never visited) in 1818.



Illustration 7: The imperial family around the Duke of Reichstadt, June 12th, 1826. Leopold Fertbauer (1802–1875). CC BY 4.0 Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 16380. Foto: Birgit und Peter Kainz.

A painting by Leopold Fertbauer from 1826 (see Illustration 7) shows the young duke in the company of his Viennese relatives: Empress and Emperor of Austria (Karoline Auguste of Bavaria and Franz I) on the left; next to Napoleon Francis Bonaparte (Duke of Reichstadt) in the center his mother Marie-Louise of Austria (Duchess of Parma), the Archduchess Sophie of Austria, with her brother-in-law Archduke Ferdinand I and her husband Archduke Franz Karl of Austria.[98] Without a father (who was exiled and had already died in 1821) and mother (who was mostly in Parma), the young duke frequently socialized in

98 Marie-Louise, Ferdinand I and Franz Karl are siblings (children of Emperor Franz II/I). Archduke Ferdinand I was not to marry until 1831; he became emperor in 1835. After the latter's abdication in 1848, Franz Karl renounced his claims to the throne on the recommendation of his wife Sophie in favor of their eighteen-year-old son Franz Joseph.

Vienna with archduchess Sophie, who was six years his senior.[99] The archduchess and the duke attended concerts, operas, theaters and balls together – and were generally seen together so frequently and intimately that there was even a rumor that Sophie's second-born son, Archduke Maximilian, later Emperor of Mexico (born in 1832), had the Duke of Reichstadt as his father.[100] Thus, the assumption that the Duke of Reichstadt was also present at the concert of Princess Kinsky with his favorite companion, Archduchess Sophie, is very obvious. Moreover, the fact that the concert organizer, Princess Kinsky, was her Obersthofmeisterin and thus close confidante and constant companion, speaks for the presence of the music-interested archduchess anyway. Schober's recollection that Schubert "celebrated great triumph" in this "society" suggests conversely that the Duke of Reichstadt and Archduchess Sophie, together with the selected other guests, must have quite enjoyed this special evening, which, with music and dance, corresponded exactly to their personal interests.

Dancing at Palais Kinsky

Another exciting piece of information from Schober's memoirs is that not only was there a concert at the Princess's, but – as was often the case in Vienna – a dance entertainment which lasted until well after midnight! There are, of course, numerous reports that musical social gatherings in which Schubert was involved ended with games and dancing, or that music, games and dancing were interwoven.[101] Schubert himself normally did not dance, but played and improvised waltzes, Deutsche, Ländler, polonaises, cotillons and other dances on the piano to the great delight of those present, as is usually noted.[102] For him, this meant that he had to 'perform' for a very long time and repeat some pieces many times. Eduard von Bauernfeld recalls that Schubert "had to play his latest waltzes over and over again, until the whole thing had turned itself

99 Intimate accounts of joint activities are found in Sophie's letters to her mother; cf. Haslinger, *Erzherzogin Sophie,* 39–40.

100 Gerd Holler, *Sophie. Die heimliche Kaiserin* (Salzburg and Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1993), 28–30, 33, 60. The two were also very close to each other in times of grave illness on both sides; Graf von Montbel, *Der Herzog von Reichstadt* (Leipzig: Weygand, 1833), 200, 204.

101 Walburga Litschauer, "Introduction. Dance Culture in the Biedermeier Era," in Martin Chusid, *Schubert's Dances For Family, Friends and Posterity* (Hillsdale NY: Pendragon Press, 2013), XI-XXXIV, at XXIX. The contribution is based on: Litschauer, "Unbekannte Dokumente zum Tanz in Schuberts Freundeskreis," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 42 (1993): 243–49.

102 Deutsch, DMem, 121, DEr, 141.

into an endless Cotillon [...]."[103] Contemporary manuals therefore recommend taking a break after an hour, if possible.[104]

The manifold surviving testimonies to dancing, however, so far came from Schubert's circle of bourgeois friends – be it at house balls, birthdays, carnival gatherings, or in the context of 'Schubertiades.' These events could occasionally take place in a villa or on the country estate of a lesser nobleman, and often also at Schober's, who was an enthusiastic organizer of balls in his premises.[105] Fittingly, he of all people also finds dancing worth mentioning in his recollection of the Kinsky evening.

The special thing about this testimony is that it recounts that members of the high aristocracy had participated as dancers in Schubert's environment, a fact not previously documented. For this reason, Schubert scholars continue to perpetuate the narrative that Schubert improvised and played to the dance in the company of his friends. Obviously, we need to rethink this assumption. Schober's recollection makes it clear that Schubert did indeed play for dances for aristocrats and that his dance improvisations were appreciated and enjoyed by them. In this case, not only does the close relationship between Schober and Schubert in 1828 speak for the credibility of Schober's recollection, but it also conforms the results of recent dance research, which increasingly draws attention to the popularity not only of the public balls of various institutions, first and foremost at court,[106] but also of domestic dance events and smaller balls at court and in the Viennese high aristocratic circles of the Vormärz. As Erica Buurman points out, the high nobility – as a result of the opening of the ballrooms to all classes – now liked to retreat to private rooms or exclusive circles for dancing.[107]

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103 Deutsch, DMem, 229; DEr, 262: Schubert "mußte [...] seine neuesten Walzer spielen und wieder spielen, bis ein endloser Kotillon sich abgewichelt hatte."

104 Eduard Friedrich David Helmke, *Neue Tanz- und Bildungsschule. Ein gründlicher Leitfaden für Eltern und Lehrer bei der Erziehung der Kinder und für die erwachsene Jugend* (Leipzig: Christian Ernst Kollmann, 1829; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1982), 117.

105 In the 1827 carnival season, for example, balls in Schober's apartment in the house 'Zum blauen Igel' on 10, 17, and 24 February are documented (Deutsch, DDok, 407–8, 410; DEr, 316–7).

106 Since the time of Emperor Joseph II, the large court balls in the Redoutensaal were no longer restricted to noblemen and were held as masquerade balls in carnival times.

107 Erica Buurman, "Aristocratic Dance in Beethoven's Vienna," in *Beethoven-Geflechte,* ed. Birgit Lodes and Melanie Unseld, 181–200 (2024). The select Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde also held an annual society ball. At the first ball (on 8 February 1830), only members were admitted to ensure an elite setting. The dance order included only polonaises, waltzes and cotillons with gallops, possibly even "the last waltzes of Schubert"; Barbara Boisits, "Der erste Ball der Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde in Wien," in *Tanz im Biedermeier. Ausdruck des Lebensgefühls einer Epoche. Symposium Musizierpraxis im Biedermeier – Tanzmusik im Ländlichen und Städtischen Bereich,* ed. Barbara Boisits and Klaus Hubmann (Vienna: Mille Tre Verlag, 2006), 151–66, esp. 159 and n. 38.

Palais Kinsky, for example, had one of the most beautiful ballrooms in Vienna on the Beletage, which is explicitly designated as 'dance hall' in the architectural plans of the nineteenth century[108] – and, as can be reconstructed from scattered sources, was also frequently used for small house balls. Reichardt, for example, follows up his report on "evening music" at Prince Kinsky's in 1809 (see above, footnote 77) with the news that this was concluded with joint dancing:

> The second Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who has been staying here for some time, was also there; he also seemed to find the fatigue of the daily and nightly dance more assaulting than the young cavaliers here. It is truly astonishing with what duration and vigorous gaiety these do the essence [i.e. the dance].[109]

The fact that there was a great deal of dancing in both the Viennese and Prague palaces of the Kinsky family, especially in the 1820s, is documented by the music collection of Charlotte Princess Kinsky and her daughter-in-law Wilhelmine Elisabeth Kinsky, which has been preserved in parts and contains a great many printed and manuscript collections of dances for piano.[110] Some of the printed dances are explicitly dedicated to members of the Kinsky family (often to Charlotte's son Rudolf or his wife Wilhelmine[111]), some sources note on the title for which public ball the dances were originally composed, several extensive collections seem to have been composed or compiled decidedly for (carnival) balls in their own house.[112] It is also interesting that in addition to many different professionally active composers of the time, among them Franz

108 *Palais Daun-Kinsky. Vienna, Freyung*, ed. Stockhammer: concordance of room numbers including plans, 318–19.

109 "Der zweite Prinz von Mecklenburg-Schwerin, der sich seit einiger Zeit hier aufhält, war auch da; er schien die Fatigue des täglichen und nächtlichen Tanzes auch angreifender zu finden, als die jungen Kavaliere hier. Es ist wirklich zum Erstaunen, mit welcher Dauer und kräftigen Lustigkeit diese das Wesen [i.e. den Tanz] treiben." Reichardt and Gugitz, *Vertraute Briefe,* vol. 1, 328.

110 Cf. the catalog of the collection by Bastlová, *Collectio operum musicalium*, esp. "The introduction," 29–30.

111 For example, to Prince Rudolf the dance prints Bastlová no. 292 (1824), no. 909 (1826), no. 720 (1831); to Princess Wilhelmine Elisabeth, Bastlová no. 634 (1828), no. 757 (1829), no. 721 (1831), no. 732 and no. 733 (1831). A family tradition seems to have emerged from this. Thus, as late as the 1860s, various members of the Strauss dynasty dedicated dances to Marie Gabrielle Princess Kinsky, among them Josef Strauss's waltz *Marien-Klänge,* op. 214, titled after the princess, and Eduard Strauss's polka francaise *Die Ballkönigin,* op. 34, first performed in 1868.

112 See especially the extensive collections Bastlová nos. 496 and 497 (manuscripts) and Bastlová nos. 1092, 1093, 1094 and 1095 (prints).

Schubert,[113] numerous names of noble composers also appear: so in an extensive handwritten collection[114] of well over one hundred allemanden, waltzes, galopps, cotillons, Ländler, and Deutsche, for example, we find as composers the sonorous noble names F. [Count?] Rohan, Adelheid Countess Clam-Gallas (whose family had been friends with the Kinskys for generations), and Carl Friedrich Count Schönborn (1784–1849, who had been married since 1811 to Charlotte Kinsky's younger sister Maria Anna von Kerpen, 1784–1862, thus Kinsky's brother-in-law). Another Deutscher Tanz in Kinsky's music collection is by Leopold Count Kolowrat (Bastlová no. 105), and even Ferdinand Prince Kinsky, the late husband of Charlotte, is attested as the composer of a gallop.[115] High noble personalities are thus not only enthusiastic dancers of the time, but even present themselves as composers of dances.[116] All in all, the surviving materials eloquently reflect the dance enthusiasm of the various members of the high aristocratic Kinsky family in the 1820s.

This family enthusiasm for dance should certainly not be considered an exception but rather a characteristic of the highest social circles in Vienna in general, including the imperial family.[117] Therefore, it was also opportune to dedicate dance collections to members of the imperial family. At this point, we should mention only dedications to Archduchess Sophie of Austria, who was given at least two large dance publications immediately after her marriage to the heir to the imperial throne: Joseph Wilde, music director of the Redoutensäle and director of the court ball, dedicated four booklets of *ball paré* dances (cotillon, Ländler, gallop, waltz, polonaise, contredanse) to her

113 *Walzer, Ländler und Eccossoises, op. 18. 1. and 2. Abtheilung* (D 145) (Vienna: Diabelli, [1823]) and *Trois Marches héroiques pour le Piano Forte à quatre mains, op. 27* (D 602) (Vienna: Sauer und Leidesdorf, [1824]). The two prints are bound together with 22 other collections of dances by various composers in a volume titled "Tanzmusik für das Pianoforte" (Bastlová no. 1094) and bear the owner's note of Charlotte's daughter-in-law Wilhelmine Princess Kinsky.

114 Bastlová no. 496 (CZ-Pn Kinsky Ms 323; RISM A/II: 550400890).

115 Kinsky's gallop has not been preserved in the Kinsky music collection; in the manuscript D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 3680, it is bound together with other gallops by Franz Joseph Maximilian Prince Lobkowitz, Adelheid Countess Clam-Gallas, and F. Rohan, among others; see Bastlová, *Collectio operum musicalium,* 30, n. 77.

116 On the conceptual and physical proximity of the art of war and the art of dance in the male aristocracy of the early modern period, see Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2005), esp. the chapter "Music in a Time of War," 3–36.

117 For dance events at Empress Marie Therèse's at the occasion of name-day and birthday celebrations, for which there are even choreographies from her hand, see John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 124–27.

in 1825;[118] Karl Friedrich Müller dedicated a collection of fifty (new) waltzes for piano by various composers (one by Schubert, D 978) on the theme "Seyd uns zum zweytenmal willkommen" from Mozart's *Magic Flute*;[119] and Johann Strauss (father) in 1831 dedicated *Tivoli-Freudenfest-Tänze für das Piano-Forte.*[120]

Among the members of the imperial family, the Duke of Reichstadt was particularly fascinating as a dancer. Apparently, he attracted particular attention due to his fate, his graceful figure and the lightness of his expression.[121] Archduchess Sophie herself told her mother about the joy of dancing with him: "Our ball was pretty and lively [...] Reichstadt delighted us all with his way of dancing the Françaises – he put into them a charming dignity and noblesse [...]."[122]

Members of the First Society and the imperial house also cultivated 'rustic' dances at their balls, such as the gallop and the Ländler, as well as 'bourgeois' ones like the waltz – which had shocked court circles as late as 1793, when Prussian crown Princess Luise dared to dance it at her own wedding in Berlin.[123] From the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815 at the latest, waltzes were danced at public balls in the imperial Redoutensaal, and by the nobility at private events, such as court balls in the Rittersaal or the Zeremoniensaal of the Hofburg, or at aristocratic palaces.[124]

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118 *Ball-paré Tänze für das Pianoforte. Ihrer Kais. Königl. Hoheit der Erzherzoginn Sophie von Oesterreich, gebornen Prinzessinn von Bayern &. in tiefster Ehrfurcht zugeeignet von Joseph Wilde, Musikdirector im K. K. Redouten-Saale* (Vienna: Steiner, [1825]), plate nos. 4637–4640.

119 In the publisher's advertisements from the *Wiener Zeitung* 296 (29 December 1825): 1252, the dedication to Sophie is explicitly emphasized; transcription in Waidelich, WDok, no. 364 (pp. 261–2), cf. also no. 370 (p. 267).

120 *Tivoli-Freudenfest-Tänze für das Piano-Forte. Ihrer kaiserlichen königlichen Hoheit der durchlauchtigsten Frau Sophie Friederike, Erzherzogin von Österreich gebornen Prinzessin von Bayern in tiefster Ehrfurcht gewidmet von Johann Strauss. 45tes Werk.* (Piano) (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger, [1831]). The Tivoli entertainment establishment was opened in 1830 in the presence of the imperial couple and numerous members of the high nobility.

121 Cf. Anton Graf Prokesch-Osten, *Mein Verhältnis zum Herzog von Reichstadt. Zwei Sendungen nach Italien. Selbstbiographische Aufsätze aus dem Nachlaß* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Spemann, 1878), 42.

122 "Unser Ball war hübsch und lebhaft [...] Reichstadt entzückte uns alle durch seine Art, die Françaisen zu tanzen – er legte in sie eine charmante Würde und Noblesse..." Letter dated 28 January 1829; quoted from Haslinger, *Erzherzogin Sophie,* 39.

123 Gabriele Busch-Salmen, "'... wie Sphären um einander herumrollen' – Dreher, Schleifer, Deutsche und Walzer auf den Tanzböden und in der Literatur vor 1800," in *Zur Frühgeschichte des Walzers*, ed. Thomas Nußbaumer and Franz Gratl (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2014), 33–52, esp. 34.

124 The popularity of the waltz at the Congress of Vienna and subsequent years, especially among high society, is well documented; see, among others, Mark Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances: Outrage at Couple Dancing in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Jefferson: McFarland and Co, 2009), esp. 27–30; Reingard Witzmann, "Magie der Drehung – Zum Phänomen des Wiener Walzers von der Aufklärung zum Biedermeier," in *Zur Frühgeschichte des Walzers,* ed. Thomas Nußbaumer and Franz Gratl (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2014), 9–32. I thank Erica Buurman for sharing her expertise on dancing in Vienna with me.

People were also enthusiastic about the imaginative and ever new dance games in the cotillon – a dance documented in Vienna since 1817 which was especially popular at private social gatherings (less so at public balls).[125] According to Allen Dodworth's dance treatise from 1885,

> [a] Cotillion may be said to be an epitome of all there is in private dancing. It is peculiarly social, requiring a constant interchange of partners; all must, therefore, be open terms of familiarity.
>
> As any of the round dances are available, every variety of time and accent may be enjoyed. Innumerable figures give all the pleasure derivable from movements in concert with others. Infinite variety in the character of these figures, serious, merry, and comical, maintains interest to the last.[126]

The cotillon was "danced to any waltz or quadrille music",[127] so it was more of a social game idea than a dance step, and included both waltz elements ("waltzing" ["walzen"] in couple dancing) and quadrille elements (various "tours" ["Touren"] as a group dance). It is not until 1820 that specific compositions titled "Cotillon" can be traced, and it seems significant that several of these are included in the Kinskys' collection of music,[128] including a *Cottilion* [sic] *fürs Piano-Forte* by the Prague writer Sebastian Willibald Schiessler (ca. 1825)[129] and a dance collection with, among others, cotillons by Joseph Junghanns, specif-

125 On the little-researched cotillon, see Hannelore Unfried, "Der Cotillon – Ein Gesellschaftsspiel in Tanzform – oder: Wer gibt wem den Korb?" in *Bekenntnis zur Österreichischen Musik in Lehre und Forschung. Festschrift für Eberhard Würzl*, ed. Walter Pass (Vienna: Vom Pasqualatihaus, 1996), 273–320; Walburga Litschauer and Walter Deutsch, *Schubert und das Tanzvergnügen* (Vienna: Verlag Holzhausen, 1997), esp. 102–8.

126 Allen Dodworth, *Dancing and its Relations to Education and Social Life. With a new Method of Instruction Including a Complete Guide to the Cotillion (German) With 250 Figures* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1885), 145.

127 Friedrich Engelmann, *Taschenbuch der Tanzkunst: oder gründliche Anweisung in den beliebtesten Gesellschafts-Tänzen [...]; ein Hülfsbuch für Erwachsene sowohl, als auch für Eltern und Erzieher* (Darmstadt: Heyer, 1823), 121; quoted from Hannelore Unfried, "Der Cotillon–das Schleusentor zwischen Tanzboden und Bühne," in *Zur Frühgeschichte des Walzers,* ed. Thomas Nußbaumer and Franz Gratl (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2014), 125–42, at 132.

128 For an overview of early cotillon compositions, see Unfried, "Der Cotillon – das Schleusentor," 132–39. Of this early repertoire, two cotillon prints by Gruber survive in the Kinsky Collection (Vienna: [1824] and [1829]; Bastlová, no. 668 and 669), each of which was bound together with waltzes, marches, gallops, country dances, and allemands by other composers to form collections of dances for the piano (Bastlová, nos. 1092 and 1093); also several of Johann Strauss's cotillon compositions written from 1829 onward. Franz Schubert's only printed cotillon is not represented (D 976, composed ca. 1825, published in *Ernst und Tändeley. Eine Sammlung verschiedener Gersellschaftstänze für den Carneval [...], der durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Maria Dorothea von Österreich gebornen Prinzessin von Würtemberg zugeeignet*, ed. Carl Friedrich Müller [Vienna: Sauer & Leidesdorf, 1826]).

129 Bastlová no. 290 in the dance collection no. 497.

ically dedicated to Wilhelmine Princess Kinsky, Charlotte Kinsky's daughter-in-law.[130]

With this knowledge, let us take another look at the concert evening at Charlotte Princess Kinsky's. On this evening, Schubert not only performed his songs together with the singer Schönstein and probably also played selected piano movements alone, but, according to Schober, he also played for dancing afterwards. Thus, Schubert showed his two most popular sides during the evening: The dances, many of which also appeared in print – often in slightly revised form – were, along with the songs, among Schubert's most commercially successful compositions.[131] They were typically written in the context of dancing events – not only 'among friends', but also, as the example presented here shows, at musical social gatherings in the milieu of the high nobility and the imperial family. From now on, we should no longer assume that Schubert's dances were performed only at gatherings of bourgeois friends. In fact, even the very highest society took great pleasure in dancing to Schubert's piano playing. The fact that the widow Kinsky, according to Spaun, ennobled the modest Schubert with her special attention and esteem, may be more than just a memory topos in this respect: her words could also be understood as an agenda to ennoble the musician Schubert, who, with song and dance, represented two popular genres that were not particularly valued aesthetically, but which Kinsky personally held in high esteem in the circle of the high nobility.

Schubert in 1828: perspectives for a different life?

The last months of Schubert's life in 1828 are usually described in Schubert biographies as very difficult: a time of financial difficulty, of serious illness and physical decline, and of emotional fragility and dejection. It was also the time when works such as the song cycle *Die Winterreise* (1827), numerous songs on the theme of death and transfiguration, the Mass in E-flat Major, the Piano Trio in E-flat Major D 929, the Fantasy in F Minor for Piano Four Hands D 940, the String Quintet D 956, and the last three Piano Sonatas D 958–960 were com-

130 *Walzer, Cotillon Sammt Zwey Gallops componirt, für das Piano-Forte arrrangirt, und Ihrer Durchlaucht Der Hochgebornen Frau Frau Fürstin Wilhelmine Kinsky [...] gewidmet. Zum erstenmahl aufgeführt im Carneval 1831 den 24. Jänner* (Prague: Kronberger & Weber, 1831) (Bastlová, no. 732). Junghanns was, according to the title page, "Oberjäger und Kapellmeister des löbl. k. k. Feldjäger-Bataillon No 2."

131 In the last eight years of his life (1821 to 1828), Schubert produced 17 collections of dances alone; see Chusid, *Schubert's Dances,* 85-7.

posed – works that seem to sublimate and aesthetically transcend Schubert's difficult life circumstances.[132]

Let us imagine for a moment that Schubert had continued to compose and perform long after the successes of his public concert of 26 March 1828 and the concert and dance evening at Charlotte Princess Kinsky's. The evening at the Palais Kinsky in particular could have been a decisive 'door opener' for his future career, as his acquaintance with the highest circles in Vienna might have opened up entirely new spheres of activity.

Schubert had already consolidated the relationship with Princess Kinsky by presenting her with a dedicatory print (op. 96 with 4 songs), and in turn had received a payment in appreciation. As Kinsky's letter shows, another concert was to have followed after the summer break at her home at her invitation. With her lifelong and proven sense for superior song repertoire and her energetic support of various composers (such as Bernhard Romberg and Ludwig van Beethoven), she could also have supported Franz Schubert as far as her fortune as a widow and her salary as Obersthofmeisterin at the imperial court would have allowed. She certainly had the power to do so. Members of the imperial family were enthusiastic about music and dance (most notably Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, and most likely also the Archduchess Sophie, who was in close contact with him and for whom Charlotte Kinsky worked as Obersthofmeisterin) and other members of the high aristocracy might have experienced Schubert on this evening as a successful composer, interpreter and improviser. This could have been the impetus for further performances (including at the teas and academies of Archduchess Sophie), for commissions from aristocrats or members of the imperial family and possibly even for Schubert to have received an offer of employment by the court. This would have complemented other instances of close, appreciative contact with the imperial court through Lajos Count Széchényi of Sárvár-Felsö-Vidék (see above) or Moritz Count Dietrichstein,[133] and with members of the highest nobility, through close contact with Count Esterházy and his family (see above), and through concerts in noble palaces together with both Schönstein (see above) and Johann Michael Vogl, as documented for various residences outside Vienna.[134] With his dance

132 See Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert. A Musical Wayfarer* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2023), esp. 511–23.

133 From 1815 Dietrichstein was the Duke of Reichstadt's tutor, from 1819 he was "Hofmusikgraf," from 1821–26 director of the Imperial Court Theater, and from 1826 director of the Imperial Library and founder of its music collection in which he integrated the music material from the Imperial Court. He was anxious to promote Schubert substantially, "sub umbra alarum tuarum" (DDok, 115 from 1821).

134 E.g. DDok 275.

sequences, Schubert could have had a lasting and successful influence on the various dance events of the 1830s which were organized not least by the court and by members of the higher nobility – alongside the musical director of the Redoutensäle Joseph Wilde, as well as Joseph Lanner and Joseph Strauss. However, things did not turn out this way.

What remained of Schubert's brief contact with the imperial circle was the memory of an evening of exuberance with Schubert's songs and dance improvisations on the beautiful grand piano, which must have been an atmospheric and also an acoustic delight for all present in the magnificent ballroom of the Palais Kinsky: the pianos of the time, strung in parallel (and not yet cross-strung), had separate timbres in the different registers so that, as James Sobaskie argues, they seemed almost orchestral.[135]

The surviving reminiscences of music making, improvising, listening and dancing resemble the well-known descriptions of the Schubertiades,[136] only here not in a bourgeois circle of friends but in a circle of selected members of the First Society, with the participation of members of the imperial court. This fact torpedoes the posthumously established narrative of Schubert acting purely in bourgeois circles. It is quite possible that Schubertiades took place on several other occasions in high aristocratic society with an affinity for music and a good knowledge of Schubert's works, but we have no record of them. In this documented case, Charlotte Kinsky acted both as hostess and, in her role as Obersthofmeisterin, as mediator between Schubert and musically interested members of the high nobility and the imperial family.

Epilogue

Schubert's song print op. 96 (see Illustration 3), which he dedicated to the widow Kinsky, opens with *Die Sterne* D 939, composed in January 1828 to a text by Karl Gottfried von Leitner. The autograph of this song (Illustration 8), which served as a print template,[137] is preserved in a count's collection – and thus materially

135 James William Sobaskie, "Reflections and Echoes in Schubert's Waltzes," in *Schubert's Piano*, ed. Matthew Gardner and Christine Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2024), 283–300.

136 More recently, Martin Günther, *Kunstlied als Liedkunst. Die Lieder Franz Schubert in der musikalischen Aufführungskultur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016), 98–110.

137 The autograph has the engraver's markings for page division. The print templates of the other songs from op. 96 have also survived: Schober, whose Lithographisches Institut was responsible for the printing, kept the autograph for no. 2 (on the text written by himself, *Jägers Liebeslied*) personally (NSA 5a [1985], XXII); the autographs for op. 96 nos. 3 and 4 are now in the Hungarian National Library in Budapest (see István Kecskeméti, "Neu entdeckte Schubert-Autographe," *ÖMZ* 24 [1969]: 564–68, and NSA 5a [1985], XVI–XVII).

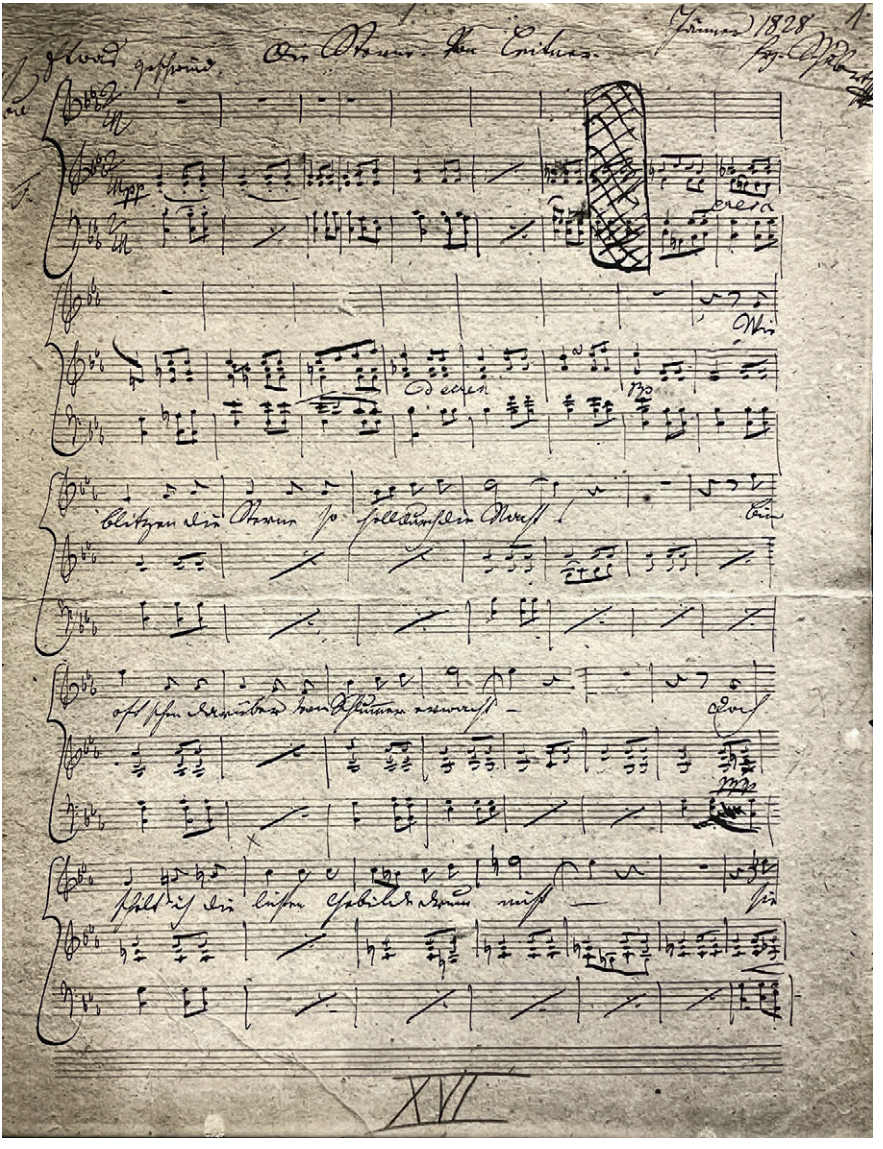


Illustration 8: Franz Schubert, *Die Sterne*, title page of the autograph; Státní okresní archiv v Třeboni, district branch in Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus in Bohemia) [CZ-JIa].

arrived in that sphere in which Schubert was not able to establish himself due to his early death. The path of this source is probably directly linked to the concert evening at the widow Kinsky's house: until now, it has been assumed that the autograph of *Die Sterne* had come by chance into the possession of Eugen Graf Czernín von und zu Chudenitz (1796–1868), intendant of the Vienna Court Theater and founder of the Chudenitz Palace Library, in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are no similar musical manuscripts in this collection now kept in the archives of the Bohemian Neuhaus.[138] This Count Czernín is, as I was able to discover, the uncle of Marie Countess Czernín of Chudenitz (1806–1872),[139] who married the younger son of Charlotte Princess Kinsky, Josef Kinsky, on 10 November 1828. The connection could therefore not be more direct. Thus it is very likely that Schubert gave the autograph of the opening song of opus 96 either to the dedicatee Charlotte Princess Kinsky (who presented it on the occasion of the wedding) or to her future daughter-in-law himself.[140] *Die Sterne*, which can be heard both as a joyfully optimistic dance of love and as Schubert's encomium to his late star Beethoven,[141] was obviously intended to show the next aristocratic generation a good musical path.

138 The collection also includes a copy of the well-known lithograph of Franz Schubert's portrait by Josef Eduard Teltscher, 1828: *Autograph and Engraving Collection Jindřichův Hradec 1401–1900 (Sbírka autografů a rytin Jindřichův Hradec 1401–1900)*, archive box no. 58, shelfmark XVI 162. I sincerely thank Dr. Christine Martin for sending me the older documentation on this autograph of the New Schubert edition, Tübingen, as well as Dr. Eva Fialová for her helpful information from the Státní okresní archiv Jindřichův Hradec.

139 Marie's father, Count Wolfgang Maria Czernín of Chudenitz (1766–1813), was the half-brother of Johann Rudolf Count Czernín (1757–1845), who, as the emperor's deputy Obersthofmeister, had criticized the colorful redesign of Sophie's music salon at Laxenburg Palace (see Illustration 5a) as too fashionable.

140 Print templates, as Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl reminds me, often remained with the publisher. Since in this case the publisher was Schubert's friend Schober, with whom Schubert lived during the months in question, it seems natural that Schober made this autograph available to the composer again (cf. also 416).

141 Susan Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder. Beyond the Song-Cycles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 265–73. The song *Die Sterne* was first heard in Schubert's public concert of 26 March 1828, the first anniversary of Beethoven's death.

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