

Harmonizing Histories
Networking 18th-Century European Female Musicians

by

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Declaration

I certify that this dissertation, submitted for examination for the award of PhD, is entirely my own work and has not been derived from the work of others, except where such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text. This dissertation has been prepared in accordance with the regulations for postgraduate research at the University of Paderborn and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for any other academic award at any other institution. The research presented in this dissertation adheres to the principles and requirements set forth by the University of Paderborn's guidelines for ethics in research. The University of Paderborn has permission to retain, lend, or copy this dissertation in whole or in part, provided that any such use of the material is properly acknowledged.

Signature *Susan M. Holman* Date February 20, 2025

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Abstract (Deutsch)

Seit den 1980er Jahren hat die Forschung zu Musikerinnen erheblich an Umfang gewonnen; dennoch werden viele Musikerinnen des 18. Jahrhunderts weiterhin als vereinzelte oder marginale Erscheinungen dargestellt. Diese Dissertation hinterfragt diese Annahme, indem sie untersucht, inwieweit Musikerinnen der Aufklärung in soziale, professionelle und kulturelle Netzwerke eingebunden waren. Auf der Grundlage historischer sozialer Netzwerkanalyse in Verbindung mit archivalischer und biographischer Forschung rekonstruiert die Studie Beziehungen zwischen professionellen und nichtprofessionellen Musikerinnen in verschiedenen europäischen Regionen. Dabei werden primäre, sekundäre und potenzielle Verbindungen analysiert, um Muster von Austausch, Einfluss und gemeinsamer musikalischer Praxis sichtbar zu machen. Die Netzwerke werden in ihren jeweiligen sozialen, geografischen und institutionellen Kontexten verortet. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Musikerinnen nicht als isolierte Einzelfiguren, sondern als aktive Akteurinnen transnationaler musikalischer Kontexte zu verstehen sind. Die Arbeit leistet damit einen Beitrag zur Neubewertung weiblicher musikalischer Handlungsspielräume im 18. Jahrhundert und bietet zugleich ein methodisches Modell für zukünftige netzwerkorientierte Forschungen.

Abstract (English)

Since the 1980s, research on women musicians has expanded significantly, yet many figures from the eighteenth century continue to be portrayed as isolated or exceptional individuals. This dissertation challenges that assumption by investigating whether female musicians of the Enlightenment operated in relative seclusion or within interconnected social, professional, and cultural networks. Employing historical social network analysis alongside close archival and biographical research, the study reconstructs relationships among professional and amateur women musicians across multiple European regions. It examines primary, secondary, and potential connections to reveal patterns of collaboration, influence, and shared musical environments. By situating these networks within their broader socio-cultural and geographic contexts, the dissertation demonstrates that women musicians were embedded in dynamic transnational contexts shaped by patronage, mobility, and institutional affiliation. Rather than isolated anomalies, these women emerge as active participants in interconnected musical cultures. The findings offer a revised understanding of female musical agency during the Enlightenment and establish a methodological framework for future research on historical networks.

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Table of Abbreviations

Notes

DT Diplomatic Transcription (minimal or no editorial intervention)

Institutions

I-Baf Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, Bologna
US-PHps American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia
D-KA Badische Landesbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Karlsruhe
D-Mbs Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München
I-Rama Bibliomediateca dell'Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, Roma
I-Rc Biblioteca Casanatense, Roma
I-Bca Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna
I-Nc Biblioteca Conservatorio di Musica del S. Pietro a Majella, Napoli
I-Fc Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Firenze
I-Rsc Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia, Roma
I-Raf Biblioteca dell'Accademia Filarmonica Romana, Roma
I-Rsmc Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, Roma
E-MbhmV Biblioteca la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid
I-Rn Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Roma
CH-LAcu Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, Lausanne
F-LYm Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon
F-Pn Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
GB-Ob Bodleian Library, Oxford
US-PRV Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo
GB-Lbl British Library, London
US-NYcubl Columbia University Barnard College Library, New York City
DK-Kk Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Slotsholmen
US-DMu Duke University Libraries, Durham
US-LAgri Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
US-CA Harvard University, Cambridge
D-WRz Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar
US-Blu Indiana University, Bloomington
A-Sm Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg
S-Sk Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
P-Lmm Museu da Música, Lisboa
I-Bc Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Bologna
US-COu Music & Dance Library, Columbus
CH-Zms Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar der Universität Zürich, Zürich
US-NYpl New York Public Library, New York City
US-COtI Ohio State University, Thompson Library, Columbus
A-Wn Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
US-PRu Princeton University, Princeton

RUS-Mrg	Rossijskaja Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka, Moskva
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London
D-DI	Sächsische Landesbibliothek-Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
US-R	Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, Rochester
D-B	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin
US-SL	St. Louis University, Pius XII Memorial Library, St. Louis
US-Wc	The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
US-LAuc	The University of California, Los Angeles
US-Cu	The University of Chicago
US-U	The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
US-AAu	The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
US-MSu	The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
US-CHH	The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
US-RI	The University of Virginia, Richmond
D-Ju	Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Jena
D-HAu	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle (Saale)
CH-Bu	Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Basel
S-L	Universitet Biblioteket, Lund
S-Uu	Universitet Bibliotek, Uppsala
S-Gu	Universitetsbiblioteket, Göteborg
NL-Au	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam
NL-Uu	Universieitsbibliothek, Utrecht
CDN-Turl	University of Toronto, Robarts Library, Toronto
US-NH	Yale University, New Haven
A-Wst	Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Wien

Publications

ADB	Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie
AMZ	Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
ATÉ	Affiches des Trois-Évêchés
DS	Der Sammler
EMLR	The European Magazine and London Review
GA	Götheborgs Allehanda
GF	Gazette de France
GM	Gentleman's Magazine
GNMU	Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel
GMM	Gazzetta musicale di Milano
GT	Gazzetta Toscana
JGSW	Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien
JP	Journal de Paris
JD	Journal von und für Deutschland
KVNM	Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis

LP	Le Pianiste: Journal spécial, analytique et instructif
LS	Le Siècle: Journal politique, littéraire et d'économie Sociale
MF	Mercure de France
MGS	Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände
NME	New Mozart Edition
EM	The Edinburgh Magazine
HA	The Harmonicon
TLM	The Lady's Magazine
TMW	The Musical World
QM	The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review
VB	Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat
WAMZ	Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
WD	Wienerisches Diarium
WZ	Wiener Zeitung
WCMA	Women Composers: Music Through the Ages
ZW	Zeitung für die elegante Welt

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Prelude

When I began graduate training in musicology 26 years ago, no women appeared in the curriculum. It never even occurred to some of us to wonder why there were no women in the histories of music we studied; if we asked, we were told that there had not been any—at least none worth remembering.¹

—*Susan McClary*

Susan McClary's statement resonates deeply with my own journey. Like her, I embarked on a path as a classical pianist from a young age. Even during my undergraduate years in the 1980s, the absence of women composers beyond Clara Schumann never crossed my mind. If I ever contemplated the existence of female musicians at all, I simply assumed that their presence was primarily confined to domestic settings. The notion of dedicated courses in feminine musicology seemed unfathomable at that time. It was not until I reached nearly fifty and returned to university for my graduate degree that I became acutely aware of the transformative shift in the field of historical musicology. Witnessing the incorporation of feminist, gender, and other cultural scholarship into the study of music history was a revelation. This realization marked a significant turning point in my understanding of the subject, highlighting previously marginalized narratives and perspectives that are now being explored and celebrated. The recognition and integration of these disciplines have broadened the horizons of historical musicology, paving the way for a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of the past.

Scope

The study of female musicians has seen significant advancements since the 1980s, particularly in exploring women's connections and contributions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Notable examples include the relationship between Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805–1847) and Clara Wieck Schumann (1810–1896),² as well as the influence of Juliette Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) on students such as Julia Amanda

¹ Susan McClary, "Of Patriarchs...and Matriarchs, Too. Susan McClary Assesses the Challenges and Contributions of Feminist Musicology," *The Musical Times* 135, no. 1816 (June 1994): 365. All reference details are located in the bibliography.

² Nancy B. Reich, "The Diaries of Fanny Hensel and Clara Schumann: A Study in Contrasts," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 4, no. 2 (2007): 21–36.

Perry (1924–1979).³ Similarly, biographers and researchers have made commendable progress in examining eighteenth-century women musicians through individual profiles and compositional analysis, as demonstrated in my sketches of Marianna Martines (1744–1812) and Maria Teresa Agnesi (1720–1795).⁴ Yet, a vast reservoir of untapped potential remains.

A recurring observation in existing scholarship is the tendency to frame female musicians as isolated figures, treated as singular entities within the orbit of a prominent male. My research confirms this tendency: many women surface in the historical record primarily through their associations with male contemporaries. Much of the scholarship on female musicians adopts a “star-shaped” model, with a male composer or figure at its center. This pattern is evident in titles such as *Frauen als Komponistinnen im Umfeld Mozarts*, *Frauen um Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, *Mozart’s Women*, *Richard Wagner’s Women*, and *Verdi’s Exceptional Women*.⁵ This framing raises a critical question: did these women truly exist only in “female isolation,” defined and remembered solely in relation to men? Or have historical narratives—shaped by prevailing gender biases—obscured the vibrant networks and collaborations in which they actively participated?

Through my research, I sought to address this question by examining the lives and connections of these female musicians—not only with the men in their spheres but also with each other. Additionally, I aimed to uncover their influence on one another and their broader environment, offering a richer understanding of the transformative period known

³ Diane Lynn DeVries, “The Pedagogical Influence of Nadia Boulanger on the Works of Female Students: an Analysis of Selected Compositions” (MA thesis, Michigan State University, 1998). Other biographies include Elisabeth von Herzogenberg (1847-1892) in Antje Ruhbaum, *Elisabeth von Herzogenberg: Salon — Mäzenatentum — Musikförderung* (Kenzingen: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik, 2009).

⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁵ Beate Korntner, *Frauen als Komponistinnen im Umfeld Mozarts* (Munich: Academic Publishing Group, 2018), examines female composers in Mozart’s circle, including Maria Theresia Paradis, Marianne Martines, Josepha Auernhammer, and Nanette Streicher, while noting how many of their works have been lost or misattributed to men. Brigitte Richter, *Frauen um Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2014), explores twenty-nine women around Mendelssohn, portraying him as both respectful and socially engaged in his relationships with female colleagues. Jane Glover, *Mozart’s Women: His Family, His Friends, His Music* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), demonstrates how the women closest to Mozart—including his mother, sister Maria Anna, wife Constanze, and her sisters—influenced his creative development. Eva Rieger, *Richard Wagner’s Women*, tr. by Chris Walton (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2011), analyzes Wagner’s contradictory quest for an “ideal woman,” showing how his personal relationships shaped his operatic heroines. Caroline Anne Ellsmore, *Verdi’s Exceptional Women: Giuseppina Strepponi and Teresa Stolz* (London: Routledge, 2017), reevaluates the contributions of two important singers to Verdi’s career, challenging previous scholarship through newly examined correspondence. While valuable, all of these studies remain centered on the male composer, ultimately reinforcing the question of whether women are remembered only in relation to men, rather than as active participants in broader musical networks.

as the Enlightenment. This ancillary yet essential aspect of my inquiry allowed me to explore the intricate dynamics that shaped the musical and cultural landscape of the time, shedding light on the significant roles these women played during an era characterized by intellectual and societal change.⁶ By unraveling these interconnections and analyzing their impact, I aimed to provide a more comprehensive and nuanced perspective on female musicians' vibrant and influential presence within this tumultuous and innovative period.

The examination of female musicians during the eighteenth-century must be considered in relation to the wider socio-cultural backdrop of the era;⁷ a period that brought about transformative ideals that reshaped society, including the roles of women and the field of music.⁸ During this time, women experienced a significant increase in engagement with the world around them, actively participating in politics, religion, and philosophy, and excelling as composers and musicians.⁹ The availability of social salons and musical academies provided well-educated and elite women with opportunities to further their education and expand their influence.¹⁰ These spaces fostered civil dialogue, facilitated the sharing of talents, and enabled valuable connections, empowering women

⁶ For a comprehensive understanding of how the Enlightenment reshaped society, particularly regarding women and the arts, see Dena Goodman and Kathleen Wellman, eds., *The Enlightenment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 157–204. See also Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor, eds., *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Ellen Pollak, ed., *A Cultural History of Women in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); JoEllen DeLucia, *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and the Philosophy of Progress, 1759–1820* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); Anna Maria Marchini, *Women in the French Enlightenment: From Femme Savante to Mother of the Family* (New York: Routledge, 2022); Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Ruth Edith Hagengruber and Sarah Hutton, eds., *Women Philosophers from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment: New Studies* (London: Routledge, 2021); and Wendy Rosslyn, ed., *Women and Gender in 18th-Century Russia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁷ Musicians seldom develop their art in isolation; rather, their artistic growth is fostered through a combination of observation, apprenticeship, and exposure to fellow musicians. Andrea Schiavio, et al., “Processes and Experiences of Creative Cognition in Seven Western Classical Composers,” *Music Sci*, no. 2 (June 26, 2022): 308.

⁸ Understanding these transformative ideals is crucial to contextualizing the experiences and contributions of female musicians during this period. See Sylvana Tomaselli, “The Enlightenment Debate on Women,” *History Workshop Journal*, no. 20 (1985): 101–124; and Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750–1850*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1991).

⁹ See in Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam, eds., *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2016). The anthology explores women's artistic production and patronage during the eighteenth century. Although focused on female artists rather than female musicians, this collection provides insights into how women's participation in the arts enabled them to shape their identities, including the artistic, political, religious, and intellectual realms.

¹⁰ See Rebecca Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2022).

to enhance their lives and make a significant impact.¹¹ Women established their own relationships and networks, allowing them to assert their agency and more effectively shape their artistic endeavors.¹²

Accordingly, my research objectives centered on investigating the lives of female musicians who flourished during this transformative age. I aimed to delve into their journeys, artistic endeavors, and contributions to the era's musical landscape, highlighting their work's significance and illuminating their influence within their respective spheres. Furthermore, I sought to explore potential connections among these women. By examining their interactions, collaborations, or potential shared influences, I aimed to uncover a network of support and creative exchange among them. In pursuit of this, I raised the following questions:

1. Did a network of professional and amateur female composers, musicians, and patrons exist that fostered mutual influence, support, inspiration, and challenges?
2. If such networks were present, what was their nature? Were they limited to specific geographic or geopolitical regions?
3. Did female composers know of one another, even if they hailed from different countries? Did they study and draw inspiration from each other's compositional styles and build upon them?
4. Did any of the women mentor other female musicians, as well as their male counterparts? Or did they engage in competitive dynamics?
5. Alternatively, did these women stand out as unique in their milieu, relying solely on the men surrounding them for inspiration and instruction?

In this dissertation, I distinguish between “professional” and “amateur” female musicians. Professional musicians earned their livelihood through performance, composition, teaching, or court appointments, leaving more apparent traces in the historical record through concert programs, reviews, or published works. Amateurs, by contrast, cultivated music primarily within domestic or private settings, often documented only in diaries, letters, or personal accounts. While professional musicians were more visible to posterity, amateur musicians frequently played crucial roles in sustaining local communities and shaping cultural exchange. This distinction provides an essential framework for understanding both the visibility and the limitations of women's musical

¹¹ During the eighteenth century, both Europe and America witnessed the emergence of musical salons that played a pivotal role in shaping their respective cultural milieu. *Ibid.*, 24–61.

¹² See Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

activity in this period.

I confined my research to active women musicians in the latter half of the eighteenth-century (1750–1800), focusing on Western European countries, including the Austrian and German territories, France, England, Italy, and Sweden.¹³ My starting point was the Habsburg Empire, as the Habsburg family was particularly significant to my initial subject, Marianna Martines (1744–1812). This was a period of profound upheaval, shaped by revolution and geopolitical restructuring, but it also fostered extensive travel, the circulation of Enlightenment ideas, and a vibrant artistic climate.¹⁴

My research unfolded organically: the more women I studied, the more connections and networks emerged. Each profile often led me to another musician, another city, or another cluster of relationships, and what began as a focused inquiry into one circle gradually expanded into a much larger transnational web. Ultimately, this process brought me to the lives of one hundred women, whose collective stories reveal not isolation but interconnection across Europe. This exploratory process not only expanded the dataset but also strengthened the methodology, ensuring that the networks reconstructed in my dissertation emerged directly from the evidence rather than being imposed by a predetermined framework.

Nonetheless, my study had limitations. Documents, such as letters or diaries, were often lacking or inaccessible if they existed at all. Historical records documenting professional female musicians are more abundant than those of their amateur counterparts. However, even for these professionals, the surviving sources remain significantly scarcer than those available for their male contemporaries. I concentrated on female musicians with sufficient documentation, narrowing the scope to eighty individuals. Within this study, I established networks among fifty-five female musicians, categorized into specific classifications. Some musicians, such as Anna Brita Wendelius (1741–1804), had limited information available, which I used in its entirety. Conversely, others, like Isabelle de Charrière (1740–1805), had abundant material written about them, requiring me to selectively curate the most relevant details to convey my argument effectively.

This project aims to inspire fresh perspectives on a relatively underexplored

¹³ To visualize how geographical boundaries shifted during the period under study, see TimeMap: World History Atlas, an educational platform that presents world history through a dynamic map and timeline. The full citation and link are provided in the bibliography.

¹⁴ See Goodman and Wellman, *The Enlightenment* to discover broad spectrum of essays, ranging from defining the Enlightenment itself to exploring into the existence of a women's Enlightenment.

subject. As an evolving endeavor, it holds the potential to uncover additional insights, identify emerging patterns, and refine methods for interpreting data in innovative ways. By shedding light on overlooked narratives and fostering interdisciplinary approaches, it invites collaboration and dialogue, encouraging others to build upon its findings and explore new avenues of research.

Literature Review

In researching Marianna Martines for my Master's thesis,¹⁵ I uncovered a wealth of fruitful relationships between women musicians. Seeking to deepen my understanding, I delved into Martines's daily life, particularly exploring her possible connections to her female contemporaries.¹⁶ Martines proved an ideal starting point due to her status as one of the period's most prolific and celebrated female musicians. Notably, she was a favorite of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, maintained friendships with other nobility, hosted regular Saturday salons, and established a highly regarded singing school. Furthermore, Martines was constantly surrounded by the genius men of her time, including Joseph Haydn (1732–1802), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), and Pietro Metastasio (1698–1792). In addition to these relationships, she taught singing and keyboard lessons to female musicians and held weekly musical academies at her residence, where women performed. Regrettably, limited documentation is available on these particular aspects of Martines's life or the women involved in her musical pursuits.¹⁷

The scholarly exploration of Martines began with Karen Fremar's 1983 doctoral dissertation and culminated in Irving Godt's definitive biography in 2010. Fremar's dissertation laid the foundation for subsequent research on Martines and provided valuable insights into her life, compositional style, and technique.¹⁸ However, while Fremar's study offered a historical account of Martines's life, it left certain gaps in her biography that Godt sought to address.¹⁹ Given the scarcity of archival records on Martines, Godt meticulously reexamined Fremar's research and traveled to Vienna and

¹⁵ Susan M. Holman, "Marianna Martines (1744–1812): Composing for God in the Age of Reason" (MA thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2009).

¹⁶ The first chapter of this dissertation examines and analyzes the statements presented in this paragraph, providing a comprehensive analysis of their content.

¹⁷ In 1927, a fire swept through Vienna's Palace of Justice. See Der Oberste Gerichtshof, "Der Brand des Justizpalasts 1927." The fire caused severe damage and resulted in the loss of a significant amount of historical documents and records related to the noble families.

¹⁸ Karen Lynn Fremar, "The Life and Selected Works of Marianna Martines (1744–1812)" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1983).

¹⁹ See Irving Godt, *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*, ed. by John A. Rice (Eastman Studies in Music. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

Bologna to examine and translate primary sources.²⁰ Over two decades, Godt devoted himself to conducting in-depth research on Martines, demonstrating his dedication through two articles published in *The Journal of Musicology* as a precursor to his book.²¹ He pieced together a comprehensive chronology of Martines's life²² and considered the accomplishments and context of her family,²³ thereby enhancing and supplementing earlier accounts of her biography.²⁴ Moreover, Godt's work expanded upon Martines's life and delved deeper into her compositions, providing a more comprehensive understanding of her significant contributions.²⁵

It is worth noting that all subsequent articles and performance notes I encountered during my research appeared to draw heavily from Godt's established resources. Surprisingly, there seems to be no scholarly exploration of the networking relationships between Martines and other female musicians during the eighteenth-century. This knowledge gap offers an intriguing avenue for investigation and an opportunity to shed light on Martines's connections within her musical community.

Mathew Head's *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* piqued my interest due to its unique stance on the role of women musicians during that era.²⁶ Head presents a thoughtful analysis of gender musicology, which has continued to evolve since the 1980s.²⁷ Moreover, he challenges the prevailing belief that women composers had limited opportunities in the eighteenth-century.²⁸ Instead, he argues that their work was favorably received from the 1780s until the turn of the century.²⁹ He delves into the complexities of female authorship, observing that "figures of womanhood enjoyed exalted status as signs of reform, progress, morality, and

²⁰ Godt expresses his gratitude toward the individuals who provided invaluable assistance during his "dozen trips in search of Marianna." For further details, see Godt, *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*, xv–xvi. A complete list of his research materials can be accessed at the New York University Archives, "Guide to the Irving Godt Papers," MC.206.

²¹ Irving Godt, "Marianna in Italy: The International Reputation of Marianna Martines (1744–1812)," *The Journal of Musicology* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 1995), 538–561; and Irving Godt, "Marianna in Vienna: A Martines Chronology," *The Journal of Musicology* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1998), 136–158.

²² Godt, "Marianna in Vienna: A Martines Chronology."

²³ Godt, "Marianna in Italy: The International Reputation of Marianna."

²⁴ These two articles served as my initial introduction to Marianna Martines, sparking my curiosity and subsequently inspiring me to conduct my own research.

²⁵ Godt's monograph offers a thorough analysis of Martines's musical compositions and style. See Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 23–31, 35–57, 61–78, 87–93, 103–119, 117–132, and 144–151.

²⁶ Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2013).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, xv–xvii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, xviii–xix.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

civilization.”³⁰

Although Head does not explicitly establish a network of female musicians, his portrayal connects them to the celebrated musicologist Charles Burney.³¹ This association underscores Burney’s profound influence on the careers of women musicians, both amateur and professional, while also hinting at a potential, albeit unexplored, web of connections among the women themselves.³² While Head’s focus on Burney’s evaluations is insightful, it inadvertently shifts attention away from the communication and collaboration among the women musicians themselves. My dissertation seeks to address this gap by emphasizing the agency and achievements of female musicians and exploring the possibility of a network that fostered mutual support and inspiration. This approach shifts the focus from the influence of prominent male figures like Burney to the collective empowerment and accomplishments of women musicians in their own right.

Nevertheless, Charles Burney’s works have also influenced my research. His genuine appreciation for women musicians is evident, as he rarely expressed negative views about the female performers and composers he encountered.³³ What distinguishes Burney is his ability to evaluate women’s contributions without patronizing them, avoiding the typical depiction of women as mere ingenues.³⁴ Instead, he consistently praised their education, expertise, and artistry, recognizing their significant contributions to the field.³⁵ For instance, Burney’s inclusion of several native English female musicians in the final volume of his *General History of Music* suggests his belief in the equal participation of both genders within London’s musical and social scene.³⁶

However, while Burney celebrated women musicians’ talents and achievements, he did not necessarily perceive them as part of a cohesive network of female support and influence.³⁷ His accounts emphasize their individuality rather than their collective network.³⁸ My research aims to build on Burney’s observations by investigating the

³⁰ Ibid., 4. This perspective confronts our preconceived notions and offers a fresh understanding of the social and cultural dynamics that shaped the reception of women musicians and their contributions during the eighteenth century.

³¹ Charles Burney features prominently in the first chapter of Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 27–47.

³² Ibid.

³³ See Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket and Co., 1771); and Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London: T. Becket and Co., 1775).

³⁴ Head, 35–36.

³⁵ Ibid., 27–28.

³⁶ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 4 (London: Self-published, 1776–1789).

³⁷ Head, 29–31.

³⁸ Ibid., 36–47.

broader networks and connections among these women, shedding light on their collaborative influence and their role as a transformative force within the musical and cultural landscape of the eighteenth-century.

How did female musicians in the eighteenth-century perceive themselves? Did they view their musical contributions through the same gendered lens we apply today? Ruth Heckmann's *Tonsetzerinnen: Zur Rezeption von Komponistinnen in Deutschland um 1800* provides valuable insights into the origins of gendered terms, their associated characteristics, and the societal roles they entail.³⁹ Concepts such as "gender," "female," and "male," along with their associated traits and functions, emerged during the Enlightenment and have since become deeply ingrained in Western philosophy and society.⁴⁰ Heckman also introduces the term "composer," defining it as an individual for whom music composition constitutes their primary vocation.⁴¹ However, in this dissertation, I have chosen not to distinguish between women who composed music professionally and those who created music for intimate gatherings or personal enjoyment. Understanding the historical context of gendered perceptions and expectations is crucial for exploring how female musicians of the time may have viewed themselves, their networking potential, and how their contemporaries perceived their musical contributions within the societal norms of that time.⁴²

Exploring the historical evolution of gender constructs provides a fresh perspective on the lives and contributions of historical female musicians. By situating their experiences within the broader context of gender duality that has shaped Western philosophy over the centuries, I gained a deeper appreciation of the complexities of their lives. This perspective allowed me to see these women not merely as subjugated individuals striving for the right to pursue music but as integral members of a larger, interconnected network. They navigated a male-dominated world with remarkable talent and determination, carving out spaces for themselves in their chosen fields.

While I did not attempt to construct female musician networks in isolation from the men in their lives, I ultimately chose to remove male figures from the analysis to gain a clearer picture of the relationships among women musicians themselves. My

³⁹ Ruth Heckmann, *Tonsetzerinnen: Zur Rezeption von Komponistinnen in Deutschland um 1800* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2016).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴² Mattias Lindvall-Östling, Mats Deutschmann, and Anders Steinvall, "An Exploratory Study on Linguistic Gender Stereotypes and their Effects on Perception," *Open Linguistics* 6, no. 1 (2020): pp. 567–583.

dissertation primarily focuses on investigating these networking relationships, yet it is equally important to recognize the broader context in which these networks developed. The prevailing language, societal classifications, and gender expectations surrounding music significantly shaped the environment within which these networks thrived. These factors not only influenced the opportunities available to women musicians but also facilitated connections among women of diverse backgrounds, aspirations, and levels of professional engagement.

To gain insight into the self-perception and networking strategies of eighteenth-century women, I consulted the writings of two notable figures among my research subjects: Marianna Martines (1744–1812) and Gertrud Elisabeth Mara (1749–1833), representing the amateur and professional viewpoints, respectively.⁴³ Neither woman hesitated to leverage her connections with famous friends and acquaintances to enhance her reputation. For instance, Martines proudly chronicled her impressive musical journey in a résumé that Giovanni Martini presented to the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna.⁴⁴ Likewise, Mara’s autobiography is replete with captivating anecdotes featuring notable personalities like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804), and Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), and influential monarchs such as Frederick II (1712–1786), the Queen of Sweden, and Charlotte of England (1744–1818).⁴⁵

While the concept of networking, as we understand it today, may not have existed in the eighteenth-century, these two female musicians clearly recognized the importance of forging connections and nurturing relationships. They understood the advantages such associations could provide, including access to influential figures, valuable advice, and increased visibility, all of which enhanced their reputations and influence.⁴⁶ Despite their

⁴³ In this dissertation, I deliberately use the term “amateur” rather than “dilettante.” In the eighteenth century, the label “dilettante” was often applied to female musicians, carrying with it negative connotations that suggested a casual or superficial engagement with music, as though it were merely a hobby. However, my research has uncovered a different reality: the majority of female amateur musicians of that era approached their musical pursuits with remarkable seriousness and dedication. The prevailing notion that these women were merely dabblers overlooks the immense talent, passion, and commitment they brought to their craft.

⁴⁴ See the Martines’s letter to Giovanni Martini outlining her résumé at Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, “Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini,” I-Bc. I.117.081. (Translation) Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 22.

⁴⁵ Mitgetheilt von O. von Riesemann, “Eine Selbstbiographie der Sängerin Elisabeth Gertrud Mara,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 34 (August 18, 1875), 531, 547–548. All of Mara’s autobiography is contained in one volume of *AMZ*, volume 10 (1875).

⁴⁶ To understand the significance of social networking strategies within the context of the eighteenth-century world, see Ileana Baird, *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

historical significance, the networks of female musicians from this era remain relatively unexplored. However, in recent years, there has been growing interest in historical networks, with notable initiatives shedding light on women's contributions across various fields. One such initiative is *O Mapa das Mulheres Cientistas Portuguesas*, launched in 2012. This project categorized Portuguese women across diverse disciplines, including the humanities and the arts, and celebrated their significant achievements.⁴⁷ Inspired by this impactful endeavor, I embarked on a similar project, developing a collection of biographical sketches. These sketches provided a foundation for mapping the networks of numerous female musicians and formed a substantial part of my dissertation.

Analyzing the networking dynamics among historical figures has undeniably captivated the imagination of musicologists. One such analysis, conducted by Elisabeth Reisinger, delves into the world of Archduke Maximilian Franz (1756–1801) and the vibrant social networks surrounding him.⁴⁸ Reisinger focuses explicitly on the involvement of renowned artists such as Gluck, Mozart, and Beethoven, highlighting their skill in navigating aristocratic circles and strategically expanding their social connections to advance their careers.⁴⁹ Similar to Reisinger's analysis of male musicians, my research delves into the skillful maneuvering of female musicians as they build and leverage social networks to gain support, opportunities, and recognition.

Another intriguing aspect of my research focused on comparing amateur and professional musicians, specifically examining their collaboration and mutual influence. Initially, my findings were primarily concentrated on central and western Europe, where instances of interaction between these two groups were relatively scarce. However, a significant shift occurred when I encountered an enlightening article, "Musikkultur och musiksmak i 1700-talets Sverige," which offered fresh perspectives on Scandinavian countries.⁵⁰ In Sweden, for instance, I discovered a remarkable dynamic that placed amateurs and professionals on an equal footing, fostering a vibrant culture of networking

⁴⁷ [The Portuguese Women in Science Map] See Isabel Lousada and Vasco DB Bonifácio, et al., "Luisa Rosa de Aguiar Todi (1753–1833)," in *Portuguese Women Scientists: Historical Overview*.

⁴⁸ Elisabeth Reisinger, "Sozialisation — Interaktion — Netzwerk: Zum Umgang mit Musikern im Adel anhand des Beispiels von Erzherzog Maximilian Franz," in *Beethoven und andere Hofmusiker seiner Generation*, ed. by Birgit Lodes, Elisabeth Reisinger, and John D. Wilson (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2018), 179–198.

⁴⁹ Reisinger also establishes a correlation between Franz's networking expertise and his extensive music library, offering valuable insights into the multifaceted relationship between social networks, musical influence, and the cultivation of artistic resources. Ibid.

⁵⁰ Charlotta Wolff, "Musikkultur och musiksmak i 1700-talets Sverige: ett bidrag till lyssnandets historia," *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 100, no. 4 (2016), 420–452.

and cooperation.⁵¹ This discovery of diverse networks among female musicians transformed my initial question—whether such networks existed—into questions about how many networks there were and what their unique characteristics entailed.

The significance of network research in musicology was further emphasized at an international interdisciplinary online conference titled “Musical Networking in the ‘Long 19th Century’” in June 2021.⁵² This conference provided a platform to explore several case studies in social musicology, revealing the intricate dynamics of musical networking.⁵³ Two presentations from the conference particularly stand out as highly relevant to my research. First, “The Challenges of Communication in Musical Networking of the Habsburg Monarch” explores factors that can hinder effective networking, including linguistic diversity, regional customs, political influences, economic variations, and religious disparities.⁵⁴ Second, the entrepreneurial career of glass harmonica player Marianne Davies (1743/4–1819) in “The Art of Persuasion” exemplifies the power of networking in shaping her trajectory and highlights the effect of influencers within her network.”⁵⁵ Both presentations offer invaluable perspectives and deepen our understanding of the multifaceted nature of networking and its impact on musical careers during that era.

Ana Lombardía’s presentation titled “Women Sponsoring Women: The Queen of Etruria as Patron, Composer, Collector and Promoter of Female Musical Networks,” at the 2019 International Conference on “Music Patronage in Italy from the 15th to the 18th Century” held in Lucca, represents a groundbreaking contribution to the exploration of historical female musicological networking. The conference program can be seen at

⁵¹ Ibid., 425. This revelation challenges a rigid divide between amateurs and professionals I had observed in other regions of Europe. It became evident that the distinction between the two groups in Sweden was not based on the quality of their performance, as many eighteenth-century amateurs were renowned virtuosos in their own right. Instead, the fundamental difference lay in the fact that the amateurs did not rely on music as their primary source of income. Ibid., 425–426. This unique dynamic created an environment that facilitated the exploration of new networks.

⁵² The rapid digital advancements of today have opened up a world of exciting opportunities for virtual conference attendance. The entire conference can be experienced through links provided in the media resources section of the bibliography under the Croatian Institute of History. HIP Zagreb. “Musical Networking in the Long 19th-Century,” International Conference, June 2–5, 2021.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Ivana Horbec and Branko Ostajmer, “The Challenges of Communication in Musical Networking of the Habsburg Monarchy: The Centres of the Society and the (Semi)Periphery,” Day 1 video at marker 1:33:25.

⁵⁵ Ibid., marker 7:17:30. Clare Beesley, “The Art of Persuasion — an Entrepreneurial Glass Harmonica Player and Her Network of Eminent Influencers.”

“Music Patronage in Italy from the 15th to the 18th Century.”⁵⁶ My research into networking eighteenth-century female musicians marks another step into this burgeoning field of study. I aim to highlight the networks and interactions of these remarkable women, who have often been overlooked or underrepresented in traditional historical narratives. I have the unique opportunity to unveil the intricate web of connections among these women, explore their collaborative and support systems, and illuminate their impact on the development and dissemination of music. My findings broaden our understanding of their networks and interactions and contribute to a more inclusive representation of music’s history.

Methods

For my research, a network is defined as a system of interconnected individuals, rather than a structure based solely on collaboration or deep interpersonal connections.⁵⁷ While networks can be shaped by aspects such as caring and cooperation, my dissertation demonstrates that their fundamental nature is that of a group of interconnected people or places. This distinction is crucial, as it allows me to highlight the existence of these networks, regardless of the emotional or collaborative depth of the connections within them. This foundational understanding is central for answering my first research question: Did a network of professional and amateur female composers, musicians, and patrons even exist? By first demonstrating the network as a system of interconnected individuals, subsequent studies may explore more nuanced aspects of these relationships, such as mutual influence and support.

I employed a comprehensive research methodology that integrated both qualitative and quantitative approaches, ensuring a multifaceted exploration of female musicians and their networks during the Enlightenment. My qualitative methods adopted an investigative stance to substantiate my hypothesis that female musicians formed

⁵⁶ Her paper did not make it into the book of the same conference title, however, it provides an impetus for future research in this area. See Galliano Ciliberti, ed., *Music Patronage in Italy. Studies on Italian Music History* 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

⁵⁷ The online Oxford English Dictionary defines a network as “a group or system of interconnected people or things.” See Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “network,” accessed September 4, 2025, <https://www.oed.com>. The *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* specifies that a social network is “a set of actors (individuals, groups, organizations, etc.) and the relations that connect them.” John Scott and Gordon Marshall, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 17–20.

intricate and meaningful connections among themselves.⁵⁸

The qualitative component consisted of two primary investigative approaches:

1. **Concise Biographical Studies:** I conducted detailed biographical studies to uncover my subjects' educational backgrounds and performance characteristics. This involved examining their training, artistic influences, and career trajectories. By contextualizing these elements, I discerned each musician's role within the broader musical community, identifying whether they acted as performers, composers, patrons, or educators.
2. **Analysis of Primary Sources:** Wherever available, I utilized primary sources, such as letters, diaries, and concert programs, to investigate the dynamics of relationships among these musicians. These documents provided invaluable insights into how they initially encountered one another, the nature of their interactions (whether cooperative, competitive, or otherwise), the shared activities that fostered collaboration, and how secondary connections further intertwined their relationships.

Occasionally, I had to rely on speculation to understand how these musicians may have come to know each other, drawing on perceptions of coincidence and proximity when primary sources were scarce.⁵⁹ The biographical studies were not merely an exercise in chronicling individual lives but also a means of mapping broader patterns of interaction within the musical networks of the eighteenth-century. By integrating this investigative approach with analysis of primary sources, I reconstructed the rich and often overlooked tapestry of relationships that shaped the musical landscape of the era.

Recognizing the limitations of relying solely on qualitative data, I expanded my research to include a quantitative approach, using databases and advanced social network analysis (SNA) techniques to analyze and visualize the data. I developed databases to record the musicians' activities in major cities, capturing details such as dates, genres,

⁵⁸ For practical guidance on conducting qualitative analysis, see David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research*, 6th ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2021). See also David Silverman, *Reimagining Qualitative Research*, hosted by Sage Catalyst (Webinar, September 23, 2025). The recording is available on YouTube (link provided in the bibliography).

⁵⁹ To explore current research on constructing networks with limited information, see Benjamin Ducke and Paulina Suchowska, "Exploratory Network Reconstruction with Sparse Archaeological Data and XTENT," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, no. 29 (2022): 508–539; David J. Crandal, et al., "Inferring Social Ties from Geographic Coincidences," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107, no. 52 (December 28, 2010): 22436–22441; and Honglei Zhuang, et al., "Inferring Geographic Coincidence in Ephemeral Social Networks," in *Machine Learning and Knowledge Discovery in Databases* (Heidelberg: Springer Berlin, 2012), 613–628.

and associations.⁶⁰ By utilizing visualization tools, I was able to clearly map these networks, uncovering patterns and relationships that might otherwise have remained obscured.⁶¹ This approach not only highlights the interconnectedness of these musicians' lives but also bridges the gap between fragmented qualitative sources and broader quantitative findings.

However, it is essential to acknowledge the inherent limitations of this method, as the quantity and quality of the accessible sources influence the results. For instance, if abundant documentation has been preserved for a particular individual, they may appear disproportionately well-connected compared to someone whose records are scarce. This discrepancy, whether due to chance, historical biases, or other factors, underscores the challenges of interpreting the data and the need for cautious analysis.

— Precedent

Networking historical figures is not a novel concept, yet over the past several decades, it has gained both momentum and methodological sophistication. In “Early Modern Social Networks: Antecedents, Opportunities, and Challenges,” Kate Davison charts this evolution from the 1970s onward, emphasizing how technological innovations and increasingly accessible data have transformed historical network research.⁶² She underscores a crucial point: to address historical inquiries effectively, scholars must balance quantitative methods with qualitative contextualization—using numbers to reveal patterns, and narrative to interpret them.⁶³ This balance ensures that network research can answer historical questions without reducing individuals to mere data points.⁶⁴

Similarly, *Mapping the Republic of Letters* and its companion essay, “Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project,” exemplify the transformative impact of technology on historical research.⁶⁵ By combining large-scale visualization tools with traditional archival scholarship, this

⁶⁰ For select databases, see Appendices II–IV.

⁶¹ For a list of all the visualizations, see Appendix I.

⁶² Kate Davison, “Early Modern Social Networks: Antecedents, Opportunities, and Challenges,” *The American Historical Review* 124, no. 2 (April 2019), 456–482. In her argument, Davison emphasizes the quantitative strength of social network analysis, which can substantiate theories that were previously speculative based on traditional source research. *Ibid.*, 470.

⁶³ She argues that relying solely on social network analysis may not provide the necessary depth of understanding. *Ibid.*, 478–479.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 458, 478.

⁶⁵ See *Mapping the Republic of Letters* (Stanford University); and Dan Edelstein, et al., “Historical Research in a Digital Age: Reflections from the Mapping the Republic of Letters Project,” *The American Historical Review* 122, no. 2, (April 2017): 400–424.

initiative demonstrates how network analysis can uncover patterns of intellectual exchange, mobility, and influence previously obscured in book-based approaches.⁶⁶

In musicology, prosopographical and correspondence-based approaches have laid the necessary groundwork for network studies. Scholars such as Malou Haine and Berthold Over have demonstrated how reconstructing professional and social ties through archival evidence can illuminate the relational fabric of musical culture.⁶⁷ More recently, network-based research has become increasingly influential. The edited volume *Gender und Musik im Netzwerk* reflects on two decades of gender-focused music research and the formation of scholarly and artistic networks, showing how gendered perspectives themselves evolve through collaboration.⁶⁸ Maren Bagge's work likewise advances music and gender studies by examining the cultural and social factors that shaped musical production from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, employing methodologies that range from network analysis and digital humanities to close archival reading.⁶⁹ Daniel Reupke further surveys the field of musicological network studies, tracing their late but growing adoption across subfields such as performance studies, theatre history, music sociology, and distribution networks.⁷⁰ His work situates network approaches historiographically, emphasizing their methodological potential and cross-disciplinary resonance.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Ibid., 403, 417–420.

⁶⁷ Malou Haine's musicological correspondence research centers on editing and publishing previously unknown letters and musical manuscripts. As a leading expert on Belgian and French musical history and instruments, her work has illuminated new perspectives on major figures such as Franz Liszt, Jean Cocteau, and Franz Servais (see <https://www.malouhaine.be>). Berthold Over, meanwhile, applies prosopographical methods in his investigations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musicians, though not exclusively. By drawing on collective biographical data, he reconstructs patterns of migration and social networks, thereby shedding light on broader questions of musical and cultural history. See Gesa Zur Nieden and Berthold Over, eds., *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges* (Transcript Publishing, 2016). Similarly, editors Daniel Brandenburg and Mirjam Beier make innovative use of correspondence in their study *Die operisti als kulturelles Netzwerk: Der Briefwechsel von Franz und Marianne Pirker* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021), which positions letters as key sources for reconstructing cultural and professional networks.

⁶⁸ Annkatrin Babbe, Maren Bagge, Angelika Silberbauer, and Marion Gerards, eds., *Gender und Musik im Netzwerk: 20 Jahre Unabhängiges Forschungskolloquium für musikwissenschaftliche Geschlechterstudien (UFO)* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2023).

⁶⁹ For a prime example, see Maren Bagge, *Favourite Songs: Populäre englische Musikkultur im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2022).

⁷⁰ Daniel Reupke, "Musikwissenschaft," in *Handbuch Netzwerkforschung*, ed. by Christian Stegbauer and Roger Häußling (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2025), 819–28. Sebastian Bolz et al., eds., *Wissenskulturen der Musikwissenschaft: Generationen – Netzwerke – Denkstrukturen* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016) is a related study that addresses questions such as "What might sociologically grounded and historically informed research in musicology look like? What possibilities does it offer, and where does it encounter limitations?"

⁷¹ Ibid.

Three further studies merit attention in this context. Susanne Wosnitzka's article, "Gemeinsame Not verstärkt den Willen," examines networks of female musicians in nineteenth-century Vienna.⁷² Her qualitative analysis highlights how these connections emerged from shared challenges and a sense of collective solidarity.⁷³ Equally significant is Freia Hoffmann's study "Netzwerke von Musikerinnen in Paris und London," which traces how nineteenth-century women musicians in Paris and London cultivated professional networks and collaborations.⁷⁴ By documenting women's string quartets, piano trios, and other ensembles, and by following the careers of numerous female instrumentalists, Hoffmann demonstrates how conservatory training created new opportunities even as structural barriers persisted.⁷⁵ Her research further shows how these dynamics culminated in the founding of the Royal Society of Female Musicians in London—an early institutional model of professional support for women in music.⁷⁶ Finally, in "Gender History and Life History of European Women Musicians in the 19th Century," Michelle Yang investigates the professional struggles of three women musicians through their biographies, correspondence, and other archival materials, revealing how gendered social constructs constrained their artistic and career development.⁷⁷

My own research, by contrast, is situated in the eighteenth-century and employs a methodological and structural framework to analyze how geographical proximity fostered networks. Although our time frames and approaches differ, the perspectives are complementary: Wosnitzka underscores the socio-historical motivation; Hoffmann maps institutional and professional collaboration; Yang exposes the gendered hierarchies that shaped women's work; and my research extends these inquiries backward in time, revealing how spatial infrastructures and localized communities enabled similar forms of connectivity and agency to develop in the eighteenth-century.

Quantitative methods have also grown in prominence. Karl Traugott Goldbach's

⁷² Susanne Wosnitzka, "Gemeinsame Not verstärkt den Willen," in *Musikerinnen und ihre Netzwerke im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Annkatrin Babbe and Volker Timmermann (Oldenburg: Carl von Ossietzky Universität, 2016), 131–148.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Freia Hoffmann, "Netzwerke von Musikerinnen in Paris und London," in *Musikerinnen und ihre Netzwerke im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Annkatrin Babbe and Volker Timmermann (Oldenburg, Carl von Ossietzky Universität, 2016), 148–162.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Michelle Yang, "Gender History and Life History of European Women Musicians in the 19th Century: A Study on Clara Schumann, Fanny Mendelssohn and Cecile Chaminade," *Dean & Francis Academic Publishing* 1, no. 1 (2024).

“Instrumentalistinnen im Londoner Kammermusik-Netzwerk 1857” was among the first to apply SNA explicitly in historical musicology.⁷⁸ Siobhan McAndrew and Martin Everett’s “Music as Collective Invention” models creativity as a networked process,⁷⁹ while Tom Broekel’s “Networks of opera buffa singers 1740–1765 outside of Italy” examines professional mobility through economic geography.⁸⁰ Though valuable, these studies tend to emphasize large-scale institutional or stylistic patterns more than the lived, interpersonal networks that my research foregrounds.

Building on this foundation but diverging methodologically, my project employs SNA not as an abstract modeling tool but as an interpretive framework grounded in gendered historical inquiry. Rather than focusing on institutions or styles, I use network visualization to uncover how women interacted, influenced one another, and navigated geographic and social boundaries—revealing overlooked layers of agency and connectivity in eighteenth-century musical life.

The insights and methodologies of these earlier studies helped shape my own approach. Each chapter of my dissertation investigates distinct types of networks—amateur, professional, and collaborative—yet I also compare them across cases to reveal their differing functions and intersections, juxtaposing the various female musicians’ networks. This juxtaposition offers a more integrated view of women’s musical contributions and interconnectedness.⁸¹ To support this analysis, I adopted a methodological framework capable of modeling historical relationships through data collection, cross-referencing, and visualization. I completed specialized training in SNA and tested several digital tools, including Gephi, Palladio, Cytoscape, and DataViz.⁸²

⁷⁸ Goldbach’s work was primarily exploratory, testing the methodological possibilities of SNA by reconstructing a one-year chamber music network in London from concert announcements in *The Musical World*. While valuable in demonstrating the feasibility of SNA, Goldbach’s focus remained on methodological experimentation rather than sustained historical interpretation. Karl Traugott Goldbach, “Instrumentalistinnen im Londoner Kammermusik-Netzwerk 1857,” in *Musikerinnen und ihre Netzwerke im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Annkatrin Babbe and Volker Timmermann (Oldenburg, Carl von Ossietzky Universität, 2016), 13–26.

⁷⁹ Siobhan McAndrew and Martin Everett, “Music as Collective Invention: A Social Network Analysis of Composers,” *Cultural Sociology* 9, no. 1 (August 5, 2014): 56–80.

⁸⁰ Tom Broekel, “Networks of opera buffa singers 1740–1765 outside of Italy,” Performance Database of the DFG-funded Project Opera Buffa as a European Phenomenon (Universität Bayreuth, 2017–2020).

⁸¹ I employ this process throughout the dissertation; however, the final juxtaposition is illustrated in Figures 5.1–5.4.

⁸² Gephi: The Open Viz Graph Platform. Open source software platform; Palladio: Visualize Complex Historical Data with Ease. Open source software platform; Cytoscape: Network Data Integration, Analysis, and Visualization in a Box. Open source software platform; DataViz Project. Data visualization library. Links to each source may be found in the bibliography. Also see Kordula Knaus and Andrea Zedler, “Palladio as a Tool for opera buffa Research. Mapping Opera Troupes and opera buffa Outside of Italy

Simultaneously, I studied Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to assess its potential compatibility with SNA.⁸³

Ultimately, I chose Gephi for its flexibility and capacity to visualize complexity while remaining human-centered.⁸⁴ Rather than relying primarily on its statistical metrics, I used Gephi as a structural and visual instrument to map relationships among musicians. Its flexibility enabled me to distinguish among different types of ties—whether musicians knew each other directly, were connected through intermediaries, or interacted through geographic proximity or institutional affiliation. This capacity to represent varying degrees of connection was crucial for handling fragmentary and uneven historical data while maintaining clarity in the resulting visualizations. Gephi thus served not only as a visualization tool but as a means of highlighting how female musicians built networks of support, opportunity, and agency within the cultural life of eighteenth-century Europe.

This integrative method combines qualitative and quantitative analysis, making visible the intricate relationships among female musicians and reinforcing the central findings of my research. Through visualization, these networks come alive—bridging gaps between data and narrative, and between individual agency and collective history.⁸⁵

— Source research

Pursuing primary sources is an exhilarating journey, brimming with both challenges and rewards. Although time-intensive, it proved to be the most thrilling aspect of my study. Each step of the research process felt like a treasure hunt, with leads to follow and unexpected discoveries to uncover. Sometimes, the mere mention of a name or a fleeting reference in a secondary source would ignite my curiosity, guiding me toward invaluable primary sources. These sources often offered firsthand accounts and authentic

(1745–1765),” in *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe*, ed. by Berthold Over and Gesa zur Nieden (Bielefeld, Transcript Verlag, 2021), 329–346.

⁸³ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2005). ANT is often used in historical research to highlight the agency of non-human actors—like instruments, letters, or institutions—but I ultimately found it philosophically incompatible with my project’s goals. ANT treats human and non-human actors equally, which didn’t align with my focus on human agency, mentorship, and professional collaboration. While some scholars do blend ANT and SNA, doing so effectively requires an advanced methodological framework beyond the scope of this project.

⁸⁴ Martin Hilbert, “UCCSS: University of California Computational Social Science,” online lecture series, July 18, 2018. For a complete list of all visualizations, see Appendix I.

⁸⁵ For additional perspectives on future directions in research, see the Sage Catalyst webinars: Jo Evershed and Johanna Tomczak, *Online Research for PhDs and PIs: New Possibilities with Gorilla Experiment Builder*, hosted by Sage Catalyst (Webinar, April 25, 2024); and Marcus Harvey, *Adapting to Change: The Future of Digital Resources in Academic Libraries*, hosted by Sage Catalyst (Webinar, November 22, 2024). The recordings are available on YouTube (links provided in the bibliography).

perspectives, shedding new light on the historical period or individuals I was investigating. The thrill of uncovering these hidden gems fueled my determination to delve deeper, piecing together narratives that enriched my understanding and brought the past to life.

In this era of technological advancement, digitization has fundamentally transformed historical research, enabling unprecedented access to primary sources and offering new avenues for exploration.⁸⁶ The wealth of digitized historical materials at our fingertips allows researchers to uncover hidden narratives, unravel complex relationships, and gain a deeper understanding of the past.⁸⁷ These sources often transcend dry facts and statistics, bringing history to life through vivid anecdotes and intricate details that illuminate the personal lives of historical figures.⁸⁸ One compelling example is the work of French musician Julie Candeille (1767–1834). Her engaging anecdotes breathe life into the people of her time, transforming them from mere names in a history book into vibrant individuals with unique personalities and experiences.⁸⁹ By immersing ourselves in such digitized narratives, we can better understand these individuals' motivations, struggles, and triumphs, gaining a richer appreciation of their contributions and the world they inhabited.⁹⁰

The impact of digitization on my research cannot be overstated. The accessibility of digitized primary sources has unlocked vast collections, enabling me to select and incorporate the most relevant materials into my study. During my research, I consulted various sources, including books, manuscripts, archives, and digital repositories. These references were gateways to further exploration, leading me to digitized letters, diaries, eighteenth-century journals, and news reports.⁹¹ In earlier times, conducting network research of this scope would have been nearly impossible—searching for source material on such a wide array of individuals would have been limitless and prohibitively time-

⁸⁶ See Amina Marzouk Chouchene, “Historical Research in the Digital Age: Opportunities and Challenges,” *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* 6, no. 2 (2019): 73–83.

⁸⁷ Ian Milligan, *The Transformation of Historical Research in the Digital Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

⁸⁸ Brian Furgione, Corey R. Sell, and Tina M. Ellsworth, “Welcome to the Wonderful World of Primary Sources! Let’s Get Sourcing!” in *Teaching with Primary Sources*, ed by Scott M. Waring (Ebook: National Council for the Social Studies, 2024), 1–21.

⁸⁹ Julie Candeille, *Souvenirs de Brighton, de Londres et de Paris* (Paris: Delaunay, 1818).

⁹⁰ Furgione, et al., “Welcome to the Wonderful World of Primary Sources,” 6–7.

⁹¹ For example, the inclusion of Marianna Martines’s letters in Bologna can be found in the “Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini” collection at the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica. *Carteggi*. For the Mozart family’s letters in Salzburg, the online version can be found in “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente” provided by *Der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*. Note: The Mozarteum website offers facsimiles of the letters and provides transcriptions and English translations.

consuming. Today, however, scholarly search engines serve as a “modern-day replacement” for traditional archives’ finding aids, streamlining the process of locating relevant information.⁹²

However, it is vital to acknowledge the inherent randomness in both traditional and digital archival work.⁹³ Classic archival research is influenced by what was preserved, collected, and cataloged, as well as the keywords used in finding aids.⁹⁴ Similarly, the use of online sources introduces its own layer of randomness, as the digital landscape depends on what has been digitized and made accessible.⁹⁵ While this randomness must be acknowledged, it is counterbalanced by the sheer volume of sources now available, which allows for a broader, more diverse pool of material than ever before.⁹⁶

This abundance of resources has empowered me to paint a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of the historical context in which my subjects existed. While my findings are not entirely free from the effects of randomness—nor could they be, given the nature of historical research—this does not invalidate their significance. All work with historical sources involves navigating such contingencies, and digitization has dramatically expanded the possibilities for uncovering connections and insights that might otherwise have remained hidden.⁹⁷

The digitized landscape also offers the unprecedented benefit of verifying sources used by previous researchers, ensuring the utmost accuracy of information. In the past, references from monographs, lexicons, or articles were often quoted repeatedly without proper verification because the original documents were unavailable. However, digitization has made fact-checking a reality. While the cited sources were generally accurate, I found errors or discrepancies in some cases, particularly in newspapers and journals. These included incorrect names or dates, inaccuracies in translation or original language, or the inability to locate the desired material. These discrepancies have added complexity to the research process, emphasizing the necessity for meticulousness in

⁹² Chouchene, “Historical Research in the Digital Age,” 73–83.

⁹³ K. G. Sujith, “Digital Archiving and its Neutrality: Questions on Logic, Longevity, and Discovery in Knowledge Production,” *International Journal of Media Studies* 1, no. 1 (2019): 83–96.

⁹⁴ Alexander Lee, “The Library of Babel: How (and How Not) to Use Archival Sources in Political Science,” *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 2, no 3 (2022): 499–526.

⁹⁵ Leslie Johnston, “Challenges in Preservation and Archiving Digital Materials,” *Information Services & Use* 40, no. 3 (2020): 193–199.

⁹⁶ Ashleigh Hawkins, “Archives, Linked Data and the Digital Humanities: Increasing Access to Digitised and Born-digital archives via the Semantic Web,” *Arch Sci* 22 (2022): 319–344.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* See the links to cited digitized materials in the bibliography.

verifying and cross-referencing sources. In my quest for authenticity and precision, I adopted a systematic approach to research.

To ensure the utmost reliability and verifiability of the information I have gathered, I have diligently traced every quote and detail from secondary sources back to their original origins. This meticulous endeavor has allowed me to authenticate the information and construct a robust framework for my study. By doing so, I aim to provide a solid foundation for further research and analysis. However, it is essential to acknowledge that, despite my dedicated efforts, I have encountered unverifiable quotes or information. This was primarily due to the unavailability of certain documents. In such cases, I have taken great care to quote and credit the respected sources from which I obtained the information, striving to maintain transparency and uphold the integrity of my work

When I faced challenges finding primary sources, I realized the immense value of fellow researchers who had previously cited them in their own work. By reaching out to these researchers, I benefited from their firsthand experience and insights. They shared valuable tips, suggestions, and alternative sources that led me closer to the primary materials I sought. Their generosity in sharing information and offering guidance exemplified the supportive nature of the research community and fostered a collaborative environment that advanced my research. Engaging with fellow researchers also provided an opportunity for fruitful discussions, enabling me to gain new perspectives and refine my research approach. Through these interactions, I gained a deeper understanding of the subject matter and received valuable feedback on my findings, contributing to the overall rigor and credibility of my research.

I began my research by investigating Marianna Martines's milieu, carefully recording the names of the women in her social circle. This compilation served as the basis for an extensive bibliography of known written works, intended to provide readers with a solid foundation for further exploration and research.⁹⁸ Afterward, I created a concise biographical sketch that highlighted her associations with others. Throughout my research, I noted the names of both women and men, recognizing that male connections often served as a gateway to exploring women's history. Moreover, I remained attentive

⁹⁸ Utilizing a Virtual Private Network (VPN), I accessed data from multiple countries, enabling me to broaden the scope of my research and benefit from a diverse range of sources and perspectives. This approach enriched the depth and breadth of my study and ensured that I gathered comprehensive and inclusive information.

to individuals who appeared sporadically in the literature I encountered, recognizing their potential significance in unraveling intricate networks. Building the bibliography became iterative as I expanded my research to encompass a broader range of subjects. In total, I crafted fifty-three biographical sketches, each representing an individual of interest to my study.

— Databases and Visual Aids

Databases and cross-referencing: To capture the breadth of women’s participation in eighteenth-century European music, I constructed a comprehensive database grounded in the systematic use of primary sources and careful bibliography-building. Each entry was organized according to key criteria—such as name, nationality, dates, instruments, roles (vocalist, composer, teacher, patron, etc.), and travel patterns. This structure not only ensured consistency but also enabled meaningful cross-referencing across individuals and contexts. The resulting collection brings together a diverse spectrum of women active in music-making: accomplished performers, composers, pedagogues, and influential patrons who facilitated cultural exchange. The database also records the male musicians, mentors, and patrons who interacted with these women, as well as the cities and institutions where they lived, studied, and worked. By visualizing these data points in a single framework, the database provides a holistic view of how women shaped the European musical landscape between 1750 and 1800.⁹⁹

Figure 0.1 illustrates how the database captures and organizes these connections in practice.

Id	Label	Nationality	Birth	Death	Composer	Singer	Instrument	Teacher	Travel	Role/Profession/Venue
39	Katharina Auenbrugger	Austrian	1755, Vienna	1825, Vienna			keyboard		Austria	amateur musician
40	Louise Reichardt	Germanic	1779, Berlin	1826, Hamburg	yes	yes		yes	Germanic areas	choral conductor
41	Lovisa Augusti	Germanic/Swed	1756, Germanic areas	1790, Stockholm		yes				professional opera singer
42	Luisa A. Todi	Portuguese	1753, Setubal	1833, Lisbon		yes			Portugal, United Kin	professional opera singer
43	Maddalena L. Sirmen	Italian	1745, Venice	1818, Venice	yes	yes	violin	yes	Italy, France, United	professional violinist
44	Magdalena Kurzbock	Austrian	1767, Vienna	1845, Vienna			keyboard		Austria	choir conductor
45	Margareta Alstromer	Swedish	1763, Alingsas	1816, unknown		yes	keyboard			amateur musician
46	Margarethe Danzi	Germanic	1768, Mannheim	1800, Munich	yes	yes			Germanic areas, A	professional opera singer
47	Maria Antonia Walpurgis	Germanic	1724, Munich	1780, Dresden	yes	yes	keyboard	yes	Germanic areas, Pr	Electress, patron
48	Maria Benda Wolf	Germanic	1742, Potsdam	1820, Weimar	yes	yes	keyboard		Germanic areas, Pr	professional opera singer
49	Maria Brizzi Giorgi	Italian	1775, Bologna	1882, Bologna	yes		keyboard			professional musician, salt
50	Maria Hester Park	English	1760, United Kingdom	1813, Hampstead	yes	yes	keyboard	yes		professional music teacher
51	Maria Marchetti Fantozzi	Italian	1760, Venice	n.d., unknown		yes			Italy, Prussia, Germa	professional opera singer
52	Maria Rosa Coccia	Italian	1759, Rome	1833, Rome	yes		keyboard		Italy	amateur musician
53	Maria Teresa Agnesi	Italian	1720, Milan	1795, Milan	yes	yes	keyboard		Italy	amateur musician
54	Maria Theresia Paradis	Austrian	1759, Vienna	1824, Vienna	yes		keyboard	yes	Austria, France, Unit	professional musician
55	Marianna Auenbrugger	Germanic	1759, Vienna	1782, Vienna	yes		keyboard		Austria	amateur musician
56	Marianna Martines	Austrian	1744, Vienna	1812, Vienna	yes	yes	keyboard	yes	Austria	amateur musician
57	Marianne Ehrenstrom	Germanic/Swed	1773, Zweibrucken	1867, Stockholm		yes	keyboard		Germanic areas, Sw	amateur musician
58	Marie Bayon Louis	French	1746, Marcei	1825, Aubevoye	yes		keyboard	yes		amateur musician, salonn

Fig. 0.1. Excerpt from the original database

This database also serves as the foundation for the “nodes” section, the first stage

⁹⁹ The complete database can be accessed at <https://bit.ly/HolmanOriginalDatabase>.

in preparing data for analysis in Gephi. Here, each entry is translated into a node that can later be connected, weighted, and visualized, forming the backbone of the network models explored throughout the dissertation.

Additionally, I developed supplementary databases organized by the musicians' generations and their inclusion in specific dissertation chapters.¹⁰⁰ To deepen the analysis, I created separate databases cross-referencing female musicians' performances in prominent cities such as Vienna, Paris, Stockholm, and London.¹⁰¹ To ensure the databases remained accurate and up-to-date, I adhered to a diligent updating schedule. This involved systematically reviewing and integrating new research findings, expanding the scope of the databases, and refining the relationships and connections between musicians. This dynamic approach allowed me to incorporate newly uncovered information throughout the research process and address any emerging queries or inconsistencies, ensuring the databases' relevance and reliability.

In my initial approach, I used a country-based classification system to categorize the women by their respective nations. However, I quickly encountered significant challenges due to the fluidity of borders, empires, and territories in the eighteenth-century and beyond.¹⁰² While these complexities enriched my research, they also highlighted the limitations of this method. Consequently, I refined my methodology, adopting a more practical approach by classifying the women based on their cities or regions of birth.¹⁰³ This adjustment allowed for a more nuanced and accurate representation of their backgrounds and relationships within their musical contexts.

Due to the scope of my research and my primary objective of establishing meaningful connections between these musicians, I excluded those women for whom limited information was available. This approach allowed me to prioritize the inclusion of women with sufficient biographical details and historical significance. Consequently, my research offers a more nuanced and contextualized portrayal of the women in my database, ultimately leading to a deeper understanding of their relationships within the broader music community of the time.

Visual Aids and Social Network Analysis: To further enhance the accessibility and impact of my research, I incorporated visual aids, including images and social

¹⁰⁰ See Appendixes III–IV.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix VI.

¹⁰² See the “Notes” section, 37, no. 6.

¹⁰³ See Appendix II.

networking graphs. These tools bridge the gap between intricate data and a broader audience, making the complex web of relationships more tangible and comprehensible. By integrating SNA and visualization tools such as Gephi, I transformed abstract data into dynamic visual representations. These visualizations function as heuristic tools for identifying patterns of connection, intersection, and geographic concentration that would be difficult to discern using purely qualitative historical methods. They illuminate the relationships among the musicians, highlighting key connections, patterns of collaboration, and the network's overall structure. Gephi, in particular, enabled me to analyze and visualize density, centrality, and clusters within these networks, offering new insights into how these women interacted and influenced one another.

Gephi operates using two fundamental components: nodes and edges. Nodes, also called actors, represent individuals, organizations, or locations within the network, each node signifying a distinct entity.¹⁰⁴ Conversely, edges depict the connections or associations between these nodes, visually illustrating the existence and nature of relationships within the network.¹⁰⁵ Edge thickness conveys the strength or intensity of the link between two nodes. For instance, a thicker edge may represent a strong connection, such as a family relationship. In comparison, a thinner edge may indicate a weaker link, such as an acquaintance or potential connection. Moreover, the edge color reflects the colors of the nodes it connects, providing a visual link between the associated actors. This color consistency and edge thickness enhance the clarity of the relationships and reinforce the understanding of connections between specific individuals:

1. **Enhanced Accessibility:** Presenting a prosopography or a visual representation of network connections is far more accessible than traditional musicological examples, especially when dealing with large datasets.¹⁰⁶
2. **Enrichment and Insight:** Visualizing the data adds depth and enriches my research. The visual representations offer valuable insights into the patterns and actors within the networks.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ For example, nodes can symbolize influential female musicians like Marianna Martines, entities such as the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna or the city of Vienna. See Appendix V.

¹⁰⁵ These connections can stem from various relationships, such as interpersonal interactions, collaboration, correspondence, or patronage.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Khulusi, et al., "musiXplora: Visual Analysis of a Musicological Encyclopedia," Conference paper (2020).

¹⁰⁷ SNA allows for a systematic examination of the connections between my female subjects, unveiling the underlying patterns and structures within their social networks. This analysis not only

My methodology outlines a foundational process for preparing qualitative data, such as a list of characters and their interactions from a story, for systematic analysis using Gephi. The network maps I analyzed within each chapter of my dissertation are designed to visually distinguish and represent the complex web of relationships using a range of visual elements. These elements, including color, edge thickness, and connection closeness, collectively contribute to the overall depiction of the intricate web of interactions.

I began by first identifying every unique individual mentioned in the source material and placing them on a “nodes” list. Each of these individuals was then assigned a unique ID number.¹⁰⁸ I then created a separate “interactions” list to document interactions between these individuals, using their assigned ID numbers to indicate who interacted with whom.¹⁰⁹ This allowed me to clearly see and study the patterns of connection and interaction within the story.

In addition, each connection was assigned a weight from 1 to 4 as can be seen in Figure 0.2.

	Female Musician	Connection	Source	Target	Weight
1	Marianna Martines	Accademia di Bologna	56	74	4
2	Marianna Martines	Antonio Salieri	56	78	3
3	Marianna Martines	Caterina Cavalieri	56	10	1
4	Marianna Martines	Charles Burney	56	80	3
5	Marianna Martines	G. Elisabeth Mara	56	16	1
6	Marianna Martines	E. Joseph II	56	87	4
7	Marianna Martines	E. Maria Theresa	56	89	4
8	Marianna Martines	Farinelli	56	92	3
9	Marianna Martines	Giuseppe Bonno	56	105	4
10	Marianna Martines	J. A. Hasse	56	112	2
11	Marianna Martines	Josef Haydn	56	126	4
12	Marianna Martines	Josepha Auernhammer	56	31	1
13	Marianna Martines	Josina van Boetzelaer	56	35	2
14	Marianna Martines	Katharina Auenbrugger	56	39	1
15	Marianna Martines	Maria Antonia Walpurgis	56	47	1
16	Marianna Martines	Maria Rosa Coccia	56	52	2

Fig. 0.2. Sample of the “Interactions” dataset

The purpose of the weighting system in this network was to confirm that a relationship existed between female musicians, *not* to conduct a deep analysis of the

provided a comprehensive overview of the relationships but also highlighted the key individuals who played pivotal roles in shaping the musical landscape of late eighteenth-century Europe.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix V for the complete list of nodes.

¹⁰⁹ The full dataset and analytical framework, encompassing all node, edge, and interaction data as well as the color-coding system, can be accessed at <https://bit.ly/HolmanGephiProcessData>.

multifaceted layers of those relationships. A weight of **1** denotes the thinnest edge, representing a speculative or potential connection. Weights of **2** and **3** indicate increasingly stronger links, suggesting acquaintances or shared professional circles. A weight of **4** signifies the thickest edge, highlighting the strongest connections, such as mentorship, direct collaborations, or family ties. This systematic approach captures varying degrees of connection strength, providing a clear understanding of the network’s structure.

This structured approach was essential for converting my descriptive, narrative data into a machine-readable “edges” format (Figure 0.3) that could be used to generate a visual map of the relationships.¹¹⁰

Source	Target	Type	Weight
56	74	undirected	4
56	78	undirected	3
56	10	undirected	1
56	80	undirected	3
56	16	undirected	1
56	87	undirected	4
56	89	undirected	4
56	92	undirected	3
56	105	undirected	4
56	112	undirected	2
56	126	undirected	4
56	31	undirected	1
56	35	undirected	2
56	39	undirected	1
56	47	undirected	1

Fig. 0.3. Section of the “Edges” database

To maintain consistency and interpretive transparency, it was essential to define clear parameters for classifying and visualizing relationships. The edges connecting individuals represent varying types of relationships—familial, pedagogical, professional, and social—each encompassing distinct forms of interaction. Familial ties include kinship or marriage; pedagogical relationships reflect instruction or mentorship; professional links capture collaborative performances, shared patronage, or joint participation in academies or salons; and social ties encompass correspondence or salon-based associations that facilitated musical or intellectual exchange. Each edge was weighted by the degree and reliability of the documentation, with stronger edges signifying repeated or verifiable interactions (such as collaboration or correspondence) and weaker ones

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

indicating inferred or single instances of connection via shared intermediaries or reputation.

To generate a clear and concise visual representation of the network, I entered all relevant details for each subject into Gephi and incrementally built the network with each addition. To manage the number of actors, I implemented a selection criterion that included only those with two or more contacts, resulting in a count of 185. The immense potential for networking within this group prompted me to adopt a more focused approach based on four distinct categories: **Primary**, denoting direct connections established either in person, through correspondence, or by reputation; **Secondary**, encompassing contacts within one or two degrees of separation; **Potential**, derived from coincidence and extrapolation;¹¹¹ and **Periphery**, signifying indirect yet influential associations.

Male figures were included only when necessary to contextualize or trace relationships among women—typically as mentors, patrons, or intermediaries—but were excluded from the final visualizations to center the analysis on women’s interconnections. The selection of female musicians was guided by both documentary availability and historical relevance: only those with sufficient biographical or archival evidence were included to enable meaningful analysis. This pragmatic exclusion of sparsely documented figures ensured reliability while acknowledging the fragmentary nature of eighteenth-century sources. The resulting corpus of eighty women, of whom fifty-five appear in reconstructed networks, represents a balance between inclusivity and evidentiary rigor. Although inevitably limited by the survival of sources, this framework remains open to expansion as new materials emerge, offering a model for future research on women’s networks in historical musicology.

It is important to note that “node size” reflects a figure’s level of connectivity, allowing key individuals to be identified at a glance. Additionally, cities and geographical markers are also included as nodes. These represent the places where musicians met, performed, or were otherwise linked, helping to reveal location-based hubs of influence (e.g., Paris, Vienna, Stockholm) and underscoring the spatial dimension of musical networks. While my primary focus was on female musicians, I selectively included male figures as relational links or gatekeepers rather than as central case studies. This approach

¹¹¹ For information on current research on coincidence analysis, I recommend Rebecca Garr Whitaker, Nina Sperber, Michael Baumgartner, et al. “Coincidence Analysis: a New Method for Causal Inference in Implementation Science,” *Implementation Sci* 15, no. 108 (2020).

acknowledged the network’s mixed-gender dynamics while keeping the analysis centered on female actors.

I implemented a color-coded node system to swiftly identify the study’s active participants, ensuring that each female musician retained a consistent node color across all graphs for easy tracking.¹¹²

Node	Color code
Angélique Diderot	B9E38D
Anna Brillon de Jouy	928DF2
Anna Brita Wendelius	E1E356
Anne-Marie Krumpholtz	C7E6FF
Carolina Müller	49B355
Caroline Wuiet	5B9150
Catharine Frydendahl	9AD7D9
Charlotta Eckerman	F5470E
Christina Fredenheim	D2B1F5
Cities	0BF5FF
Corona Schröter	19FF84
Duchess Anna Amalia	5146FF
Elisabeth Mara	D40715
Elisabeth Olin	569DF5
Elizabeth Billington	899FFF

Fig. 0.4. Excerpt from the “Color-Coding” file

The graphs presented in Figure 0.5 serve as a foundational example of how Gephi software can be used to represent a complex network incrementally. The first graph focuses exclusively on Marianna Martines’s direct connections. The second graph then introduces the influential male figure, Pietro Metastasio, as a central link, thereby exponentially expanding the network and revealing a broader web of connections. The third and final graph illustrates Maria Coccia’s relationships, further underscoring how Martines’s musical circle connected with another prominent female musician in her era. This three-part visualization process effectively highlights the incremental growth and complexity of Martines’s network.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ I would like to clarify that while I input the data into the Gephi app, the positioning of nodes within the visualization is not under my control. The software autonomously arranges the nodes based on their relationships and associations with other data points rather than their geographical locations. For instance, the placement of cities does not adhere to traditional directional orientations like north, south, east, or west but rather reflects their connections with other nodes in the network.

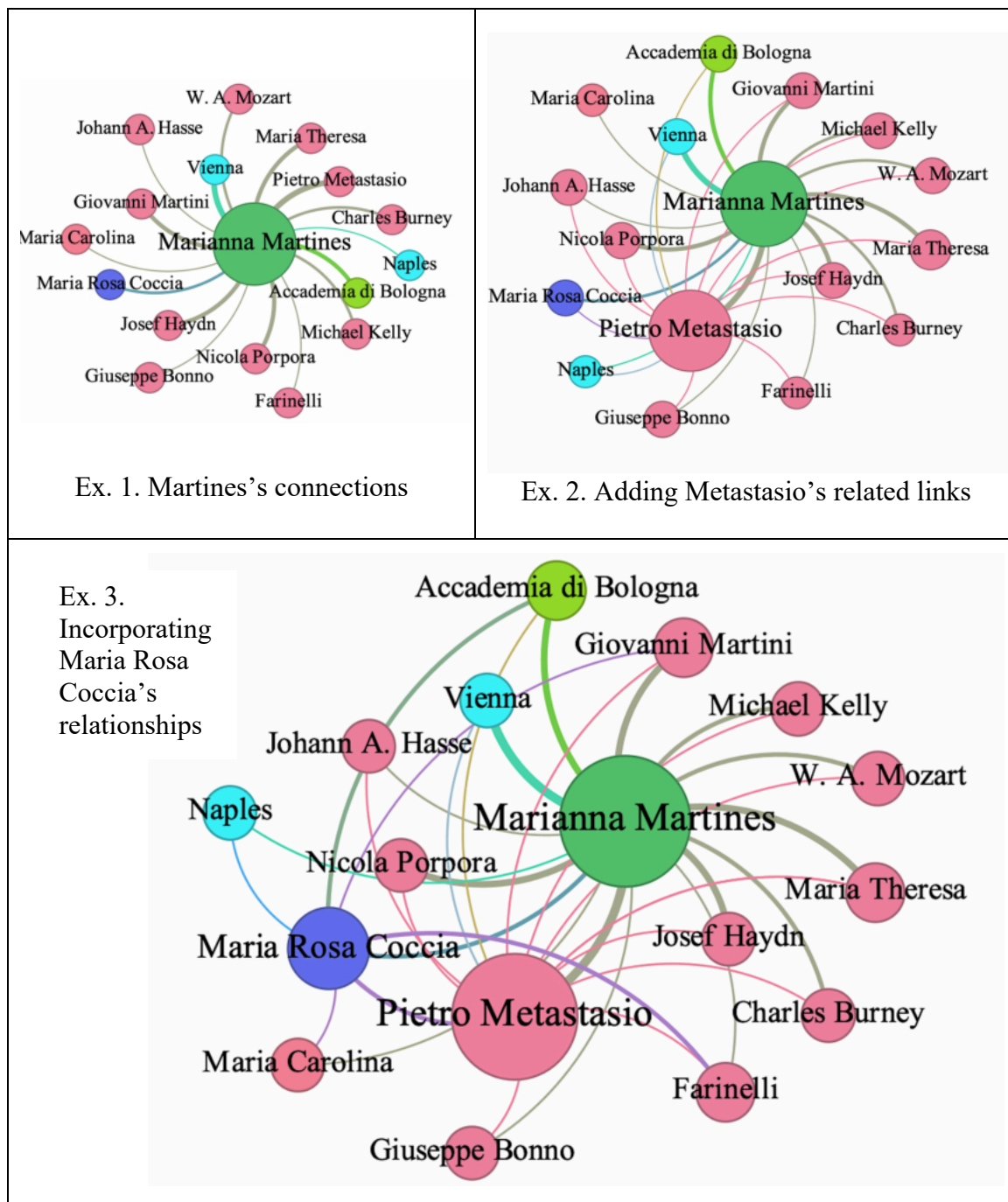


Fig. 0.5. Gephi visualization demonstrating how the network expands when connections from just two additional actors are included

The Gephi maps proved invaluable for both presenting research findings and conducting analysis. While my initial intention was to use the maps solely for visual representation, upon closer examination, I discovered their potential to reveal connections that were not readily apparent in the biographies. Integrating the network maps with the

profile sketches gave me a deeper understanding of the intricate networks at play.¹¹⁴ This methodological framework, grounded in both qualitative and quantitative principles, laid the foundation for the network visualizations discussed throughout each chapter.

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation explores the historical narratives of individual female musicians, with the primary objective of establishing potential connections between them. Unfortunately, the stories of these women often remain obscured in the annals of time, especially those of amateurs. While information about professional musicians can be found in public sources like newspapers and journals, information about amateur musicians is often gleaned from personal correspondence, such as letters and diaries. I did not aim to create complete biographies of each musician. Instead, I leveraged available biographical information to establish network relationships. To this end, selected profile sketches of the musicians are integrated throughout this dissertation to introduce the musicians and identify linkages for analysis. Any relationships discovered through this qualitative research are scrutinized and analyzed using visual mapping techniques.

The title, *Harmonizing Histories*, intimates that my research aims to “harmonize” the fragmented and often overlooked histories of eighteenth-century European female musicians by exploring the “networks” that connected them. This title encapsulates the sense of exploring and illuminating these musicians’ interconnected lives and contributions, much like musical harmonies that combine distinct voices to create something greater than the sum of its parts.

My selection of eighteenth-century female musicians evolved organically, unfolding as a tapestry of triumphs, challenges, and legacies. This dissertation examines their journeys, delving into the nuanced interplay of personal ambition, societal constraints, and collaborative networks that shaped their artistic endeavors. From the informal camaraderie of amateur musicians to the professional rivalries of celebrated performers, these women navigated a complex web of relationships that fostered both inspiration and competition.

¹¹⁴ It is worth noting that using social network applications like Gephi is an ongoing endeavor rather than a one-time process. As new information is uncovered and new criteria are introduced, the outcomes and insights derived from the analysis can evolve and change, allowing for continuous exploration and discovery.

Central to this study are the networks that connected female musicians across geographical and social divides. These networks, often overlooked in traditional narratives, reveal a dynamic ecosystem of mutual influence and support. Whether through mentorship, artistic exchange, or the patronage of influential women, these connections highlight the intricate ways in which female musicians shaped and were shaped by their contemporaries. Equally compelling is the question of individuality within these networks. Were these women singular figures, reliant on male mentors and patrons for their success, or did they carve out spaces of autonomy and innovation within a male-dominated musical landscape? By examining their collaborations, rivalries, and contributions to their communities, I seek to illuminate the agency of female musicians as creators, educators, and pioneers.

Quantitative analysis plays a pivotal role in uncovering these dynamics. By removing male actors from network maps, this study identifies the primary, secondary, and potential connections among female musicians, providing a clearer understanding of their relationships and influences. These analyses address questions such as whether professional and amateur networks existed, their geographical scope, and the extent of awareness and interaction among women from different countries. The results reveal a rich tapestry of relationships, often transcending local and national boundaries, underscoring the underappreciated role of women in the eighteenth-century musical setting.

Case studies of individual networks, such as those of Marianna Martines, Elisabeth Mara, the Gustavian Swedish musicians, and Marie-Antoinette's court, highlight the diversity and complexity of these connections. Martines's network primarily demonstrates the interplay among amateurs, while Mara's emphasizes the mobility and transnational interactions of professional musicians. The Gustavian Swedish network reveals a cohesive, localized structure with minimal male influence, in contrast to the broader European reach of other networks. Meanwhile, the network surrounding Marie-Antoinette offers a glimpse into the unique dynamics of courtly interactions and their impact on the Parisian music scene.

The synthesis of these individual networks into a composite map illustrates a striking interconnectedness among female musicians across Europe. This interconnectedness underscores the intricate and dynamic relationships that shaped the musical milieu. Central to this synthesis is my discovery of Marie Gillberg Petersén (1772–after 1811), whose three distinct personas connect seemingly disparate clusters,

transforming her from a peripheral figure into a pivotal node that binds the networks together.



The Finale of this work synthesizes these findings, offering both qualitative and quantitative insights into the lives and legacies of these remarkable women. Through detailed profile sketches and network analyses, it underscores the duality of their experiences: the celebration of their artistic achievements and the poignancy of their eventual obscurity or untimely ends. This dissertation thus serves as both a tribute to their resilience and a critical inquiry into their place within the broader narrative of eighteenth-century music history.

Each chapter in this dissertation follows a consistent trajectory while maintaining its unique character, shaped by the intricate relationships among the actors involved. These actors include both amateur and professional musicians, as well as influential female patrons from the Habsburg and Prussian royal families. Chapters begin by introducing a central actor and a biographical sketch highlighting their connections within the network, providing coherence and structure. Subsequent sections of the chapter provide insights into documented or projected interactions among the musicians, detailing their exchanges, collaborations, and shared experiences.¹¹⁵ To visualize and analyze these network relationships, I employ Gephi graph comparisons alongside detailed commentary.

As the chapter progresses, additional musicians are introduced, gradually expanding the network to include primary, secondary, and potential connections. The culmination of each chapter entails a comprehensive evaluation of the network and its potential for further research.¹¹⁶

I chose this structured approach for several reasons:

1. **Comparative Analysis:** By following a consistent framework, I facilitate comparisons across chapters, enabling readers to discern patterns and relationships within the broader network.

¹¹⁵ Highlighted within brackets, such as  Boetzelaer and Martines 

¹¹⁶ The dissertation chapters are structured so that each introduces a musician or patron connected to the previous chapter. This intentional linkage creates a smooth and seamless flow of information, allowing the reader to follow the narrative easily. In addition, the conclusion of each chapter goes beyond its individual findings and includes a comparison to the previous chapters. This comparative analysis enables the integration of the final graphs, expands the network, and provides a thorough overview of the entire dissertation.

2. **Reader Flexibility:** While the dissertation is extensive and could risk becoming overwhelming, dividing the female musicians into distinct groups and maintaining a uniform structure allows readers to explore specific musicians of interest without needing to read the chapters sequentially.
3. **Enhanced Accessibility for Diverse Audiences:** Maintaining a consistent structure across chapters makes the work more accessible to readers from diverse academic disciplines and levels of expertise. Musicologists, historians, and even general readers can navigate the text more easily, focusing on sections that align with their specific interests or research needs.
4. **Facilitating Interdisciplinary Connections:** The methodical approach enables the integration of interdisciplinary perspectives. For example, readers interested in gender studies, cultural history, or network analysis can focus on elements of the research that align with their fields, making the work appealing beyond musicology.
5. **Highlighting the Agency of Female Musicians:** This structure centers female musicians in each chapter. The biographical sketches and network analyses emphasize their roles not as isolated figures but as integral contributors to broader artistic and cultural networks.
6. **Encouraging Future Research:** By concluding each chapter with an evaluation of the network and its potential for further exploration, the structure invites future researchers to build on the findings. This approach makes the dissertation a foundation for continued scholarship rather than a closed study.
7. **Visual and Analytical Clarity:** Using Gephi graph comparisons within a consistent framework ensures readers can visually track relationships and patterns across chapters. This provides analytical clarity, especially for those who benefit from visual representations of complex data.
8. **Cohesion Despite Complexity:** Given the potential complexity of the networks, a consistent chapter structure prevents the work from becoming disjointed. It ensures coherence while allowing room for each musician's unique aspects and connections to emerge.

While each chapter follows a consistent framework for coherence and comparability, the networks reconstructed within them should be understood as exploratory rather than definitive. They are provisional models shaped by the evidence

currently available, and they will inevitably evolve as additional archival sources come to light or as future scholarship uncovers new details.

Chapter 1 immerses readers in the world of amateurs and explores the life and affiliations of Marianna Martines, the original focal point of my study.¹¹⁷ The chapter is divided into two parts, each offering valuable insights into Martines's life and networks. The first part presents a concise yet comprehensive biographical overview of Martines as a composer, examining her relationships with fellow musicians, friends, and sponsors. Moving forward, I delve into her connections with other musicians, establishing proven and potential connections and presenting Gephi maps alongside a comparative analysis. The second section explores Martines's multifaceted roles as a hostess, teacher, and academician. I highlight the networking opportunities that emerged from these roles, illuminating the connections she cultivated within each capacity. The chapter maintains a consistent format, ensuring clarity and cohesion, and concludes with a comprehensive network analysis that consolidates the findings.

The first chapter of the narrative establishes and defines the different categories and illustrates each with relevant examples. Moreover, it emphasizes the importance of a central actor who connects the diverse locations and individuals within the network. In contrast, Chapter 2 focuses on professional female musicians and probes deeper into the fascinating story of Elisabeth Mara, the central actor linking the two chapters. I explore her relationships with other female musicians across three distinct musical settings—Weimar, Paris, and London—each offering unique insights into Mara's network. This chapter expands on the previously established primary, secondary, and peripheral categories, providing a more thorough understanding of Mara's position in the broader network.

The initial two chapters of this study investigate the network structures in Central and Western European regions. However, Chapter 3 takes an intriguing turn, shifting the focus to Sweden and presenting a unique case study within the broader investigation of network structures. Sweden's musical landscape boasts a distinctive feature: numerous amateur musicians joined the ranks of professional musicians as members of the

¹¹⁷ A significant portion of Martines's profile description is based on the research conducted by Irving Godt. However, I also incorporated other relevant sources and scholarly viewpoints to provide a comprehensive and impartial portrayal of Martines and her networking skills, ensuring a well-rounded analysis. See Robert Stevenson, "Marianna Martines = Martinez (1744-1812): Pupil of Haydn and Friend of Mozart," *Inter-American Music Review* XI (1990-91), 25-44.

Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien.¹¹⁸ This membership created a strong link between amateurs and professionals, leading to collaborative performances and mentorship. Consequently, the Swedish network map differs significantly from the other case studies.

Chapter 4 marks a departure from the preceding chapters as it explores the unique dynamics of France. Unlike the interconnected web of musicians in cities like Vienna, Weimar, London, and Stockholm, Paris presents a distinct dichotomy. France undeniably produced numerous talented female musicians; however, identifying a unifying thread among them proved challenging. Nevertheless, Marie-Antoinette was a prominent figure in the French musical scene. Her close friendship with the Swedish King Gustav III and her support for Elisabeth Mara make her an obvious focal point in this chapter. Therefore, the fourth chapter focuses on female musicians centered around the Queen and influenced by her patronage. Establishing primary, secondary, or even potential links among the female musicians in this network was problematic. However, numerous satellite musicians can be observed orbiting Marie-Antoinette's influence. This distinct characteristic sets her network apart from the others examined in the study.

The Finale synthesizes and evaluates all four networks outlined in the preceding chapters. Whereas the chapters gradually construct the network maps by incorporating each successive biographical profile, the final analysis progressively narrows down the actors involved, removing extraneous elements and focusing solely on female musicians, female patrons, and geographic locations. This streamlined representation allows a clearer understanding of the network's structure and dynamics, enabling researchers to differentiate and comprehend the relationships more easily. At the same time, it is essential to emphasize that the networks presented here are exploratory in nature. They reflect the evidence currently available but are not intended as definitive reconstructions. As new archival discoveries are made, additional connections may emerge, reshaping or expanding the maps. The aim of this dissertation is therefore not to provide a fixed and final account but to establish a foundation upon which future scholarship can build, encouraging further refinement and reinterpretation of these gendered musical networks.

Notes

1. **Source Documentation.** To ensure transparency and facilitate further research, full citation details—including links and access dates for all online sources referenced in

¹¹⁸ The Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm, Sweden.

the footnotes—are provided in the bibliography.

2. **Translations.** Unless otherwise stated, all translations of non-English texts are my own, occasionally undertaken with the assistance of DeepL. In producing these translations, I have prioritized accuracy and clarity in order to preserve the meaning and context of the original texts. Where existing translations are cited, they are acknowledged accordingly.
3. **Autography and Diplomatic Transcription.** For consistency and accuracy, all instances of autography adhere to the principles of diplomatic transcription (DT), preserving original orthography, punctuation, and formatting. To signal that such excerpts reproduce the source text exactly and have not been modernized, the designation (DT) is added after the quotation.
4. **Editorial Decisions.** Editorial decisions regarding spelling, punctuation, and formatting have been made to ensure consistency throughout the text. When quoting sources that contain inconsistent or archaic spelling, the original text is preserved; [*sic*] is used sparingly where clarification is necessary. Apparent evaluative statements about musicians reflect paraphrased interpretations of the cited sources and are documented in the footnotes.
5. **Names and Naming Conventions.** Names, titles, and spellings of historical figures and works vary across sources and periods. The most widely recognized or historically appropriate forms are used in the main text, with significant variants noted where relevant. For clarity, musicians are generally referred to by the surname most commonly associated with them (e.g., Gertrud Elisabeth Mara as “Mara,” Maria Teresa Agnesi as “Agnesi”). Given names are used where necessary to avoid confusion, particularly when family names are shared (e.g., Sophia Corri Dussek).
6. **Historical Context: Germany and Italy in the 18th Century.** During the eighteenth century, neither Germany nor Italy existed as unified nation-states but comprised numerous independent territories. To reflect this historical reality, I refer to “Germanic regions” (or territories) and to “Italia,” a term long used to describe the Italian peninsula. Where modern national designations appear in source orthography, they are retained. Individuals are nevertheless described as German or Italian in reference to contemporary cultural and linguistic identities.
7. **Gender and Societal Norms.** Discussions of female musicians and patrons are situated within the societal norms and gender expectations of the eighteenth century.

Anachronistic interpretations are avoided, while acknowledging the limitations and biases of the historical record.

8. **Abbreviations and Acronyms.** A comprehensive list of abbreviations and acronyms appears in the front matter. Frequently used abbreviations (e.g., DT) are explained at first occurrence and referenced here for ease of consultation.
9. **Visual Aids and Graphs.** Visual materials—including Gephi network graphs, databases, and other illustrations—are designed to complement the text and are referenced in the relevant chapters. Lists of figures and databases are provided in the appendices.
10. **Manuscript Conventions & Source Discrepancies.** Where manuscripts present conflicting dates or variant readings, the most widely accepted version has been adopted. Discrepancies and editorial decisions are documented in the footnotes.
11. **Methodology & Research Approach.** This dissertation combines archival research, digital humanities methodologies, and comparative analysis. Interdisciplinary approaches are employed where appropriate, particularly in the study of historical musical networks. The methodological choices reflect both the availability of sources and the research objectives.
12. **Limitations & Scope:** The study focuses on selected figures and musical works within a defined historical framework. Limitations arising from scope or source availability are acknowledged where relevant.
13. **Bibliographic Entries:** “Primary sources” are understood as musical works, correspondence, documents, and contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous writings that directly document the eighteenth-century musical networks under investigation. “Secondary sources” refer to later scholarly analyses and historiographical studies, regardless of period. The distinction is thus functional rather than strictly chronological. Historical works and contemporary publications are listed under the original author; modern scholarly editions reflecting editorial intervention are listed under the editor, following Chicago conventions.
14. **Archival References:** Archival sources are cited using standard international repository sigla (e.g., F-Pn, US-CA). Full citation details are provided wherever available. In accordance with Chicago Manual of Style practice, links are omitted for secondary literature but retained for primary sources and iconographic materials, where the digitized object itself constitutes the cited source and functions as an archival reference.

Chapter 1

Networking Marianna Martines

Marianna Martines's circle illustrates how amateur female musicians stood at the heart of Viennese cultural life, transforming salons, domestic interiors, and intellectual societies into vital arenas of musical creation and exchange. This chapter reconstructs Martines's network as fully as current evidence allows. While future discoveries may add further depth, the analysis already underscores the pivotal role that amateur female musicians played in shaping the city's intellectual and artistic landscape.

Martines's connections can be understood on several levels. **Primary** ties are found in her direct collaborations and mentorships—most notably with Metastasio, Haydn, and several female peers. **Secondary** ties emerge through friends of friends and acquaintances within overlapping artistic and intellectual circles. **Potential** ties can be inferred from shared proximity, stylistic affinities, or common social spaces, even when explicit documentation is absent. By mapping these varying degrees of connection, we begin to see how her network functioned as a living, dynamic web.

This approach highlights the need to trace not only Martines's immediate relationships but also the ripple effects of her wider milieu. Examining individual stories alongside collective patterns allows us to grasp the dynamic interplay of influence and exchange that shaped women's contributions to eighteenth-century music. Within this context, Martines emerges as a particularly striking figure: her network extended well beyond Vienna to Dresden, Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, forming an expansive web that reveals both her personal prominence and the broader impact of amateur female musicians on European musical culture.

1.1 Marianna Martines (1744–1812)

Access to Marianna Martines's autobiographical letter is a remarkable source for understanding her life and achievements.¹ Written in response to Padre Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–1784)—the distinguished theorist who supported her application to the prestigious Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna—the letter carries particular weight.² It

¹ A facsimile of Martines's autobiographical letter to Giovanni Martini on December 16, 1773, is in "Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini," I-Bc, I.117.081. The English translation may be found in Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 217–219; and Marianna von Martines, *Dixit Dominus*, ed. by Irving Godt (Madison: A-R Editions Inc., 1997), vii–viii.

² Martini was a highly influential figure in the eighteenth century. He was a prominent composer, music theorist, historian, and a generous patron who supported the works of notable musicians, including

offers not only a firsthand account of her musical training and accomplishments but also a rare glimpse into her self-perception as a woman navigating the eighteenth-century musical world.³ The letter's refined language and aristocratic tone further illuminate the cultural milieu in which she moved, allowing readers to situate her within broader social and artistic networks.⁴ As such, this document provides an invaluable, intimate perspective on the individual behind the music.⁵

A. *Martines, the Composer*

Marianna Martines, a respected Viennese composer, possessed exceptional talent and prolific creativity, which garnered her recognition for her diverse musical compositions. Her vast repertoire encompasses a range of genres, including masses, oratorios, sacred choral pieces, secular cantatas, and compositions for keyboard and orchestra. By 1761, she had already composed three grand Catholic masses, a chamber cantata, and a motet for performance at the imperial court church, Michaelerkirche.⁶ One of Martines's significant milestones was her successful public performance of *Terza messa in C* at the Karlskirche, highlighting her virtuosity at only sixteen years old.⁷

After 1765, Marianna Martines redirected her attention to composing cantatas, motets, arias for solo voices, and an Overture. These works were influenced by Pietro Metastasio, the celebrated poet laureate who resided on the third floor of the Altes Michaelerhaus with the Martines family.⁸ Martines found inspiration in Metastasio's poetic texts, and she skillfully set many of his verses to music. Among the notable compositions based on Metastasio's texts are the cantata *La Tempesta* and the oratorio

Marianna Martines, Maria Rosa Coccia, and W. A. Mozart. He was a distinguished faculty member at the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, and his works were highly regarded during his time and beyond. See Elisabetta Pasquini, *Gimbattista Martini* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2007).

³ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 217–219.

⁴ In 1774, Empress Maria Theresa bestowed nobility upon the Martines family in Austria. However, it is worth noting that the family patriarch, Nicolás Martines, had already assumed a Spanish title as early as 1729. See Irving Godt, "Marianna in Vienna," 137–138.

⁵ All of the letters between Martines, Metastasio, and Martini can be found at Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, "Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini," I-Bc.

⁶ For a complete list of known works, please see Godt, *Marianna Martines*, appendix 4: 256–264.

⁷ The local newspaper, *Wienerisches Diarium*, carried the story. "Gestern würde in der K. K. Hofpfarrkirche der P. P. Michaelern das Titularfest des Heil. Erzengels Michael mit einem Hochamt begangen, wozu die Music von der Mademoiselle Martine, einer erst 16. Jahr alten Virtuosi alhier componiret, und wegen ihrer Vortreflichkeit von allen Kunstverständigen bewunderet worden." In all cases, autography follows Diplomatic Transcription (DT). *WD* 78 (September 30, 1761): 59. Godt's analysis points toward the possibility that the *Terza in C* may have featured dynamic marks, unprecedented for the time. For more detailed information, refer to Godt, "Marianna in Vienna," 151, no. 59.

⁸ This close proximity to Metastasio and the ensuing relationship, fashioned Martines's future as a musician, composer, and independent woman. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, xii.

Isacco, Figura del Redentore.⁹ These works showcase Martines's ability to breathe life into the poet's words, infusing them with emotion, drama, and musical ingenuity.¹⁰

Growing up in Vienna during the Age of Enlightenment, Marianna Martines was immersed in a vibrant musical environment, surrounded by some of the most prominent and influential eighteenth-century masters. One of her most remarkable connections was with the young and relatively unknown Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1802).¹¹ Struggling to make ends meet, Haydn lived in the attic of the same building the Martines family occupied.¹² In a mutually beneficial arrangement, Haydn taught Marianna counterpoint for three years, and in return, he received meals from the Martines's table.¹³ Haydn also accompanied the budding musician on the harpsichord during her singing lessons with the eminent Italian composer Nicola Porpora (1686–7768), a close friend of Metastasio and a teacher of the famous castrato Carlo Broschi (1705–1782).¹⁴ Conveniently, Porpora lived on the third floor of the Altes Michaelerhaus from 1753 to 1760.¹⁵ The Altes Michaelerhaus was also home to the Dowager Princess Maria Octavia Esterházy (1688–1762), who resided on the first floor.¹⁶

Figure 1.1 presents an engraved depiction of Kohlmarkt, a prominent street that leads directly from the Michaelerplatz. In this image, the Michaelerkirche, where the notable performance of Marianna Martines's mass took place, can be seen on the far right. The scene also captures a figure peering out of a window to the left of the church, which would have been the Dowager Princess Esterházy's apartments. During this period,

⁹ See Marianna Martines, *La Tempesta* (Autograph manuscript, 1778); and Marianna Martines, *Isacco Figura del Redentore* (Manuscript copy, 1781). All citation details may be located in the bibliography.

¹⁰ According to Godt, Metastasio's understanding of human emotions and storytelling allowed Martines to create music that was both compelling and deeply expressive. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 181–188, 201–205.

¹¹ Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig: Breitkopf/Härtel, 1810), 13.

¹² Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 33.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Carlo Broschi was more famously known as Farinelli. Given the close relationship between Metastasio and Farinelli, it is highly probable that Martines was well-acquainted with the famed singer. Indeed, Metastasio proudly wrote to Farinelli about his protégé's achievements and successes. After Metastasio's death in 1782, Martines and Farinelli enjoyed a lively correspondence, which was cut short with the latter's death just five months later. For further insights into their interactions, including transcriptions and translations of their letters, see Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 160–161, 181–188, 220–233.

¹⁵ These esteemed musicians further nurtured Martines's talent and exposed her to a wide range of musical styles and techniques. *Ibid.*, 20, 32.

¹⁶ The Dowager Princess was the mother of Haydn's future employers. Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1882), 1: 126. This interconnected living arrangement created a dynamic and inspiring musical community that undoubtedly influenced Martines's artistic development.

the Martines family, Metastasio, and Porpora all resided on the third floor, while Haydn occupied the attic with the servants.¹⁷



Fig. 1.1. *Vue du Kohlmarkt*—Karl Schütz¹⁸

The Martines family residence was a focal point for gatherings of illustrious musicians from the era, including Antonio Salieri (1750–1825) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.¹⁹ Sixteen-year-old Salieri began visiting Metastasio in 1766 and actively participated in the Martines family’s evening musical assemblies.²⁰ Whereas Mozart, sharing the distinction of being a Bolognese academician with Martines, frequented her

¹⁷ For more information on the structure and inhabitants of the Michaelerhaus, refer to Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 17–18.

¹⁸ Karl Schütz and Johann Ziegler, “Vue du Kohlmarkt,” *Sammlung von... Aussichten der Residenzstadt Wien...* (Vienne: Artaria, 1779–1798), 41: plate 5.

¹⁹ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 132, 155.

²⁰ In an early biography of Salieri, which draws heavily from the composer’s personal papers and recollections, Ignaz Mosel states that the young musician often visited Metastasio and “vorzüglich abends dort gerne gesehen ward, wo er bei den musikalischen Unterhaltungen der achtbaren Familie Martinez mitwirkte.” Ignaz Franz von Mosel, *Ueber das Leben und die Werke des Anton Salieri* (Vienna: Wallishausser, 1827), 26.

musical soirées.²¹ During these occasions, the two musicians collaborated in performing Mozart's own piano duets for four hands.²²

Charles Burney (1726–1814) was yet another ardent admirer of Marianna Martines, having visited her home during his continental tour in 1772.²³ During this visit, he had the privilege of witnessing Martines's talents firsthand.

She [Martines] really exceeded the expectations I had been given of her. She sang two arias of her own composition, on words by Metastasio, for which she accompanied herself on the piano, and in a well-understood, masterly manner; and from the way in which she played the ritornel, I could judge that she had a very brilliant finger." [...] "Signora Martinetz [*sic*] was more perfect than any singer I had ever heard."²⁴

Martines was privileged to have a distinguished list of teachers and admirers who recognized and nurtured her musical talents. One of these figures was the Viennese court composer Giuseppe Bonno (1711–1788), who played a significant role in her musical education.²⁵ When her tutelage with Haydn had concluded, Martines turned to Bonno for further instruction in counterpoint and composition, benefiting from his guidance for several years.²⁶ Moreover, Martines's polyphonic technique caught the attention of the composer Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783), who praised her musical expression and contrapuntal proficiency.²⁷

Two vital figures emerged as instrumental influences in Martines's illustrious career: Padre Giovanni Martini, mentioned previously, and Saverio Mattei (1742–1795).

²¹ Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly of the King's Theatre*, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1826), 1: 252. Mozart was accepted into the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna in 1770, Martines in 1773. See Osvaldo Gambassi, *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna: statuti e aggregazioni* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1992), 444, 447.

²² *Ibid.* The brilliance of the musical atmosphere in the Martines's home must have been beyond imagination.

²³ Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 1: 310–314.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 311–31. The acknowledgment and appreciation received from a prominent personality like Charles Burney would undoubtedly have served to reinforce Martines's position as a highly regarded musician and composer. Being one of the foremost music experts of the eighteenth century, Burney's endorsement held significant significance and possibly played a crucial role in elevating Martines's stature in the European music fraternity. It is plausible to suggest that Maria Rosa Coccia and Josina van Boetzelaer were made aware of Martines's work via Burney's recommendation, thereby establishing the initial link in the network that will be discussed later in this chapter.

²⁵ See Martines's autobiographical letter to Martini, December 16, 1773, para. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ "He [Hasse] spoke of mademoiselle Martinetz [*sic*], as a young person of uncommon talents for music." Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 1: 352. However, Hasse also expressed concern about the impact of Martines's composing on her voice. "It is an axiom among all good masters of singing, that stooping to write, and even sitting much at the harpsichord, hurts the chest, and greatly affects the voice." *Ibid.*, 1:353.

As early as 1761, Martines's prodigious musical talents had already garnered recognition and acclaim from the academic Padre Martini.²⁸ This acknowledgment can be inferred from a letter exchanged between Metastasio and Martini.²⁹ In this correspondence, Metastasio alludes to the fact that the young composer, Martines, had submitted musical essays to Martini, seeking guidance and correction; however, to her immense delight, she received approval and praise rather than criticism.³⁰

A few years later, in 1769, Martines embarked on a creative endeavor, setting several verses penned by the Italian poet Saverio Mattei to music, beginning with a *Miserere*, "*Pietà Signore*."³¹ The caliber of her work deeply resonated with Mattei,³² prompting him to proudly introduce the *Miserere* to the discerning Neapolitan audience and eagerly request that she set more of his poetry to music.³³ As time passed and Martines's reputation grew, the culmination of their initial collaboration found its place of honor in Florence, Italy, as the *Miserere* assumed a central role in a Lenten concert,

²⁸ Giovanni Battista Martini, a prominent Bolognese scholar and musician, achieved nearly as much renown in both music and literature as Metastasio. He excelled as a composer and authored a treatise on counterpoint, as well as a significant history of music. In addition, Martini was a composition teacher and maintained extensive correspondence with musicians across Italy and Europe. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 134.

²⁹ "La giovane compositrice non ambiva, inviandole qualche saggio degli studi suoi, che avvertimenti e correzioni: ed ella ha voluto onorarla di approvazioni e di lodi. Varranno queste per incitamenti a meritare in avvenire, servendosi per guida delle magistrali note che si è Vostra Paternità molto reverenda compiaciuta inviarle, e che bastano per far conoscere che l'autore delle medesime ha saputo accoppiare, con facoltà poco comune, la rigida profondità della scienza all'umanità e alla grazia." (Excerpt, Metastasio's letter to Martini, March 9, 1761. Martini's letter is lost). See "Carteggio," I-Bc. I.001.005.

³⁰ Ibid. This unexpected validation and encouragement from a luminary like Martini would have unquestionably provided a foundational boost to Martines's confidence and aspirations.

³¹ Not to be confused with the Latin *Miserere* she composed the year before. See Marianna Martinez, *Miserere a 4 voci concertate con organo* (Autograph manuscript, 1768). Collaborating with such a celebrated poet would have elevated Martines's standing as a composer and added to her reputation as a distinguished musical figure across geographical boundaries, expanding her network further. For an in-depth analysis of the Martines/Mattei *Miserere* collaboration, please refer to Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 83–94. See Marianne Martinez and Saverio Mattei, *Miserere, "Pietà Signore."* I-Bc, GG.159/5059.

³² In 1796, the Yearbook of Music at Vienna and Prague celebrates Martines as one of the most distinguished connoisseurs among their many amateurs and a passionate music supporter. "Martines, Fräulein Nanette von, ist eine der vorzüglichsten Kennerinnen unter unsern zahlreichen Dilettantinnen. Sie liest vom Blatte, accompagnirt aus der Partitur, ist eine vortreffliche Sängerin, streng grammatikalisch in Komposition und Exekution, ihr Geschmack ist hauptsächlich nach der ältern italiänischen Manier. [...] Sie hat Messen und sehr viele Arien komponirt, die zuweilen dem Jomelischen [*sic*] Styl nahekommen, und ist in jedem Betrachte eine große Stütze der Tonkunst." (DT) Johann Ferdinand Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* (Wien: Schönfeld, 1796), 41–42.

³³ Regrettably, Mattei's letter has been lost; nonetheless, Metastasio's reply substantiates the claim. "L'infedessa compositrice è piena di confusione, di contento e di gratitudine per la fortuna della sua sacra fatica e per le parziali testimonianze che è piaciuto a V. S. illustrissima di dargliene ed in stampa ed in iscritto: e riguarda il comando d'un secondo salmo come un sicuro mallevadore dell'approvazione del primo. Avrebbe già posto mano alla nuova opera, ma, impegnata in altro non breve già promesso ed incominciato lavoro, convien ch'ella sospenda il desiderio d'ubbidirla sino alla soddisfazione del debito anteriormente contratto." (Excerpt, letter from Metastasio to Mattei, May 7, 1770) Bruno Brunelli, ed., *Tutte le Opere di Pietro Metastasio* (Milan: Mondadori, 1951–54), 7–10.

drawing a sizable audience.³⁴

As we shall see, this validation and encouragement from such a prestigious network of enthusiasts and mentors had a powerful impact on Martines's reputation. Their endorsement and support acted as a catalyst, amplifying her recognition and expanding her network exponentially. This chapter of her story underscores the influential web of connections that began to weave itself around Marianna Martines, foreshadowing the impact she would have on her milieu.

In 1773, Martines took a momentous step in her career by personally reaching out to Martini,³⁵ seeking his support in her quest for admission to the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna.³⁶ Recognizing her talent and potential irrespective of her gender, Martini submitted Martines's composition, set to another of Mattei's poetic texts, the *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus*, to the prestigious Accademia on her behalf.³⁷ The Accademia had long been entrenched in a male-dominated tradition, making Martines's potential admission a groundbreaking endeavor for female musicians.³⁸ To her surprise and delight, Martines achieved an extraordinary feat—becoming the first woman to be elected unanimously to the illustrious Accademia.³⁹

³⁴ “Non minor concerto ebbe mercoledì sera primo April quella de' Sigg. Armonici... un Miserere tradotto dall'originale Ebraico in versi Toscani dal celebre sig. Saverio Mattei, e sposto in musica a richiesta del sig. Abate Pietro Metastasio dalla rinomata sig. Marianna Martines di Vienna.” *Gazzetta Toscana* 7, no. 14 (April 4, 1772): 284.

³⁵ All other communication between the two individuals seems to have been facilitated by Metastasio acting as an intermediary. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 135. Maria Rosa Coccia's father mirrored Martines's bold move six years later.

³⁶ “Non bisogna meno, che l'autorità magistrale di V[ostra] P[aternità] Ill.^{ma} perché io possa credermi permesso l'ardire di desiderare un luogo al mio nome, fra quelli di cotesti illustri Accademici Filarmonici. Il degnissimo Sig.^{re} Auditor Taruffi, mi assicura ch'Ella per eccesso di parzialità me ne procura l'invidiabile onore; onde in conseguenza delle insinuazioni le invio un Salmo a quattro voci, da me scritto con quella attenta esattezza della quale io son capace. / La supplico che voglia per decoro del suo giudizio, adornarlo con le sue correzioni di quel merito, di cui gli scarsi miei talenti non an potuto fornirlo. Et augurandomi abilità, onde non abbia Ella in avvenire ad arrossirsi della dichiarata sua propensione a mio favore; piena di gratitudine, e di rispetto invariabil:^{re} mi dico...” (Excerpt, letter from Marianna Martines to Giovanni Battista Martini, April 19, 1773), “Carteggio,” I.001.073.

³⁷ Martini was an indispensable member of the Accademia, where hardly anything occurred without his advice or active involvement for two decades. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 134. Marianna Martines and Saverio Mattei, *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus*, ed. by Shirley Bean (Fayetteville, AR: ClarNan Editions, 2010). See Marianna Martines and Saverio Mattei, *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus* (Manuscript copy). The *Miserere* and *Quemadmodum* manuscripts comprise a total of thirteen sources, currently residing within ten libraries across eight cities, stretching from Naples to Münster. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 131, 257.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁹ Martines's success was frontpage news in *Le gazzette bolognesi* a month after admission. “Questi Accademici Filarmonici hanno con solenne acclamazione al rispettabile loro ceto aggregata l'egregia, e valorosa Signora Marianna Martines di nazione Spagnola, avendogliene spedito a Vienna, ov' ha l'attuale suo domicilio, un autentico onorevole diploma. Essi han creduto di rendere con tal atto spontaneo una ben dovuta giustizia al raro di lei merito, siccome hanno preteso pur anche di dare una prova agl'intelligenti del retto, e perspicace lor giudizio. In fatti si è concordemente ravvisato nelle magistrali

Martines's acceptance into the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna marked a turning point by paving the way for the inclusion of other women in the institution.⁴⁰ As a distinguished member of the Accademia, Martines was responsible for composing her rendition of *Dixit Dominus*, a composition slated for the annual feast dedicated to St. Anthony, the patron saint of the academy.⁴¹ The prospect of being an integral part of this cherished event must have stirred Martines's enthusiasm, as it presented an exciting opportunity to demonstrate her artistry.⁴² However, despite her enthusiasm, her submission was unfortunately delayed, resulting in her missing the performance timeline.⁴³

The Habsburgs also played a significant role in Martines's career, and their patronage and admiration profoundly influenced her success as a musician and composer. Her familial connection to the Habsburg court through her father and brother, who held positions there, likely provided her opportunities to showcase her talents within the royal circles.⁴⁴ Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780), a formidable ruler of the Habsburg Empire, reputedly favored Martines and frequently requested her to play at court.⁴⁵ Even Joseph II (1741–1790), Maria Theresa's son and a patron of music himself, held Marianna Martines in high regard, occasionally standing behind her at the harpsichord

composizioni della novella Candidata un complesso di eleganza, di genio, di nobiltà, e di precisione che incanta, e che ha fatto riputare quasi più disdicevole la dilazione, che commendabile la premura di accrescere con sì degno nome la celebrità della loro Accademia." *Le gazzette bolognesi* 28 (July 13, 1773): 1. The significance of Martines's entry into the Accademia cannot be overstated. It marked a watershed moment in music history, empowering other exceptionally talented female musicians to follow in her footsteps and challenge the status quo. Notably, Martines was the only non-Italian among them, adding to the significance of her achievement.

⁴⁰ Before officially incorporating female entry into the Accademia bylaws in 1843, the admission of five other exceptionally talented female musicians set a precedent. Gambassi, *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*, 195–240. These trailblazing women included Maria Rosa Coccia, composer (1779); Benedetta Ercolani Zagnoni, instrumentalist (1789); Francesca Montalti Flaviani, singer (1790); Teresa Albergati Capacelli, singer (1792); and Anna Ponziani, instrumentalist (1800). Laura Callegari Hill and Nestore Morini, *L'Accademia filarmonica di Bologna, 1666–1800...*, 2 vols. (Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1991), 2: 69–74.

⁴¹ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 141. (Analysis of *Dixit Dominus*), 143–151. See Marianna Martines, *Dixit Dominus a 5 voci con instrumenti* (Autograph, 1774). For a more recent perspective of how *Dixit Dominus* is an innovative synthesis of baroque and galant styles that contributed to the evolution of the genre, see Joseph Taff, "Marianna von Martines's *Dixit Dominus* A Stylistic Synthesis," *The Choral Journal* 61, no. 9 (2021): 6–25.

⁴² Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 141–142.

⁴³ *Ibid.* While this unfortunate delay would undoubtedly have been a great disappointment, it does not overshadow the significance of her admission and the recognition she garnered as an accomplished composer and musician. Her legacy remains a historic moment in the advancement of women in music.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11–12, 14–17.

⁴⁵ "Diese erhabene Monarchin [Empress Maria Theresa] ließ sie sehr oft zu sich rufen, um sich an den Kunsttalenten derselben auf mannigfache Weise zu ergötzen." (Excerpt) from an article by Anton Schmid, the last of Martines's immediate family and one of her first biographers, "Zwei musikalische Berühmtheiten Wien's aus dem schönen Geschlechte," *WAMZ* 129 (October 24, 1846): 517.

and turning the pages as she played.⁴⁶ The fact that the powerful monarch invited Martines to showcase her skill also reflects the Empress's preference for associating only with women of strict virtue and impeccable reputation.⁴⁷

Karl Schütz's engraving of the Michaelerplatz (Figure 1.2) eloquently weaves a visual narrative that illuminates the Martines family's close connection to the royal court and the resplendent cultural landmarks that adorn Vienna.



Fig. 1.2. *Der Michaelsplatz gegen die K.K. Reitschule*—Karl Schütz⁴⁸

At the heart of the engraving stands the Winter Spanish Riding School, celebrated for its exquisite equestrian performances.⁴⁹ A subtle shift to the left reveals the Michaelerkirche, the church that witnessed Martines's inaugural public performance, as I noted earlier. To the right, the Burgtheater, another bustling center of cultural activity in

⁴⁶ “und Joseph der II., bekanntlich ein nicht minderer Freund der Tonkunst, pflegte bei dieser Unterhaltung der Martines gewöhnlich die Noten umzublätern.” Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Karl Schütz and Johann Ziegler, “Der Michaelsplatz gegen die K. K. Reitschule,” 39: plate 3. *Sammlung von... Aussichten der Residenzstadt Wien*.

⁴⁹ See the *Spanische Hofreitschule* website for more information. All links and access dates can be found in the bibliography.

the city, is next to the Spanish Riding School.⁵⁰ The Hofburg Palace, the opulent residence of Empress Maria Theresa and her lineage, is positioned just beyond the right edge of the frame, juxtaposed with the Burgtheater.

The proximity of these grand architectural marvels to the Martines family residence, situated just beyond the engraving's left frame, exemplifies the strategic positioning of their home in relation to the court and the city's vibrant cultural pulse (Figure 1.3). This astute placement would have granted the Martines family seamless access to courtly performances and the rich tapestry of cultural gatherings, firmly establishing them as essential participants in Vienna's vibrant musical and artistic.

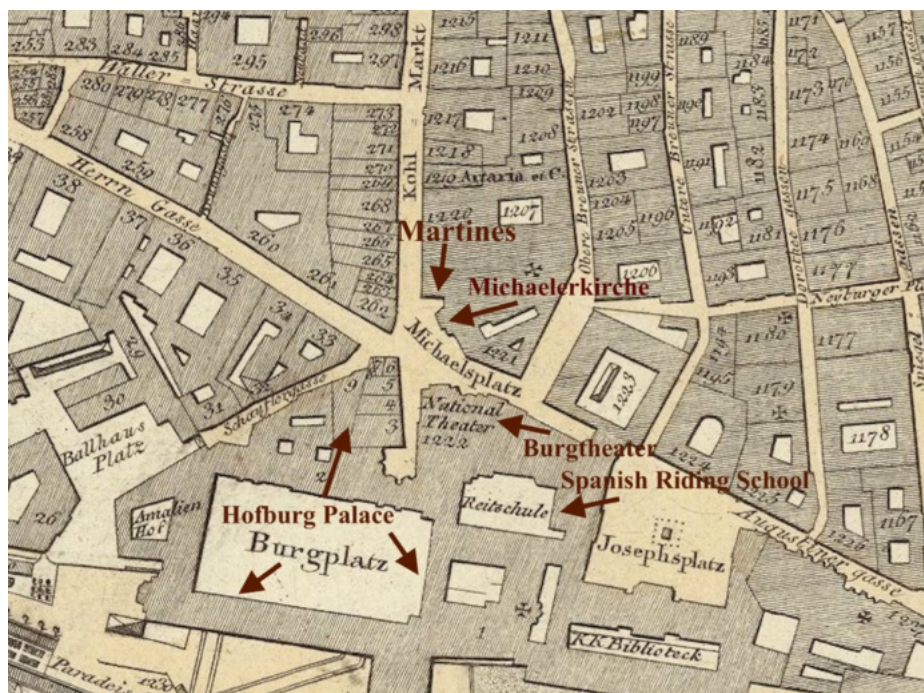


Fig. 1.3. *Grundriss der K. K. Haupt und Residenzstadt Wien*—Maximilian von Grimm⁵¹

This geographical advantage, coupled with the celebrities already discussed, would have undoubtedly solidified their status as indispensable contributors to the city's cultural fabric. Such proximity to the royal court had the potential to influence Marianna Martines's life and musical career significantly.⁵²

⁵⁰ Interesting articles and anecdotes can be found at The World of the Habsburgs website (link in the bibliography).

⁵¹ Maximilian von Grimm and Hieronymus Benedicti "Grundriss der K. K. Haupt und Residenzstadt Wien mit ihren Vorstädten," edition augmentée et corrigée (Vienne: Artaria et Comp., 1817). Inv.-Nr. 19420/2, CC0.

⁵² The immersive experience of residing in the heart of Vienna's vibrant cultural scene would have undoubtedly exposed Martines to a plethora of musical and artistic opportunities. This stimulating environment would have acted as a nurturing crucible for her musical development, affording her invaluable chances to engage with influential luminaries within the music world. Moreover, the close

According to her biographical letter, Marianna Martines's most cherished association was with Pietro Metastasio.⁵³ Metastasio, a Neapolitan confidant of Martines's father, shared the household with Martines for over fifty years, assuming the role of a mentor and father figure.⁵⁴ His influence was instrumental in shaping her education and facilitating introductions to key figures within the music sphere.⁵⁵ In her autobiographical letter, Martines asserts that Metastasio consistently served as her foremost planner and the supervisor of her studies.⁵⁶ Notably, Metastasio's impact extended beyond his lifetime, as he bequeathed both his music library and a substantial financial legacy to Martines in his will.⁵⁷

In addition to the legendary distinction of being the first woman accepted into the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna,⁵⁸ one of the most significant milestones of Marianna Martines's compositional career was the premiere of her oratorio *Isacco Figura del Redentore* in Vienna in 1782.⁵⁹ Metastasio authored the libretto for this oratorio, who, despite his advanced age and infirmity, must have taken great delight in the successful performance of his protégé's work.⁶⁰ As was often customary for composers of her time,

connection to Vienna's artistic pulse fueled Martines's creative inspiration and granted her access to valuable interactions and mentorships that played a pivotal role in shaping her artistic identity and eventual legacy. This geographical networking aspect seems to be a prevailing characteristic of Vienna, and we will explore further examples in the latter part of this chapter. However, it is important to note that this phenomenon does not extend to other cities within the scope of my research.

⁵³ "Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini," (December 16, 1773). I.117.081; and Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 217–219

⁵⁴ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 12–14.

⁵⁵ "Ma di tutti questi miei studj, è stato sempre, et è tuttavia il principale ordinatore, e direttore il Sig^r Abate Metastasio, il quale con la paterna cura che prende e di me, e di tutta la mia numerosa famiglia, rende un' esemplare contraccambio all' incorrotta amicizia, et alla indefessa assistenza che gli à prestata il mio buon Padre fino agli ultimi de' giorni suoi." (Martines's letter to Martini, December 16, 1773), para. 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Martines asserts that Metastasio assumed a fatherly role in her family, reciprocating the friendship he had received from her father. Yet, in my personal view, it is evident that their familial bond transcended mere duty, especially considering the profound affection shared between the poet and the musician. Their relationship seems to have been imbued with a deeper and more genuine connection, rooted in mutual respect and love.

⁵⁷ The Will and Codicil are found in Abate Conte d' Ayala, ed., *Opere postume del Signor Abate Pietro Metastasio* (Vienna: Alberti, 1795). 3: 365–379. For the transcription and translation, see Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 244–255. Metastasio's generosity empowered Martines to follow her musical passions and forge her own path in life, eliminating the necessity of seeking a husband for financial support. *Ibid.*, 191–192.

⁵⁸ Gambassi, 122.

⁵⁹ See Marianna Martines and Pietro Metastasio, *Isacco Figura del Redentore* (Autograph, 1781). For a more comprehensive and detailed analysis of the history and scholarly examination, see Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 180–188; and Emily M. Wuchner, "The Tonkünstler-Societät and the Oratorio in Vienna, 1771–1798" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2017), 246–259.

⁶⁰ "Ella ha messo felicemente in musica il mio oratorio intitolato *Isacco figura del Redentore*. Ieri fu cantato in teatro per la seconda volta, e malgrado il rigore della stagione ed i catarrhi de' cantanti, la compositrice non è stata defraudata della meritata approvazione." (Excerpt, Metastasio letter to Farinelli, March 20, 1782) Pietro Metastasio, *Tutte le opere*, 5: 713–714. (Translation) Burney, *Memoirs [...] Abate Metastasio*, 3: 279–289. Famed opera star Catarina Cavalieri (c1755–1801) sang in the inaugural

Marianna might have played the keyboard herself during the performance.⁶¹ Despite the lack of documented evidence substantiating Marianna Martines’s direct participation as the keyboard performer and conductor during the performance of her oratorio, the significance of her composition being publicly performed and of her contribution to shattering gender- and societal-based barriers is considerable. Metastasio died less than a month after the premiere of *Isacco* at the age of eighty-four.⁶²

— Mapping individual connections

As illustrated in Figure 1.4, Marianna Martines established significant ties, most notably with the Habsburg court and the reigning musicians of the age.

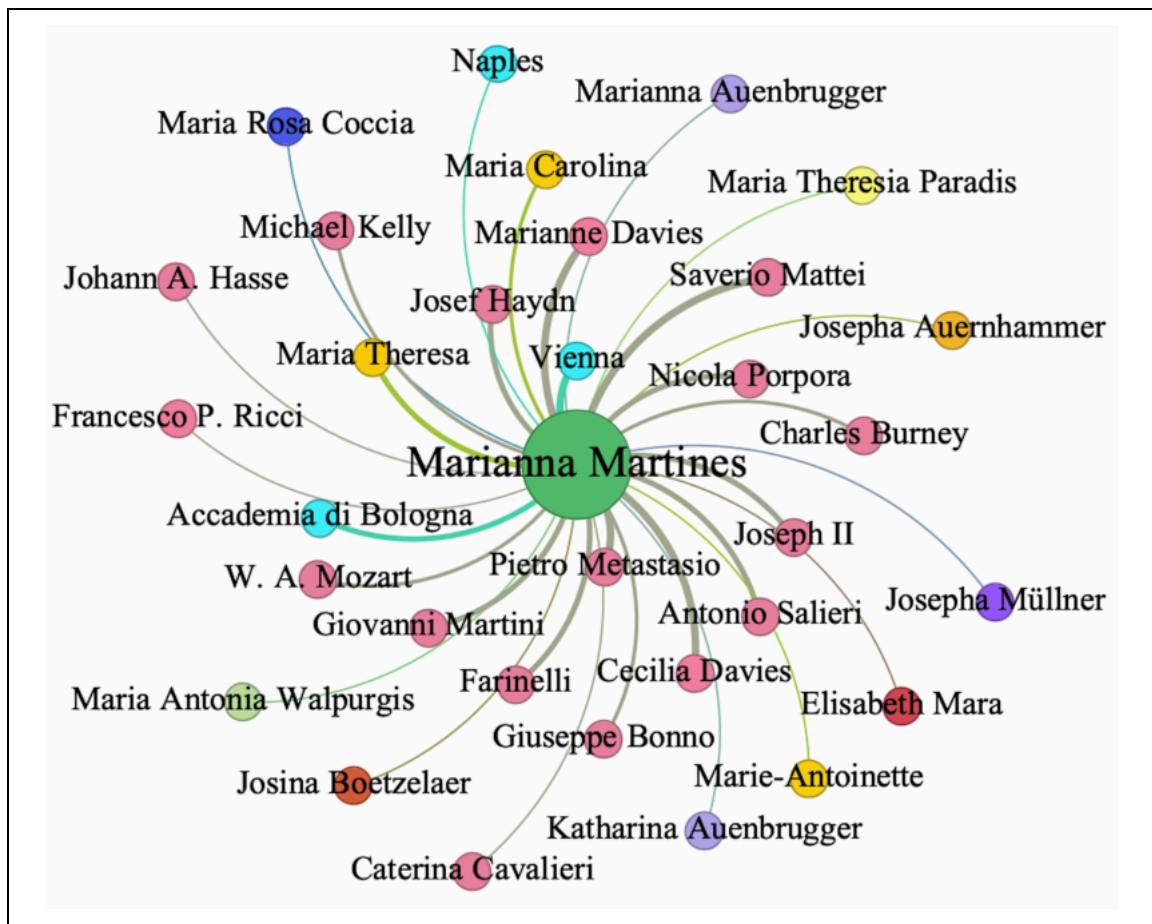


Fig. 1.4. Marianna Martines network⁶³

performance of Martines’s *Isacco* in the Tonkünstler-Societät concert of March 17, 1782. See Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant NY: Pendragon Press, 1989), 251.

⁶¹ Wuchner, “The Tonkünstler-Societät and the Oratorio,” 134–135.

⁶² Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 188–191.

⁶³ Pink nodes represent periphery links, which are influential but not currently under study. On the other hand, the additional colored nodes signify female musicians who are the focus of my research. The width of the edges signifies the strength of the relationships.

The edges in Martines's network carry varying degrees of weight, reflecting the intensity of their interactions with the composer. Strong connections, such as those with Metastasio and Vienna, are portrayed with wider edges to emphasize their consequence. It is crucial to clarify, however, that slimmer edges do not inherently denote a weaker relationship but instead suggest that less information is readily available. As the database continues to expand, the strength of these ties may evolve. For instance, the network includes the peripheral figure of Maria Carolina through the dissemination of her *Scelta Arie*. While this edge is relatively strong compared to others, it still appears slightly weaker than the connections involving Martini and the Accademia, whose broader links signify their prominence in Martines's documentation.

i. ***Defining primary connections***—Maria Carolina, Coccia, Boetzelaer

Although the nature and intensity of the following relationships vary, each may be defined as a **primary** connection within the framework of this study—that is, a historically grounded tie evidenced through direct interaction, correspondence, or explicit acts of musical or social exchange. Such links form the structural core of the Martines network and serve as the empirical foundation from which broader relational patterns emerge. In Maria Carolina's case, the relationship rests upon a clear act of patronage and musical exchange: Marianna Martines composed and presented a set of arias to commemorate the Queen's marriage, a tangible offering subsequently performed in Naples and attested in contemporary correspondence. This direct act of dedication situates Maria Carolina not merely as a symbolic figure in Martines's circle, but as a confirmed recipient and disseminator of her music. The relationships between Martines and the composers Maria Rosa Coccia and Josina van Boetzelaer, by contrast, are founded primarily on documented instances of mutual awareness and mediated contact through Metastasio and shared repertoires. These thus represent distinct but equally significant types of primary connections—one grounded in a verifiable act of musical exchange, the others in the intellectual and artistic recognition of Martines's authority within a transnational network of women composers.

In defining these ties as primary, I adopt a historically informed yet interpretive approach aligned with recent methodologies in historical social network analysis. Not all links within such networks are verified through direct personal contact; rather, they emerge through discernible acts of communication, dedication, or reciprocal

acknowledgment that signal the circulation of cultural capital. In Coccia's case, Metastasio's letter implies Martines's evaluative engagement with Coccia's compositions, suggesting a dialogic awareness between the two women even in the absence of face-to-face encounter. Likewise, Boetzelaer's dedication explicitly references performances at the Martines–Metastasio salon, thereby converting mediated acquaintance into active musical participation within the same social milieu. These distinctions not only clarify the varying evidentiary strength of each tie but also justify their inclusion as primary connections within the broader Martines network, whose contours were shaped as much by reputation and correspondence as by direct exchange.

Understanding these nuances is crucial for interpreting the structure and density of Martines's emerging network graphs. When visualized through Gephi, these primary connections form the foundational nodes from which the wider constellation of relationships unfolds, illuminating how acts of exchange, acknowledgment, and influence intersect to reveal patterns of artistic collaboration, mentorship, and prestige within the eighteenth-century female musical sphere.

1.2 Maria Carolina of Austria and Naples (1752–1814)

Continuing to explore Martines's connection with the Habsburg rulers, our attention turns to Maria Carolina, a gatekeeper in the current research. Maria Carolina, the thirteenth child of Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Francis I, held an influential role as a music patron within her court, following in the footsteps of many of her Habsburg predecessors.⁶⁴ Displaying musical aptitude from a young age, she honed her skills as both a gifted keyboardist and a vocalist, receiving guidance from the composers Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–177) and Josef Antonín Stepan (1726–1797).⁶⁵ Maria Carolina was only eight years younger than Marianna Martines. Given her own proficiency as a harpsichordist, it is plausible that she was in attendance during Martines's performances for Empress Maria Theresa and the future Emperor Joseph II.

In a diplomatic move, Maria Carolina allied with Spain through her proxy marriage to the Neapolitan King, Ferdinand I (1752–1825), in 1768.⁶⁶ Marianna Martines

⁶⁴ For an in-depth survey of Habsburg musical patronage, see Andrew H. Weaver, *A Companion to Music at the Habsburg Courts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Boston: Brill, 2020).

⁶⁵ Hanns-Bertold Dietz, "Instrumental Music at the Court of Ferdinand IV of Naples and Sicily and the Works of Vincenzo Orgitano," *International Journal of Musicology*, no. 1 (1992): 102.

⁶⁶ Catharine Mary Bearne, *A Sister of Marie Antoinette; The Life-Story of Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples* (New York: EP Dutton and Company, 1907), 57–66.

composed a collection of twenty-four arias in tribute to commemorate this momentous occasion.⁶⁷ The Austrian Archduchess and new Queen of Naples personally carried this musical gift to Italy and even lent her own voice to their performance.⁶⁸ In a letter to Metastasio from Naples in 1770, Saverio Mattei confirmed this honor. He detailed how Maria Carolina's Maestro di cappella di camera, Pasquale Cafaro (1715–1787),⁶⁹ had accompanied the Queen as she sang several arias composed by Martines and was well-acquainted with the composer's style.⁷⁰

Much of the discourse surrounding Maria Carolina centers on her notable political influence on behalf of her husband, encompassing endeavors such as the expulsion of Spanish influence in Naples and the propagation of enlightened absolutism from the Viennese court back home.⁷¹ However, it is equally crucial to acknowledge her contributions to Naples' cultural fabric. Beyond her political roles, Maria Carolina played a pivotal part in transforming Naples' cultural landscape. Among her remarkable feats were the establishment of public educational institutions, the expansion of the University of Naples, and her financial support for the development of museums and libraries.⁷² Furthermore, Maria Carolina injected new life into the social sphere of the Neapolitan court, orchestrating elegant courtly balls, overseeing grand operatic productions, and fostering the cultivation of chamber music.⁷³

The depth of Maria Carolina's connection to music is evident in her daily journal entries, which illuminate music's integral role in her life.⁷⁴ Her writings reveal a rich appreciation for diverse musical genres, embracing everything from graceful aristocratic

⁶⁷ The collection is now preserved at and digitized by the Museo del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella in Naples. See Marianna Martinez and Pietro Metastasio, *Scelta d'arie composte per suo diletto*, parts 1–2 (Autograph, 1768).

⁶⁸ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 6.

⁶⁹ Shortly after her arrival in Naples, Maria Carolina continued lessons with operatic composer Pasquale Cafaro whom she appointed court kapellmeister. Dietz, "Instrumental Music at the Court of Ferdinand IV," 101.

⁷⁰ "... accompagnato diverse arie della stessa compositrice cantate dall'Augusta Sovrana, e gli era ben noto il suo stile." Saverio Mattei, *I libri poetici della Bibbia tradotti dall'ebraico originale* (Naples: Stamperia Simoniana, 1771), 4: 294. Martines's principal biographer, Irving Godt, proposes that the *Scelta Arie* currently housed within the Museo del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella in Naples likely served as the manuscript from which Maria Carolina performed Martines's arias. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 59.

⁷¹ Anthony R. DeDonna, *Opera, Theatrical Culture and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 74.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 74–75.

⁷³ Dietz, 101–103. In this multifaceted role, Maria Carolina left an indelible mark on the political landscape and significantly enriched the cultural heritage of Naples through her proactive involvement in education, the arts, and entertainment.

⁷⁴ Cinzia Recca, ed., *The Diary of Queen Maria Carolina of Naples, 1781–1785: New Evidence of Queenship at Court* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer International Publishing, 2017).

minuets to spirited country dances.⁷⁵ Maria Carolina's active support extended to both Italian opera and foreign vocal and instrumental talents, with a particular emphasis on those originating from the Austro-Germanic region.⁷⁶

The Queen's commitment to musical excellence shaped her court and left an indelible mark on her children, cultivating their musical talents under the expert guidance of Vincenzo Orgitano (1735–1805).⁷⁷ This devotion was so pervasive that it even inspired her husband, Ferdinand, who had previously been more inclined toward hunting than music.⁷⁸ He took up the *lira organizzata*, embracing the infectious enthusiasm for music that permeated their environment.⁷⁹ Given this vibrant musical milieu, it is hardly surprising that Martines gave her arias to Maria Carolina. Furthermore, it is understandable why several individuals under examination in this study were drawn to the enchanting allure of the Neapolitan Queen's court, where music and culture thrived in harmony.

1.3 Maria Rosa Coccia (1759–1833)

Irving Godt highlights two female composers who fall in the primary category of the study: Maria Rosa Coccia of Rome and Josina van Boetzelaer of The Hague. Despite originating from vastly different regions, we shall see in the following profile sketches that their correspondence with Metastasio reveals their awareness of Marianna Martines and her compositional skill.⁸⁰ To delve deeper into this dynamic, we begin with the first figure, Maria Rosa Coccia.

In contrast to many subjects examined in this study, Maria Rosa Coccia stands out as a child prodigy who did not emerge from a musical lineage but from an ordinary background.⁸¹ Her father, Antonio Coccia (n.d.), a pharmacist, and her mother, Maria Angela Luzi (n.d.), entrusted Maria Rosa's education to an anonymous maestro who

⁷⁵ Dietz, 102.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 106–108. This dedication to promoting and nurturing musical talent, regardless of geographical boundaries, highlights her commitment to enriching the cultural tapestry of her realm, even though she preferred the music of her homeland.

⁷⁷ Dietz, 102–111.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 108.

⁷⁹ A *lira organizzata* is a type of hurdy-gurdy. The King took private lessons on the instrument and grew quite proficient, which ultimately led him to commission a series of *lira* concertos. This newfound passion for the instrument even resonated with renowned composers of the time. A striking example is Haydn, who, during his tenure at the Esterházy court, composed two pieces for the *lira organizzata* as part of his 1786 concerto collection. See Dietz, 109.

⁸⁰ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 159–160.

⁸¹ Irene Hegen, "Maria Rosa Coccia (1759–1833), nicht Korrekt, sondern Meisterhaft," in *Annäherung XIII — an Sieben Komponistinnen*, ed. by Clara Mayer (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 2003), 34–35.

recognized and nurtured her vocal and harpsichord talents.⁸² Her progress was nothing short of remarkable.⁸³ By the age of ten, she had left everyone astounded by her ability to read and perform intricate concertos on the harpsichord, seamlessly transposing them into different keys.⁸⁴ The Roman Abbott Michele Mallio (1756–1831), who lived during her lifetime, authored Coccia’s biography, bearing witness to her early performances.⁸⁵ One such performance took place in the grandeur of the palace belonging to S. A. R. Carol Odoardo Barone du Classe (n.d.).⁸⁶ During this event, the Barone himself accompanied Coccia on the cello to test the young prodigy’s capabilities, leaving no doubt about her astonishing skills.⁸⁷

Maria Rosa then ventured into the realm of composition, delving into the intricacies of counterpoint and stile antico under the expert guidance of Santi Pesci (n.d.), the distinguished Maestro di Cappella of the Basilica Liberiana.⁸⁸ In March of 1772, when Maria Rosa was only twelve, the prodigious musician unveiled her debut composition, *Opera Prima: Sonate per Cembalo*, dedicating it to Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720–1788).⁸⁹ In December of the same year, Coccia reached yet another significant milestone with her inaugural oratorio for four voices, *Daniello nel Lago del Leoni*.⁹⁰ This captivating piece earned resounding acclaim from both the aristocracy and the general public within the hallowed confines of the Chiesa Nuova.⁹¹ The following year, Coccia also composed a melodrama based on Pietro Metastasio’s libretto, *l’Isola disabitata*, further showcasing her talent and versatility.⁹²

In 1774, the fifteen-year-old composer sought admission to the prestigious

⁸² Michele Mallio, ed., *Elogio storico della Signora Maria Rosa Coccia Romana....* (Rome: Canetti, 1780), X.

⁸³ Hegen, “Maria Rosa Coccia,” 43–45.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Mallio, *Elogio storico della Signora Maria Rosa Coccia Romana*, X–XI.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII–XIX. The Cappella of the Basilica Liberiana now bears the name Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore.

⁸⁹ The original is conserved in the Santa Cecilia Bibliomediateca in Rome (A–Ms–194) and dated March 14, 1772. See Maria Rosa Coccia, *Opera prima: Sonate per cembalo* [I-Rsc].

⁹⁰ Mallio, XII.

⁹¹ “La sera, nell’Oratorio in Chiesa nuova, con numeroso intervento di Nobiltà ne’ Coretti, e di Persone civili ne’ banchi, fu cantato un Componimento Sagro intitolato *Daniele*, Musica nuova della Sig. Rosa Coccia Romana. Dopo la prima parte vi fece un dotto, e morale Discorso il P. Gregorio Costanzi di quella Congr[egazione] di S[an] Filippo Neri; stato il tutto applaudito dal numeroso Uditorio.” *Diario Ordinario*, n. 8434, (December 26, 1772): 5–6.

⁹² Bianca Maria Antolini, “Coccia, Maria Rosa,” *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* 26 (1982), par. 1 (Treccani Istituto). This work has yet to be performed, and the musical scores for both *Daniello* and *l’Isola* seems to have been lost over time.

Accademia di Santa Cecilia.⁹³ Driven by her skill and unwavering determination, she faced the rigorous examination process and emerged triumphant.⁹⁴ The defining moment arrived when she presented a compelling four-voice antiphon entitled *Hicvir despiciens mundum*.⁹⁵ The echoes of her success resonated the following year as she gained recognition in a pamphlet highlighting her exam composition and celebrating her skill.⁹⁶ The crowning achievement was a diploma, solidifying this momentous recognition and designating her as *Maestra di Capella Romana*.⁹⁷ This unprecedented distinction granted her the rare privilege of holding a position within the church, a groundbreaking milestone for a woman in Roman history.⁹⁸

Curiously, Coccia's father wrote to Giovanni Martini earlier in the year, earnestly seeking his support in securing his daughter's admission into the distinguished Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna.⁹⁹ However, Martini responded that he was not the appropriate authority to address such a request.¹⁰⁰ Instead, he suggested that Mr. Coccia direct his appeal to Bernardino Ottani (1736–1827), the incumbent Principal of the

⁹³ Mallio, XIV.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XV.

⁹⁵ Antolini, "Coccia, Maria Rosa," par. 2. The autograph manuscript is held at the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna.

⁹⁶ "Esperimento estemporaneo fatto dalla signora Maria Rosa Coccia romana nell'esame da essa sostenuto avanti i quattro Signori Maestri di cappella esaminatori della Congregazione dei Signori Musici di Santa Cecilia in Roma per essere ammessa alla detta Congregazione in qualità di Maestra, come seguì con pieno applauso e approvazione. Coll' aggiunta di vari poetici componimenti, che in quell'occasione furono al di lei merito dedicate. Roma, 1775, nella stamperia di S. Michele a Ripa, presso Paolo Giunich, in–8 di pag. II, col ritratto della Maria Coccia e colla composizione da lei fatt." Maria Rosa Coccia, *Esperimento Estemporaneo Fatto dalla Signora Maria Rosa Coccia Romana....* (Rome: Stamperia di San Michele a Ripa, 1775).

⁹⁷ Mallio, XCIII.

⁹⁸ Clement XIV enacted a momentous change by rescinding the ban that had previously prohibited women from performing within the sacred confines of churches during his tenure between 1769 and 1775. This transformative shift not only marked a departure from established norms but also held profound implications for the role of women in religious, musical, and public contexts. See Patrick Barbier, *The World of the Castrati: The History of an Extraordinary Operatic Phenomenon* (London: Souvenir, 1996), 125. For a fascinating history on Roman women, I recommend Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law & Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

⁹⁹ The similarity between Marianna Martines's letter and the one written by Maria Rosa Coccia's father a year later supports Godt's claim that Martines's life and reputation had a significant influence on Coccia. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 159. "Stimai bene, già che l'Altissimo non mi dié figliuoli maschi, ma di sole femmine la primogenita di nome Maria Rosa, di talento più tosto aperto, indirizzarla sin dalla sua età d'anni sei alle musicali note, e vedendo che faceva riuscita, stimai bene metterla sotto maestro contrapuntista, e farle fare tutti studi di contrapunto sino alla presente età d'anni 16, avendo fatte diverse opere, cioè ora torio, una cantata del Metastasio, un intermedio per Teatro Capranica, ed ora mette in musica un vespero per la sua protettrice santa Cecilia. Desidera la medesima essere sotto il patrocinio di Vostra Paternità Molto Reverenda, e di essere ammessa in codesta nobile Accademia de' Filarmonici di Bologna non per grazia, ma per merito." (Excerpt, Antonio Coccia's letter to Martini, July 1774) "Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini," I.028.025. (Transcription) Marie Caruso, "Ten Fugues Shed Light on an Old Debate," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 21, no. 1 (2014): 11.

¹⁰⁰ (Letter from Giovanni Battista Martini to Antonio Coccia, July 23, 1774), "Carteggio di Padre G. B. Martini," I.028.027.

Accademia.¹⁰¹ Although it remains uncertain whether Coccia corresponded directly with Ottani, the Accademia governors extended their admission to Maria Rosa Coccia without requiring her to sit for the exam in 1779.¹⁰² Instead, she presented the same four-voice antiphon she had composed for the Accademia di Santa Cecilia five years earlier.¹⁰³ This achievement sets her apart in my research, as she is the sole woman I have found to have earned such distinguished recognition from two renowned, traditionally male-dominated academies.

Maria Rosa Coccia's success sparked fierce controversy that damaged her career prospects.¹⁰⁴ Misogyny fueled this disheartening debate, instigated by Francesco Capalti di Fossombrone (n.d.), the Maestro di cappella of the Cathedral of Narni, in 1780.¹⁰⁵ Capalti, who had faced rejection twice in pursuing the same honor, launched a vehement and public critique of Maria Rosa's antiphon.¹⁰⁶ His criticism was acerbic, as he alleged numerous flaws in the fugue and argued that publishing it dishonored the revered Roman school of counterpoint.¹⁰⁷ Adding another layer to the controversy, Capalti contended that Coccia's acceptance was solely due to her gender, insinuating that regrettable favoritism stemmed from societal biases.¹⁰⁸ To further complicate matters, two of the examiners, Giovanni Battista Casali (1715–1792) and Gaetano Carpani (1692–1780), eventually conceded that Capalti's scathing assessment held some validity.¹⁰⁹ In a candid admission, they acknowledged that Coccia had received a certain level of respect due to her gender rather than being solely evaluated on her talent.¹¹⁰ Moreover, they revealed they never

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Caruso, "Ten Fugues Shed Light," 14.

¹⁰³ "Ieri successe il possesso, e subito ciò succeduto esposi agl' altri Coaccademici la dilei ottima Composizione, che osservata, ed esattamente ponderata da tutti li Compositori, che si trovarono presenti, fu molto encomiata, e le furono fatti quegl' elogi, che sinceramente merita, e fui incaricato dalli suddetti di far sapere a V. S. Ill^{ma}, che non volevano altra Composizione, mentre questa era assai bastante per farsi distinguere all' Universo intero per profondo, sapiente, e ben fondata Professora di tale scienza, e quanto prima le invieremo le nostre lettere Patenti munite col nostro solito Sigillo: questo è quanto devo dire a V. S. Ill^{ma} à nome di tuta questa Accademia; e congratulandomi sempre più." (Excerpt, letter from Petronio Lanzi, Principe dell' Accademia, April 14, 1779) Mallio, XXXV.

¹⁰⁴ Caruso, "Ten Fugues," 8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ The same antiphon that, ironically, secured her admission into both highly prestigious academies. A facsimile of the controversial antiphon can be found at Caruso, "Ten Fugues Shed Light," 34–42.

¹⁰⁷ Francesco Capalti, "Critica all' esame fatto dalla signora Maria Rosa Coccia Romana il di XXVIII Novembre MDCCLXXIV," 5–11.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 13–14.

¹⁰⁹ Mallio, XIV; and Capalti, "Critica," 13. Adding a layer of complexity to the situation, Maria Rosa's teacher, Santi Pesci, was one of the original examiners, casting a shadow of doubt on the impartiality of the evaluation process. This intertwined dynamic only exacerbated the brewing controversy.

¹¹⁰ Capalti, 13.

expected her work to be published.¹¹¹

The feud between Capalti and his adherents on one side and the defenders of Coccia on the other lasted five years.¹¹² This bitter clash, further compounded by the unfair maligning of Santi Pesci, persisted as a contentious undercurrent.¹¹³ It evolved into a battle of reputations, principles, and perspectives, shaping the narrative around Coccia's achievements as her champions rallied to her side, determined to turn the tide in her favor.¹¹⁴ In a strategic move to bolster her case, those advocating for Coccia's vindication compiled firsthand accounts from witnesses who had experienced her musical artistry.¹¹⁵ One notable contributor to this effort was the Abbess of the Montealboddo Monastery, for whom Coccia had crafted the *Veni Creator Spiritus* for the convent's Pentecostal service.¹¹⁶ This testimony, among others, played a crucial role in the ongoing struggle to rehabilitate Coccia's reputation and establish the recognition she deserved.¹¹⁷

What transpired in Coccia's life after 1783 is uncertain.¹¹⁸ The last verified record of her existence dates back to 1832, when she penned a heartfelt plea to the Accademia di Santa Cecilia.¹¹⁹ In this poignant letter, Coccia divulges her lifelong commitment to both music composition and teaching; however, due to familial obligations and her deteriorating health, she found herself without even modest savings to support herself.¹²⁰ Maria Rosa Coccia passed away a year later, in November 1833, after subsisting on the

¹¹¹ Ibid. The convoluted network of viewpoints and competing incentives underscores the pervasive prejudices that hindered Maria Rosa Coccia's progress. Moreover, it illuminates the intricate interplay between gender, aptitude, and the intricate fabric of historical biases that influenced the perception of her accomplishments.

¹¹² See Francesco Capalti, "Risposta di Francesco Capalti alla lettera di Pasquale Antonio Basilj."

¹¹³ Santi Pesci, who had been Coccia's teacher and mentor, was also a member of the examining board and voted to admit the young composer. Capalti, "Critica," 14–25.

¹¹⁴ Michele Mallio diligently collected letters of endorsement from eminent and revered figures, among them Padre Giovanni Martini, Pietro Metastasio, and Farinelli, all staunch allies of our original composer, Marianna Martines, and compiled them in his *Elogio*. Mallio, XXV–XLIII. Their collective influence and reputation lent powerful backing to Coccia's cause. Ibid.

¹¹⁵ The firsthand experiences shared in these letters would have added depth and authenticity to the defense of Coccia's musical expertise, further bolstering her reputation. Ibid.

¹¹⁶ "Invio questo mio foglio a V.S. Ill^{ma} ad istanza di questo Monastero, che la ringrazia del bel piacere, che gli ha recato colla sua bella Composizione di Musica del Veni Creator Spiritus, il quale fu cantato il giorno di Pentecoste con piacere di noi Cantore, e di chi l'ascoltava; assicurandola che nella nostra Chiesa non v'era sito che non fosse occupato da ogni Ceto di Persone, le quali non saziavansi lodare e domandare chi fosse l'autore di così armoniosa Musica. Per contentare la Nobiltà, e Virtuosi su da noi ricantato il martedì con non minore sodisfazione di tutti della prima volta: questo è quanto le dico da parte di tutto questo Monastero, che caramente la saluta, ed io piena di stima costantemente mi dico." Mallio, XXVI.

¹¹⁷ For a more in-depth review of the controversy, see Caruso, "Ten Fugues," 17–28.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 29.

¹¹⁹ Alberto Cameti, "Altre notizie su Maria Rosa Coccia," *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* (G. Ricordi, 1900), 1: 343–344.

¹²⁰ (Letter from Maria Rosa Coccia to Monsignor Manari) Held at the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia Biblioteca in Rome. (Stato nominative generale 2259, busta n. 9.). (Quoted) Cameti, 1: 343–344.

meager pension provided by the Accademia.¹²¹ A significant portion of her work has been lost to the ravages of time, further underscoring the somber reality surrounding her legacy.¹²²

Despite her tenacious spirit, Maria Rosa Coccia was unable to achieve a successful career in composition.¹²³ Notwithstanding her undeniable talent and family support, Coccia faced significant obstacles imposed by financial constraints, which severely curtailed her ability to fully explore and harness her potential.¹²⁴ Adding to her struggles, she had endured relentless public scrutiny, thus making Coccia's narrative a compelling example of the dynamics between determination, inherent talent, external circumstances, and the burden of societal pressures.

Coccia and Martines

Irving Godt suggests that in his inaugural letter advocating for Maria Rosa Coccia, Metastasio subtly implied that Marianna Martines was interested in and admired Coccia's compositions.¹²⁵ According to Godt, this subtlety was likely a deliberate effort by Metastasio to protect the identity and reputation of the “*persona pratica e peritissima*” [practical and expert person] who had studied Coccia's compositions.¹²⁶ This strategic choice may have been intended to shield the individual, likely Martines, from potential criticism due to her amateur status in certain circles.¹²⁷

Right away I called a person extremely skillful in the art, who, after studying them intently in my presence, and with great pleasure, assured me that they were written not only correctly but masterfully.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Ibid., 1: 344.

¹²² However, this unfortunate gap in our understanding can be partially filled by exploring a revised inventory of her compositions, as detailed in Marie Caruso, “A Gift of Twenty Minuets: Exploring a Recently Discovered Manuscript by Maria Rosa Coccia,” in *SECM in Austin: Topics in Eighteenth-Century Music II*, ed. by Janet K. Page (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing Inc., 2016), 43–47. This compilation highlights two notable compositions Coccia dedicated to prominent women in Naples: Queen Maria Carolina and the noblewoman Henriette Milano. Ibid., 34–42.

¹²³ Caruso, “Ten Fugues,” 28–30.

¹²⁴ Despite her skill and the collective efforts made to support her cause, Maria Rosa Coccia faced an unyielding challenge in attaining steady patronage. Regrettably, her quest for consistent financial support did not yield the desired results. Instead, her compensation remained sporadic and intermittent, failing to provide the stable foundation she needed to sustain her creative endeavors. Ibid., 28.

¹²⁵ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 159.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ “Chiamai per altro subito persona pratica e peritissima, che, dopo averli in presenza mia attentamente con sommo piacere esaminati, mi assicurò essere questi non solo correttamente, ma magistralmente scritti, me ne rallegrai, e mi compiacqui che la cara mia Patria producesse Donzelle di abilità così rara.” (Excerpt, letter from Metastasio to Coccia, December 29, 1777) Mallio, XXVII. (Translation) Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 159.

The phrasing of Metastasio's letter strongly suggests that he expected Coccia to recognize the identity of the individual he referenced.¹²⁹ His wording raises intriguing questions about Coccia's motivations for seeking a poet's critique of her three musical compositions. One plausible explanation is that Coccia assumed Metastasio's protégé, renowned for her musical expertise, would be the ideal evaluator of her work.¹³⁰ This possibility invites further speculation: was Martines's reputation so widely acknowledged that even Coccia, who came from a non-musical family background in a distant country, would have been aware of her? If so, this supports Godt's hypothesis that Coccia may have modeled her career on Martines's achievements.¹³¹ Despite the likelihood that the two women never met, this evidence suggests they were aware of each other and each other's work, underscoring the interconnectedness of their musical legacies.

The stark contrast between Maria Rosa Coccia's and Marianna Martines's lives is painfully evident. Both women were exceedingly talented, yet Coccia lacked the familial connections and social standing Martines enjoyed. Consequently, Coccia's reputation was left vulnerable to attack—an attack that began when she was just fifteen years old and continued to negatively impact her career for the rest of her life.

1.4 Josina van Aerssen Boetzelaer (1733–1797)

The second female composer Godt highlights as a potential rival to Marianna Martines is Josina van Boetzelaer, a highly acclaimed musician from the Netherlands.¹³² Born in The Hague to Cornelis van Aerssen, Lord of Voshol (1698–1766), and Baroness Anna Albertina van Schagen Beijeren (1699–1762), Josina Anna Petronella van Aerssen [Boetzelaer] came from a noble lineage and was deeply immersed in the world of music from an early age.¹³³ She had the privilege of serving as a lady-in-waiting to Princess Anna of Hanover (1709–1759) and, subsequently, to Anna's daughter, Princess Wilhelmine Carolina of Orange-Nassau (1743–1787), thereby establishing close ties within the House of Orange's social circles.¹³⁴ The rulers of the House of Orange were ardent music enthusiasts, particularly when it came to opera, making music an intrinsic

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 159–160.

¹³³ Helen Metzelaar, "An Unknown 18th-Century Dutch Woman Composer: Josina Boetzelaer (1733–1797)," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 40, no. 2 (1990), 5.

¹³⁴ Helen Metzelaar, "'Mon Cher Ami': A New Source on Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732–1817)," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke...* 60, no. 1/2 (2010): 102–107.

part of the court's daily life.¹³⁵

Consequently, despite the limited information available regarding Boetzelaer's formative years or educational background, it is plausible to assume that she was exposed to a rich tapestry of musical encounters, both as an active participant and an engaged observer.¹³⁶ As a case in point, it is conceivable that Boetzelaer had the opportunity to encounter the Mozarts during their sojourn in The Hague between 1765 and 1766.¹³⁷ Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) included her name, albeit misspelled, on the list of people he met: Mdlle. Vossol.¹³⁸ Leopold's roster also includes Boetzelaer's music teacher, Francesco Pasquale Ricci (1732–1817), a violinist who performed with the court orchestra in The Hague between 1764 and 1780.¹³⁹ Around 1777, Ricci dedicated six ariettas to Boetzelaer, praising her vocal and compositional skills.¹⁴⁰ This acknowledgment of her skillset further cements her position as one of the few distinguished female composers flourishing in the eighteenth-century Netherlands.¹⁴¹

At the age of thirty-five in 1768, Josina van Aerssen married Carel [or Carl] de Baron van Boetzelaer (1727–1803), a distinguished man who held a prominent position within the upper echelons of society in The Hague and had a successful military career.¹⁴² The couple

¹³⁵ The environment in which Josina Boetzelaer served as a court lady was characterized by an extraordinarily vibrant musical atmosphere, as both Princess Anna and Princess Caroline demonstrated innate musical abilities and exhibited a passionate devotion to music as accomplished amateurs. In fact, lavish house concerts regularly showcased the foremost musicians and composers from all corners of Europe. *Ibid.*, 9, 53.

¹³⁶ The limited insights into Josina's childhood can be discovered in Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 5–6, whereas her abundant musical opportunities are detailed in pages 9–12.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10–11.

¹³⁸ Daniel François Scheurleer, *Het muziekleven in Nederland ...* (Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1909), 146. Before her marriage, Josina was referred to as Mademoiselle de Voshol due to the prevailing custom of addressing individuals of nobility by the name of their estates. This practice, likely adopted for the sake of brevity, was commonplace during that era. Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 6.

¹³⁹ Metzelaar, 12–13.

¹⁴⁰ "Ornatissima Dama, Come Pellegrino salito sublime colle si rivolge, e mira le lasciate ime Valli, e si compiace: Così voi Ornatissima dama gionata ad emular i più celebri cantanti, ed i più insigni compositori rilette queste, che furono allora vostre prime cure. Vi segua d'apresso chi può e frattanto, che parlando di voi onor della Patria, e per la Nascita e per le Doti ognun vi ammira io mi glorierò del Nume, che vi degnaste accordarmi dicendomi col più profondo ossequio. / Di voi Ornatissima dama, Umili.^{mo} obbi.^{mo} Servidore e Maestro. (Dedication) François Pasquale Ricci, *Sei Ariette a due voci e basso di varj Autori*, c1770–1779. (Facsimile, transcription, and translation) Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 15–16.

¹⁴¹ Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 53–54. Ricci's connection with Boetzelaer significantly contributes to establishing a network that links the Dutch composer with Marianna Martines.

¹⁴² Carel Boetzelaer achieved success in his military career, rising from the rank of Lieutenant Colonel to Lieutenant General by the end of his life. Furthermore, his influence extended beyond the military realm, as he held the distinguished role of Grand Master National of the Freemasons for an impressive span of nearly forty years, from 1759 to 1798. More details can be found in Metzelaar, "Mon Cher Ami," 104. Notably, Carel Boetzelaer's legacy was further enhanced by his valiant defense of Willemstad during the French invasion of the city in 1793, a feat that elevated him to the status of a national hero. Additional insights on his career can be found in Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 6–7.

established their residence in The Hague and were blessed with three children: Lodewijk Willem (1772–n.d.), Wilhelmina (1773–1822), and Louise Albertine (1775–1847).¹⁴³ Lodewijk did not survive childhood.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the two daughters followed in their mother’s footsteps, immersing themselves in the court’s social milieu and pursuing their own musical endeavors.¹⁴⁵

In the 1780s, Josina Boetzelaer published four collections of her musical compositions: *Sei ariette* (possibly op. 1),¹⁴⁶ op. 2, and op. 4, which featured beautifully orchestrated vocal works.¹⁴⁷ However, it was not until the early nineteenth century that the solitary copy of *Sei Canzonette à più voce*, op. 3 was discovered.¹⁴⁸ Boetzelaer drew creative inspiration from Italian texts, particularly those crafted by Pietro Metastasio.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, she found inspiration in the works of her counterparts, Marianna Martines and Maria Teresa Agnesi, connections she shared with her music teacher, Francesco Ricci.¹⁵⁰ This leads us to wonder whether the compositions of Agnesi and Martines were actively studied and performed within The Hague.

During the latter part of the 1780s, the Netherlands’ political climate was plagued by mounting unrest.¹⁵¹ This turmoil culminated in 1795 when French military forces entered the Dutch Republic, forcing the House of Orange to seek refuge in England.¹⁵² In accordance with their noble status, Josina van Boetzelaer and her family were also compelled to abandon their residence in The Hague.¹⁵³ They sought asylum in IJsselstein,

¹⁴³ Metzelaar, “Dutch Woman Composer,” 6.

¹⁴⁴ Metzelaar, “Mon Cher Ami,” 106.

¹⁴⁵ Francesco Ricci maintained a long-standing relationship with the Boetzelaer family, as evidenced by Josina’s correspondence with her former teacher, in which she updated him on her children’s musical development among other topics. (Metzelaar, “Mon Cher Ami,” 104–107). Moreover, Ricci’s ties with the family were further underscored by his dedication of three symphonies to Josina’s husband, Carl. Francesco Pasquale Ricci, *Trè Sinfonie* (Nell’Aja, etc.: Press Mr. Van Laak, c1775).

¹⁴⁶ Josina van Boetzelaer, *Sei ariette a canto e cembalo*. I-Bc, DD.36/8110. (Facsimile and analysis) Metzelaar, “Dutch Woman Composer,” 18–52. *Sei ariette* bears the pseudonymous title ‘Baroness NN’ [nomen nescio, or ‘unnamed’], while the other collections were released under her own name.

¹⁴⁷ It is noteworthy that Boetzelaer’s arias were orchestrated, which was an atypical occurrence in music composed by women during the eighteenth century. Typically, works by female composers of that era consisted of smaller instrumental genres such as sonatas for keyboard, solo songs, and small chamber pieces. *Ibid.*, 7, 18–53.

¹⁴⁸ An edited facsimile of this work was published in 2013 thanks to the efforts of Helen Metzelaar. Josina van Boetzelaer, *Sei canzonette à più voci*, ed. by Helen Metzelaar (Utrecht: KVNMM, 2013). Metzelaar, “Dutch Woman Composer,” 53; and “Mon Cher Ami,” 102.

¹⁴⁹ In her *Sei Ariette*, op. 1, all of the texts, except for one, were penned by Metastasio. Metzelaar, “Mon Cher Ami,” 102.

¹⁵⁰ This assertion gains validity through her correspondence with Metastasio and the inscription found in her published op. 2, respectively. *Ibid.*, 103–104. Boetzelaer’s interactions with Martines and Agnesi are discussed further in the chapter.

¹⁵¹ Metzelaar, “Dutch Woman Composer,” 5–8; and Metzelaar, “Mon Cher Ami,” 105–107.

¹⁵² Metzelaar, “Dutch Woman Composer,” 8.

¹⁵³ Metzelaar, “Mon Cher Ami,” 107.

near Utrecht, a tax-exempt haven known for attracting affluent Dutch citizens.¹⁵⁴ Josina van Boetzelaer's life came to an end there two years later, in September 1797, followed by her husband in 1803.¹⁵⁵

Josina van Boetzelaer was a unique figure in the Dutch music landscape during the eighteenth century. As an affluent amateur composer, she dedicated herself to creating music driven by joy rather than pursuing it as a profession.¹⁵⁶ In an era where the Netherlands boasted only a limited number of native composers, with foreign musicians largely dominating the musical scene, Boetzelaer's contributions were undeniably remarkable.¹⁵⁷ Regrettably, her original manuscripts have yet to be discovered, and compositions have rarely been performed.¹⁵⁸

Boetzelaer and Martines

In 1778, Boetzelaer presented a composition to Metastasio.¹⁵⁹ The work in question is believed to be her *Arie Sciolte* (op. 4), as the preface accompanying it is a heartfelt dedication specifically addressed to the poet himself.¹⁶⁰ Within this dedication, she alludes to a private musical gathering that took place in the Metastasio-Martines household.¹⁶¹

Remembering the great pleasure which you, highly regarded Sir, showed to my music master [Ricci] when he had the good fortune of passing some hours on the harpsichord of the admirable Dilettante, your music pupil Madam Martines, on which occasion various arias she composed by her as well as some of mine were alternately performed. I feel much encouraged to strive for that fire of yours with which each of your poems is imbued, how proud I would be if I would succeed in exchanging another moment of satisfaction with the one who has evoked in me so many hours of

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 8; and "Mon Cher Ami," 107.

¹⁵⁶ When comparing Martines and Boetzelaer, Godt describes Martines's drive to compose as a "calling" versus his intimation of Boetzelaer's "hobby." Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 59.

¹⁵⁷ Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 53. The only other female Dutch composer of the eighteenth century was Isabelle de Charrière, and she only began composing after she left the Netherlands. See Helen Metzelaar, *Aerssen, Josina Anna Petronella van*. (DVN, 2014).

¹⁵⁸ Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 19, 54; and Metzelaar, *Aerssen, Josina Anna Petronella van*, par. 11. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that her name was already included in Ernst Ludwig Gerber's (1746–1819) lexicon in its first edition published in 1790. Ernst Ludwig Gerber, ed., *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1790–1792), 1: 110, col. 181.

¹⁵⁹ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 159.

¹⁶⁰ Josina van Boetzelaer, *Arie sciolte, e coro con sinfonia*, ed. by Helen Metzelaar (Utrecht: KVMN, 2007). (Discussion and analysis) Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 39–52.

¹⁶¹ Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 39–41.

ecstatic admiration.¹⁶²

Three years earlier, Boetzelaer's mentor, Francesco Pasquale Ricci, embarked on a journey to Vienna.¹⁶³ During this time, the impromptu performance, brimming with arias from both the Dutch and Austrian female composers, likely took place.¹⁶⁴ Although Martines's participation in the concert is not explicitly confirmed in Boetzelaer's preface, it is reasonable to infer that she was the vocalist Ricci accompanied.¹⁶⁵ Metastasio and Marianna respond graciously in a letter dated December 28, 1779.

It is not possible, most illustrious Baroness, for me to convey to you the excess of pleasure, of confusion, and of wonder with which my mind was overwhelmed last week when I received at my house the unexpected gift of my fortunate verses sent to me in such a magnificent printing, enriched with so many new beauties with which this author [i.e., Metastasio himself] has been unable to furnish them, and with which they have been raised to so high a level as to merit the angelic harmony of your masterful notes. Everything in them is noble, and nothing seems labored: even your rare and elegant modulations themselves, the fruit of profound learning, seem the spontaneous promptings of an honest expression. The effect of the pleasure one feels on hearing them performed always increases the impatience to solicit their repetition. Signora Martines, who is rightly enchanted by them, complies wonderfully with my requests at the *gravicembalo* so that this will be our pleasant occupation for a long time to come.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² "Memorè del l'aggradimento ché Vossignoria Illustrissima mostrò al' mio Maestro di Musica* quando in Vienna ebbe la felicità di passar qualch' ora al Cembalo della partentosa Dilettante di l' SSA III. ma allieva nella musica la Signora Martines, Alternando varie arie da essa composte con alcune poche mie, mi sento vieppiù incoraggiata à rintracciar quel fuoco Vostro, di cui trabocca ogni di lei Poesia, e quanto sarci gloriosa se mi riuscisse di contracambiar ancora un momento di sodisfazione à chi mi somministra tant' ore d' estasi d' ammirazione." (Dedication page) Boetzelaer, *Arie Sciolte*. (Transcribed and translated) Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 39–41.

¹⁶³ Metzelaar, "Mon Cher Ami," 97.

¹⁶⁴ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 160.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. Boetzelaer, composing in comparative isolation (Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 54), must have experienced an overwhelming sense of elation upon discovering the existence of other accomplished women composers. Boetzelaer's reference to Marianna Martines by name in the dedication clearly indicates that Martines's reputation transcended geographical boundaries.

¹⁶⁶ "Non è possibile, illustrissima signora baronessa, che io le spieghi l'eccesso di piacere, di confusione e di meraviglia di cui fu inondato l'animo mio nella scorsa settimana, quando mi fu recato in casa l'inaspettato dono de' fortunati miei versi a me diretti in così magnifica impressione: ricchi di tante nuove bellezze, delle quali non avea potuto fornirli l'autore, e con le quali gli ha sollevati a così alto grado di merito l'angelica armonia delle magistrali sue note. Tutto in esse è pellegrino, e nulla par ricercato, anzi le istesse più rare ed eleganti sue modulazioni, frutti d'una scienza profonda, sembrano spontanei suggerimenti d'una verace espressione. L'effetto del piacere che si prova nel sentirle eseguite è sempre l'accrescimento dell'impazienza di sollecitarne la ripetizione. La signora Martines, che n'è giustamente

— Building the Martines map with primary connections

I have organized the Martines network into three analytical categories: **primary**, **potential**, and **peripheral** groups. The *primary* network discussed here comprises figures whose connection to Martines is supported by documentary evidence—through correspondence, dedications, or direct musical exchanges. Using the Gephi application, each verified link between two or more actors from the database is rendered as a node and edge, allowing both individual relationships and broader structures to emerge. Consequently, the resulting visualizations not only illustrate the discrete networks surrounding each subject but also capture the network’s evolution as new data are integrated.

The maps in Figure 1.5 and Figure 1.6 illustrate the interactions of Maria Rosa Coccia and Josina van Boetzelaer with key figures in the dataset.¹⁶⁷ Notably, Coccia’s widest edges are with Metastasio, with whom she engaged directly, and the Accademia Filarmonica, which welcomed her. Additionally, the network includes Farinelli and Martini due to their supportive letters during the dispute. Her weakest links are with Marianna Martines, whom she likely knew solely by reputation, and Maria Carolina, to whom she dedicated two works.¹⁶⁸

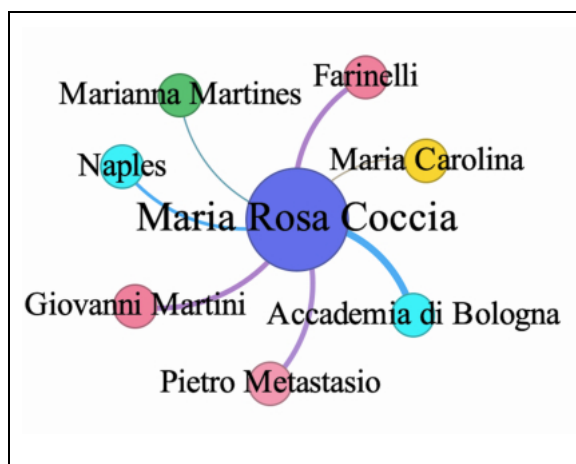


Fig. 1.5. Maria Rosa Coccia network

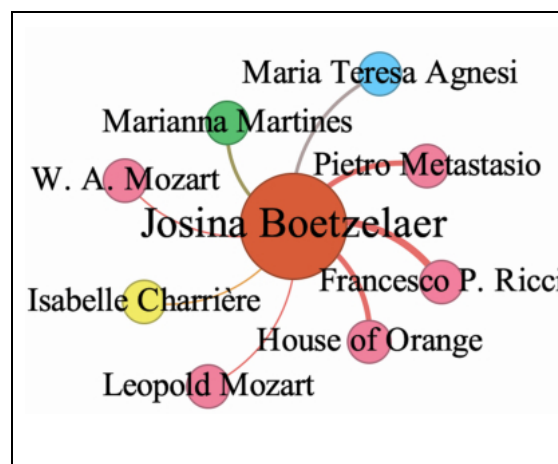


Fig. 1.6. Josina Boetzelaer network

Boetzelaer’s interactions, on the other hand, highlight her correspondence with Metastasio and her familiarity with Marianna Martines. Her map also includes additional

incantata, seconda sul gravicembalo a meraviglia le istanze mie, onde sarà questa ben lungamente la nostra più grata occupazione.” Metastasio, *Tutte le Opere*, 5: 602. (Translated) Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 160.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix V.

¹⁶⁸ Caruso, “A Gift of Twenty Minuets,” 29, 33–34.

individuals who share connections with at least one of the other female musicians featured in the study.

Upon merging the connections of Martines and Coccia in Figure 1.7, the network's complexity increases slightly. This initial amalgamated SNA graph presents the resultant network, providing a foundation for future researchers to explore emerging patterns. As the network continues to expand, these patterns will become progressively more intricate. The prevalence of peripheral actors warrants mention: those who exert influence without occupying central positions. They remain the most numerous. However, it is noteworthy that all of Coccia's connections are linked to Martines.

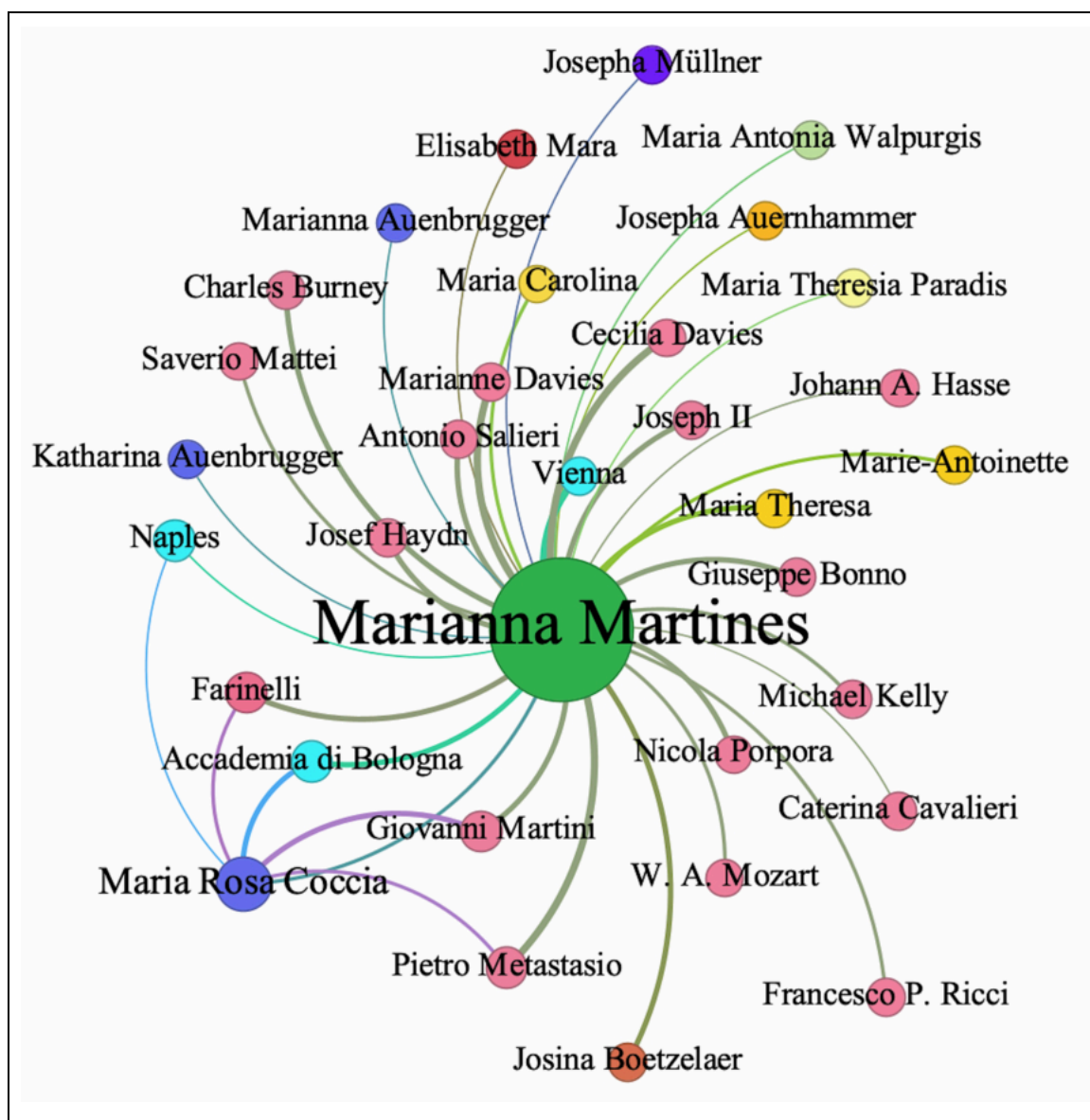


Fig. 1.7. Martines composite network with Maria Rosa Coccia

When integrated into the network in Figure 1.8, Josina van Boetzelaer appears to

have fewer direct links with the other two musicians. However, this may change as research progresses. Metastasio emerges as the gatekeeper connecting the three female musicians, resulting in the delineating of three distinct yet intertwined networks. It is worth noting that Metastasio's node size has increased slightly as the number of links associated with him has grown.

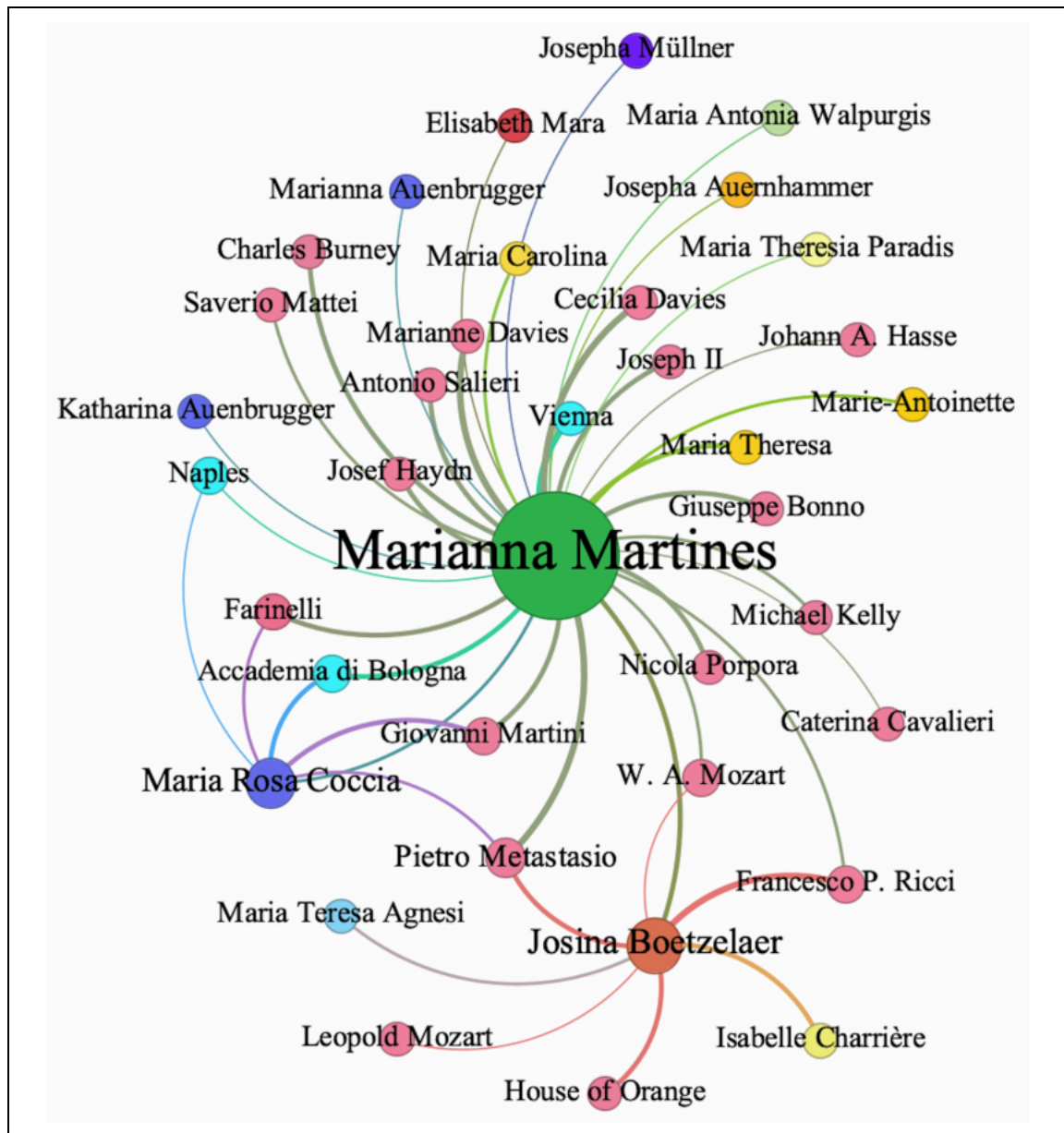


Fig. 1.8. Martines composite network with Josina Boetzelaer

Moreover, W. A. Mozart now serves as a bridge between Martines and Boetzelaer, representing a point of intersection within the web. This evolving network offers an exciting avenue for scholars to delve deeper into the interconnected narratives that shaped the lives and contributions of these female musicians.

A recent significant discovery has brought an additional primary source to the forefront. PhD student Claire Beesley has unearthed an unpublished letter that provides fresh insights into Marianna Martines’s musical output and the timeline of her compositions.¹⁶⁹ Of particular interest to my research is the revelation that Marianna Martines mentored and assisted the young British Davies sisters, Marianne (c1743–1819) and Cecilia (c1756–1836), during their visit to Vienna in 1769.¹⁷⁰ This mentorship highlights the collaborative and supportive relationships among women musicians of the time, emphasizing Martines’s role in nurturing and advancing the careers of her fellow female artists.

ii. *Defining secondary connections through Boetzelaer—
Charrière, Ravissa*

The concept of degrees of separation, akin to “friend of a friend” connections, forms the foundation for Martines’s secondary links. Much like the branches of a tree, we can trace a path from Martines to Isabelle de Charrière and Maria Teresa Agnesi through Josina van Boetzelaer. Further degrees of separation branch out from Charrière to Genovieffa Ravissa, while Agnesi’s path leads back to Queen Maria Carolina and subsequently expands to include Maria Antonia Walpurgis. By navigating this web of interconnections, a profound understanding of the complex social networks of the past emerges, revealing the intricate tapestry that binds these historical figures together.

1.5 *Isabelle van Zuylen de Charrière (1740–1805)*

I write verses for my notes and notes for other people’s poetry.
Between Pergolesi and Raphaël, whom would I choose,
and who would I want to be? I do not know,
but it is always certain that the arts are the most beautiful thing,
the sweetest seasoning of life that I know.¹⁷¹

—*Isabelle de Charrière*

¹⁶⁹ Clare Beesley, “Becoming a Virtuosa: Advice from Vienna, 1769,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 20, no. 2 (2023): 159–178.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 171–174.

¹⁷¹ “Je fais des vers pour mes notes et des notes pour la poésie d’autrui. Entre Pergolèse [Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736)] et Raphaël [Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483–1529)] qui choisirais-je, qui voudrais-je être? Je n’en sais rien, mais toujours est-il sûr que les arts sont la plus belle chose, le plus doux assaisonnement de la vie que je connaisse.” Isabelle de Charrière, “Letter 0704: Isabelle de Charrière à son frère Vincent van Tuyll, 20 Avril 1790,” in *Correspondance d’Isabelle de Charrière* (Transcription and translation) Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis en cultuur.

Isabella Agneta Elisabeth van Tuyll van Serooskerken, widely known as Belle van Zuylen in her youth and Isabelle de Charrière by marriage, was a woman of exceptional talents and diverse interests.¹⁷² Given her multifaceted pursuits, unraveling the networks she formed with other individuals in this study poses a formidable challenge.¹⁷³ Charrière's creative repertoire was vast, encompassing novels, self-portraits, fables, novellas, pamphlets, and plays.¹⁷⁴ She also ventured into the realm of music, engaging in the composition of operas, songs, minuets, and keyboard sonatas, which is particularly interesting in my research.¹⁷⁵ Her true polymath nature is evident in her versatility.¹⁷⁶ Charrière's extensive correspondence, consisting of over 2,600 preserved letters, with around 200 referencing music, offers a profound glimpse into her world.¹⁷⁷ This collection of letters forms a rich tapestry that provides a window into her musical interactions, adding yet another layer of complexity to her multidimensional character and contributions.¹⁷⁸

Belle van Zuylen was born into a privileged aristocratic family at Zuylen Castle near Utrecht.¹⁷⁹ She was the eldest child of Diederik Jacob Van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1707–1776), the Lord of Zuylen en Westbroek, and Jacoba Helena de Vicq (1724–

¹⁷² See Philippe Ernest Godet, *Madame de Charrière et ses amis d'après de nombreux documents inédits (1740–1805)*, 2 vols. (Genève: Jullien, 1906).

¹⁷³ For a comprehensive exploration of her life and legacy, a wealth of biographical and analytical resources can also be found on the Association Madame de Charrière website. All links and access dates are included in the bibliography.

¹⁷⁴ While her devotion to music is notable, Charrière's most prominent recognition today arises from her literary endeavors. This concise profile merely scratches the surface of her multifaceted accomplishments. Therefore, for a more comprehensive and detailed exploration of her life as a musician and composer, I recommend Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, "The Career Manqué of Isabelle de Charrière," in *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2001), 137–211.

¹⁷⁵ Isabelle de Charrière stands out as one of the rare composers of the eighteenth century who not only wrote music but also penned her own libretti. This practice of being both a composer and a librettist was exceedingly uncommon during the eighteenth century. Letzter and Adelson, *Women Writing Opera*, 62. This creative duality distinguishes Charrière as an exceptional figure within the musical landscape of her time.

¹⁷⁶ A polymath is an individual who possesses exceptional proficiency, extensive knowledge, and adeptness across a wide range of fields or subjects. These individuals are widely recognized for their ability to excel in multiple knowledge domains and their talent for establishing connections between seemingly unrelated areas. Their relentless pursuit of knowledge is fueled by an insatiable curiosity and an open-minded approach, allowing them to fully immerse themselves in various disciplines. If your curiosity has been piqued, I highly recommend delving into Peter Burke, *The Polymath: A Cultural History from Leonardo da Vinci to Susan Sontag* (London: Yale University Press, 2021).

¹⁷⁷ All of Charrière's digitized letters can be found at *Brieven van Belle van Zuylen*.

¹⁷⁸ For an overview of Charrière's musical pursuits in the context of music-making in Dutch noble homes, see Joris van Son, "Sounding identity: Music-making in Eighteenth-century Dutch noble homes." *Virtus: Journal of Nobility Studies*, no. 27 (2020): 45–52.

¹⁷⁹ Godet, *Madame de Charrière*, 1: 4–9.

1768).¹⁸⁰ Belle’s upbringing nurtured her thirst for knowledge across a broad spectrum of disciplines, as physics, literature, and mathematics were seamlessly woven into the very fabric of her home, providing her with a solid foundation for her future endeavors.¹⁸¹ However, it was her ventures abroad that truly shaped Belle’s character.¹⁸² Her fearlessness is evident as she embarked on a year-long journey to Geneva and Paris at only ten years old, accompanied solely by her Swiss governess, the loyal Mademoiselle Prévost (n.d.).¹⁸³ Later, Belle’s insatiable curiosity led her to England in the 1760s.¹⁸⁴ While part of her motivation was to secure a suitable husband, it is worth noting that she had already declined numerous suitors in her hometown of Utrecht.¹⁸⁵

Nonetheless, a pivotal moment in her life arrived at age thirty-one, as she began a new chapter by marrying Charles-Emanuel de Charrière de Penthaz (1735–1808), who was coincidentally her brother’s tutor.¹⁸⁶ They settled at Charrière’s Le Pontet manor in Colombier near Neuchâtel, Switzerland.¹⁸⁷ Amid this picturesque backdrop, the Charrières established their residence alongside her father-in-law François (1697–1780) and her two unmarried sisters-in-law Louise (1731–1810) and Henrietta (1740–1814).¹⁸⁸

Music, especially opera, held an unparalleled significance in Charrière’s life—a passion that crystallized in 1764 when she expressed her desire to study under Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764).¹⁸⁹ However, fate dealt her an unfortunate blow as Rameau passed away within the same year, shattering her hopes of apprenticing under the

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ This early education provided her with a solid foundation for her lifelong quest of self-discovery, with intense intellectual curiosity and love of the French language. Notably, she fostered a profound fondness for music, as well, adroitly mastering the harpsichord and subsequently venturing into composition. Ibid. 1: 26–28, 54.

¹⁸² Ibid., 1: 9–20.

¹⁸³ Jeanne-Louise Prévost was Belle’s governess from 1746 to 1753. Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 1: 127–148.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 1: 67–126. For an interesting discussion on Charrière’s English proficiency, see Ingrid Tiekens-Boon van Ostade “Belle de Zuylen’s English,” *Cahiers Isabelle de Charrière / Belle de Zuylen Papers*, no. 3 (2010): 8–31.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 1: 166–168. According to her biographers, the institution of marriage held the promise of liberation for Belle, a chance to break the shackles of convention. Yet, intertwined with her quest for freedom, she yearned for love. Regrettably, reality unfolded quite differently, casting her union as more of a pragmatic alliance rather than the harmonious romance she had envisioned. To delve further into the intricacies of Belle’s dynamic with Charles de Charrière and the nuanced dimensions of their marital bond, I recommend turning to the scholarship of Janet Whatley, “The Engaged Life of a Quiet Man: Charles-Emmanuel de Charrière,” in *Cahiers Isabelle de Charrière / Belle de Zuylen Papers*, no. 3 (2008): 11–23; and Simone Dubois, “Visite à Voltaire et lettres inédites de Madame de Charrière,” in *Musée Neuchâtelois: Recueil d’histoire nationale et d’archéologie* (Neuchâtel: La Société d’histoire du canton de Neuchâtel, 1972), 213–224.

¹⁸⁷ See images of the Château de Zuylen outside of Utrecht and the Charrière home in Le Pontet in Godet, 1: 31, 187.

¹⁸⁸ See an insightful narrative detailing their family dynamics in Godet, 1: 166–187.

¹⁸⁹ Letzter, 142; Godet, 1: 98;

maestro.¹⁹⁰ Nonetheless, she maintained an acquaintance with Boetzelaer's famous teacher, Francesco Pasquale Ricci, and possibly studied with him while still in Holland.¹⁹¹ Yet it was not until 1784 that Belle wrote her first complete opera libretto, *L'Incognito*.¹⁹²

Initially, Charrière contemplated approaching some of the era's most renowned opera composers, including Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816) and Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801), asking them to set her text to music.¹⁹³ However, as time progressed, she grew concerned that these composers might struggle to translate her French text into musical form.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, Charrière ventured into composing the music herself, even though she lacked self-confidence.¹⁹⁵ Undeterred, she sought guidance from the Italian composer Nicola Antonio Zingarelli (1752–1837) and earnestly studied composition, focusing mainly on orchestration and recitative.¹⁹⁶ Charrière and Zingarelli embarked on several collaborative projects,¹⁹⁷ including an opera based on Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* and two of her own libretti: *Les femmes* and *Zadig*.¹⁹⁸

During the decade between 1785 and 1795, Charrière's unwavering commitment to music reached unparalleled heights.¹⁹⁹ In a heartfelt letter from 1786, addressed to her brother Vincent van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1747–1794), she passionately expresses her devotion to composition, recounting a period of eighteen months during which she dedicated six to ten hours each day to her harpsichord in a passionate frenzy of creativity and composition.²⁰⁰ Her collaboration with a young German musician made this intense period of inventiveness possible.²⁰¹ Together, they composed over a dozen harpsichord

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ See the letter she wrote to her brother while she was visiting England during the winter of 1766–1767. "Letter 0267: Belle de Zuylen à son frère Ditie van Tuyll, 2 Mars 1767." (Transcription) Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis en cultuur. Ricci now suddenly emerges as a connection linking Charrière and Boetzelaer in The Hague, emphasizing the organic nature of my research.

¹⁹² Letzter, 148.

¹⁹³ Godet, 1: 409. In the end, Cimarosa did lend his musical craftsmanship to two of the arias. Letzter, 132.

¹⁹⁴ Letzter, 153.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 149–153.

¹⁹⁶ Godet, 1: 410–415.

¹⁹⁷ Regrettably, these collaborations did not achieve the desired success, and Charrière faced significant challenges in being recognized as a serious opera composer. Letzter, 158–161.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 161–163.

¹⁹⁹ For example, she spent a vibrant eighteen months residing in Paris, immersing herself in the flourishing opera scene and dedicating her time to composition, in 1786–1787. Ibid., 153–157.

²⁰⁰ "... six ou huit ou dix heures à mon clavecin. Ce n'est pas un goût, c'est une fureur. Tous les jours je fais un menuet, un allegro ou un andante. Je vous écris dans mon lit. Dès que je serai levée, je jouerai et noterai un air que j'ai chanté dix fois avant de me mettre à écrire avec ces seules paroles pour m'inspirer: *Perdone amate Nice* d'une cantate de Metastasio, dont je ne sais que le sens, le motif général et cela." Isabelle de Charrière, "Letter 0586: Isabelle de Charrière à son frère Vincent van Tuyll, 9 Novembre 1786." (Transcription) Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis en cultuur.

²⁰¹ Johann Christoph Vogel (1756–1788), noted as Johann Christiann Vogel in the transcription.

sonatas and violin trios, showcasing Charrière's talent and her tireless efforts in composition and harmony.²⁰² Her profuse imagination even surprised her teacher, Florido Tomeoni (1755–1820), whose enthusiasm paralleled her own.²⁰³

By 1795, a noticeable decline in Charrière's health marked the conclusion of her prolific musical and creative endeavors.²⁰⁴ In 1805, Belle de Charrière died at sixty-five in Le Pontet.²⁰⁵ She had fallen into a coma two days earlier, leaving her husband in profound grief.²⁰⁶ She left her letters and manuscripts in her will to Henriette L'Hardy (1768–1808),²⁰⁷ her close friend who was with her during her final days and with whom she had exchanged over 160 letters.²⁰⁸

Isabelle de Charrière exerted significant influence for various reasons, primarily due to her roles as a writer, composer, and correspondent during the late Enlightenment and the French Revolution.²⁰⁹ Like many others, her musical contributions were erased during the nineteenth century.²¹⁰ However, contemporary biographers have endeavored to rectify this oversight by consolidating all compositions from eighteenth-century women

²⁰² “Depuis dix-huit mois cette passion m’occupe, depuis sept mois je ne fais autre chose, ayant pour cela le plus admirable secours dans la personne d’un jeune compositeur allemand. On a gravé de moi, ou de nous, neuf sonates de clavecin, on en grave six autres, il y en a plusieurs encore à graver, et je viens de faire des trios de violon. On m’a aidée et corrigée et les basses ne sont pas de moi, mais chemin faisant, composant, questionnant, écoutant, jugeant, choisissant, j’ai appris passablement l’harmonie.” Ibid. In 1783, Charrière published three collections of keyboard sonatas, each consisting of three sonatas. However, it remains uncertain whether the remaining six sonatas and violin trios were ever made available to the public. See Isabelle de Charrière, *Trois sonates pour le clavecin ou piano-forte*, op. 3 (Paris: LeDuc, 1783).

²⁰³ “Tous les jours je fais mieux et avec moins de secours. Mon maître est surpris de l’abondance de mon imagination, et s’amuse presque autant que moi.” Ibid. In 1789, at the beginning of the French Revolution, Charrière released a collection of short keyboard songs with the character of the national anthem and accompanied by a bass instrument, a popular genre of the time. See Isabelle de Charrière, *Airs et romances avec accompagnement de clavecin* (Paris: Bonjour, 1789). Also in 1789, Charrière dedicated a set of six minuets for a string quartet to her brother. See Cecil P. Courtney, *Isabelle de Charrière (Belle de Zuylen): A Biography* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993), 437.

²⁰⁴ Given the abundance of biographies that detail Charrière's companions, correspondence, and creations, I will not elaborate on those aspects.

²⁰⁵ Godet, 2: 335–396.

²⁰⁶ Whatley, “The Engaged Life of a Quiet Man,” 21.

²⁰⁷ [Excerpt, Isabelle de Charrière's Last Will and Testament] “M^{lle} Henriette L’Hardy rangera et brûlera mes papiers particuliers comme bon il lui semblera, gardant, donnant, brûlant, sans que personne y ait rien à voir.” (Quoted) Godet, 2: 380.

²⁰⁸ To access all the correspondence between Charrière and L’Hardy, please use the search box on the *Brieven van Belle van Zuylen* website and enter the keyword “L’Hardy.”

²⁰⁹ Currently, her endeavors have become the subject of extensive exploration in British, American, Dutch, and French feminist research. The Association Madame de Charrière website offers a comprehensive publication inventory (link in the bibliography.)

²¹⁰ Her works were misattributed to Sophie de Charrière and the incorrect designation persisted. Marius Flothuis, “An Unexpected Source of Musical Information: The Correspondence of Belle Van Zuylen (1740—1805),” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 27, no. 1 (1980): 33, Isabelle de Charrière never published a work under the name of “Sophie.” Although the three sets of *Trois Sonates* were published anonymously, similar to Josina van Boetzelaer’s first published work, it is worth noting that both composers used their legal names on all other musical compositions.

with the Charrière surname under the unified entry of Isabelle de Charrière.²¹¹ This instance highlights the urgent need for continued research into eighteenth-century female composers, a quest that holds paramount importance for scholars such as myself and others in similar pursuits.

As a tribute to Isabelle de Charrière’s enduring legacy, the Belgian astronomer Eric Walter Elst named asteroid number 9604 the *Bellevanzuylen* on December 30, 1991.²¹² Additionally, in 2005, Utrecht’s city council proposed the construction of the Belle van Zuylen Tower—a magnificent structure symbolizing the greatness of one of the city’s most prominent figures.²¹³ Regrettably, economic constraints rendered the project unviable, leaving its vision unrealized.²¹⁴

Charrière and Boetzelaer

Isabelle de Charrière and Josina van Boetzelaer are linked by a subtle yet tangible connection through their shared birthright and court affiliations, although the available evidence is limited. Nevertheless, a letter Charrière wrote to her trusted confidant, David-Louis Constant d’Hermenches (1722–1785), sheds some light on the matter.²¹⁵ Charrière casually mentions Boetzelaer’s wedding in this correspondence, subtly hinting at the couple’s esteemed status among The Hague’s elite.²¹⁶ This perspective is further supported by Dutch musicologist Helen Metzelaar, who argues that Charrière’s letter provides evidence of the couple’s prominence within the region.²¹⁷

Captain van den Boetzelaer is finally going to marry Miss van Voshol [Josina]. These ladies-in-waiting are very pleased when they find a man after years of boredom with their princess.²¹⁸ It is not a great marriage from a financial point of view, but one can paint and the other can dance minuets. The mother and sister are in despair.²¹⁹

²¹¹ To explore the discourse surrounding the misattribution of female composers in the eighteenth century such as Isabelle de Charrière, please refer to Letzter, 132–134.

²¹² List of asteroids numbered 9501 to 10000. <https://www.astro.com/swisseph/astlist.htm>.

²¹³ Han Lörzing, “Visions of Belle van Zuylen,” *Research in Urbanism Series*, no. 2 (2011): 304.

²¹⁴ Lörzing, “Visions of Belle van Zuylen,” 314.

²¹⁵ Isabelle de Charrière, “Letter 0309: Belle de Zuylen au baron Constant d’Hermenches, 11 Juillet 1768.”

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Metzelaar, “Dutch Woman Composer,” 6.

²¹⁸ Josina had been lady-in-waiting for Princess Anna of Hanover and later to Ann’s daughter Princess Wilhelmine Carolina of Orange-Nassau. She was 35 years old when she married Carel de Baron van Boetzelaer (1727–1803), an unusually late age in which to get married at this time. Interestingly, Belle, too, married at a relatively advanced age of 31.

²¹⁹ “M. de Boetzelaer le capitaine, épouse enfin Mlle De Voshol. Ces filles d’honneur sont fort contentes quand elles trouvent un mari après s’être longtemps ennuyées avec leurs princesses. Ce mariage

The interconnectedness of Charrière and Boetzelaer is further emphasized by their mutual association with the Italian instructor, Francesco Pasquale Ricci.²²⁰ It is worth noting that Charrière may have a potential connection to Genovieffa Ravissa, our next subject, as they resided in close proximity in Switzerland. Moreover, Ravissa played a significant role as a harpsichord instructor to one of Charrière’s relatives, thus strengthening the ties that bind these two female musicians.²²¹ The interplay of these relationships adds complexity to the intertwined narratives of their lives and artistic endeavors.

1.6 Genovieffa Bernardina Maria Vignola Ravissa (c1745–1807)

My first encounter with the name “Mme Ravissa, Italian singer, keyboard player, teacher, and composer” occurred within the pages of the *Norton/Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*.²²² Despite the brevity of her entry, it piqued my curiosity. Like Isabelle de Charrière, the historical evidence surrounding Genovieffa Ravissa’s musical contributions is negligible. However, she was quite popular during her lifetime, and her success as an educator was particularly noteworthy. Nonetheless, much of her presence faded into obscurity. Fortunately, music pedagogue Claudia Schweitzer brought Ravissa out from the shadows. Schweitzer’s diligent efforts have illuminated the enigmatic figure known as “Madame Ravissa de Turin,” unearthing a wealth of previously unknown information.²²³

Genovieffa Bernardina Maria Vignola, commonly called Madame Ravissa, was

n’est pas brillant pour la fortune, mais l’un sait peindre et l’autre danser des menuets. La mère et la sœur sont au désespoir.” Charrière, “Letter 0309: Belle de Zuylen au baron Constant d’Hermences.” (Transcription and translation) Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis en cultuur.

²²⁰ As aspiring academics delve into the lives of Charrière and Boetzelaer, a compelling avenue for scholarly inquiry arises in the exploration of the nuanced dynamics of their relationship. Were they mere acquaintances in formal social contexts, or did their interactions extend beyond superficial exchanges to encompass discussions on music and composition? Conducting a thorough investigation into the nature and depth of their connection may yield valuable insights into their individual musical trajectories and the reciprocal influences they had on each other.

²²¹ The potential link between Charrière and Ravissa is discussed in the next section.

²²² Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel, eds., *The Norton/Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 385.

²²³ Claudia Schweitzer embarked on an extensive investigation into the life and oeuvre of Madame Ravissa in 2004–2005. This dedicated pursuit culminated in the publication of a book, along with a range of articles and other publications. Schweitzer’s commitment to preserving Ravissa’s legacy has also extended to digital platforms and well-respected websites such as *MUGI: Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung*, *Sophie Drinker Institut: Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, and *Musica et Memoria*. Moreover, Schweitzer’s research took a melodic form as well. She established a YouTube channel where she performed nine of Ravissa’s harpsichord sonatas, giving voice to a musician who had long been silenced. Through Schweitzer’s research, publications, and musical interpretations, Genovieffa Ravissa’s narrative has been unveiled and given the recognition it rightfully deserves.

born in Turin between 1745 and 1750.²²⁴ Her parents, Giovanni Vignola (n.d.) and Gioanna Battista Colombatta (n.d.) had connections to the royal court through Giovanni's role as a "Pittore in miniatura" under the service of Charles-Emmanuel III, Duke of Savoy (1701–1773).²²⁵ This familial association with the court may have allowed Madame Ravissa to receive a musical education.²²⁶ However, concrete evidence supporting this claim remains elusive and warrants further investigation.

Schweitzer's research findings indicate that Ravissa's life primarily centered around secular music, suggesting that her musical education likely emphasized secular themes and genres.²²⁷ However, despite the abundance of musicians in Turin at this time, historical records regarding compositions, pupils, and teaching methodologies are limited.²²⁸ This lack of documentation poses a formidable challenge when attempting to identify a specific musician who may have served as young Genovieffa's instructor.²²⁹ Nevertheless, consistent with the social conventions of the era, it is highly likely that she received training in harpsichord and singing.²³⁰

In 1764, Genovieffa married Cristofaro Domenico Biaggio Ravissa (n.d.), a Turin-based goldsmith who had assumed control of his father's struggling business three years earlier.²³¹ The marriage failed to bring financial stability, as Cristofaro had inherited his father's unresolved debts, which steadily accumulated over the years.²³² Consequently, the family found themselves left with no alternative but to liquidate their

²²⁴ In her extensive discussion, Schweitzer shares the challenges she encountered while attempting to uncover Ravissa's origins. See Claudia Schweitzer and Kerstin Hartge, "Madame Ravissa de Turin: a Forgotten Woman Composer of the 18th Century," *Early Music* 32, no. 3 (2004): 429–430; and Claudia Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa, femme compositeur du XVIIIe siècle," *Musica et Memoria*.

²²⁵ Ibid. A "Pittore in miniatura" is an Italian term that translates to "miniature painter" in English. Miniature painting is a traditional art form that involves creating small, detailed paintings, often on a very small scale. These paintings can be highly intricate and are typically done with fine brushes and great attention to detail. See the history at Victoria and Albert Museum, "Portrait miniatures at the V&A."

²²⁶ It is worth highlighting that during this period, Turin was a thriving hub of musical activity within Northern Italy. Moreover, Turin's proximity to France and its interconnected royal relationships facilitated an unceasing exchange of cultural influences between Savoy and Paris. Letzter, 151; and Schweitzer and Hartge, "Madame Ravissa de Turin," 430. Undoubtedly, these interactions would have substantially impacted Madame Ravissa's life and her compositions.

²²⁷ Schweitzer and Hartge, "Madame Ravissa de Turin," 430.

²²⁸ See a list of likely candidates in Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Torino."

²²⁹ Schweitzer and Hartge, 430. The absence of thorough and complete data accentuates the intricate nature of reconstructing the lives of numerous historical figures, leading to speculation and the creation of potential narratives.

²³⁰ The eighteenth century was marked by societal norms that imposed restrictions on the musical instruments accessible to girls and women. Ibid., 432.

²³¹ This union yielded at least four children: Francesca Margarite (1768), Francesco Bernardino (1770), Carlo Vittorio (1774), Margarita Clotilda (1776). Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Torino."

²³² Schweitzer and Hartge, 432.

entire estate, including their home and business premises, in 1777.²³³

The following year, Ravissa debuted at the prestigious Concert Spirituel in Paris, performing two Italian arias—*Voi ben sapete, oh Dio!* by Pasquale Anfossi (1727–1797) and *Chi m'addita* composed by Antonio Sacchini (1730–1786).²³⁴ Her interpretation of the arias was met with success,²³⁵ leading to subtle recognition in the *Journal de Paris* on March 27, 1778.²³⁶ Ravissa's musical abilities as a composer were also recognized during this same year when she published her *Six Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Fortè-Piano*, op. 1, recorded in the *Mercure de France*.²³⁷ According to the *Almanach Musical de Paris*, Ravissa's sonatas radiated brilliance, distinguished by daring modulations that more conservative composers might approach with caution.²³⁸ Simultaneously, her stature as a distinguished instructor thrived, with press reviews praising her outstanding teaching abilities.²³⁹

Madame Ravissa's intrinsic charm and genuine sincerity endeared her to the Parisian community, kindling a strong desire from the public for her to establish a permanent presence in the city.²⁴⁰ However, in 1780, the family departed Paris and relocated once again to Turin.²⁴¹ Following their return, Cristofaro Ravissa reestablished

²³³ Ibid. The public deed recording the sale is held at Archivio di Stato Torino, Insinuazione Torino 1777, Libro 5, "Ravissa — Vendita mobile di Cristoffaro Ravizza @ 149."

²³⁴ These two arias held a unique status, as they had not yet integrated into the standard repertoire in Paris. This was primarily attributed to the notable absence of the French version of the corresponding opera, "Il Gran Cidde," authored by Antonio Sacchini, which had not yet been introduced to the Parisian scene. Schweitzer and Hartge, 432. In this same year, another subject of my research, Luísa Aguiar Todi (1753–1833), also made her debut at the Concert Spirituel held at the Château des Tuileries. Their simultaneous presence in Paris continued for the following two years, indicating a period of shared activity. Given these circumstances, it is reasonable to suggest that Ravissa and Todi may have crossed paths and developed a level of acquaintance. Schweitzer and Hartge, 433.

²³⁵ Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Paris."

²³⁶ "L'air d'Anfossi *Voi ben Sapete, oh Die!* & celui de Sacchini *Chi m'addita* qui ont été chantés avant-hier au Concert Spirituel, sont partie de la Collection manuscrite d'Airs Italiens, dont on peut se procurer des copies au Bureau du Journal de Musique, rue Montmartre, vis-à-vis celle des vieux Augustins. Cette Collection s'est enrichie depuis que nous l'avons annoncée & s'enrichit tous les jours de tout ce qu'il y a de plus précieux & de plus rare en ce genre." *Journal de Paris* (March 27, 1778): 343.

²³⁷ "Six Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Fortè-Piano; par Madame Ravissa de Turin, Maîtresse de Clavecin & de Chant Italien; Œuvre I. Prix 6 liv. A Paris, au Bureau du Journal de Musique, rue Montmartre vis-à-vis celle des vieux Augustins; & chez l'Auteur, rue Saint André-des-Arts, vis-à-vis la rue Gît le Cœur, Maison de M. Milon." *MF*, vols. 2–3 (1778): 182–183.

²³⁸ "Ces Sonates sont brillantes, & l'on y remarque de ces transitions hardies que les Italiens aiment, & que nos timides Compositeurs n'osent pas se permettre. Le caractere & l'honnêteté de Madame Ravissa, ses talents & le succès des leçons qu'elle donne depuis quelques mois dans cette Capitale, sont désirer à tous ceux qui la connoissent qu'il soit possible de l'y fixer." (DT) Charles Joseph Mathon de la Cour, Luneau de Boisjerman, and Pierre Joseph François, eds., *Almanach Musical*, vols. 3–4 (1775–1783) (Genève: Minkoff Reprints, 1972), 301 [77 / 727].

²³⁹ Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Paris."

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Schweitzer and Hartge, 433.

his business ties, and in June of the same year, Madame Ravissa graced the stage with a harpsichord concert.²⁴² The couple soon separated, leading to Genovieffa Ravissa's relocation to Neuchâtel, Switzerland, while their children remained under their father's care in Turin.²⁴³

Madame Ravissa swiftly established herself as a highly respected figure in Neuchâtel, renowned for her talents in singing and harpsichord instruction among the city's aristocracy.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, she held a distinguished position as the sole female harpsichordist in the Neuchâtel Société de la Salle de Musique during the concert season of 1781–1782.²⁴⁵ Despite the limited details available about her eleven-year sojourn in Neuchâtel, it is evident that her popularity equaled, if not surpassed, the admiration she received during her time in Paris.²⁴⁶ This sentiment is exemplified by the gracious letter of commendation she received from the city's four governing ministers upon her departure in 1792, affirming the regard in which she was held.²⁴⁷ Although Ravissa initially desired to relocate to Madrid, she eventually settled in Lausanne and resumed teaching by the end of 1792.²⁴⁸ Madame Genovieffa Ravissa passed away in Lausanne on February 20, 1807.²⁴⁹

Compositionally, Ravissa's harpsichord sonatas exude a charming quality. However, her true significance seems to lie primarily in her revolutionary role as an

²⁴² Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Neuchâtel."

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Schweitzer and Hartge, 435–436. During that period, the city formed a part of Prussia, but its contemporary status is that of a French-speaking region within Switzerland. This historical context establishes a subtle yet intriguing link with Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786). Noteworthy for his role as a musician and connoisseur, Frederick II frequently engaged foreign musicians, adding an intriguing layer to the narrative. Delving further, it would indeed be captivating to ascertain whether he extended an invitation to Ravissa, potentially summoning her to his court and thereby intertwining their paths.

²⁴⁵ The Neuchâtel Société de la Salle de Musique was a unique orchestra composed of accomplished amateur musicians, enriched by the addition of seasoned professionals. orchestra of talented amateurs and supplemented by professionals. During her tenure in Neuchâtel, Ravissa entered into a romantic relationship with Frédéric Scheel, an employee of the affluent and influential Pourtalès family, resulting in the birth of their daughter, Frédérique-Eliza (1788). Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Neuchâtel."

²⁴⁶ Schweitzer and Hartge, 436.

²⁴⁷ "Dame Geneviève Ravizza née Vignola de Turin, maîtresse de clavecin et donnant des leçons de chant, demeurant depuis passé onze ans dans cette ville, laquelle nous a exposé que voulant se rendre à la satisfaction de tous ceux qui ont profité de son enseignement, c'est avec regret qu'on la voit quitter cette ville où elle était utile et où l'on aurait souhaité qu'il lui eut convenu de rester plus longtemps ; à ces causes nous la recommandons à la bienveillance des personnes de qui elle pourrait réclamer les bons offices sous offre de réciprocité en pareil cas." (Facsimile, transcription, and translation) Ibid., 435–436.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 436.

²⁴⁹ "Geneviève Vignola, Veuve de Frédéric Ravizza, de Turin Département du Pô, décédée à l'âge de cinquante ans le vendredi 20e Février 1807, a été inhumée le Dimanche 22e Février dit, au Cimetière de Saint Laurent." Registre des décès, 1803–1815, Eb 71/49, p. 163. Archives de la ville de Lausanne. [Parish registers]. (Transcription) Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Lausanne."

entrepreneurial music teacher rather than a trailblazing composer.²⁵⁰ Among the intriguing enigmas surrounding this fascinating musician is the curious journey that led the sole surviving copy of her sonatas to find a home in the private collection of Emperor Franz II (1768–1835) in Vienna.²⁵¹ One might presume that a city where she resided would have been a more likely repository. Uncharted networks await discovery, hinting at a narrative that remains far from complete.

Ravissa and Charrière

Isabelle de Charrière and her husband moved to Le Pontet in Colombier, near Neuchâtel, after their wedding in 1771. Therefore, it is plausible that Charrière and Ravissa had some level of acquaintance, or at the very least, were familiar with each other's reputation. This assumption gains credibility because Genovieffa Ravissa settled in Neuchâtel in 1780, earning considerable respect as a distinguished performer and educator. Furthermore, when Madame Ravissa relocated to Lausanne in 1792, she taught harpsichord and singing to Angletine de Charrière de Sèvery (1770–1848), the daughter of an illustrious Lausanne family²⁵² and connected to Isabelle de Charrière through marriage.²⁵³ This additional connection adds another layer of complexity to the potential relationship between the two musicians.²⁵⁴

— Enhancing the network with secondary connections

Isabelle de Charrière's map in Figure 1.9 highlights her connections within the database, particularly emphasizing her strong ties to the cities where she resided. This geographical overlay serves as a foundational element for further network delineation, illustrating how location played a crucial role in shaping artistic and intellectual exchanges.

²⁵⁰ As previously noted, Schweitzer established a YouTube channel through which she shared her performances of Ravissa's harpsichord sonatas, op. 1. Claudia Schweitzer, "Ravissa, G.: *5 Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Forte Piano*, vol. 1." See Claudia Schweitzer, harpsichord. Nine YouTube videos, 65:12 (October 1, 2009.)

²⁵¹ Schweitzer and Hartge, 429, 438: no. 1.

²⁵² Schweitzer, "Sur les traces de Geneviève Ravissa: Lausanne."

²⁵³ Danièle Tosato-Rigo, "Charlotte, Angletine, Catherine...: Le journal comme instrument de socialisation à l'ère des salons," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, no. 35 (2012): 192.

²⁵⁴ Interestingly, Angletine diligently recorded her harpsichord and singing lessons with Ravissa in her diary, along with documenting the various concerts, dinners, and other social events they attended together. Above all, she chronicled the numerous recitals Ravissa presented within the exclusive salons of the nobility. Schweitzer and Hartge, 436.

Similarly, Genovieffa Ravissa's most significant affiliations in Figure 1.10 are concentrated within the cities where she lived and worked. However, her network extends beyond these primary locations through potential connections with Isabelle de Charrière and Luísa Todi, further strengthening her place within the broader musical landscape. However, her association with Franz II is somewhat tenuous, given the curious circumstances surrounding his acquisition of her work.²⁵⁵

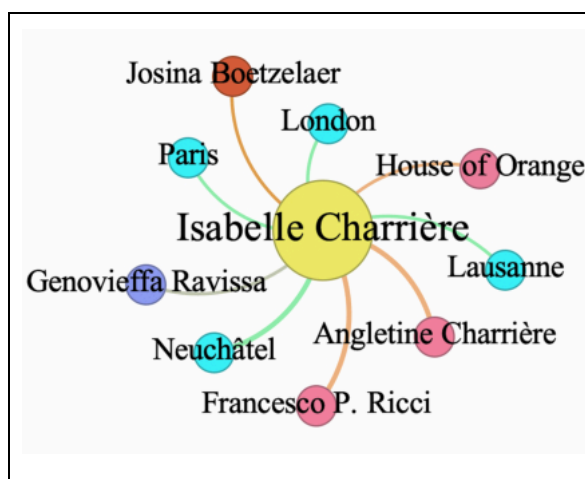


Fig. 1.9. Isabelle Charrière network

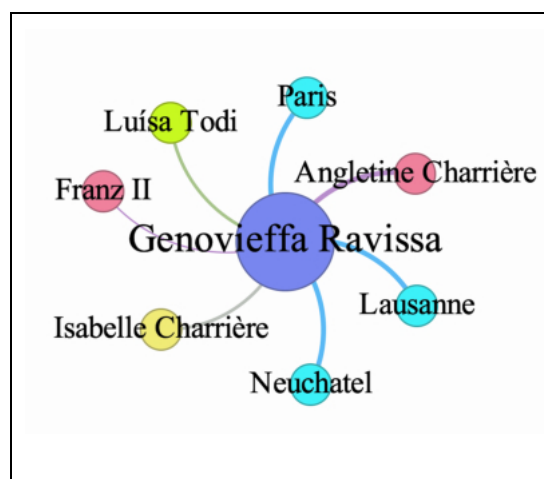


Fig. 1.10. Genovieffa Ravissa network

Integrating Isabelle de Charrière into the network in Figures 1.11 and 1.12 highlights the degrees of separation between Marianna Martines and Josina van Boetzelaer, ultimately uncovering a direct link between Boetzelaer and Charrière and from Charrière to Ravissa. This mapping underscores how female musicians from geographically distant regions were connected through shared cultural and musical networks, illustrating the far-reaching influence of these relationships across borders.

These burgeoning clusters within the network converge under the influence of Francesco Pasquale Ricci, who serves as a crucial intermediary linking these three highly accomplished musicians. His role as a liaison underscores the intricate web of professional and artistic relationships that shaped their careers. Tracing these connections gives us deeper insight into how women composers and performers navigated and contributed to the European musical landscape, often operating within male-dominated spheres while forging their own artistic paths.

²⁵⁵ To illustrate Ravissa's connections, Gephi dynamically adjusts the network's shape, prioritizing direct ties while delineating the secondary and periphery linkages. As expected, the further a secondary subject is from the primary actor, the fewer shared connections exist. Nevertheless, incorporating a single actor into the network can lead to shifts in emerging patterns, signifying the fluidity of these intricate relationships.

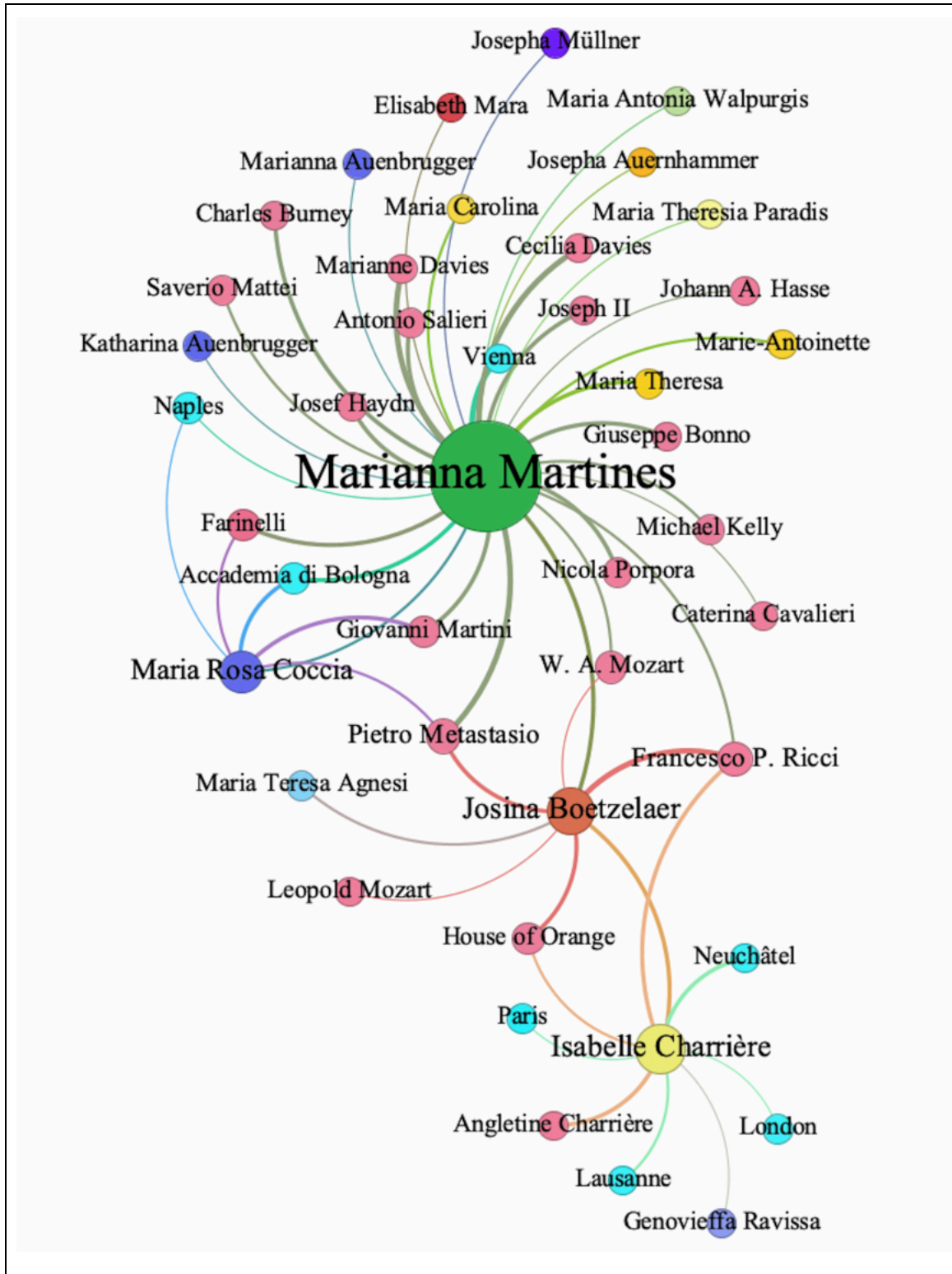


Fig. 1.11. Martines composite network with Isabelle Charrière

With the inclusion of Genovieffa Ravissa in the expanded map of Figure 1.12, the indirect relationships become more visible, revealing a network where secondary “friend of a friend” connections emerge as significant bridges across geographical and cultural boundaries.

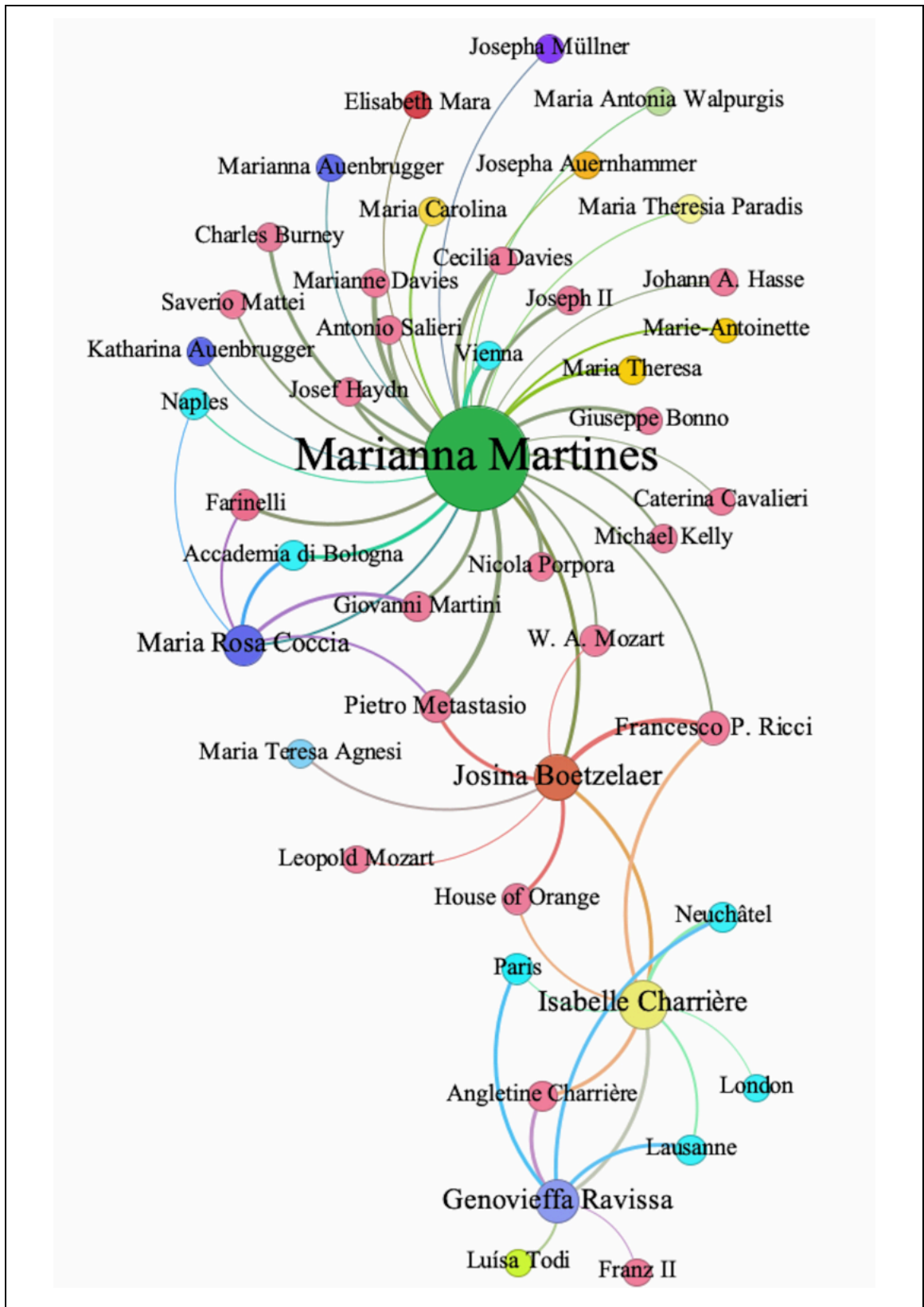


Fig. 1.12. Martines composite network with Genovieffa Ravissa

iii. *Defining secondary connections through Boetzelaer—*
Agnesi, Walpurgis

Exploring a new avenue of secondary connections requires us to shift our focus away from Isabelle Charrière and Genovieffa Ravissa. Instead, we will revisit Josina van Boetzelaer and her correspondence with Maria Teresa Agnesi. This trail leads us back to Maria Carolina and subsequently extends to Maria Antonia Walpurgis. By doing so, Walpurgis is categorized as a potential linkage to Martines, alongside other resident Viennese amateurs and a visiting professional. This positioning reveals a complex web of affiliations and possibilities.

1.7 **Maria Teresa Agnesi (1720–1795)**

Maria Teresa Agnesi, a distinguished Italian composer, harpsichordist, and singer, emerged from a background of minor nobility, enjoying a privileged upbringing that facilitated an exemplary education.²⁵⁶ Despite frequently being overshadowed by her sister, Maria Gaetana (1718–1799), a renowned mathematician,²⁵⁷ Maria Teresa’s own accomplishments were significant, firmly establishing her as a proficient musician and composer, skillfully producing chamber, theatrical, and orchestral music.²⁵⁸

Maria Teresa, the daughter of Pietro Agnesi (c1692–1752) and his first wife, Anna Fortunata Brivio (1699–1732),²⁵⁹ was the third child among a staggering twenty-one siblings.²⁶⁰ The Agnesi household flourished as a hub of scientific and literary discourse, providing a dynamic atmosphere that profoundly influenced Maria Teresa’s development.²⁶¹ Despite the unknown identity of her teachers, her natural inclination

²⁵⁶ Massimo Mazzotti, *The World of Maria Gaetana Agnesi, Mathematician of God* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 23–25. Mazzotti sheds light on the concept of “minor nobility” in a discussion of how the Agnesi family ascended to nobility and the nuanced distinction between acquiring a royal title and fully entering the realm of the aristocracy, *Ibid.*, 12–15.

²⁵⁷ The majority of information about Maria Teresa Agnesi is derived from her sister’s numerous biographies. Moreover, a simple Google search provides an abundance of scholarly resources dedicated to Maria Gaetana, celebrating her as the first woman to achieve recognition in the field of mathematics. In contrast, information about Maria Teresa is scarce, limited to a few connections related to “music by women” and a presence on a Facebook page. This discrepancy highlights the urgent need for greater recognition and exploration of Maria Teresa’s contributions within the wider musical landscape.

²⁵⁸ For a list of her compositions, see Carolyn Britton and Robert L. Kendrick, “Maria Teresa Agnesi (1720–1795),” in *WCMA*, ed. by Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York, NY: G.K. Hall & Co, 1996), 4: 9–10.

²⁵⁹ Geneanet, “Teresa Maria Gaetana Agnesi.”

²⁶⁰ Mazzotti, *The World of Maria Gaetana Agnesi*, 11–12.

²⁶¹ Mazzotti states that the conventional labels of “salon” or “academy” did not accurately capture the essence of the Agnesi gatherings, which were more aptly referred to as “conversaciones.” He further elaborates on this distinction, providing a vivid description of the ambiance and setting, *Ibid.*, 6–9.

toward music emerged early on, nurtured within this intellectually stimulating setting.²⁶²

Both Maria Teresa and Maria Gaetana commanded considerable esteem through the “conversazioni” organized within their home, attracting admiration from scholars and travelers alike.²⁶³ Noteworthy among these distinguished visitors was the celebrated French writer Charles de Brosses (1709–1777), who had the distinct privilege of participating in an Agnesi gathering in 1739.²⁶⁴ Corresponding with his confidant Jean Bouhier (1673–1746), he expressed his awe for Maria Gaetana as a literary phenomenon while also likening Maria Teresa’s harpsichord skills to those of Jean-Philippe Rameau.²⁶⁵

Brosses further attests to Maria Teresa’s skill, detailing how she performed with consummate skill on the harpsichord and favored the audience with her own musical compositions as an accompanist and vocalist.²⁶⁶ This insight into her abilities suggests that she had already begun composing vocal and keyboard pieces during her teenage years. Agnesi’s body of work extends to six theatrical compositions, a rich collection of keyboard and vocal arrangements, and pieces tailored for small ensembles.²⁶⁷

In the late 1740s, Agnesi embarked on a strategic initiative to promote her compositions to royal patrons across Europe.²⁶⁸ One notable example of her astute career acumen occurred in 1747 when she dedicated her pastoral cantata *Il Restauro d’Arcadia* to the Habsburg plenipotentiary Gian Luca Pallavicini (1697–1773), resulting in a performance at the prestigious Teatro Ducale in Milan.²⁶⁹ Continuing to capitalize on her growing success, Agnesi presented her opera, *La Sofonisba*, to the Habsburg monarch, Emperor Francis I (1708–1765), as a tribute to the name day of his wife, Empress Maria

²⁶² Britton and Kendrick, “Maria Teresa Agnesi,” 7.

²⁶³ Mazzotti, 5–8.

²⁶⁴ Mazzotti offers an illuminating perspective on Brosses’s visit to Milan and the circumstances that led him to participate in the Agnesi conversazione. *Ibid.*, 1–6.

²⁶⁵ “Je veux vous faire part, mon cher président, d’une espèce de phénomène littéraire dont je viens d’être témoin, et qui m’a paru *una cosa più stupenda* que le Dôme de Milan [...] Je viens de chez la signora Agnesi, où je vous avais dit hier que je devais aller. On m’a fait entrer dans un grand et bel appartement, où j’ai trouvé trente personnes de toutes les nations de l’Europe, rangées en cercle, et mademoiselle Agnesi, assise seul avec sa petite sœur, sur un canapé. [...] Après que nous eûmes causé, sa petite sœur joua sur le clavecin, comme Rameau, des pièces de Rameau et d’autres de sa propre composition, et chanta en s’accompagnant.” Charles de Brosses, *Le président de Brosses en Itali*, 2nd ed. (Librairie Académique, P. Didier et Cie, 1858), letter X, 1: 116.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁶⁷ Britton and Kendrick, 4: 9–10.

²⁶⁸ This calculated move significantly elevated her reputation and served as a catalyst for the heightened performance of her music.

²⁶⁹ The strategic dedication to a prominent figure within the Habsburg court stresses Agnesi’s awareness of the power of networking, foreshadowing her future accomplishments. See Mazzotti, 133. *Il Restauro d’Arcadia* is lost. Britton and Kendrick, 4: 9.

Theresa.²⁷⁰

Maria Teresa Agnesi's career thrived under the influential patronage of not just one but two female rulers. These figures, Empress Maria Theresa in Vienna and Maria Antonia Walpurgis (1724–1780) of Dresden were both fervent music enthusiasts and accomplished musicians themselves.²⁷¹ Their endorsement appears to have constituted a deliberate endeavor to cultivate women's involvement in the arts and sciences, reflecting their commitment to empowering women.²⁷²

Agnesi's career reached its pinnacle during the 1750s and 1760s. One of her most notable accomplishments was the opera seria *Ciro in Armenia*, a tribute to the Duc of Modena, Francesco III d'Este (1698–1780).²⁷³ This magnum opus was staged during the Milan Carnivale in 1754, cementing her position as a distinguished composer.²⁷⁴ In another key milestone, Agnesi created her opera *Insubria Consolata* in 1766, which adorned the matrimonial festivities of Maria Beatrice d'Este (1750–1829) and Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria-Este (1754–1806) in Milan.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, Agnesi's talent continued to shine in 1768 with the composition of the serenata *Ulisse in Campania*, celebrating the nuptials between Maria Carolina of Austria and Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies in Naples.²⁷⁶

Beyond her interactions with royalty, Agnesi's social circle encompassed other prominent musical figures. One noteworthy example is her involvement as a guest in an

²⁷⁰ See Maria Theresia Agnesi, *La Sofonisba* (Autograph, 1747–1748). Mazzotti offers a brief history of the political undercurrents that added depth to this work. Mazzotti, 133–134. Agnesi's strategic approach to her career allowed her to reach influential figures in European royalty, showcasing her talent and gaining recognition. By dedicating her compositions to prominent individuals, she secured performances at renowned venues, further establishing her reputation as a composer of note.

²⁷¹ Maria Antonia Walpurgis was widely recognized as a highly accomplished composer in her own right, particularly excelling in opera. These talents and her significant influence will be further explored in a subsequent section of this chapter, underpinning her stature as a prominent link in this network. I confess to some confusion regarding the collections of arias sent to both Empress Maria Theresa and Maria Antonia Walpurgis. Specifically, Maria Teresa Agnesi, *12 Arie con Instrumenti* (Autograph, 1748–1755). During the early 1740s, Agnesi presented a collection of twelve arias to Empress Maria Theresa as a gesture of admiration and respect. Mazzotti, 5–8. It is plausible that these arias may have been lost over time. However, while the above collection is dedicated to Walpurgis, there is a chance that they could also be the same ones sent to Maria Theresa, as another collection of arias is not recorded in Agnesi's list of compositions.

²⁷² Britton and Kendrick, 4: 7.

²⁷³ See Maria Teresa Agnesi, *Ciro in Armenia* (Manuscript, 1753). The original manuscript is conserved in Milan's Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi (I Mc). *Ciro in Armenia* is considered Agnesi's finest achievement. Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 224. For more information about the opera, see Sara Elisa Stangalino, "*Ciro in Armenia*" di Maria Teresa Agnesi (Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2015).

²⁷⁴ Britton and Kendrick, 4: 7.

²⁷⁵ See Maria Teresa Agnesi, *Insubria Consolata* (Autograph, 1776–1770).

²⁷⁶ See Maria Teresa Agnesi, *Ulisse in Campania* (Autograph, 1768).

event organized by Count Carlo di Firmian (1718–1782), the aristocratic patron of W. A. Mozart in Milan.²⁷⁷ Although Leopold Mozart, Wolfgang’s father, did not specifically mention Agnesi’s compositions, he did document the composer’s presence at the event.²⁷⁸ This event, organized in 1770 to honor the talents of the fourteen-year-old prodigy, provides a glimpse into Agnesi’s presence among eminent musicians.²⁷⁹ However, a curious historical footnote arises from Mozart’s documentation as he inadvertently noted her name as “Billotina Agnesi.”²⁸⁰ This intriguing detail adds a distinctive layer to the narrative, underscoring the idiosyncrasies of historical records.

In 1752, Pietro Antonio Pinottini (c1715–n.d.) proposed marriage to Agnesi, an offer she declined on her father’s counsel, owing to concerns about Pinottini’s financial stability.²⁸¹ However, a sequence of events unfolded when Pietro Agnesi passed away unexpectedly, believed to be due to a heart attack following a confrontation with Pinottini.²⁸² Maria Teresa and Pietro Pinottini married just three months later.²⁸³ Her father’s fears for her financial welfare appeared to be justified.²⁸⁴ By 1792, the Pinottinis were compelled to liquidate their personal belongings, including clothing and furniture, to settle their debts.²⁸⁵ Pietro died a year later, and surviving letters illuminate that even with the assistance of her brother Giuseppe, Maria Teresa Agnesi Pinottini’s situation remained dire.²⁸⁶ She eventually succumbed to a high fever in Milan on January 19, 1795.²⁸⁷

Despite the hardships she faced, Agnesi’s legacy lives on. A lasting tribute to her

²⁷⁷ Dexter Edge, “Mozart and Count Firmian (Firmian’s letter of recommendation to Prince Doria Pamphilj, April 4, 1770),” in *Mozart: New Documents*, ed. by Dexter Edge and David Black, 2020 (updated 2023).

²⁷⁸ Leopold Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. by Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Heinz Eibl (Kassel, NY: Bärenreiter, 1962), 1:322.

²⁷⁹ See Edge, “Mozart and Count Firmian.”

²⁸⁰ Given the absence of any historical documentation about a composer named Billotina Agnesi active in Milan during that period, the reference seems to be directed toward Maria Teresa Agnesi. Britton and Kendrick, 4: 8.

²⁸¹ Antonio Francesco Frisi, ed., *Elogio storico di D.^a Maria Gaetana Agnesi....* (Milan: Presso Giuseppe Galeazzi, 1799), 67; and Britton and Kendrick, 4: 7.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 67–68.

²⁸³ The marriage, occurring amid the grieving period for her father, became a source of scandal. Mazzotti, 144. Indeed, Maria Teresa’s presence fades from the accounts of her sister’s biographers following the union. Britton and Kendrick, 4: 8.

²⁸⁴ The Cremona archives house multiple documents that provide evidence of the couple’s indebtedness can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Cremona, Albertoni, famiglia. A summary of the inventory can be accessed at Archivio di Stato di Cremona in the bibliography with the contents further discussed in Britton and Kendrick, 4: 7–8.

²⁸⁵ It remains unclear whether the couple endured financial difficulties throughout the entirety of the forty-year period between their marriage vows and eventual insolvency.

²⁸⁶ Archivio di Stato di Cremona, 54, 83; Britton and Kendrick, 4: 8.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

is embodied in her portrait, displayed at the Museo del Teatro alla Scala in Milan.²⁸⁸ Moreover, Milan commemorated her memory by dedicating a garden near Porta Romana in her name: Giardino Maria Teresa Agnesi.

Agnesi and Boetzelaer

Maria Teresa Agnesi's influence extended to her contemporary, Josina van Boetzelaer. In fact, Boetzelaer held Agnesi in such high regard that she dedicated her *Raccolta d'arie sciolte con sinfonia*, op. 2 to the composer in 1780.²⁸⁹ This dedication speaks volumes about Agnesi's profound impact on her peers and the respect she garnered, transcending regional boundaries.

Most honored Madam. In your footsteps, shown to me by Signor Ricci, one of your famous chapel masters, I have been carefully pursuing your learned career for a long time. Your reward is the fame which your glorious name brings even to the most distant places; may my reward be that I can take pride in being one who can inalterably profess to be.²⁹⁰

Agnesi and the Habsburgs

Like Marianna Martines, Agnesi presented her compositions to members of the Habsburg family, specifically Maria Carolina and her mother, Empress Maria Theresa. As mentioned, Agnesi offered her opera, *Sofonisba*, to Francis I during the festivities commemorating Maria Theresa's name day in Vienna. The Empress's reception of Agnesi's music was nothing short of gracious. Historian Giammaria Mazzucchelli (1707–1765), an authority on the subject, attests to Maria Theresa's warm response to Agnesi's music while simultaneously praising her unique compositional style.²⁹¹ In a similar vein,

²⁸⁸ Discover La Scala Museum and Theater via a virtual tour. The link is in the bibliography.

²⁸⁹ Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 29.

²⁹⁰ "Ornatissima Dama. / Sulle vostr' orme addittemi dal Sig^r: Ricci, uno dé Celebri Vostri Maestri di Capella, seguo ansiosa almen da Lungi le vostre studiose traccie. Vostro Guiderdone é la fama, che porta il Glorioso vostro Nome né più stranieri Lidi; Il mio sia di poter vantarmi quale inalterabilmente mi professo." (Dedication page) Josina van Boetzelaer, *Raccolta d'arie sciolte con sinfonia*, ed. by Helen Metzelaar (Utrecht: KVNMM, 2007). (Quoted and translated) Metzelaar, "Dutch Woman Composer," 29. In order to further our understanding of this connection, future research endeavors could explore numerous promising avenues. One particularly intriguing path involves delving into the teachings of Francesco Pasquale Ricci and conducting a comparative analysis of the two women's work to ascertain the full extent of Agnesi's influence. Additionally, it would be fascinating to discover Agnesi's reaction to this dedication.

²⁹¹ "Maria Teresa si distingue in modo particolare nella cognizione della Musica, nella quale è la maraviglia de' più rinomati Professori ed intendenti; perciocchè non solamente nel suono del Gravicembalo vien giudicato da' più celebri Professori di tal arte ch' ella non abbia pari in Europa, ma compone essa con tale idea, gusto, intelligenza, ed espressione di parole, con tale novità di stile, e con tali motivi, per parlare co' nomi dell'Arte, da sorprenderne chicchessia. E ben chiara prova di tutto ciò è l'accettazione con la quale è stato accolto ed onorato di pregiatissimi segni d'aggradimento dalla Regnante Imperadrice Maria

Agnesi composed and offered a serenata, *Ulisse in Campania*, to honor the union of Ferdinand I to Maria Carolina.²⁹²

Agnesi and Walpurgis

Despite her Milanese residence, Maria Teresa Agnesi maintained a wide-reaching network of connections that even extended to Dresden's royal family through her association with Maria Antonia Walpurgis. On November 29, 1739, Agnesi had the honor of meeting Walpurgis's future husband, Prince Friedrich Christian (1722–1763), when he visited the Agnesi home.²⁹³ In 1749, Agnesi further strengthened the connection by dedicating a collection of chamber arias to Walpurgis. Walpurgis acknowledged this gesture in a letter of gratitude to Agnesi's sister, Maria Gaetana.²⁹⁴

1.8 Maria Antonia Walpurgis (1724–1780)

Maria Antonia Walpurgis epitomized the concept of a Renaissance woman.²⁹⁵ She held distinguished titles as Princess of Bavaria and the Electress of Saxony, but her talents extended far beyond her royal status.²⁹⁶ Maria Antonia excelled as a composer, musician, poet, librettist, artist, and arts patron.²⁹⁷ Born in the lavish Nymphenburg Palace in 1724,²⁹⁸ she was the daughter of Charles VII (1697–1745), the Elector of Bavaria and later Holy Roman

Teresa il Libro de' suoi Componimenti alla medesima presentato, e la sua Musica del Dramma della Sofonisba al vivente Imperador consecrato." (DT) Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia ...* (Brescia: Bossini, 1753), 200–201.

²⁹² Ongoing research endeavors seek to uncover whether Agnesi and Maria Carolina engaged in further forms of communication.

²⁹³ Mazzotti, 20–21.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 121. The letter is held at the Biblioteca Pinacoteca Accademia Ambrosiana, "Lettera a Maria Gaetana, Dresda 24 Agosto 1749, inc. Mademoiselle Agnesi." The exchange raises an intriguing inquiry into the nature of their relationship: Did Agnesi ever journey to Dresden, or did Walpurgis venture to Milan? Moreover, did the two accomplished female musicians ever meet in person, or were their interactions confined to their mutual recognition and respective reputations?

²⁹⁵ A "Renaissance woman" refers to a woman who possesses a diverse range of skills, talents, and knowledge across various fields, similar to the polymaths of the Renaissance period in Europe (14th–17th centuries). See Jill Burke, *How to be a Renaissance Woman: The Untold History of Beauty & Female Creativity* (London: Wellcome Collection, 2023). It is important to note that the term has evolved over time and can be subject to individual interpretation. While the historical concept was limited by the societal roles and opportunities available to women during the Renaissance, the modern interpretation emphasizes a person's multidimensional skills.

²⁹⁶ According to Charles Burney, "This princess [Walpurgis] is celebrated all over Europe for her talents, and the progress she has made in the arts, of which she is a constant protectress. Her highness is a poetess, a paintress, and so able a musician, that she plays, sings, and composes, in a manner which Dilettanti seldom arrive at. She has, among other things, written in Italian, two operas, which she has herself set to music." Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 1: 127.

²⁹⁷ In *Sovereign Feminine*, Head explores Walpurgis's role as Burney's muse. Head, 42–47.

²⁹⁸ For details about the Schlossanlage Nymphenburg, please refer to its official website link found in the bibliography.

Emperor, and Archduchess Maria Amalia of Austria (1751–1756).²⁹⁹

Maria Antonia's upbringing was marked by a strong emphasis on education, which enabled her to acquire a vast amount of knowledge.³⁰⁰ She mastered multiple languages, including German, Italian, French, and Latin, as well as mathematics, science, music, and literature.³⁰¹ Italian culture and music held a special place in her heart, leading her to study harpsichord with Giovanni Porta (1675–1755) and voice and composition with opera composer Giovanni Battista Ferrandini (1710–1791).³⁰² Her training began early, and at sixteen, Walpurgis demonstrated her prodigious singing skills by assuming the shepherdess “Irene” role in one of Ferrandini's pastorals.³⁰³

In 1747, Walpurgis's life took a significant turn as she married her cousin and future Electorate, Friedrich Christian, leading her to a new chapter in Dresden.³⁰⁴ Her husband's father, Augustus III (1696–1763), was renowned for his deep appreciation of music and spared no expense in nurturing his musical passions and supporting exceptional artists.³⁰⁵ Under his patronage, Dresden emerged as a prominent music center, providing an ideal environment for Walpurgis's creative aspirations to flourish.³⁰⁶ This vibrant artistic milieu attracted prominent figures who enriched the city's music scene, including Nicola Porpora³⁰⁷ and Johann Adolf Hasse, both close friends of

²⁹⁹ Carl von Weber, *Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Churfürstin zu Sachsen, geb. kaiserliche Prinzessin in Bayern*, 2 vols. (Dresden: Teubner, 1857), 1: 1.

³⁰⁰ Apart from Burney's praise in no. 275, her library in Dresden held books in French, German, Italian, English, Latin, and Spanish, covering a wide variety of subjects. See April Lynn James, *The Tenth Muse: How Maria Antonia Advanced the Pastoral Opera* (Self-published, 2023), 23.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁰² For a comprehensive exploration of her musical influences, see James, *The Tenth Muse*, 39–52.

³⁰³ Eva Neumayr, “Maria Antonia Electress of Saxony,” *MUGI: Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung*, ed. by Beatrix Borchard, Nina Noeske, and Silke Wenzel, tr. by Trevor Picchanick, 2007 (updated 2018). All *MUGI* details and links are located in the bibliography.

³⁰⁴ Weber, *Maria Antonia Walpurgis*, 1: 29–37. In addition to her intellectual and creative pursuits, Maria Antonia gave birth to seven children between 1750 and 1761. Neumayr, “Maria Antonia Electress of Saxony: Biography,” par. 8.

³⁰⁵ The high caliber of performance settings available in Dresden exposed Walpurgis to exceptional artistic and cultural experiences. Janice B. Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. by Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 17–50.

³⁰⁶ Dresden offered Walpurgis a unique environment for intellectual and artistic growth, as it boasted a diverse cultural scene that included music, politics, and religion. The city's cultural richness presented her with a plethora of opportunities to expand her knowledge and talents. Estelle Joubert, “Performing Sovereignty, Sounding Autonomy: Political Representation in the Operas of Maria Antonia of Saxony,” *Music & Letters* 96, no. 3 (August 2015): 349.

³⁰⁷ While Walpurgis's singing abilities were likely already quite impressive, historical evidence suggests that she might have undertaken singing lessons from Nicola Porpora, who held the role of Kapellmeister in Dresden from 1748 until 1752. This is noteworthy as Porpora then relocated to Vienna, where he lived in the same building as Metastasio and became Marianna Martines's voice teacher. Weber, 1: 43; Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 20–21, 32–33. This connection highlights the interwoven network of musical mentorship during this era.

Metastasio, and Hasse's wife, the famous opera singer Faustina Bordoni (1697–1781).³⁰⁸

By the time Walpurgis moved to Dresden, she had already gained widespread acclaim for her writing skills.³⁰⁹ In Dresden, she further expanded her creative horizons to encompass librettos, collaborating with Hasse on her cantata, *Che ti diró Regina*, which she wrote under the pseudonym "Ermelinda Talea."³¹⁰ This composition secured her acceptance into the prestigious Accademia dell'Arcadia in Rome and initiated a fresh and exciting chapter in her artistic career.³¹¹ Before long, Walpurgis aspired to gain recognition and critical evaluation from the illustrious Metastasio.³¹² Their correspondence began in 1749 when Walpurgis initiated contact by submitting texts she had composed for two cantatas, *Lavinia* and *Didone abbandonata*.³¹³ Metastasio's evident appreciation of her work validated her literary aptitude, further igniting her artistic aspirations.³¹⁴

Empowered by Metastasio's praise, the Electress confidently entrusted him with her recently completed work, a pastoral play entitled *Il Trionfo della fedelta*, requesting his expertise to refine it.³¹⁵ However, his critique of the piece was so comprehensive and

³⁰⁸ Hasse's extensive tenure in Dresden extended over a period of thirty years. He married Bordoni in 1730. The couple were granted permanent positions, though they embarked on several tours of Italy during which they staged concerts featuring Hasse's compositions. Christine Fischer, *Instrumentierte Visionen weiblicher Macht: Maria Antonia Walpurgis' Werke als Bühne politischer Selbstinszenierung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 150–154; Raffaele Mellace, *Johann Adolf Hasse* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2004).

³⁰⁹ Walpurgis reportedly began writing poetry when she was a child, and she was able to write letters in Italian and French by the age of twelve. Neumayr, par. 1, 6; Weber, 1: 5.

³¹⁰ See Maria Antonia Walpurgis von Bayern [under the pseudonym Di E.T. P.A. (Ermelinda Talea Pastorella Arcada)] and Johann Adolf Hasse, *Che ti diró Regina* (Manuscript copy, 1747). Subsequently, Walpurgis adopted the practice of signing all her works with her academic name using the acronym "E.T.P.A." Ibid.

³¹¹ Fischer, *Instrumentierte Visionen weiblicher Macht*, 52; Weber, 1: 45–48. Among the notable members of the academy were Pietro Metastasio, Johann Adolph Hasse, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, Alessandro Scarlatti, Arcangelo Corelli, and her husband Friedrich Christian. Neumayr, par. 9.

³¹² Weber, 1: 44–45.

³¹³ Ibid. See Maria Antonia Walpurgis Bayern, *Didone abbandonata* (Autograph, 1748).

³¹⁴ "I should never have been able to imagine that a young princess should be able to write, and in a foreign language, such excellent poetry. In the two cantatas, not only the delicate arrangement of the thoughts, the connexion of ideas, the selection of words, the harmony of the verse, and the tenderness of expression, are admirable; but what surprises me still more is a particular artful facility, which mere natural talents never furnish; for here a firmness of pulse appears, which is only to be acquired by long and laborious application. Now how is it possible to imagine, that such painful means should ever have been put into practice by a person who, from the eminence of her station, can have so few moments to herself?" (Excerpt, letter from Metastasio to Abate Pasquini, January 25, 1749), incipit 295. (Translated) Charles Burney, ed., *Memoirs of the life and writings of the Abate Metastasio*, 3 vols. (London: Robinson, 1796), 1: 234. Note that Walpurgis only sent the texts of her cantatas to Metastasio for evaluation, whereas Maria Rosa Coccia submitted musical compositions for assessment. This distinction is crucial in addressing the argument that Coccia sent her music fully aware that Marianna Martines would likely be the one evaluating them.

³¹⁵ Weber, 1: 64. See Maria Antonia Walpurgis von Bayern, *Il trionfo della fedelta: Drama pastorale per musica* (Autograph, 1740–1760).

critical that she took great offense, expressing her dismay at his drastic alterations, which left no room for her own arias.³¹⁶ Nevertheless, Metastasio's revised version was ultimately set to music and published as a pastoral drama.³¹⁷

During the tumultuous Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Prussia's occupation of Saxony plunged Maria Antonia Walpurgis and her extended royal family into a state of upheaval.³¹⁸ In 1759, they had no choice but to flee to Prague, seeking refuge from the chaos surrounding them.³¹⁹ Eventually, they found sanctuary among their Bavarian relatives in Munich, where Walpurgis gave birth to her seventh child in 1761.³²⁰ Despite their challenges, Walpurgis saw an opportunity amid the adversity and published the libretto of her most celebrated dramatic opera, *Talestri, Regina delle Amazoni*, while in Munich.³²¹

The family returned to Dresden in 1762, where *Talestri* premiered during the celebratory events marking the peace agreement with Prussia.³²² This extravagant performance featured several royal family members and courtiers as performers.³²³ Walpurgis herself assumed the leading role, and in a somewhat unconventional move for the time, even her children participated in the ensemble scenes.³²⁴ Curiously, Walpurgis reveals in a letter to Empress Maria Theresa that King August III himself requested her presence in the opera.³²⁵ However, in the face of her considerable talents and

³¹⁶ “Metastasio l’a cruellement mutilé il n’en a pas laisser un seul de mes airs dont je voudroit pleurer et ce qu’il y a de pis, c’est qu’il l’a changer de façon, que quant on le voudrait, on ne pourrait y metre mes airs.” (Excerpt, letter from Walpurgis to Countess Brühl, July 22, 1750). (Quoted) Weber, 1: 65. (DT). Although Maria Antonia's abilities as a composer were never disputed during the eighteenth century, later biographers, like Weber, have tended to undermine her literary and compositional aptitude due to her gender. This has resulted in rumors suggesting that she received substantial assistance from Metastasio and Hasse. It is important to note, however, that these claims lack any evidence and may be influenced by biased perspectives prevalent since the nineteenth century. See the scholarly examinations of her work in Fischer, *Instrumentierte Visionen*, and the archival research investigating Walpurgis's authorship in James, 19–20, 183–196.

³¹⁷ James, 186–190. Interestingly, despite her earlier frustration with Metastasio, Walpurgis later went on to translate some of his texts into French. Neumayr, par. 11; James, 107.

³¹⁸ James, 198–199. Weber reconstructs the events by drawing from the correspondence of Countess Brühl, Maria Amalia Mniszech (1736–1772). Weber, 1: 109–122.

³¹⁹ Weber, 1: 123–124.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 131–132.

³²¹ See Maria Antonia Walpurgis von Bayern [Di E.T. P.A.], *Talestri regina delle amazoni: Opera drammatica* (Monaco: Thuille, 1760).

³²² Fischer, *Instrumentierte Visionen*, 308.

³²³ Christine Fischer, “Self-Stylisation in a Ceremonial Context: Maria Antonia Walpurgis as *Talestri, regina delle amazoni*,” in *Italian Opera in Central Europe*, ed. by M. Bucciarelli, N. Dubowy, and R. Strohm. (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006), 1: 204.

³²⁴ Fischer offers insights into the key components of the performance, such as the composition of the case cast, the choice of setting, and the quality and reviews of the performance itself. *Ibid.*

³²⁵ “Cependant je dois luy dire confidement que cet opera a eu des suites qui me fond de la peine. Je ne me suis laissés engager à le chanter que pour douer a notre roy un temoignage de notre joje pour son heureux retour, et malheureusement il a tant plus qu’il a fait naitre l’envie de nous en faire jouer encore

achievements, Walpurgis found it distressing to be relegated to a mere singer.³²⁶ She feared potential ridicule and worried that the audience might perceive her as frivolous, thus casting doubt on her hard-earned merits.³²⁷ Nevertheless, despite her apprehensions, the performance was a success, and her legacy endured.³²⁸

The sudden passing of August III due to a stroke just one month later was the prelude to a series of consequential events in Walpurgis's life.³²⁹ Friedrich Christian's ascent to power held promise for the future.³³⁰ However, this auspicious reign was cut short when Friedrich Christian succumbed to smallpox a mere two months later and was succeeded by their thirteen-year-old son, Friedrich Augustus I (1750–1827).³³¹ During this transitional period, Walpurgis assumed co-regency with her brother-in-law, Franz Xavier (1730–1806), until Friedrich Augustus reached maturity in 1768.³³²

Intriguingly, despite the devastating impact of the Seven Years' War under Frederick II's leadership, Walpurgis initiated an intense correspondence with the King of

d'autres ; a present Leucippo est sur le tapis, ce Leucippo que tout le monde a deja chantez ! Je fait ce que je puis, pour m'en dispenser, mais on me dit que le roy le desire, que pui-je faire ?" (Excerpt, letter from Maria Antonia Walpurgis to Empress Maria Theresa, September 1763) (DT) Maria Theresia, Empress of Austria, *Kaiserin Maria Theresia und Kurfürstin Maria Antonia von Sachsen. Briefwechsel, 1747–1772*, ed. by Woldemar Lippert (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1908), 175–176.

³²⁶ "Gela me cause un vray chagrin: après avoir étés pendant tant d'année livrée a des occupations plus serieuses et plus utiles, il est bien triste de se voir reduite au metier de chanteuse!" Ibid.

³²⁷ "Cela ne convient plus ny a mon age, ny à mon etat; que pencera le public qui avoit commencé a prendre bone opinion de moy? il dira que je n'aime que les tallents frivoles, et me disputera peut-etre le peu de merite que j'ay aquis." Ibid. To explore the political risks that concerned Walpurgis when she was relegated to the role of a singer, see James, 200–201.

³²⁸ Ibid., 201–204. The stark contrast between Walpurgis's two operas reflects the profound impact of the war and shifting societal dynamics on her creative expression. *Il Trionfo* is a pastoral drama set in the idyllic myth of the Golden Age of civilization. The narrative is characterized by innocence, a commitment to truth and devotion, and a mythical world inhabited by singing nymphs and shepherds. It encapsulates an idealized vision of a harmonious and pure existence, untouched by the complexities of the outside world. In contrast, *Talestri* depicts strong women and warriors who create an exclusive community of women who reject love, men, and marital bliss. For a synopsis and analysis, see Nastasja Gandolfo, "The Originality of Maria Antonia Walpurgis's Talestri in the Context of Opera Seria," in *Music, Individuals and Contexts: Dialectical Interaction*, ed. by N. Amendola, et al. (UniversItalia, 2019), 119–130.

³²⁹ James, 201.

³³⁰ Friedrich Christian promptly implemented crucial reforms to effectively manage the country's finances, which had been depleted due to mismanagement and war. Among his initial measures as Elector, he wisely delegated the task of overseeing state finances to his highly competent wife. Furthermore, Maria Antonia assumed responsibility of supervising the porcelain factory in Meißen. Weber, 1: 138–147, 156.

³³¹ Neumayr, par. 16. In line with her late husband's vision, Walpurgis took it upon herself to stimulate the local economy and provide job opportunities by establishing a brewery and a textile factory. However, despite her utmost dedication and tireless endeavors, Walpurgis encountered an unfortunate series of setbacks and disappointments in her pursuit of different initiatives. Weber, 1: 207–218.

³³² However, the two had a falling out in 1765 when Franz Xavier renounced his nephew's claim to the Polish throne, while Maria Antonia remained steadfast in her determination to preserve this esteemed right. Weber, 1: 151–160.

Prussia in 1763.³³³ Their mutual passion for the arts formed the foundation of their exchanges and led to two significant visits.³³⁴ The first occurred in 1769 when she undertook a diplomatic mission to secure her son's claim to the Polish throne, whereas she made a more informal social visit the following year.³³⁵ Two years later, in 1772, Walpurgis embarked on a grand tour of Italy to establish a permanent residence, though this ambition remained unrealized.³³⁶

In the latter part of her life, Walpurgis dedicated herself wholeheartedly to the arts, reigniting her passion for creative expression.³³⁷ She immersed herself in various artistic endeavors, including painting, and actively supported young musicians like Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741–1801).³³⁸ One particularly noteworthy incident in her patronage occurred in 1767 when Walpurgis first encountered Elisabeth Mara, recognized the young singer's immense potential, and invited her to perform at the Dresden Opera.³³⁹ Despite Mara's lack of experience in staged operas, having primarily sung arias only in a concert setting, Walpurgis assumed the role of mentor, providing invaluable guidance in stage presence, declamation, and, most importantly, the art of recitative—a specialty of Walpurgis herself.³⁴⁰

On April 23, 1780, Maria Antonia Walpurgis passed away in Dresden, bequeathing a brilliant library that bears witness to her erudition, cultural refinement, and discerning preferences in literature, history, and philosophy.³⁴¹

³³³ Presumably, they became well-acquainted during the peace negotiations. See *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand — Werke Friedrichs des Großen* [Correspondence between Maria Antonia Walpurgis and Frederick II] (Online edition).

³³⁴ Weber, 1: 233–234, 253–255.

³³⁵ Upon her return from the second visit, Maria Antonia Walpurgis fell seriously ill, and her recuperation spanned over a month. *Ibid.*, 1: 255–257.

³³⁶ Weber, 2:1–15.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1: 141–142. Weber's list of Walpurgis's works and their respective locations was compiled in 1857. Weber, 2: 252–253. Unfortunately, tracking down their current whereabouts has proven to be a challenge.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 200–203, 2:44.

³³⁹ Riesemann, 532.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Charles Burney's endorsement further corroborates Walpurgis's proficiency in recitative. “[T]he Electress dowager of Saxony sung a whole scene in her own opera of *Talestri* [...] She spoke the recitative, which was an accompanied one, very well, in the way of great old singers of better times. She had been a long while a scholar of Porpora, who lived many years at Dresden, in the service of her father-in-law, Augustus, king of Poland. This recitative was as well written as it was well expressed; the air was an *Andante*, rich in harmony, somewhat in the way of Handel's best opera songs in that time.” Burney, *Germany*, 1: 140–141. Further information regarding Mara's observations about Walpurgis and her recitative technique are elaborated upon in the forthcoming profile sketch 1.8, Gertrud Elisabeth Mara.

³⁴¹ The contents of her library collection are listed in James, 124–130. Although she never composed again, she continued to be a generous patron of music in Dresden throughout her life. Joubert, “Performing Sovereignty,” 348; James, 206; Neumayr, “Appreciation.”

✿ Walpurgis and Martines ✿

While no direct evidence supports any contact between Maria Antonia Walpurgis and Marianna Martines, it is worth exploring a few secondary relationships established through mutual acquaintances. These individuals, such as Hasse, Porpora, and Metastasio, held significant positions in the musical world of their time. Therefore, their interactions could potentially offer valuable insights into the relationship between the two female musicians.

Hasse, who worked closely with Walpurgis, took the opportunity to critique Martines's abilities, suggesting that her talent and work were well-known within Walpurgis's circles. On the other hand, Porpora, a renowned singing instructor, had the privilege of instructing both Martines and Walpurgis, indicating a certain level of familiarity between the two musicians, even if they did not directly interact. Moreover, Martines's exceptional talents were acknowledged by her contemporaries and proclaimed by Metastasio, the internationally famous poet and a close confidant of Hasse and Porpora. Metastasio's admiration of Martines's talents can be seen in his letters to numerous people across Europe, suggesting that Martines's reputation as a skilled performer and composer had reached the ears of Walpurgis.³⁴²

— Harmonizing a second layer of secondary connections

Maria Teresa Agnesi's network (Figure 1.13) exhibits remarkable similarities with that of Marianna Martines, particularly in their association with the Habsburgs and the Mozarts. However, Agnesi's network displays stronger connections with Maria Antonia Walpurgis, owing to the presence of tangible evidence of music dissemination. Although Agnesi's encounter with the Mozarts is documented, their link remains relatively weak. Further exploration of the relationship between Agnesi and her contemporaries would undoubtedly provide intriguing insights for future scholars.

Maria Antonia Walpurgis's network, shown in Figure 1.14, includes several of Marianna Martines's known connections. From this overlap, a potential link between Walpurgis and Martines can be inferred, indicated by the slender edge that connects them within Walpurgis's network. This observation reveals the intricate interrelations present within the broader dataset. Furthermore, the edge between Maria Teresa Agnesi and

³⁴² For transcriptions and translations of Metastasio's letters referencing Martines, see Godt, *Marianna Martines*. These references are interspersed throughout the book.

Walpurgis appears denser, reflecting the previously discussed music dissemination. This emphasizes the importance of situating such connections within their historical and social contexts. Most striking, however, is the edge linking Elisabeth Mara and Walpurgis, which points to the Electress's significant influence on Mara's career trajectory and underscores Walpurgis's broader impact on shaping professional opportunities for women musicians of her time.

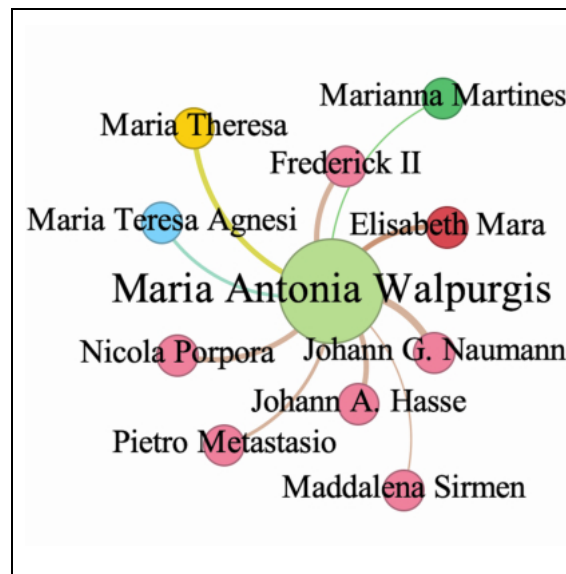


Fig. 1.13. Maria Teresa Agnesi network

Fig. 1.14. Maria Antonia Walpurgis network

Upon successfully integrating the secondary connections in Figures 1.15 and 1.16, discernible patterns have started to surface. Without a doubt, Martines remains the most prominent figure, reinforcing her role as the principal actor within the system and the focal point around which numerous connections converge. Meanwhile, the central cluster becomes increasingly interconnected, gradually unveiling the intricate web of relationships within this network.

The burgeoning clusters validate the methodological approach employed throughout this study and highlights the potential for network analysis to reveal previously obscured patterns of influence and collaboration among eighteenth-century women musicians. As these connections continue to emerge through systematic mapping, they invite further questions about how patronage, geography, and shared artistic circles shaped the professional trajectories of female composers and performers during this period.

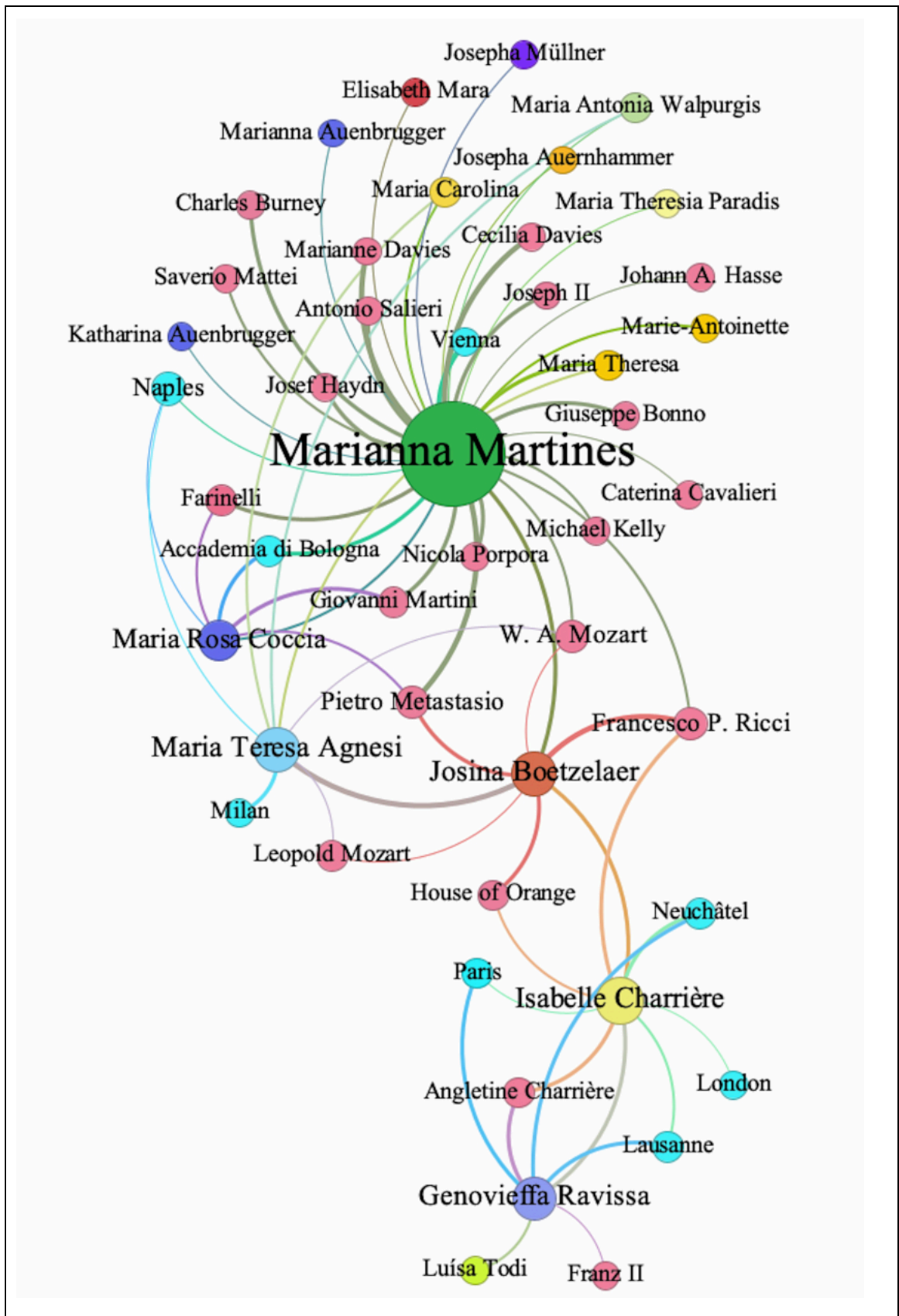


Fig. 1.15. Martines composite network with Maria Teresa Agnesi

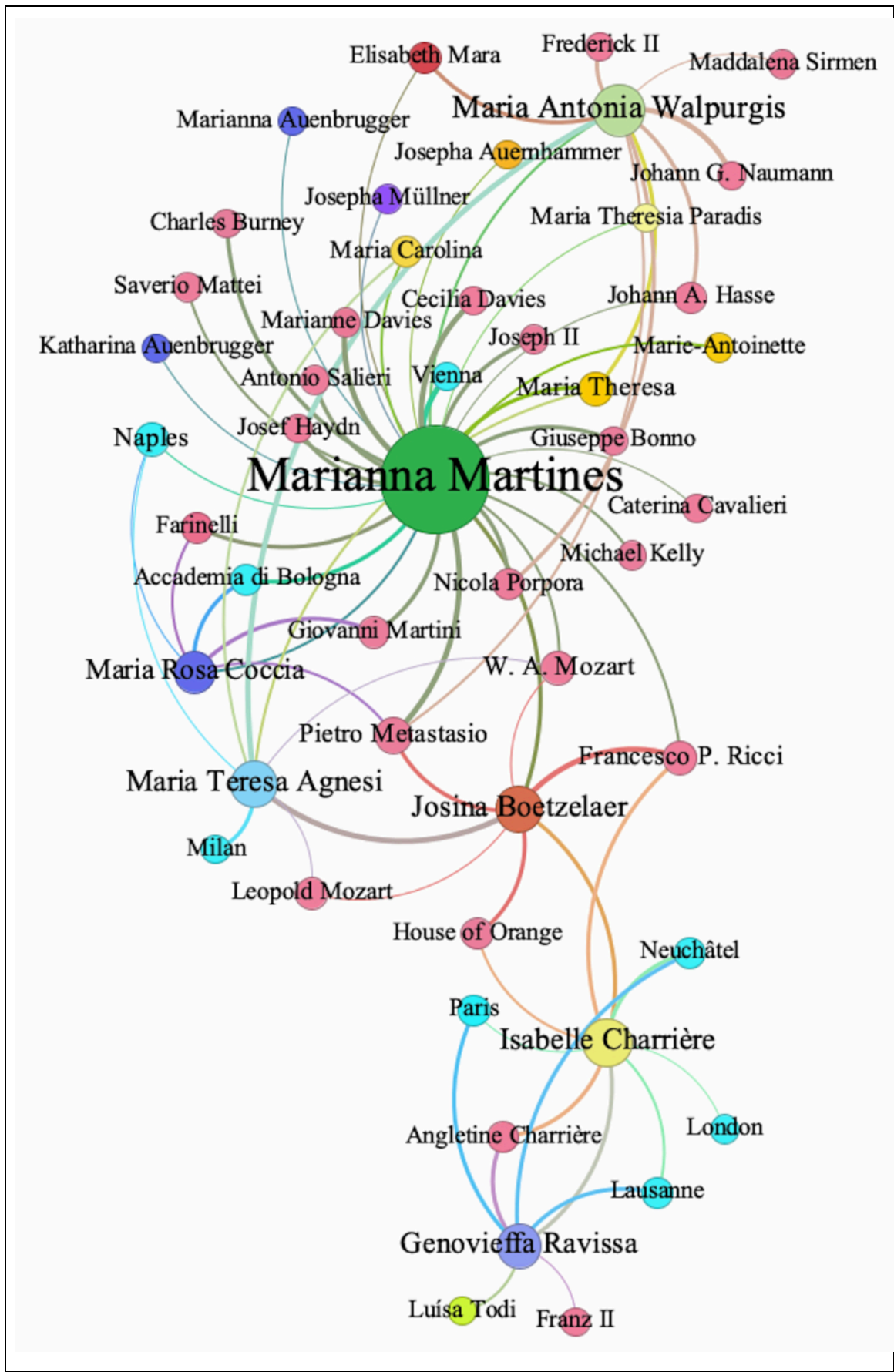


Fig. 1.16. Martines composite network with Maria Antonia Walpurgis

Interestingly, Metastasio does not directly link Agnesi and Martines, unlike the cases of Coccia and Boetzelaer. Instead, key figures in this connection include Maria Carolina, Empress Maria Theresa, and W. A. Mozart. Furthermore, considering that London and Paris were prominent centers of musical activity during the eighteenth century, additional connections are likely to emerge within the Charrière and Ravissa loop. These cities were crucial hubs for cultural exchange, and their influence is bound to further intertwine the relationships already identified.

iv. *Defining potential connections*

The following section returns to Marianna Martines to explore potential connections based on circumstantial evidence and geographical proximity.³⁴³ Elisabeth Mara emerges as a pivotal figure linking the Martines and Maria Antonia Walpurgis networks, not only through her documented relationship with the Saxon Electress but also through probable contact with Martines herself.³⁴⁴ Vienna's concentrated musical community—with its overlapping court, aristocratic, and professional circles—provides particularly fertile ground for identifying such connections of geographic potentiality.

B. Martines, the Academician and Teacher

Marianna Martines was recognized as a respected composer and held a prominent role as an active and highly regarded musical hostess.³⁴⁵ She gave lavish weekly academies that welcomed all, firmly establishing herself as a principal figure in Vienna's vibrant music scene.³⁴⁶ Martines's gatherings were celebrated for their hospitality, where engaging conversations were essential, much like the Agnesi conversazione discussed previously.³⁴⁷ Notably, the famed Irish tenor Michael Kelly (1762–1826) fondly recalls

³⁴³ This approach proves to be particularly compelling when dealing with situations where data is limited. Apart from the obvious question of whether actors were linked, it raises an interesting query: “Did a pair of nodes exist first, and then a link evolved to connect them? Or did the node evolve in a location of favorable connectivity, on or near the existing links of an established network?” For more information concerning the scholarly application, see Ducke and Suchowska, 510.

³⁴⁴ This revelation is particularly exciting since no other published sources allude to this potential connection between Martines and Mara.

³⁴⁵ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 194–198.

³⁴⁶ In Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, he includes a comprehensive review of Vienna's amateur music academies during the mid-1790s, and among them is Marianna Martines's academy. To fully grasp the social and musical context of Marianna's academies, it is advisable to read Schönfeld's account in its entirety. Schönfeld, 69–74 (Translation) Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 194–196.

³⁴⁷ Schönfeld also provides details on these weekly gatherings. “Fräulein von Martinez. Bei dieser geschickten Tonkünstlerinn ist alle Sonnabende sehr große Gesellschaft, bei welcher Gelegenheit immer viel gesungen und auf Flügel [*sic*] gespielt wird. Auch findet man zuweilen an diesen Tagen eine

visiting the Martines academy between 1785 and 1786.³⁴⁸

I had the pleasure, about this time, to be introduced to Monsieur Martini [sic].³⁴⁹ He was a very old man. His sister [Marianna], nearly his own age, kept his house for him. She was reckoned a deep blue,³⁵⁰ and very well versed in all the arts and sciences. The great poet Metastasio had lived *sixty years* [sic] in her brother's house, upon the friendliest terms, and died in it. [...] When I was admitted to her conversaciones and musical parties, she was in the vale of years, yet still possessed the gaiety and vivacity of a girl, and was polite and affable to all. Mozart was an almost constant attendant at her parties, and I have heard him play duets on the piano-forte with her, of his own composition. She was a great favourite of his.³⁵¹

Another anecdote has recently come to light, courtesy of the Italian scholar Marchese Cesare Lucchesini (1756–1832).³⁵² In a letter dated January 5, 1793, Lucchesini recounts his visit to one of the music gatherings Marianna Martines regularly held on Saturday evenings.³⁵³ Lucchesini observes that these soirées primarily served as

Harmoniebande daselbst, welche den ganzen Abend durchbläst. [...] Unter diesen Privatakademien zeichnen sich einige darinn aus, daß Fremde, welche hierherkommen, leicht Zutritt daselbst finden und sehr gefällig aufgenommen werden. Hierher gehören Nachstehende: bei Hrn. V. Henikstein, Herrn Hofrath von Greiner, bei Fräulein von Martines, and bei Hrn. von Schönfeld aus Prag.” (DT) Schönfeld, 71, 74.

³⁴⁸ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 197.

³⁴⁹ Marianna's brother, Joseph (1729–1788), would have been around fifty-seven years old during this period. Ibid., 213. This fact highlights how both life expectancy and societal perceptions of what qualifies as “elderly” have evolved over time.

³⁵⁰ A “bluestocking” denotes a woman who is highly educated and intellectually inclined, often associated with an interest in literary pursuits. The term originated in eighteenth-century England and was frequently used to describe women who actively participated in artistic, intellectual, and literary circles. These women were often viewed as unconventional in their era, as they eschewed traditional gender roles by engaging in intellectual pursuits. The term “bluestocking” was derived from the unadorned blue stockings worn by some of these women, which contrasted with the more formal attire of the time. As time passed, the term became associated with educated women who valued knowledge and culture.

³⁵¹ Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly of the King's Theatre*, 1: 252. The phrase “the vale of years” is a poetic or somewhat archaic way of referring to old age or the later years of a person's life. It suggests the period in life when one has accumulated many years and experiences, typically implying an advanced age. Marianna would have been in her early forties.

³⁵² Cesare Lucchesini was a diplomat from Lucca who visited Vienna from late December 1792 to late April 1793. His experiences during this period were meticulously documented in a series of letters, which were eventually published in 1886.

³⁵³ At this point in time, only Marianna, her sister Antonia, and her brother Carl were alive and residing together. *The remainder of the paragraph continues with the same anecdotal reference. “5 Gennaio [1793]. Sabato. / Alle ore 7 andammo a casa Martinez, dove nel sabato si fa sempre un'academia di musica. In questa casa abitava il celebre Pietro Metastasio, il quale, morendo, lasciò erede del suo questa famiglia, dopo avere con essa vissuto 53 anni. Di essa rimangono ora due vecchie sorelle ed un fratello. Una delle due sorelle ha studiato con molto profitto la musica, ed è per lei principalmente che si fanno queste academie. Ad esse intervengono molte donne, ed alle volte vi ho contato circa trenta fra dame e cittadine. Li strumenti consistono in un solo, Vecchio e cattivo cembalo, col quale la sig. Martinez accompagna le persone che vogliono cantare, il che dicesi che faccia con abilità. Talvolta ella pure vuol cantare; ma lo fa con una voce stridula e tremante, che palesa l'età sua, non più atta a questo.” Paris Maria Salvago and Manfredo Da Passano, “The Marquis Cesare Lucchesini, Traveler and Diplomat,” *La Rassegna nazionale* 30 (1886): 465.

a platform to showcase the musical expertise of one of the sisters, presumably Marianna. However, the allure of these events was such that they attracted many women, including nobles and townswomen, often reaching an impressive thirty participants. It would be interesting to discover who these “circa trenta fra dame e cittadine” [about thirty ladies and townswomen] might have included. During these gatherings, Marianna would courteously accompany those who desired to sing on her cherished old harpsichord. Nevertheless, Lucchesini relates that Marianna’s own vocal abilities had diminished over time. To my knowledge, this particular anecdote has not been included in any previously published biographical material on Marianna Martines.

Martines’s dedication to her vocal studio, as documented by the music enthusiast Johann von Schönfeld (1750–1821), paralleled her renowned academies.³⁵⁴ Driven by a sincere passion for the arts, she derived both satisfaction and fulfillment from her work while also devoting herself to cultivating exceptional singers.³⁵⁵ Nonetheless, Godt posits that Martines may have nurtured these students not only out of her genuine love for music but also to enhance the reputation of her academies and counterbalance the natural decline of her own voice as she aged.³⁵⁶

Marianna Martines is believed to have composed over two hundred works in various genres, except for opera and string quartets.³⁵⁷ Her music was widely disseminated from southern Italy to the northern Germanic regions, reaching as far as England, the Netherlands, and Slovakia.³⁵⁸ Surprisingly, despite her broad recognition, there is no documented evidence that she ever ventured beyond her home city of Vienna.³⁵⁹ Marianna passed away from tuberculosis on December 13, 1812, a mere two days after the death of her younger sister, Antonia (1746–1812).³⁶⁰ As a poignant epitaph, Giovanni Battista Mancini (1714–1800) memorializes Marianna’s enduring legacy and

³⁵⁴ “Aus Unterhaltung und aus Liebe für die Kunst hat sie fast immer eine eigene Singschule, worinn sie vortressliche Sängerrinnen bildet, unter welchen sich die so zeitig vom Tode hingeraffte Frau von Dürfeld, geb. Fräulein von Hacker sich auszeichnete.” (DT) Schönfeld, 42.

³⁵⁵ Ibid. For additional insights into potential students of Marianna Martines, see Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 199.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 199–200.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 58, 196. For a catalog of her works, see Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 256–264.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 6–8, 47, 160. Such was the extent of Marianna Martines’s fame that her name found its way into the novel *Consuelo*, published twenty years after the composer’s death. In English, see George Sand, *Consuelo. A Novel*, tr. by Fayette Robinson (Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1870), 410. The original French is found in *La Revue indépendante* (1842–1843) and in book format, *Consuelo*, nouvelle ed., 3 vols. (Paris: Lévy, 1856).

³⁵⁹ Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 4–5, 133–134.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 210.

significant impact on music and female empowerment:

This incomparable young woman [Martines], endowed with superior genius for music, was taught its principles and perfected by Sig. Bonno [Giuseppe]. Her progress was so remarkable and rapid that it awakened the admiration of all the most famous composers. Her compositions have been in great demand and applauded in Naples, Bologna, and in many of the most famous Italian cities.

I heard her myself, when she was still very young, sing and play the cembalo with astonishing mastery, accompanying her own compositions, sung and expressed with such force of musical emphasis that Sig. Abbate Metastasio himself felt again the emotion that he had been able to excite in the human heart with his inimitable librettos. Consequently, the celebrated Padre Martini, among other unanimous acclamations, was honored to enroll as a member of our Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna this woman, who, although a dilettante, can justifiably be called a great master and a rare genius of music.³⁶¹

v. *Defining potential connections based on coincidence*—Mara

Maria Antonia Walpurgis considerably influenced Gertrud Elisabeth Mara, establishing a secondary connection to Marianna Martines. Furthermore, Mara also falls within the potential category of connections to Martines, a topic that will be examined in greater detail later in her profile.

1.9 Gertrud Elisabeth Schmeling Mara (1749–1833)

Born in Kassel, Mara was a distinguished German opera singer whose father,

³⁶¹ When summoned to Vienna to teach singing to Empress Maria Theresa's children in 1757, Mancini witnessed Marianna's early performances. In the third edition of his *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, Mancini added the footnote: "Contesta nelle forme le più autentiche gli elogi dovuti a questo celebre maestro la nobile Sig.^{ra} Marianna *Martinez* di Vienna. Questa incomparabile donzella, tratta da un genio superior per la Musica, n'ha ricevuti gli elementi e la perfezione dal prelodato Sig. *Bonno*. Tali furono, e così rapidi i di lei progressi, che in breve tempo divenne l'oggetto dell'ammirazione di tutt'i più famosi maestri di Musica. Le di lei composizioni sono state richieste a gara, ed applaudite in Napoli, in Bologna, ed in molte delle più rinomate Città d'Italia. / Io stesso l'ho sentita ne' suoi più teneri anni cantare, e sonare il Cembalo con una maestria sorprendente, accompagnando le sue produzioni, cantate ed espresse con tanta forza di metro musicale, che lo stesso Sig. Abbate *Metastasio* ne risentiva quell'emozione, che ha saputo egli eccitare nel cuore umano colle inarrivabili sue Poesie Drammatiche. Quindi il celebratissimo Padre Martini, tra le altre unanimi acclamazioni, si pregiò d'annoverare alla nostra *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna*, questa, che, sebbene dilettante, può a giusto titolo chiamarsi gran maestra, e raro genio della Musica." (DT) Giovanni Battista Mancini, *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, 3rd ed. (Milan: Giuseppe Galeazzi Regio Stampatore, 1777), 229–230 (1). (Translation) Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 32–33.

Johann Schmeling (n.d.), was a poor musician and instrument repairer.³⁶² Mara's mother, Ottilia Ellerbaum, passed away in 1764 when Elisabeth was fifteen years old.³⁶³ Elisabeth suffered from rickets at an early age, resulting in a prolonged recovery period that limited her interaction with other children.³⁶⁴ Therefore, she spent most of her time in her father's workshop until one fateful day when she was only four.³⁶⁵ In her father's absence, she could not resist the allure of the violin and attempted to play it. Although her father caught Elisabeth in the act and sternly warned her not to touch any instruments, her insatiable curiosity drew her back to the violin. Consequently, her father punished her by instructing her to play it properly. Astonishingly, Elisabeth displayed an aptitude for the instrument, effortlessly mastering it. Shortly, she began performing in public, thus laying the foundation for her future career.

In the autumn of 1755, Johann took Elisabeth on a concert tour to Frankfurt to exhibit her violin skills.³⁶⁶ This tour presented a valuable opportunity for the young prodigy to captivate audiences and enhance her musical education.³⁶⁷ Moreover, Johann organized various concerts in spa towns and palaces, which, although not very lucrative, allowed Elisabeth to benefit from the therapeutic thermal waters to help alleviate her illness.³⁶⁸ In her autobiography, Mara mentions encountering two ladies, one in Antwerp and the other in The Hague, whose singing masters gave her lessons.³⁶⁹ The father-daughter duo subsequently traveled to London in 1759.³⁷⁰

³⁶² Riesemann, 500. Born into a bustling household of nine siblings, it is rather peculiar that only her father's name exists in the available biographical records, despite her extensive family network. See Doris Mundus, "Leipziger Frauenporträts: Mara, Elisabeth (geborene Schmeling)," *herkunftsfamilie* (Stadt Leipzig, 2015).

³⁶³ *Ibid.* It should be noted that Mara's early biographer Georg Grosheim asserts that Ellerbaum died shortly after Mara's birth. Georg Christoph Grosheim, *Das Leben der Künstlerin Mara* (Cassel: Luckhardt'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1823), 1. Grosheim wrote this biography during Mara's lifetime. With a few inconsistencies, his account corresponds quite closely with Mara's and is particularly valuable for its firsthand account of her visit to Cassel in 1819. *Ibid.*, 58–71.

³⁶⁴ Riesemann, 500. Rickets, or "englische Krankheit," is a serious medical condition that primarily affects children and is characterized by the weakening and softening of bones. It is usually caused by a deficiency of vitamin D, calcium, or phosphate, all of which are essential for maintaining healthy bones. This is one of the few instances in which Mara references her siblings. The only other mention is in her will. *Ibid.*, 632.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 500. *The remainder of the paragraph continues with the same anecdotal reference.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 500–501.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 501.

³⁶⁸ Grosheim, 5–6. Joseph Kürschner, "Mara, Elisabeth," *ADB* 20 (1884), 286.

³⁶⁹ Riesemann, 501. While she recalls learning some Italian tunes, it remains unclear whether she incorporated singing into her concerts or focused solely on her violin at this point.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Most bibliographic sources indicate that the child prodigy received the patronage of the Queen of England in 1759 or 1760. However, I have encountered difficulty in locating and authenticating any supporting documentation. It should be noted that there was no reigning Queen as King George III (1738–1820) did not marry Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744–1818) until 1761. Therefore, it can be inferred that any potential patronage, must have occurred after 1761, as Elisabeth and her father left

Elisabeth's theatrical debut in London occurred in 1760, where she demonstrated her talent alongside other gifted young performers at the Haymarket Theatre.³⁷¹ Among her fellow artists was Esther (Hetty) Burney (1749–1832), Charles Burney's eldest daughter and a proficient harpsichordist.³⁷² Regrettably, Hetty Burney falls beyond the scope of this study due to the scarcity of information available about her.³⁷³ Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that through his writings, Charles Burney furnishes valuable insights into Mara's performances throughout her illustrious career.³⁷⁴

Elisabeth's singing career began to unfold in 1760 during her stay in London. During this era, the prevailing sentiment within English high society deemed it unsuitable for young girls to play the violin.³⁷⁵ Consequently, Elisabeth was persuaded to redirect her focus toward singing and the guitar, a decision she would later come to regret.³⁷⁶ She underwent a brief two-week vocal training under the tutelage of Pietro Domenico Paradisi (17107–1791).³⁷⁷ When Paradisi proposed a seven-year

England in 1760. This unsubstantiated claim appears to originate from Grosheim's biography, *Künstlerin Mara* (pg. 7), and is further propagated by Julian Marshall's biography in George Grove, ed., *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450–1880)*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), 2: 209; and Julian Marshall, "Mara, Gertud Elisabeth, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001), 15: 793. Despite its persistence into the twenty-first century, it is crucial to note that Mara does not mention any involvement with the Queen in her autobiography until she reaches adulthood. This emphasizes the necessity of critically scrutinizing historical narratives and refraining from accepting them prima facie.

³⁷¹ "By particular Desire, At the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, This Day, April 23, there will be a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. [...] The Solos by young Performers, who never appeared in Public [...] a Lesson on the Harpsichord by Miss Burney, nine Years old [...] a Quartetto by Miss Schmelling, Master Barron, Master Cervetto, and Miss Burney. With several full Pieces by a select Band of the best performers. (DT) *The Public Advertiser* (April 23, 1760).

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Fanny Burney often mentions her sister in her diary; however, Hetty primarily performed at her father's concerts. See Fanny Burney, *The Early Diary of Frances Burney*, ed. by Annie Raine Ellis, 2 vols. (London: Bell, 1889), 2: 153 no. 2. Fanny elaborates, however, on duets Hetty performed with her husband (Ibid., 131–133, 60, 108, 111, 118–121) and with her sister, Susan (Ibid., 153–154). Hetty is also mentioned in Philip H. Highfill, et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians*, 16 vols. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 2: 428–429.

³⁷⁴ For example, in 1786, Charles Burney reported how Elisabeth Mara's performances in London captivated the audience. He stated. "Indeed, she [Mara] was so superior to all other performers in the troop, that she seemed a divinity among mortals. The pleasure with which she was heard, had a considerable increase from her choice of songs; which, being in different styles by Sacchini, Piccini, Mortellari, and Gazzaniga, were all severally encoed during the run of the opera; a circumstance, which I never remember to have happened to any other singer." Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4: 524.

³⁷⁵ Riesemann, 515. During this period, a woman playing the violin was not merely engaging in musical performance; she was challenging deeply ingrained societal norms and moral expectations. This act of defiance against convention often provoked a spectrum of reactions, ranging from amusement and curiosity to astonishment or outright disapproval. Freia Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper: Die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1991), 180.

³⁷⁶ "Ich legte also die Violine nieder (dieses habe ich sehr ofte nachher bedauert, wenn man in einer kleinen Gesellschaft Quartetten spielte) weil einige englische Damen es nicht kleidend für ein Mädchen fanden, und widmete mich blos dem Gesang und der Guitar." Riesemann, 514–515.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 515.

apprenticeship for Elisabeth, however, Johann declined and abruptly terminated her lessons.³⁷⁸ Following this episode, father and daughter left London later the same year and toured the province, unsuccessfully, it would seem, as Johann went to prison for unpaid debts.³⁷⁹

Upon their return to the Germanic regions in 1765,³⁸⁰ the young singer frequently attended professional operatic performances in Frankfurt and Kassel.³⁸¹ Elisabeth herself acknowledges that her practice of observing and listening to other accomplished performers during this period considerably influenced her music education.³⁸² At this time, Johann tried to secure a position for his daughter at the Prussian court.³⁸³ Somewhat predictably, he failed.³⁸⁴ According to Elisabeth's autobiography, Frederick II refused to hear her perform, citing her German origin and the belief that she "canta come una tedesca" [sings like a German], rendering her unsuitable for Italian opera.³⁸⁵ If this account is accurate, it raises questions about Johann Schmeling's audacity in presenting an inexperienced singer for such a prestigious role. Nevertheless, Elisabeth fortunately succeeded in altering the King's viewpoint a few years later.³⁸⁶

In 1766, Johann Adam Hiller, a prominent music director and composer based in Leipzig, employed Elisabeth.³⁸⁷ Hiller's reputation was widely established, owing to his orchestration of subscription concert series, his leadership of the *Grosses Konzert*, and his unwavering commitment to the education and development of young musicians, be they instrumentalists or vocalists.³⁸⁸ He was a formidable influence in the musical world at this

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ The Schmelings toured Rochester, Canterbury, Dover, Dublin, and Cork. In 1761, Johann was imprisoned for debt, a fate that would later befall him again in London in 1764. Riesemann, 515–517.

³⁸⁰ Elisabeth and her father returned to Kassel briefly when her mother died 1764, but returned to London short afterward. Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 517.

³⁸² "Meine Art zu singen änderte sich, nach dem ich dem Casselschen und Braunschweigschen Theatre fleissig und aufmerksam beygewohnt hatte." (DT) Ibid., 532.

³⁸³ Riesemann, 517.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ While Frederick II had a preference for German instrumental music, he held a strong affinity for Italian opera. Consequently, all of his court's singers were of Italian origin. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 1: 101–102; John Bourke, "Frederick the Great as Music-Lover and Musician," *Music & Letters* 28, no. 1 (1947): 63–77.

³⁸⁶ As we will soon discover, Frederick II engaged her for life once he finally heard her.

³⁸⁷ Robert Keil, *Vor hundert Jahren. Mittheilungen über Weimar, Goethe und Corona Schröter* (Leipzig: Veit, 1875), 2: 9–10 [295–296].

³⁸⁸ Hiller was also a passionate advocate for the professional place of women in musical life. He firmly believed that women possessed an inherent right to perform as vocalists, on par with boys or falsetto sopranos, attributing their unjust exclusion from such opportunities as absurd prejudice. "Der nächste Endzweck ist daselbst Sänger für die Kirche zu ziehen; und einem albernen Vorurtheile zu Folge schließt man Frauenzimmer von einer Sache aus, deren vornehmste Zierde sie seyn könnten, und zu der sie gewiß eben so viel Recht haben, als jene überschriene und fistulirende Sopran oder Altstimmen bärtiger

time and played a decisive role in shaping Elisabeth's education and training.³⁸⁹ During this time, one of her admirers from Leipzig, Ernst Ludwig Gerber, cellist in the orchestra of Hiller's *Grosses Konzert* and well-known lexicon author, observed that while Elisabeth tended to favor bravado arias, her divine talent and keen intuition enabled her to deliver rondos and adagios with charm and sensitivity.³⁹⁰

After spending five years in Leipzig, Elisabeth decided to visit Italy in 1771 to fully immerse herself in the art of Italian singing.³⁹¹ Little did she know that this journey would be one of her life's most consequential actions.³⁹² Despite her initial plans, Elisabeth's path took an unexpected turn when she received invitations to perform in Berlin at the court of Frederick II.³⁹³ Notwithstanding the King's well-known aversion toward German singers, Elisabeth's reputation had preceded her, and her talent was so extraordinary that he hired her shortly after hearing her sing.³⁹⁴

In addition to her performances for the King and at courtly functions, Elisabeth

oder unbärtiger Knaben. Aber wenn nun auch Frauenzimmer zur Kirchenmusik nicht gezogen werden könnten, sollte ihnen denn die Geschicklichkeit in der Musik, und besonders im Singen, nicht auch außer der Kirche nützen?" (DT) Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange* (Leipzig: Junius, 1774), preface: 4. For a concise history of Hiller and his contributions, see Johann Adam Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation*, ed. by Suzanne J. Beicken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–31.

³⁸⁹ Keil, *Vor hundert Jahren*, 2: 33–44 [319–330]. Elisabeth's musical education appears to have been primarily self-directed prior to her relocation to Leipzig, apart from the two weeks of lessons she received in London. However, with her newfound stability in Leipzig, she dedicated herself to becoming a genuine artist. She devoted at least four hours every day to refining her vocal technique, utilizing Pier Francesco Tosi's (1653–1732) singing manual *Singlehre*, while also studying arias by renowned maestros. Furthermore, she engaged two language instructors, a German writing teacher, and a dance master, and diligently studied the clavier. Riesemann, 531–532.

³⁹⁰ Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon*, 1: 484, col. 865. For more information on the history of *Grosse Konzert*, see its dedicated website, Gewandhaus Orchester, "History of the Orchestra."

³⁹¹ Riesemann, 531–532. Mara seems to have taken Frederick II's remarks about "singing like a German" seriously, as evidenced in Leipzig, where she demonstrated her commitment to learning Tosi's Italian singing techniques. See Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni* (Bologna: Valope, 1723); and the English translation by John Ernest Galliard, *Observations on the Florid Song* (London: J. Wilcox, 1743). On the broader context of Italian versus German singing styles in Berlin during this period, see Corinna Herr, "Italienischer' und 'deutscher' Gesang in Berlin: Von Giovanna Astrua zu Gertrud Elisabeth Mara," in *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung*, ed. by Simone Hohmaier (Berlin: Schott Musik International, 2013), 211–232.

³⁹² Grosheim, 24.

³⁹³ Ibid. Mara provides an account of the events that led to her audition for the King, including her meeting with Franz Benda. Riesemann, 533–534. Incidentally, Benda's daughters and son-in-law play significant roles in the second chapter of this dissertation. Riesemann, 533–534.

³⁹⁴ Ibid. Charles Burney documented the well-known anecdote about Frederick II's initial reaction to Mara. "This account had been corroborated since my arrival on the continent, where I had been informed that his Prussian was at first, with difficulty, prevailed on to hear mademoiselle Schmeling: "A German singer? I should as soon expect to receive pleasure from the neighing of my horse." However, after he had heard her sing one song, his majesty is said to have sought among his manuscript music for the most difficult airs in his collection, in order to try her powers, as much as to gratify his own ear." Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 2: 110–111.

had the privilege of entertaining his wife, Queen Elisabeth Christine (1715–1797).³⁹⁵ The singer was deeply impressed with the Queen’s lenient etiquette, even drawing a comparison to Queen Charlotte of England.³⁹⁶ For example, with a slight amount of hubris, Mara recounts an incident where Charlotte, known for her strict adherence to etiquette, allowed no one to sit in her presence, including a pregnant woman who ultimately fainted.³⁹⁷ However, Mara was granted the honor of being invited to sit and enjoy tea with the Queen.³⁹⁸ Yet, although Queen Charlotte granted her such a privilege, Mara preferred the mornings she spent singing with Queen Elisabeth.³⁹⁹ Elisabeth had the opportunity to meet another female member of the Prussian royal family when she played the titular role in *Amor und Psyche* in French for the “Königin von Schweden” in 1771.⁴⁰⁰

The vibrant musical environment of Berlin proved to be an immensely inspiring experience for the budding prima donna.⁴⁰¹ Under the guidance of Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783), she pursued studies in music theory.⁴⁰² Furthermore, she performed under the direction of the Prussian Hofkapellmeister, Johann Reichardt, frequently substituting her own arias in lieu of those Reichardt composed himself.⁴⁰³ Amid her burgeoning fame, Elisabeth fell in love with the debauched but handsome

³⁹⁵ Rieseemann, 547.

³⁹⁶ “Ich war auch öfters bey ihren kleine *Soirées*, wo ein wenig Musik gemacht wurde; die Hofdamen sassen bey solchen Gelegenheiten auf Tabouretten, und mir war auch erlaubt zu sitzen. Nicht wie bey der Königin Charlotte von England, [...]” (DT) Ibid.

³⁹⁷ “[...] welche so streng auf Etiquette hielt, dass sie nicht einmal in Windsor (wenn der Hof allein war) jemand erlaubte, in ihrer Gegenwart zu sitzen, so dass eine *Dame de Cour*, welche in Umständen war, einmal ist ohnmächtig geworden.” Ibid.

³⁹⁸ “Ich kann mich rühmen, dass sie bey mir eine Ausnahme gemacht hat, indem sie mich einen Abend in Windsor fragen liess, ob ich nicht in das Nebenzimmer gehen wollte, um Thee zu trinken? Ich habe aber nachher Ursache gehabt zu glauben, dass mir dies Ehre anstatt eines Geschenks gelten sollte.” Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ The identity of the Queen mentioned in this particular context remains ambiguous, as it is not specified whether she is Lovisa Ulrika (1720–1782), Frederick II’s sister, or Sophia Magdalena (1746–1713), her daughter-in-law. However, taking into consideration that Gustav III (1746–1792), the Swedish monarch, ascended to the throne in 1771 (the same year as this happenstance), it is more likely that the Queen was Lovisa Ulrika who paid a visit to her brother. This encounter is a crucial precursor to the networking trajectory elaborated in the third chapter. Nevertheless, the Queen of Sweden was so delighted with the performance that she presented Elisabeth with a “schönen *Crystal de Rochasu*—Uhr und Tabtière in Gold gefasst.” [beautiful Rochas crystal watch and snuffbox set in gold]. Ibid., 548.

⁴⁰¹ Grosheim, 19.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Rieseemann, 562–563. Reichardt holds a significant position as a peripheral figure within the Mara network explored in Chapter 2. Concurrently, Elisabeth provided vocal instruction to a youthful Charlotte (Minna) Brandes and facilitated her introduction to the Berlin court. Johann Christian Brandes, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Maurer, 1800), 2: 213, 223–224. The examination of the relationship between Mara and Brandes will be addressed in the subsequent chapter, emphasizing its relevance to the overall discourse.

cellist Johann Baptist Mara (1744–1808).⁴⁰⁴ However, Frederick II vehemently opposed their union, only relenting when Elisabeth agreed to remain at the Berlin Royal Opera.⁴⁰⁵ For nine years, Madame Elisabeth Mara reigned as the undisputed prima donna at the Prussian court.⁴⁰⁶ However, despite the stability of her employment, she experienced a sense of confinement within the limitations of Frederick’s service, prompting her to make two futile attempts to escape.⁴⁰⁷ Nonetheless, in 1780, she and her husband ultimately attained their much-awaited liberty, fleeing to Prague and Vienna.⁴⁰⁸

The Mara couple’s journey then took them to Munich, where they encountered the legendary composer W. A. Mozart. Despite Elisabeth’s reputation for her exceptional voice, however, her performance left Mozart unimpressed.⁴⁰⁹ Indeed, Leopold Mozart, inquisitive about the gossip surrounding Elisabeth and Johann, questioned his son about the rumors he had heard.⁴¹⁰ Thus, a few days later, Wolfgang regaled his father with an appalling tale from a rehearsal, emphasizing the couple’s “stolz, grobheit, und wahre *Effronterie*” [pride, coarseness, and true effrontery].⁴¹¹ The narrative is a poignant illustration of the toxic relationship that permeated the Mara couple’s marriage.⁴¹²

Nevertheless, Madame Mara began her journey to fame and fortune, touring the

⁴⁰⁴ Johann Mara was a member of the court orchestra of Prince Henrich (1726–1802), Frederick II’s younger brother. Mundus, “Mara, Elisabeth,” biographie; Reisemann, 547.

⁴⁰⁵ Mara offers a detailed account of her initial relationship with her spouse in Berlin and the subsequent conflict with Frederick II. See Riesemann, 547–550.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Both efforts were thwarted by a determined and furious Frederick II. Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ During their time in Vienna, Elisabeth received assurances of protection from Emperor Joseph II. Moreover, she had the honor of being received by Empress Maria Theresa, who passed away shortly thereafter. Ibid., 578–579.

⁴⁰⁹ “die Mara hat gar nicht das glück gehabt mir zu gefallen — sie macht zu wenig um einer *Bastardina* gleich zu kommen — (denn, dies ist ihr fach: —) und macht zu viel — um das herz zu rühren wie eine Weber — oder, eine vernünftige Sängerin —” (Excerpt, letter from Wolfgang to Leopold, November 13, 1780) (Transcription) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 537 (Vol. 3, pp. 16–19). According to the transcription, “Bastardina” is a pseudonym for Lucrezia Agujari (1741–1783) and the “Weber” is Aloisia (1760–1839).

⁴¹⁰ “Ist es wohl wahr, daß *M.^{dme} Mara* sich darüber aufgehalten, weil man ihren Mann nicht *accompagnieren* ließ? — daß Sie das Orchester darüber angeruffen? daß h; *Cannabich* mit h: *Mara* in einen Wortwechsel gerathen? — ich glaube dem *Fiala* hat es sein Schwiegervatter geschrieben.” (Excerpt, letter from Leopold to Wolfgang, November 20, 1780) (Transcription) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 540 (Vol. 3, 25–27). Note: The website provides all transcriptions and English translations.

⁴¹¹ To read the entire story, please refer to (Wolfgang’s letter to Leopold, November 24, 1780) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 542 (Vol. 3, 29–32). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Madame Mara does not mention the encounter with Mozart in her autobiography.

⁴¹² Grosheim, 45–51. Despite encountering difficulties in her marriage, including her husband’s financial mismanagement, frequent involvement in problematic situations, and contributing to a rift with her father, Mara remained committed to the relationship for a prolonged period. Kürschner, “Mara, Elisabeth,” 289. In her memoirs, Mara tactfully avoids any negative description of her husband. Notably, Mundus alludes to two traumatic stillbirths Elisabeth experienced, although the singer omits any mention of them in her recollections. Mundus, par. 6. At present, I have been unable to corroborate this information.

continent with her husband, eventually leading them to Paris in 1782.⁴¹³ Undoubtedly, a potential letter of introduction from Empress Marie Theresa to Queen Marie-Antoinette facilitated Mara's integration into Parisian musical life.⁴¹⁴ In her autobiography, Mara asserts that she enjoyed the most pleasant period of her life among the talented Parisians.⁴¹⁵ Her debut at the Concert Spirituel in March of the same year proved a resounding triumph.⁴¹⁶ Still, Mara soon found herself entangled in a rivalry with the celebrated singer Luísa Todi (1753–1833).⁴¹⁷ Regardless, Madame Mara's career flourished as she sang before the courts of Paris and Versailles, ultimately earning the prestigious title of "première chanteuse de la Reine," appointed by Marie-Antoinette herself.⁴¹⁸

After a twenty-year absence, Mara made her triumphant return to London in 1784, receiving an overwhelming outpouring of praise.⁴¹⁹ While she succeeded in operas, it was her concerts that truly solidified her reputation as the foremost singer of her time.⁴²⁰ One particularly unforgettable moment was her collaboration with the Irish tenor, Michael Kelly, at the annual Handel Commemoration concert in 1787.⁴²¹ The following year, Madame Mara and her husband embarked on a tour of Italy, where her performances of Handel and Haydn oratorios were met with thunderous applause and adoration.⁴²² Upon her homecoming to London in 1790, she continued to bask in the

⁴¹³ Rieseemann, 579–580.

⁴¹⁴ Grosheim, 32. Rieseemann, 580.

⁴¹⁵ Rieseemann, 580.

⁴¹⁶ *MF* (April 1782): 83.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*; Rieseemann, 580–581. It is interesting to note that despite the division among the public into "Maratists" and "Todists," there is no evidence to suggest any personal hostility between the two singers. This rivalry and its implications are explored further in Chapter 2.

⁴¹⁸ [Queen's first singer] Rieseemann, 580–581.

⁴¹⁹ In fact, Mara asserts in her autobiography that she is silent about her applause because the newspapers did not leave her anything to say about it. Similar to today's celebrities, Oxford Street was so full of cars, she had to ask the police to clear a space for her to arrive. "Von meinem Beyfall schweige ich, den darüber haben mir die Zeitungen nichts übrig gelassen zu sagen. Den Abend von meinem Benefice war die Oxford Strasse (welche die längste in London ist) so mit Wagen besetzt, dass ich nicht vorfahren konnte und die Polizey bitten musste, mir Platz machen zu lassen sonst hätte das Publicum über eine Stunde auf mich warten müssen." (DT) *Ibid.*, 581.

⁴²⁰ For a comprehensive account of Mara's London performances, see Highfill, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 10: 79–86.

⁴²¹ "The performers unanimously exerted their great talents to admiration; but what made an everlasting impression on me was, the powerful effect produced by Madame Mara, in the sublime recitative, 'Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously;' in that / Her voice was heard around, / Loud as a trumpet with a silver sound." Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ed. by Roger Fiske (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 153. This passage highlights the significant impact of Maria Antonia Walpurgis's recitative instruction on Mara's artistic development.

⁴²² Mara provides detailed accounts of her various encounters and situations she faced during her continental travels. See Rieseemann, 593–596 and 609–613. Her final performance in Italy was particularly touching, with the audience enthusiastically shouting, "Viva la Mara!" The spectacle continued as the entire

glory of her performances, receiving continuous showers of praise.⁴²³ Although London served as her home base for the next decade, she frequently toured the continent during the off-season.⁴²⁴

In 1795, Johann Mara's behavior became so intolerable that Elisabeth managed to separate from him in exchange for an annuity payment,⁴²⁵ and she began a scandalous affair with the tenor Charles Haiman Florio (1768–1819).⁴²⁶ This illicit relationship caused a stir in English society, ultimately prompting the couple to leave London in 1802.⁴²⁷ While Mara eventually retired to Moscow, where she invested all of her possessions in 1805, Florio's extravagant lifestyle and the devastating fire that engulfed Moscow in 1812 ruined her.⁴²⁸ Left penniless and destitute, Mara sought refuge in Estonia, where she resorted to becoming a music teacher in Reval.⁴²⁹ It was there, in 1833, that she passed away in extreme poverty.⁴³⁰

Mara and Walpurgis

In 1767, Maria Antonia Walpurgis was captivated by Elisabeth Mara's singing during one of Hiller's *Grosse Konzert* series and invited the young singer to be the prima donna in her opera.⁴³¹ Despite Mara's initial apprehension, as she had never performed in a full-fledged opera before and only sang operatic arias in a concert setting, Walpurgis

vestibule filled with people waiting to escort her home, dancing in front of her and cheering. The following day in the Piazza del San Marco, all the ladies adorned their hats with ribbons bearing her name. *Ibid.*, 613.

⁴²³ Highfill, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians*, 10: 82–83.

⁴²⁴ Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2: 210. Mara's continental excursions were not exclusively characterized by her performance accolades, however. In her autobiography, she recounts a harrowing encounter with Marie-Antoinette on the streets, where the queen was heavily guarded and unidentifiable. Riesemann, 613.

⁴²⁵ Her marital misfortune cast deep shadows over the years that followed and partly estranges her from even her most ardent admirers. Kürschner, "Mara, Elisabeth," 289.

⁴²⁶ Grosheim, 48–49. Florio was often mistakenly reported as a flutist, confusing him with his father, Pietro Grassi Florio (1730–1795). See Highfill, 5: 311–312.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 10: 85–86.

⁴²⁸ Mara had invested all of her possession in Moscow. Riesemann, 497. During the harrowing siege of Napoleon's forces in 1812, Russian patriots set fire to Moscow, a dramatic act of resistance that played a pivotal role in thwarting the French invasion. Paul Britten Austin, *1812: Napoleon in Moscow*, 2nd ed. (Barnsley, England: Frontline Books, 2012).

⁴²⁹ Mara frequently enjoyed the hospitality of Baron Kaulbars while living in Reval, recognized today as Tallinn, the capital city of Estonia. *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ Kürschner, "Mara, Elisabeth," 289. Her final resting place lies in the Evangelical Lutheran cemetery, marked by a tombstone bearing the inscription: "Hier ruhet die Sangerin Mara, sie, die einst Europa in Entzucken und Bewunderung setzte. Heilig sei diese Stutte jedem Freunde des Schonen und der Kunst." [Here rests the singer Mara, she who once enraptured and admired Europe. May this place be sacred to every friend of beauty and art.] (Quoted) *Ibid.* (Translation) DeepL, July 11, 2023.

⁴³¹ Riesemann, 531–532. It remains unclear whether this opera was *Il Trionfo* or *Talestri*.

patiently trained the younger singer in stage presence and the art of the recitative.⁴³² In her autobiography, Elisabeth Mara recounts Maria Antonia's approach to recitative, emphasizing the importance of linguistic proficiency in its execution.⁴³³

Mara then proceeds to recount Maria Antonia's incredible kindness.⁴³⁴ Overwhelmed with emotion, Mara could not immediately grasp the intricacies of recitative or even imitate the Electress. However, Walpurgis, displaying immense patience, gently reminded Mara that crying and singing do not harmonize. It was a revelation for Mara, as the very next day, a glimmer of understanding illuminated her path. Furthermore, Walpurgis generously arranged for Mara and her father to reside at the *Maître d'Hôtel*, ensuring they lacked for nothing.⁴³⁵ This compassionate gesture guided Mara toward becoming a successful opera singer. Walpurgis's guidance transforms Mara into a renowned opera singer.

Mara and Martines

A compelling argument can be made for a connection between Martines and Mara, who visited Metastasio in approximately 1780.⁴³⁶ This visit likely occurred at Metastasio's residence, considering his advanced age at the time.⁴³⁷ Therefore, it is

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ “*Recitare* oder *Declamare* ist eins. Man muss der Sprache, in welcher man es leistet, mächtig seyn. Recitativ nach dem Tact oder dem Werth der Noten gesungen klingt schläfrig, oder wie das Vorlesen der Kinder. Am Vortrag des Recitativ erkennt man den Sänger; ich meine nicht, wenn er (wie es leider Mode ist) so viel geschmackloses Zeng hineinpresst, dass kaum eine Note des Componisten zu erkennen ist, sondern wenn er es mit Einsicht und Gefühl, mit Feuer und Geschmack vorträgt.” (DT) Ibid., 532. According to Walpurgis, the true essence of a singer is revealed through their recitative performance. She claimed that recitative singing that solely relies on the value of the notes comes across as monotonous or akin to reading aloud to children. However, the singer should avoid injecting tasteless embellishments that obscure the composer's intentions but instead deliver it with insight, emotion, passion, and refined taste. These insights helped define Mara's style and furthered her career.

⁴³⁴ “Ich konnte es nicht gleich fassen, weil ich damals der Sprache noch nicht mächtig war, und weil ich noch zu jung und blöde war, mich in eine Rolle zu versetzen. Die Geduld, welche die gnädige Fürstin mit mir hatte, machte dass ich mich einen Tag über mich selbst so ärgerte, dass mir die Thränen in die Augen kamen, denn ich hörte wohl, wie sie es vortrug, konnte es aber nicht nach machen; sie lachte und sagte: ‚liebes Kind, weinen und singen geht nicht zusammen‘, Gott weiss, wie es war! aber den andern Tag hatte ich es weg. Sie hatte befohlen, dass ich mit meinem Vater bey ihrem *Maître d'Hôtel* (welcher den ersten Gasthof in Dresden hielt,) logiren sollte, er hatte *ordre*, es uns an nichts fehlen zu lassen, sondern, wenn ich etwa zu bescheiden wäre, mir zuvor zu kommen.” (DT) Ibid. The narrative reference continues throughout the paragraph.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ “Auch besuchte ich den Abt *Metastasio*, den grössten italienischen Opern-Dichter, der alle seine Vorgänger und Nebenbuhler in Eleganz, Lieblichkeit, Erhabenheit, Klarheit, Harmonie und Leichtigkeit übertraf, der den Ovid in seinem 12^{ten} Jahre in italienische Verse übersetzt hatte. Er freute sich, dass eine berühmte Deutsche doch auch an ihn gedacht hätte. Es that mir leid ihn schon so alt zu sehen, denn ich war schon von meinem 18^{ten} Jahr eine grosse Verehrerin von seinen Werken gewesen und kannte fast alle Opern auswendig.” (DT) Ibid., 579.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

reasonable to assume that Mara and Martines crossed paths during the singer's visit to Metastasio. Not only did the poet and the musician share an incontrovertible bond, but as the lady of the house, Martines would have been obliged to entertain the esteemed guest. Moreover, Charles Burney and other visitors to Metastasio's home have written about their visits, explicitly mentioning their desire to meet the poet and enjoy Martines's performances.

Until now, Mara's visit to Martines's home has remained undocumented in biographical sources about either musician, except for the account provided in Mara's autobiography. This raises intriguing questions: Did Martines have the opportunity to witness Mara's court or opera performances? Is there any other existing documentation regarding Mara's visit to the Martines and Metastasio household?

— Complementing the network based on coincidence

When examining Elisabeth Mara's network in Figure 1.17, the first striking observation is the substantial presence of both primary and peripheral actors. This observation is hardly surprising, given the extensive scope of her career and travels.

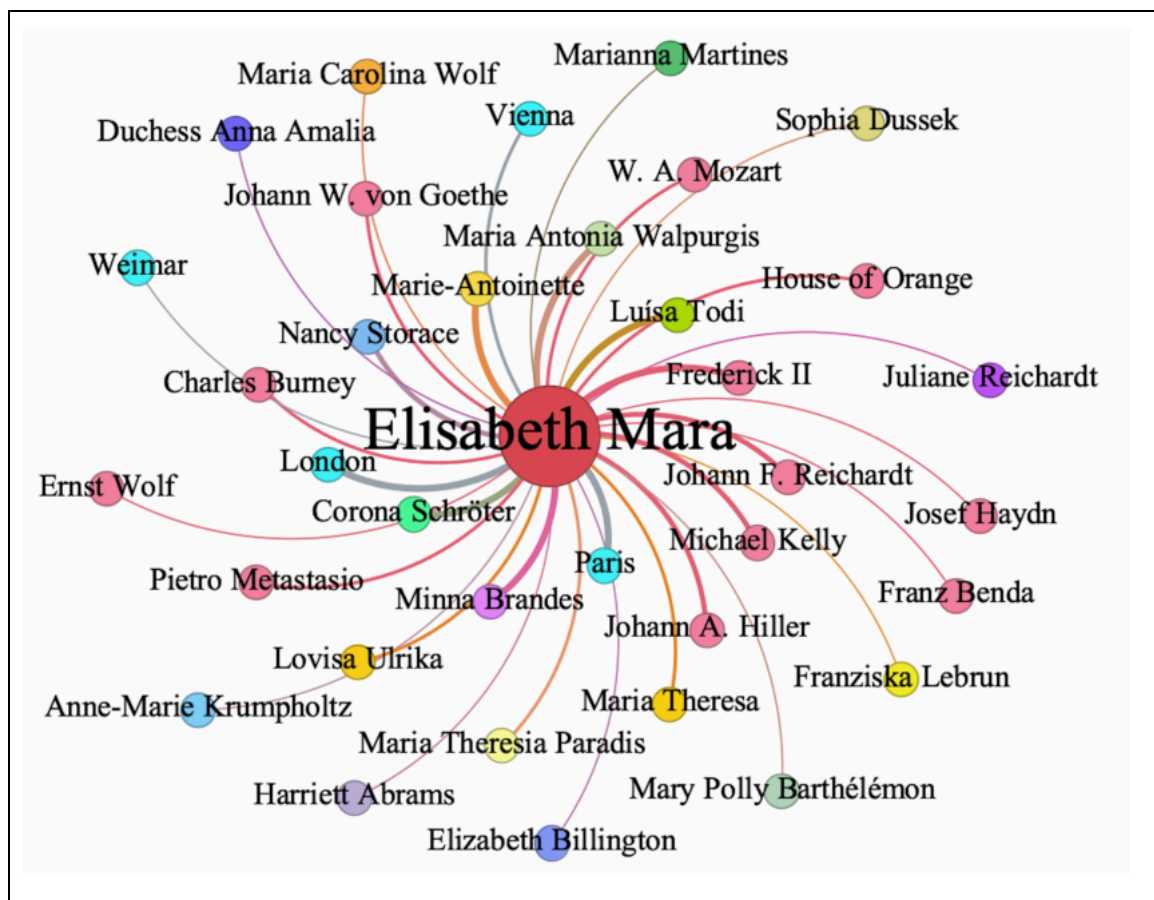


Fig. 1.17. Elisabeth Mara network

However, it is genuinely unexpected to find that Marianna Martines's network is nearly as extensive in Figure 1.18 despite her movement being confined to Vienna.

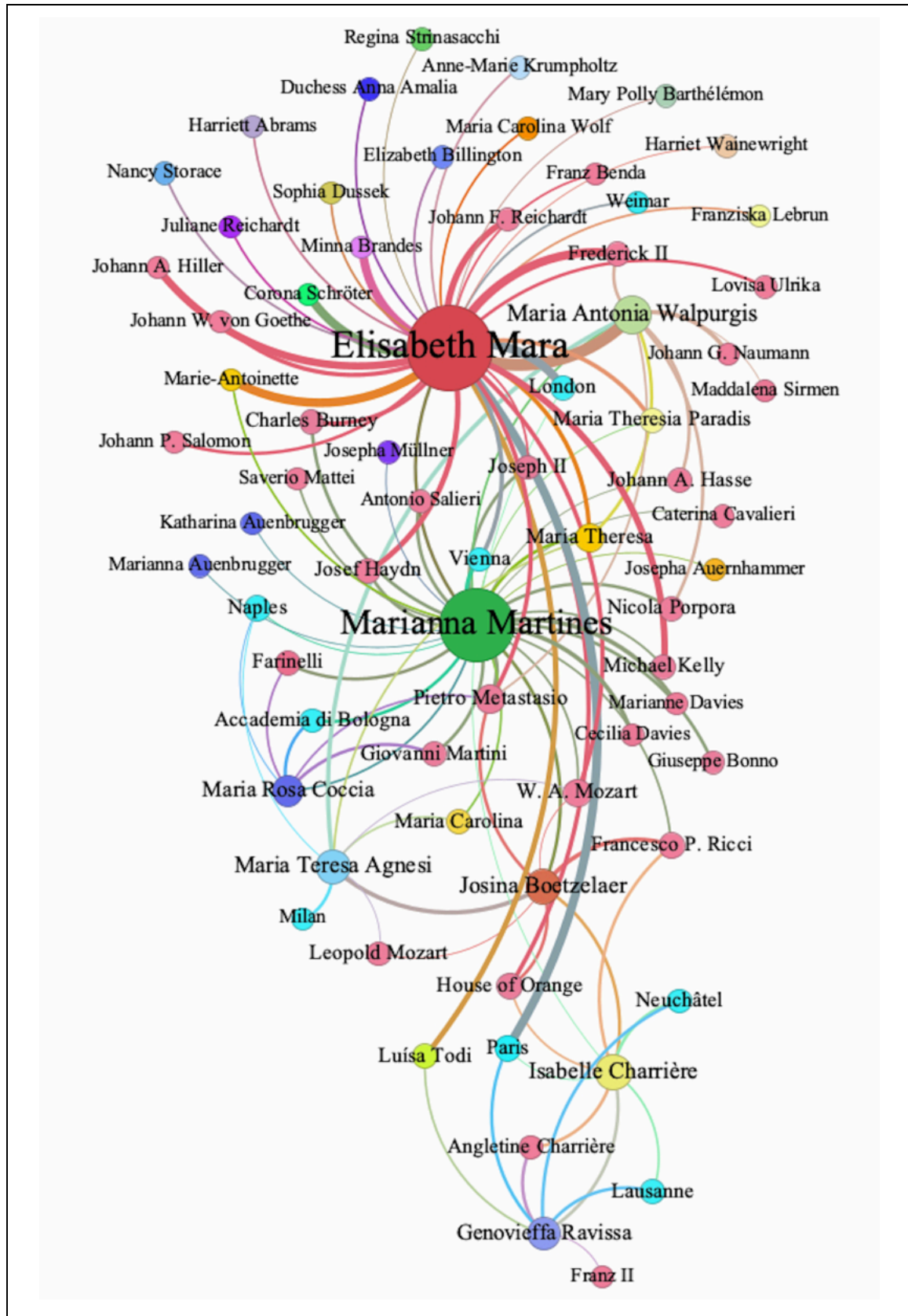


Fig. 1.18. Martines composite network with Elisabeth Mara

Even though both individuals have a considerable number of unrelated connections, the shared links between these two prominent female musicians noticeably augment the overall network.

vi. *Defining potential connections based on geographical proximity—*
Paradis, Auenbrugger, Auernhammer, Müllner, Gassmann

Spatial proximity among notable figures can indicate potential for social and professional interaction.⁴³⁸

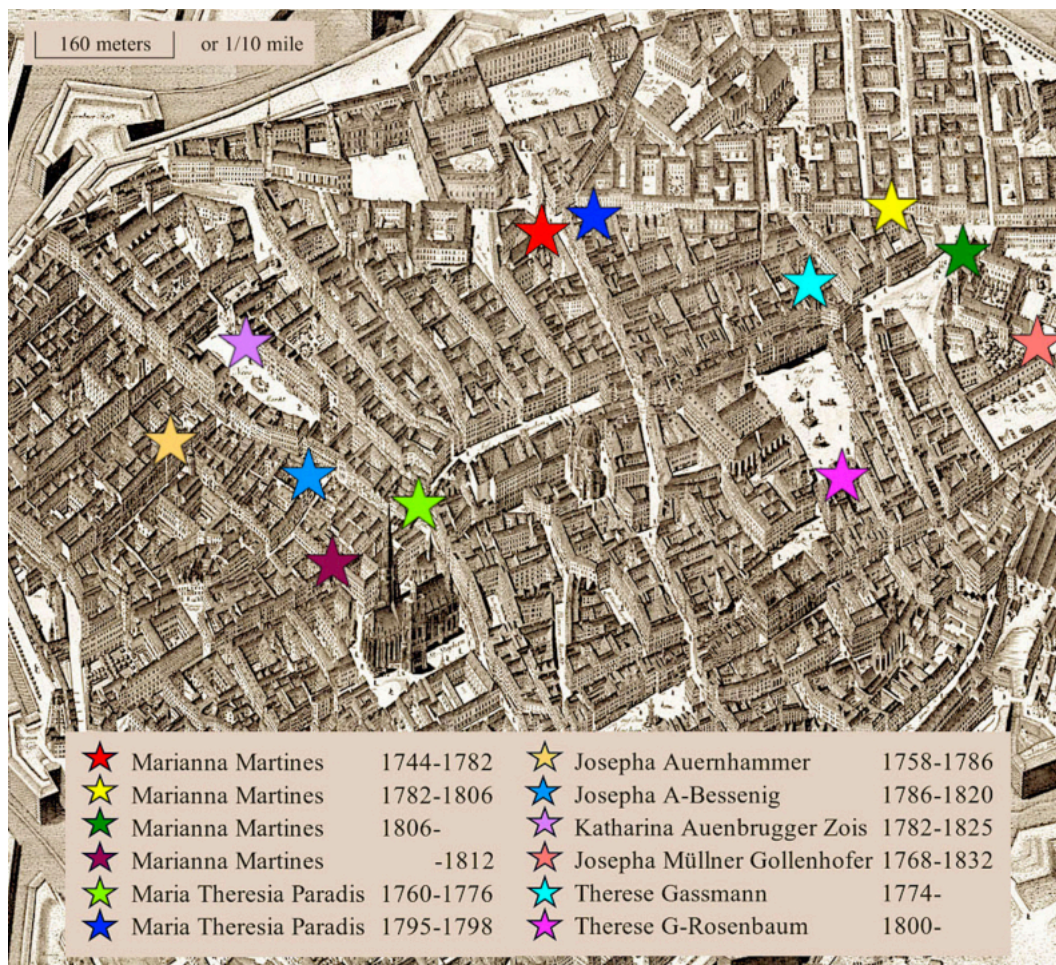


Fig. 1.19. *Bird's eye view of Vienna's inner city—Joseph Daniel von Huber*⁴³⁹

Marianna Martines's family resided at Altes Michaelerhaus, Michaelerplatz 4, until approximately 1785, when Marianna and her siblings relocated to a more spacious apartment at Herrengasse 25 following Metastasio's death—a distance of merely 400

⁴³⁸ See Crandal, "Inferring Social Ties from Geographic Coincidences."

⁴³⁹ Joseph Daniel von Huber, *Vogelschauplan der Kays. Königl. Haupt und Residenz Stadt Wien, 1785*, Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 19524/2, CC0.

meters.⁴⁴⁰ Around 1806, Marianna and Antonia lived at Freyung 137, a structure popularly termed the “Schubladekasten.” They subsequently relocated to the Seilerstätte, maintaining their final residence at the corner of the Weihburggasse.⁴⁴¹ This geographical context becomes particularly relevant when we consider the interactions of five other prominent Viennese female musicians who resided in the same vicinity: Maria Theresia Paradis, Katharina Auenbrugger, Josepha Auernhammer, Josepha Müllner, and Therese Rosenbaum (see Figure 1.19).

Given their proximity, it is entirely plausible that these women had some level of familiarity with the renowned Marianna Martines and each other. Although biographies have been written about each of these musicians (albeit some more comprehensively than others), scholars have traditionally approached them as unique, rare female musicians in their respective milieus, as mentioned in the introductory section. The idea of these women forming an interconnected community of female musicians has never been explored. Until now.

1.10 Maria Theresia Paradis (1759–1824)

Maria Theresia Paradis is a well-known historical figure whose achievements as a performer and composer are particularly extraordinary, given her blindness.⁴⁴² However, it should be noted that certain historians have needlessly embellished her story, falsely attributing her to nobility and asserting that she was the goddaughter of Empress Maria Theresa.⁴⁴³ Such claims are unsubstantiated and serve only to overdramatize her life when there is no need; her narrative requires no such aggrandizements.⁴⁴⁴

The story of Maria Theresia Paradis is one of both tragedy and intrigue. She was

⁴⁴⁰ This change of residence marked a turning point for Martines as it allowed her to elevate the grandeur of her weekly academies, ultimately establishing them as one of the most prestigious cultural gatherings in the city. Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 12, 193–194, 283:1.

⁴⁴¹ Godt, “Marianna in Vienna: A Martines Chronology,” 156.

⁴⁴² Marion Fürst, “Maria Theresia (von) Paradis,” *MUGI, Musikvermittlung und Genderforschung*, 2007; and Marion Fürst, *Maria Theresia Paradis: Mozarts berühmte Zeitgenossin* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005).

⁴⁴³ Hermann Ullrich’s research refutes claims of Paradis’s nobility and her association as the goddaughter of empress Maria Theresa. See Hermann Ullrich, “Maria Theresia Paradis und Dr. Franz Anton Mesmer,” *JGSW*, 17/18 (Wien: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1961–1962), 154, 159. However, it is worth noting that these notions regarding her background and affiliations still persist in musicological literature, such as in Diane Jezic, *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found*, 2nd ed., ed. by Elizabeth Wood (New York: Feminist Press, 1994), 58.

⁴⁴⁴ Michael Lorenz challenges some of Ullrich’s methods, including concerns related to source accuracy and documentation. See Michael Lorenz, “Marion Fürst: Maria Theresia Paradis. [Review],” in *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (2007/08): 190–191. This iterative process of critique and refinement is an integral part of the scholarly pursuit of historical accuracy.

born into the family of Joseph Anton Paradis (1733–1808), a prominent Viennese court official, and his wife Maria Rosalia Levassori della Motta (1739–1794).⁴⁴⁵ Paradis faced the loss of her vision at a very young age, likely starting when she was only two or three, culminating in absolute blindness.⁴⁴⁶ Desperate to find a solution, her family turned to the medical experts of Vienna, yet despite their best efforts, none of the physicians were successful.⁴⁴⁷ Despite her challenges, Paradis received an outstanding musical education for an eighteenth-century middle-class girl.⁴⁴⁸ At seven, she was given a spinet and an organ and made rapid progress under the tutelage of Franz Josef Fuchs (n.d.) and Georg Friedrich Richter (n.d.).⁴⁴⁹ With the guidance of Leopold Koželuch (1752–1818), Paradis cultivated a piano-playing style characterized by its delicacy, flexibility, clarity, and grace, which ultimately became her trademark.⁴⁵⁰ In addition to her already well-known

⁴⁴⁵ Hidemi Matsushita, “Maria Theresia von Paradis (1759–1824),” in *WCMA*, 3: 102. Paradis was named after her sister Maria Theresia Clotildis (June 3, 1758 – March 17, 1759), who died before her birth. She was raised in a dynamic familial setting alongside her twin sisters, Josepha and Elisabeth, and a number of additional brothers and sisters. Lorenz, “Marion Fürst: Maria Theresia Paradis,” 190.

⁴⁴⁶ Much of the Paradis profile was derived from Matsushita, “Maria Theresia von Paradis,” 3: 102–106, along with Fürst, *Maria Theresia Paradis: Mozarts berühmte Zeitgenossin*. It should be noted, however, that Michael Lorenz disputes some of Fürst’s findings, such as information on her siblings and her father’s position at court. See Lorenz, “Marion Fürst,” 189–193.

⁴⁴⁷ Matsushita, 102. When Paradis was eighteen, Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a controversial German doctor, arrived on the scene but ultimately failed in his attempt to cure Paradis’s blindness. For more information, see Lesley Frances Gray, “Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Mesmer and His Legacy: Literature, Culture, and Science” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kent, 2018), 35; and Charles Burney, “An Account of Mademoiselle Theresia Paradis of Vienna,” *Edward Cave, Gentleman’s Magazine: and Historical Chronicle*, 55: 1 (March 1785): 175. For the complete narrative, see Ullrich, “Maria Theresia Paradis und Dr. Franz Anton Mesmer.” Years later, Mozart satirized Mesmer’s “healing method” in his opera *Così fan Tutte*, portraying the ‘Doctor’ as a charlatan. Gray, 39.

⁴⁴⁸ Fürst, *Maria Theresia Paradis* 107–108.

⁴⁴⁹ Information on the enigmatic Fuchs has recently come to light, see Paul Miller, “A New Collection of Viola d’amore Music from Late 18th-Century Bohemia,” *Early Music* 45, no. 4 (2017): 613–27. For a deeper exploration of the challenges associated with correctly identifying Georg Friedrich Richter, see Rita Steblin, “A Problem Solved: The Identity of Georg Friedrich Richter,” *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America* 13, no. 2 (August 27, 2009), 6. Her impressive skills on the various keyboard instruments caught the attention of Empress Maria Theresa, who began supporting the eleven-year-old girl’s training with a generous pension of 300 guilders per year. *WAMZ 1813* (Wien, Köln, Graz: Herman Böhlaus Nachf, 1986), no. 32 (August 7, 1813): 485–486.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 486. Koželuch also taught Josepha Auernhammer, providing a secondary connection to Paradis. In a letter addressed to her friend, the scholar Johann Ludwig Weissenbur (1752–1800), who shared her visual impairment, Paradis shares her unique approach to mastering music despite her inability to read sheet music: With her extraordinary auditory acuity and memory, she recounts how she relied on her teachers to play the compositions for her, promptly reproducing them thereafter. On occasion, they would kindly provide her with key references, particularly during her study of ritornellos. “Ich habe zween vortreffliche Flügel. Man spielt mir die Stücke vor, und ich versuche es gleich nachzuspielen. Man verbessert etwas den Fingersatz, und ich lerne in einer Lection oft anderthalb Soli, ohne viele Mühe. Zuweilen werden mir auch die Tasten genent, besonders bei Erlernung der Ritornellen. Mein Gehör ist ziemlich richtig. Ich kan mich auf selbiges mehr verlassen, als auf die Tactirung mit der Hand. Ich spiele Concerte von P. E. Bach, Reichart, Wolf, Müthel, Richter, Benda, Schobert, etc. Mein Gedächtnis ist dabei die einzige Hülse, um die mancherlei Stücke nicht zu vor wirren” (DT) (Excerpt, letter from Paradis to Johann Ludwig Weissenbur) (Quoted) Jakob Peter Kling, ed., *Rheinische Beiträge zur Gelehrsamkeit*, 6 vols. (Mannheim, 1777–1781), 1: 245.

keyboard skills, her talents were further nurtured by Antonio Salieri and Vincenzo Righini (1756–1812), who instructed her in the art of singing, while Salieri and Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814) educated her in composition.⁴⁵¹

By 1775, Paradis had established herself as a prodigious talent in Vienna.⁴⁵² Her performances garnered admiration from the public, and her ability to excel despite her blindness only enhanced her popularity and mystique.⁴⁵³ For example, her playing captivated the author of an article in *Der Sammler*, drawing him rapturously into the heavens with her mesmerizing performance.⁴⁵⁴ Schönfeld particularly praised Paradis’s ability to infuse emotion, exhibit refined taste, employ subtle nuances, maintain clarity, and demonstrate precision in her performances.⁴⁵⁵ He claimed she excelled in the “pearly style” [Giuoco granito],⁴⁵⁶ where every note resonated with utmost precision, exhibiting strength, roundness, clarity, and impeccable timing.⁴⁵⁷ With familiarity and purpose, he emphasized that she skillfully employed rubato, while in the adagio passages, her tones seemed to float effortlessly, resembling the ethereal beauty of a singing voice.⁴⁵⁸

In August of 1783, Paradis embarked on an ambitious three-year concert tour with her mother and family friend Johann Riedinger (1751–1827).⁴⁵⁹ Within a week, the trio arrived at the Mozarts’ residence in Salzburg, signaling a promising start to their

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. Vogler becomes an integral link between individual and collective networks.

⁴⁵² Paradis showcased her exceptional skills both as a piano virtuosa and a captivating singer, gracing the stages of Viennese concert halls and the elegant salons of the aristocracy. Matsushita, 102.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ “Wie sehr mich die Gewandtheit, der zaubervolle Ausdruck ihres Vortrages entzückte, darf ich Ihnen nicht erst sagen. Es ward mir, wie wenn ich das Instrument hier in meinem Leben zum ersten Mal hörte. Und während sie sich und mich schwärmend in den Himmel empor zog durch die Macht der Töne, ruhte mein Blick wehmüthig auf der Edeln, für welche das ganze Weltall gestaltlos, und nur Ton oder Misston ist.” (DT) *Der Sammler* 15 (February 3, 1810), 60.

⁴⁵⁵ “Ihr Anschlag hat nicht das geringste Schülerhafte, sondern verräth eigenen Meisterkarakter; ihre Forderungen und Ansprüche im Spiel sind weder Gaukeley, noch lärmende Geschwindigkeiten, sondern Geist und Herzensnahrung. Dahero lobt man besonders an ihrer Spielart: Empfindung, Geschmack, Nüance, Deutlichkeit und Präzision. Besonders stark ist sie in dem sogenannten perlirten Spiel (Giuoco granito) in welchem alle Noten in einem Laufe in genauestem Verhältniß von Stärke, Rundung, Klarheit und Zeitmaaß mit einander stehn. Das Tempo Rubato pflegt sie mit Häuslichkeit und zweckmässig anzubringen. Im Adagio schweben ihre Töne beinahe wie die Stimme im Gesange.” (DT) Schönfeld, 46–47.

⁴⁵⁶ According to Tia DeNora in “Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven’s Vienna,” in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. by William E. Webber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 196, no. 13, “Giuoco granito” were a set of matched pearls, Vienna’s most popular jewel in the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵⁷ Schönfeld lauded the exceptional mastery of Paradis’s touch, which he found to be far from that of a mere student. Schönfeld, 46.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Fürst, 334.

journey.⁴⁶⁰ After traversing through Austrian and Germanic regions,⁴⁶¹ they continued their journey through Switzerland and France and eventually arrived in Paris in March of 1784.⁴⁶² Paradis took the stage fourteen times in the French capital, entertaining audiences in venues like the Concert Spirituel.⁴⁶³ She even performed a private recital exclusively for Queen Marie-Antoinette and King Louis XVI⁴⁶⁴ and performed for Benjamin Franklin in Passy.⁴⁶⁵

Later that same year, Paradis and her entourage made their way to London, marking a significant chapter in her concert tour.⁴⁶⁶ During this period, Charles Burney emerged as her champion, actively encouraging both the press and the general public to take a keen interest in the blind pianist and her musical abilities.⁴⁶⁷ Paradis's time in London also afforded her the privilege of frequent performances for the royal court, including appearances before Queen Charlotte and King George III.⁴⁶⁸ Her execution of

⁴⁶⁰ For a discussion on the connection between Paradis and the Mozarts, see Hermann Ullrich, "Maria Theresia Paradis and Mozart," *Music & Letters* 27, no. 4 (1946): 224–33.

⁴⁶¹ Upon her arrival in Augsburg in December 1783, Paradis visited the famous piano maker Johann Andreas Stein (1728–1792) and his accomplished daughter Nannette (Anna-Maria) (1769–1833). Fürst, 87. Nannette Stein, a noteworthy individual who achieved excellence in the fields of piano making, composition, music pedagogy, and writing, warrants a dedicated research project to fully comprehend the depth and complexity of her contributions. Given the limitations of time, however, it is prudent to defer such an investigation, thereby acknowledging the extensive networking opportunities that it entails.

⁴⁶² Matsushita, 102.

⁴⁶³ "Un talent plus étonnant encore peut être, par la privation d'un des organes qui sembleroit indispensable, c'est celui de Mlle Paradis, aveugle depuis l'âge de deux ans, & qui touche le clavecin avec une netteté, une précision dont on n'avoit pas l'idée. Son succès a été prodigieux, & devoit l'être; nous croyons impossible de porter cet instrument à un plus haut degré de perfection. [...] Mlle Paradis est la seule Artiste dont notre Nation ne puisse pas se glorifier. Cette habile Claveciniste est véritablement bien étonnante. Aveugle depuis l'âge de deux ans, il est inconcevable à quel point de perfection elle a porté la connoissance de son instrument. Il n'est pas douteux que la privation d'un sens n'influe sur la délicatesse des autres ; mais quand on songe à la nécessité où elle est de charger sa mémoire d'une infinité de petits détails que la seule inspection de l'œil rend si facile, on ne sait ce qu'on doit admirer le plus de la perfection de son jeu, ou des efforts & de la patience qu'il lui a fallu pour l'acquérir. On ne connoît point sur le clavecin d'exécution plus nette, plus précise & plus finie." (DT) *MF* (April 24, 1784): 83, 176–177.

⁴⁶⁴ Matsushita, 102.

⁴⁶⁵ Maria Theresia's mother wrote to Franklin asking if he would kindly write a word of remembrance in her daughter's autograph book. "Pardonnés la liberté que je prend de vous importuner Mais l'amitié que vous avés bien voullu Nous temoigner M'enhardit a vous faire une prierre. Le desir que Nous avons de Nous procure un Souvenire d'un homme qui est aussi Célebre par Ses tellents et Son Mérite personelle que vous. Nous Mettrions au Comble de faveur Si vous voulliés bien Nous Mettre un Mot Comme Souvenire dans Ce petit livre qui est destiné a Cet usage." (Transcription and notes) (Letter to Benjamin Franklin from Rosalia Maria Paradis, 27 October 1784) Founders Online: National Archives. Benjamin Franklin wrote the same day, "Wherever you go, may Health and Happiness attend you" the same day in Maria Theresia's autograph book. See "Entry in Maria Theresia Paradis' Autograph Book" (27 October 1784).

⁴⁶⁶ Burney, "An Account of Mademoiselle Theresia Paradis of Vienna," 175–176.

⁴⁶⁷ Without Burney's advocacy, establishing herself in London would have proven significantly more challenging. Over the course of her four-month stay, London's prestigious newspapers and magazines featured numerous articles praising her virtuosity, thanks in large part to Burney's efforts. Hermann Ullrich, "Maria Theresia Paradis in London," *Music & Letters* 43, no. 1 (1962): 18–19.

⁴⁶⁸ Burney, "An Account of Mademoiselle Theresia Paradis," 175–176.

several of Handel's intricate keyboard fugues, inspired by the King's deep affection for the beloved composer, entranced the entire court and left an indelible impression.⁴⁶⁹ Alongside her regal performances, Paradis performed in venues like the Solomon Symphonies, sharing the stage and establishing a primary connection with Elisabeth Mara.⁴⁷⁰

Despite receiving accolades and admiration from the aristocracy during her time in London, Paradis's public concerts failed to attain the success of her private performances.⁴⁷¹ Additionally, the English climate adversely affected her health, exacerbating the situation.⁴⁷² Consequently, Paradis left London in the spring of 1785 and continued her concert tour on the European continent, traveling through Brussels, Hamburg, Berlin, and Prague.⁴⁷³ However, she gradually returned to Vienna in 1786, where she was met with well-deserved recognition and financial rewards.⁴⁷⁴ Except for a return engagement in Prague in 1797, she dedicated the remainder of her life to residing in and around Vienna.⁴⁷⁵

Upon her return to Vienna, Paradis exhibited a preference for intimate concerts held in private settings instead of public performances.⁴⁷⁶ During this phase of her career, she primarily concentrated on composing, steering her focus toward piano songs, as well as larger-scale cantatas, operas, and melodramas, with varying degrees of success.⁴⁷⁷ One of her earliest works is the *Zwölf Lieder auf ihrer Reise in Musik gesetzt*, dating between 1784 and 1786.⁴⁷⁸ Paradis's blindness made the process of composition difficult for

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. The Prince of Wales, who would later become King George IV, was also a highly accomplished cellist. German newspapers documented her performance at Prince's residence, where she accompanied him. See *Journal von und für Deutschland* 3 (7/12) (Frankfurt: Hermann, 1786), 95. Other sources are referenced in Ullrich, "Maria Theresia Paradis in London," 20, no. 20.

⁴⁷⁰ Ullrich, "London," 21–22. Paradis's London schedule can be found at Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800* (Database. Goldsmiths, University of London), [Paradis — <Miss>Maria Theresia von].

⁴⁷¹ In a disappointing turn of events, some reviewers were quite critical of Paradis's public performances, which underscores the challenges she faced in meeting the heightened expectations of a broader London audience. Matsushita, 102.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Fürst, 115–148. Of particular relevance to this dissertation, Paradis performed alongside Minna Brandes and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) while she was in Hamburg. The performance featuring these exceptional artists is all the more poignant as Minna's mother and brother both died in the spring of 1786, a few short months after this performance. Head, 88.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁷⁵ While there is the possibility that she had intentions to tour in Italy and Russia, such a concert tour never came to fruition. Carl Friedrich Cramer, ed., *Magazin der Musik*, 4 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971), 2.2: 785 [55].

⁴⁷⁶ Matsushita, 102.

⁴⁷⁷ See a detailed list of Paradis's works at Fürst, "Maria Theresia (von) Paradis," *MUGI*, 2007.

⁴⁷⁸ Matsushita, 102. See Maria Theresia Paradis, *Zwölf Lieder auf ihrer Reise in Musik gesetzt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1786).

her.⁴⁷⁹ However, she was aided by a pegboard notation board developed by Johann Riedinger.⁴⁸⁰ Between 1789 and 1797, Paradis wrote five operas, among other works, including the melodrama *Ariadne und Bacchus*.⁴⁸¹ Notably, for her third opera, *Rinaldo und Alcino*, she collaborated with the blind librettist Ludwig von Baczko (1756–1823) and personally conducted the performances.⁴⁸² While many of Paradis’s scores have been lost over time, a few gems have resurfaced, such as her *Fantaisie in G* and *Fantaisie in C*, which she composed in 1807 and 1811, respectively.⁴⁸³

Following her father’s death in 1808, Paradis founded a thriving music academy for both female and male students, with or without visual impairment.⁴⁸⁴ She provided instruction in music theory, fortepiano, and vocal performance and employed a unique teaching method for her blind students involving small cutout cards that resembled Braille musical notes.⁴⁸⁵ Paradis fostered close relationships with her students, frequently hosting social events such as balls and parties, and regularly showcased their talents at music academies until a few weeks before her death on February 1, 1824.⁴⁸⁶ In contrast to

⁴⁷⁹ Fürst, 334.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. Riedinger is the one who accompanied Paradis on her European tour and served as the librettist for several of her stage works. Ibid., 270. Unbeknownst to them, Paradis and Riedinger played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for the Braille reading system. In 1784, Valentin Haüy (1745–1822) established the first “school” for the blind. Two years later, he created an embossed paper that allowed blind students to read for the very first time. He credited his writing system to Paradis, whom he had met in Paris several months before opening his school, and the information she had given him regarding the pegboard Riedinger created for her. *JP* (September 30, 1784): 1159. Therefore, Paradis and Riedinger acted as the catalyst for Haüy’s groundbreaking creation, which subsequently played a pivotal role in the evolution of Braille.

⁴⁸¹ *Ariadne und Bacchus* received positive reviews and six performances at the National Theatre. See *Wiener Zeitung* 55 (July 9, 1791): 1796.

⁴⁸² Matsushita suggests that it is likely the only instance in history where an opera was composed and written by blind artists and directed by a blind conductor. Regrettably, the opera was poorly received and saw just two performances in Prague, with no subsequent productions. Matsushita, 103.

⁴⁸³ Matsushita’s analysis of the *Fantaisie in G* was the first time that a keyboard work by Paradis had been published since 1807. See Ibid., 105–126. Paradis dedicated the piece to her composition teacher, Georg Vogler, who served as Kapellmeister to Gustav III of Sweden at the time. Matsushita, 103. She dedicated the *Fantaisie in C* to one of her pupils, Nanette de Sprinz. See Maria Theresia Paradis, *Fantaisie in C* (Autograph, n.d.).

⁴⁸⁴ “Da sie schon vor mehrern Jahren einige ausgezeichnete Clavierspielerinnen durch freundschaftlichen Unterricht gebildet hatte, so entschloss sie sich nach dem Tode ihres Vaters, (der kaiserl. Regierungsrath war,) vermuthlich um ihren geringen Unterhalt zu verbessern, (sie soll eine nur kleine Pension vom Hofe beziehen,) förmlichen Unterricht zu geben, und lehret nun nicht allein Fortepiano, sondern auch Gesang und General-Bass. Ein Glück für sie bey diesem Geschäft ist ihre Liebe für die Jugend und für die Kunst. Ich hatte das Vergnügen, die meisten ihrer Schülerinnen zu hören, und wurde dadurch ebenso überrascht, als erfreut.” (DT) *AMZ* 12 (April 25, 1810): 472–473.

⁴⁸⁵ *WAMZ* 1817 (Wien: S. A. Steiner und Comp., 1817), no. 38 (September, 1817): 322. Paradis’s legacy as the founder of the first music school accommodating both visually impaired and sighted students, alongside her influence on the development of the Braille system, highlights the profound impact of her work. These achievements illuminate her pioneering contributions to education and accessibility for individuals with visual impairments, leaving a lasting mark on history.

⁴⁸⁶ Fürst, 195–197. Paradis died from Lungenleiden [lung disease].

Marianna Martines, several of Paradis's pupils have been identified, including Karolyn Schonz (c1800), a visually impaired harpist.⁴⁸⁷

Cultural allusions honoring the life and contributions of Maria Theresia Paradis are abundant, underscoring her enduring legacy. One example is the naming of Paradisgasse, a street in the Döbling district of Vienna, after her in 1894.⁴⁸⁸ Paradis's life story, particularly the captivating healing attempts by Franz Mesmer in 1777, has inspired numerous creative works, including stories, novels, essays, films, musicals, and theatre productions. Bo Holten's opera *Maria Paradis*, which premiered successfully in 1999, is a notable example.⁴⁸⁹ Alisa Walser's 2010 novel *Am Anfang war di Nacht Musik* is equally compelling⁴⁹⁰ and was subsequently adapted into the film *Licht* in 2017.⁴⁹¹ Moreover, even the children's literature community recognizes Paradis's significance with a dedicated chapter in the book *Girls Who Rocked the World*.⁴⁹²

Paradis and Martines

Maria Theresia Paradis and Marianna Martines were prominent figures in the Viennese music scene during the eighteenth century, attested to by the dubious commentary of Caroline Pichler (1769–1843), who derided Martines while claiming to be friends with Paradis.⁴⁹³ Despite Pichler's biased remarks, both women were highly regarded by Empress Maria Theresa and were active participants in the musical community of Vienna. Although there is no documentation to verify a mutual influence between the two, it is reasonable to assume that Paradis would have been acquainted with Martines's work, given that the latter, who was fifteen years Paradis's senior, had already established a reputation for herself by the time Paradis began playing the piano.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 194. Paradis provided Schonz music theory lessons tailored to her blindness, while Josepha Müllner (1768–1843) gave her harp instruction. *WAMZ 1817*, no. 32 (August 7, 1817): 265. Further details about Müllner will be covered later in this chapter.

⁴⁸⁸ Fürst, 7.

⁴⁸⁹ Bo Holten and Eva Sommestad Holten, *Maria Paradis* (Score, Wilhelm Hansen edition, 1999).

⁴⁹⁰ Alisa Walser, *Am Anfang war di Nacht Musik* (München, Piper Verlag, 2010).

⁴⁹¹ Barbara Albert, Alissa Walser, et al., *Licht* [also released as *Mademoiselle Paradis*] (NGF Geyrhalter Filmproduktion, 2017).

⁴⁹² Michelle Roehm McCann and Amelie Welden, "Maria Theresia von Paradis," in *Girls Who Rocked the World* (New York: Aladdin, 2012), 39–41.

⁴⁹³ "Nur zwei habe ich in meinem langen Leben und bei besonders in meiner Jugend häufigen Berührungen mit der musikalischen Welt gekannt, die sich mit Komposition beschäftigten, ein Fräulein von Martinez, Schülerin des berühmten Metastasio, der bei ihren Eltern lebte und sich die Ausbildung dieses, in vieler Hinsicht ausgezeichneten Frauenzimmers zum angenehmen Geschäft machte; und meine Freundin, das blinde Fräulein von Paradis." Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, ed. by Emil Karl Blümml, 2 vols. (München: Georg Müller, 1914), 1: 296. (Translation) Godt, *Marianna Martines*, 3.

Paradis on the map

Paradis was born at Rotenturmstrasse 27 but lived most of her childhood at Kärntnerstrasse, near the iconic St. Stephen's Cathedral and only a short distance from the homes of Josepha Auernhammer and Katharina Auenbrugger.⁴⁹⁴ However, in 1795, she relocated to Kohlmarkt 18, positioning herself right in the heart of Vienna, conveniently situated near prominent venues like the Hofburg Palace and the Burgtheater.⁴⁹⁵ Paradis's relocation to Kohlmarkt is particularly interesting as it centered her amid the other five musicians, creating a dynamic hub of female creativity. Furthermore, her new residence placed her directly across the street from the apartment of the Martines family and Metastasio, where they had resided for fifty years (Michaelerplatz 4).⁴⁹⁶

— Delineating the network based on geographical proximity

Figure 1.20 provides a detailed depiction of Maria Theresia Paradis's connections with notable musical figures and significant locales of the eighteenth century. Additionally, it sheds light on other prominent female musicians uncovered during the research process. While Paradis's profile primarily displays strong linkages with peripheral individuals, a more thorough analysis of the biographical sketches presented in the dissertation may uncover additional associations. This deeper examination could offer valuable insights into Paradis's network and further elucidate her interactions and influences within the musical milieu of European female musicians.

The spatial concentration of these women musicians in Vienna's inner city suggests that geographical proximity may have facilitated both formal and informal exchanges of musical ideas, performance practices, and professional opportunities. This clustering pattern, when considered alongside the network visualizations presented earlier, reinforces the notion that eighteenth-century Viennese women musicians occupied a distinct—if underrecognized—sphere of influence within the broader musical landscape of the Habsburg capital.

⁴⁹⁴ "Maria Theresia Paradis," Wien Geschichte Wiki. See the link in the bibliography. The Auernhammer and Auenbrugger profiles contain their addresses, and you can find the locations in Figure 1.18.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Figure 1.18 shows Paradis's Kohlmarkt residence across from the Martines family home.

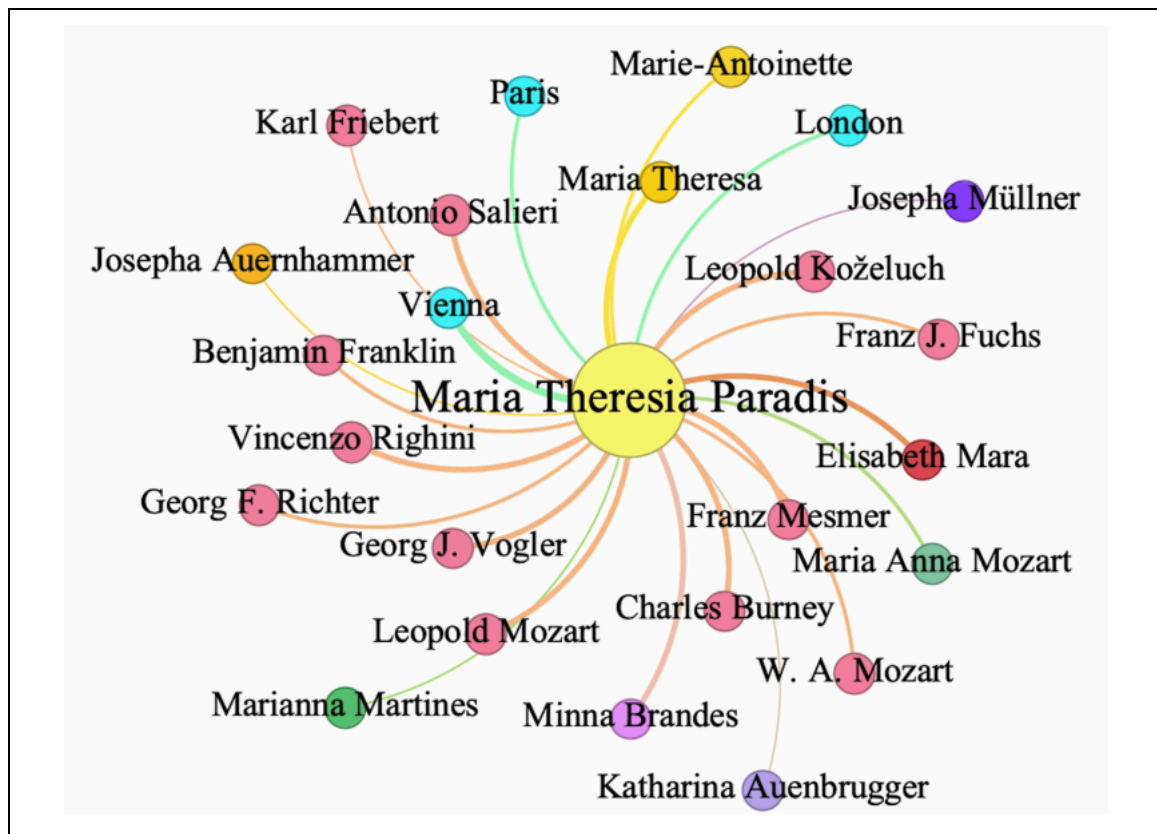


Fig. 1.20. Maria Theresia Paradis network

The Martines network gained complexity by integrating Maria Theresia Paradis's links in Figure 1.21. The network comprises three prominent figures: Marianna Martines, Elisabeth Mara, and Maria Theresia Paradis. While the predominant connections are primarily linked via Metastasio, a heterogeneous group of individuals constitutes secondary ties, including Empress Maria Theresa and W. A. Mozart, and the cities of Vienna, Paris, and London.

Furthermore, despite Genovieffa Ravissa's connections being located in the network's periphery, she still maintains a level of connectivity. Undoubtedly, the female actors often relied on their male instructors. Yet, an analysis of their profiles indicates a notable impact on younger women, while the visual representations suggest a potential for interaction with their contemporaries. Conversely, the clusters associated with Elisabeth Mara and Maria Theresia Paradis feature a greater number of peripheral and unconnected links, implying a lower degree of interdependence and interaction within these groups. This observation suggests the emergence of a more complex web of relationships and collaborations within this particular circle.

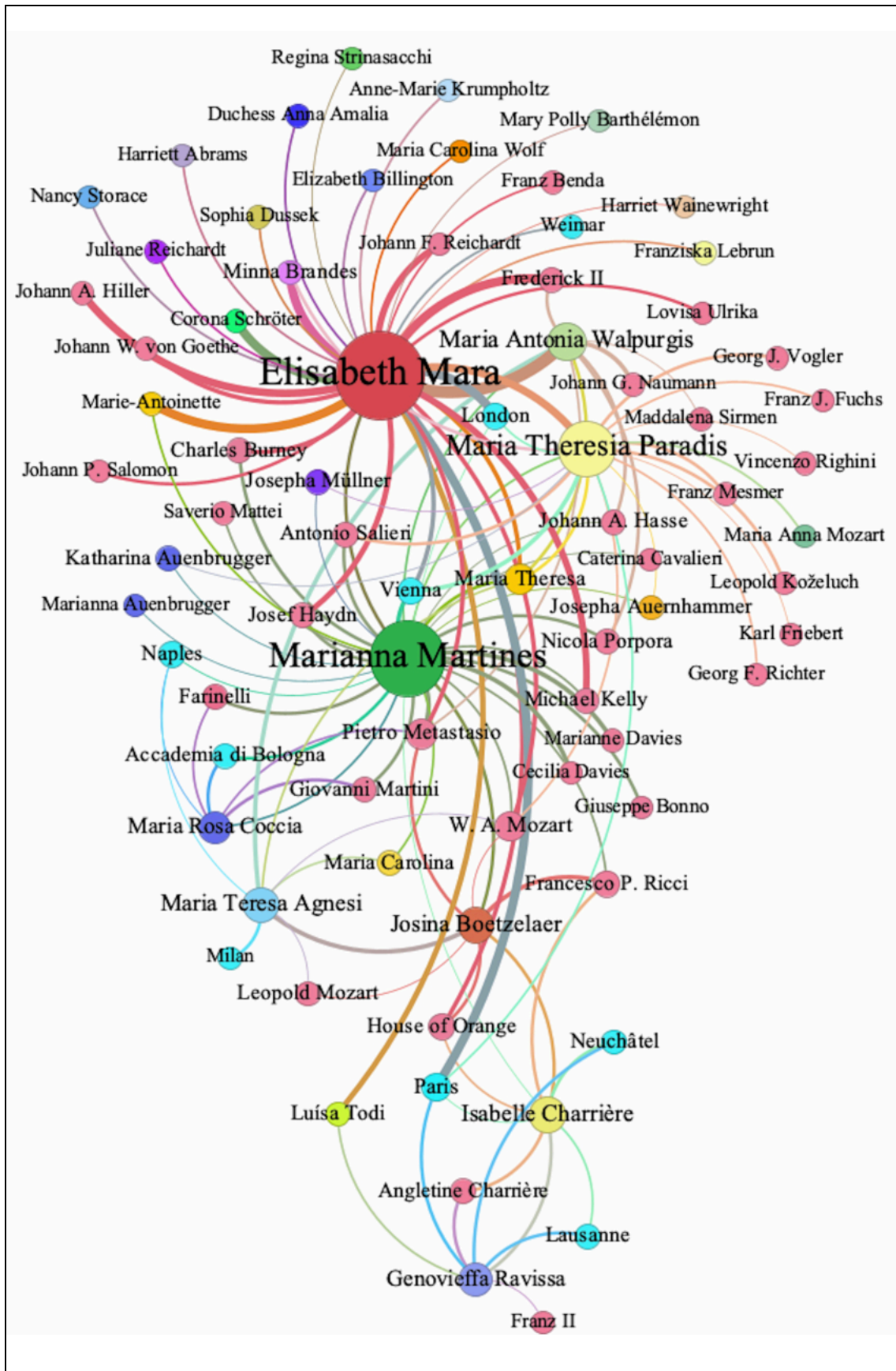


Fig. 1.21. Martines composite network with Maria Theresia Paradis

1.11 Katharina (1755–1825) and Marianna (1759–1782) Auenbrugger

The offspring of Leopold Auenbrugger (1722–1809), the pioneering physician credited with inventing percussion as a vital medical diagnostic tool, enjoyed a privileged education in a family that sincerely appreciated music.⁴⁹⁷ The Auenbrugger household in Vienna was a center of cultural vibrancy, hosting weekly soirées that attracted musical luminaries, including Joseph Haydn and the Mozart family.⁴⁹⁸ Prominent among the regular attendees was Antonio Salieri, who not only provided piano lessons to Katharina and Marianna but also collaborated with Leopold on the opera *Der Rauchfangkehrer* [The Chimney Sweep].⁴⁹⁹

Overall, these gatherings provided the stage for the regular performances of the Auenbrugger sisters, earning accolades from renowned maestros.⁵⁰⁰ Haydn himself composed a collection of six sonatas in tribute to their outstanding aptitude.⁵⁰¹ In a letter addressed to the publisher, he emphasized the need to secure the approval of these young ladies, as their genuine insights and musical interpretation rivaled that of the most eminent masters.⁵⁰² Furthermore, Leopold Mozart lauded the sisters' piano playing as unparalleled.⁵⁰³ Unfortunately, Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) mistakenly referred to Katharina as “Franciska” in his travel writings.⁵⁰⁴ However, he reported that she

⁴⁹⁷ Luca Borghi, “Tapping on the Chest of History...,” *Acta Medico-Historica Adriatica* 16, no. 1 (2018): 134–135.

⁴⁹⁸ Melanie Unseld, “Auenbrugger, Katharina,” *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Freia Hoffmann, 2009 (updated 2023).

⁴⁹⁹ Alex Sakula, “Auenbrugger: Opus and Opera,” *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of London* 12, no. 2 (January 1978): 185–187. See Antonio Salieri and Leopold Auenbrugger, *Der Rauchfangkehrer: Komische Oper in 3 Acten* (Autograph, 1782). Such was the bond between the two men that Leopold Auenbrugger served as Salieri's best man at the composer's wedding in 1775. Michael Lorenz, “Antonio Salieri's Early Years in Vienna,” blog article (2013). Also available via Academia.edu (2013), 12–13.

⁵⁰⁰ Unseld, “Auenbrugger, Katharina.”

⁵⁰¹ Hob. XVI:35–39 and 20; dedicated to “Catarina e Marianna d'Auenbrugger.” (Facsimile) Tom Beghin, *The Virtual Haydn: Paradox of a Twenty-First Century Keyboardist* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 2015), 73–74, 134–136.

⁵⁰² “Der beyfall deren Freilen v. Auenbrugger ist mir der allerwichtigste, indem Ihre spielarth und di Ächte einsicht in di Tonkunst denen grösten Meistern gleichkomt: Beede verdienten durch öffentliche Blätter in ganz Europa becant gemacht zu werden.” (Excerpt, letter from Haydn to the Artaria publisher on February 25, 1780) (DT) (Quoted) Joseph Haydn, *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon and Dénes Bartha (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1965), 90. (Translated) Joseph Haydn, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), 25.

⁵⁰³ “Wegen dem Frauenzimmer, ist es keine andere als die Tochter des h: Doctor Auenbrugger, oder vielmehr seine 2 Tochter, die beyde, sonderheitl die ältere unvergl: spielt, und vollkomen die Musik besitz.” (Excerpt, Leopold Mozart's letter to his wife, August 12, 1773) (Transcription) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente.”

⁵⁰⁴ Friedrich Nicolai, *Be Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781* (Berlin: Selbstverl, 1784), 4: 554.

displayed masterful skill in playing the piano and possessed a deep soprano voice with pure intonation and genuine emotional expression.⁵⁰⁵ Similarly, Gerber erroneously entered the musician’s name as “Franzisca” in his encyclopedia.⁵⁰⁶ Nonetheless, he recognized her talents even at eleven, when she demonstrated outstanding abilities as both a pianist and a singer.⁵⁰⁷

1782 was a momentous year for Katharina, marking several significant events in her life. It began with her marriage to the widower Joseph Freiherr Zois von Edelstein (1744–c1819) in January.⁵⁰⁸ Notably, in July of the same year, Count Karl von Zinzendorf (1739–1813) documented in his journal that Katharina took on the role of “Renaud” [Rinaldo] in Vincenzo Righini’s opera *Armida*.⁵⁰⁹ However, just a month later, tragedy struck as her sister Marianna passed away at the young age of twenty–three.⁵¹⁰

Marianna Auenbrugger’s story is one of both triumph and tragedy. Born into a world of privilege and surrounded by the enchanting melodies that filled her home, she possessed a natural talent that set her apart.⁵¹¹ However, she grappled with health issues from a young age.⁵¹² Her teacher and family friend, Salieri, was so moved by her untimely passing that he composed the ode “Deh si piacevoli” in her memory.⁵¹³ Salieri

⁵⁰⁵ “Das Fräulein Franciska von Auenbrugger, eine Tochter des rühmlich bekannten Arztes, spielt meisterhaft auf dem Klavier, und singt mit reiner Intonation und wahre Affekte. Ihre Stimme ist ein tiefer Sopran.” Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches*, 1: 54, col. 68. The occurrence of the mistaken name “Franciska” in Nicolai’s 1784 travelogue and repeated in Gerber’s entry serves as a reminder of how misinformation has perpetuated throughout history. These instances highlight the challenges inherent in accurately preserving and disseminating information, especially in an era without the ease of fact-checking and widespread communication that we have today.

⁵⁰⁷ “Die Tochter eines rühmlich bekannten Arztes in Wien, war schon im T. 1766 daselbst als eine große Klavierspielerin und Sängerin berühmt und lies 1787 eine Klaviersonate von ihrer Arbeit stechen.” Ibid. Gerber’s reference to a piano sonata by “Franzisca Auenbrugger” in 1787 presents an intriguing historical puzzle. Given the potential for historical inaccuracies, it is indeed possible that he may have combined the achievements of the Auenbrugger sisters, leading to confusion about the composer of the sonata. Therefore, it is possible that the sonata in question could be attributed to Marianna Auenbrugger rather than Katharina. Efforts to locate or identify the sonata have proven elusive.

⁵⁰⁸ Beghin, 182.

⁵⁰⁹ (Quoted) Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, 2: 172. Count Zinzendorf, an Austrian statesman who regularly attended music and theatrical performances, is primarily remembered for his remarkably extensive and meticulously maintained diaries, penned in French. Despite her recent marriage, Zinzendorf mistakenly referred to her by her maiden name. Tom Beghin suggests that Zinzendorf either forgot her married status or that “Katharina’s celebrity was such that he persisted in seeing her as mademoiselle.” Beghin, *The Virtual Haydn*, 183.

⁵¹⁰ See Matriken Österreich: Archdiocese of Vienna, St. Stephan Parish. Marianna von Auenbrugger, [Death records] 1781–1784, no. 0213.

⁵¹¹ Beghin delves into the possibility that Marianna Auenbrugger might have been the more exceptional musician compared to her sister. Beghin, 181–183.

⁵¹² Melanie Unseld, “Auenbrugger, Mariana,” *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*, 2009 (updated 2023).

⁵¹³ See Marianna Auenbrugger and Antonio Salieri, *Sonata per il clavicembalo o forte piano dalla illustre amigella Marianna d’Auenbrugg* (Wien: Artaria Comp, n.d.), 13–19.

went a step further to honor Marianna's legacy when he personally financed the publication of her "Sonata per il clavicembalo" after her death, her first and last known composition.⁵¹⁴

There is limited information available concerning Katharina after her sister's passing. Nevertheless, Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch* of 1796 reveals that Katharina frequently participated in the Viennese academies, displaying her musical talent and refined taste.⁵¹⁵ However, over time, her appearances at these events became less frequent.⁵¹⁶ Furthermore, in his exhaustive survey of the "Dilettantenakademien" [Amateur Academies], Schönfeld includes Frau Baroness Katharina von Zois alongside Marianna Martines, citing her as one who hosted small musical gatherings every Sunday morning.⁵¹⁷ Katharina had four musically inclined daughters who continued the family's musical legacy, becoming accomplished musicians in their own right: Cécilia Zois, Josefine Lehman, Louise Zois, and Maria von Gold.⁵¹⁸ The exact cause of Katharina's demise remains unidentified.

Auenbrugger and Martines

Katharina Auenbrugger and Marianna Martines were notable figures in the Viennese musical community and enjoyed a reputation that extended beyond their local sphere. This is evidenced by the recognition from musicians beyond Vienna, such as Johann Adam Hiller, who commended both of their musical abilities in his publication

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 1–12. Of the two women, Marianna has attracted more contemporary attention, perhaps due to her early death and the existence of her sonata. However, it is essential to recognize that Katharina's career endured, both as a performer and as an academician. Furthermore, her influence extended to her children, who also achieved distinction as performers. There remains a significant need for further research to fully explore the life of this remarkable female musician and her family.

⁵¹⁵ "Eine der ersten Künstlerinnen auf dem Fortepiano, welches Instrument sie nicht nur mit Fertigkeit, sondern auch mit Geschmack spielte. Seit mehreren Jahren aber hört man sie wenigstens in Akademien nicht mehr. Ihr besang ist einer der gefälligsten, so man hören kann. Mit einer angenehmen Stimme verbindet sie eine große Menge nicht nur zierlicher, sondern auch empfindungsvoller Manieren." Schönfeld, 68.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Schönfeld, 73. Katharina appeared to be carrying on the family tradition that she and her sister had been raised in, where weekly gatherings were filled with abundant piano performances and singing.

⁵¹⁸ See Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe, 1808–1809*, ed. by Gustav Gugitz (Munich: Georg Müller, 1915), 2: 24, no. 1. Ernest von Lehmann, the grandson of Katharina, provides a conflicting statement to Reichardt's narrative. According to Lehmann, Katharina had only two daughters: his mother, Aloisia Edlen v. Lehmann, and his unmarried aunt, Louise. Lehmann also claims that Marianna was the oldest of the Auenbrugger siblings. These inconsistencies introduce a level of intricacy and fascination to the family's history, presenting researchers with numerous enigmas to resolve. See Ernst von Lehmann, "Mittheilungen eines Urenkels Auenbrugger's," reproduced in *Leopold Auenbrugger, der Erfinder der Percussion des Brustkorbes*, ed. by Conrad Clar (Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1867), 35–39.

Wöchentliche Nachrichten in Leipzig.⁵¹⁹ Given their standing within the Viennese musical community and the broader recognition of their talents, it is highly probable that Martines and Auenbrugger were aware of each other, if not through direct interaction, then at least by reputation.

Auenbrugger on the map

Katharina Auenbrugger's birthplace is not precisely known, but it is plausible that it was located near Marianna Martines's residence in the city center. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Auenbrugger family's musical gatherings attracted distinguished personalities like Mozart, Haydn, and Salieri.⁵²⁰ Nevertheless, it is a confirmed fact that after Katharina's marriage to Joseph Zois in 1782, both the Auenbrugger and Zois families cohabited at Neuer Markt, no. 1121 (now no. 9).⁵²¹ At that juncture, Martines was still a resident of Michaelerplatz 4, and subsequently relocated to Herrengasse 25 within a span of two to three years, both of which were situated close to the Auenbrugger Zois home.⁵²² Similarly, Paradis resided within a few minutes' walk from the other two at Kärntnerstrasse and Kohlmarkt 18.⁵²³

1.12 **Josepha Auernhammer Bessenig** (1758–1820)

Josepha Auernhammer was an outstanding figure in the history of Viennese music, distinguished by her talents as a harpsichordist, pianist, composer, piano instructor, and editor.⁵²⁴ She was the eleventh of fifteen siblings born to Johann Michael Auernhammer (1719–1782), a Viennese economic councilor, and Elisabeth Timmer (1723–1802).⁵²⁵ Auernhammer's musical journey began with piano instruction from

⁵¹⁹ Johann Adam Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend* (Leipzig: Verlag der Zeitungs-Expedition, 1767), 1: 100.

⁵²⁰ Unseld, "Auenbrugger, Katharina." It stands to reason that fewer individuals would have attended had their home not been conveniently situated in a central and accessible location.

⁵²¹ Borghi, 134–135. Katharina, her family, and her father, Leopold, lived in the same house near the Capuchin Church [Kapuzinerkirche], known as the final resting place of the Habsburg family. See Kapuzinergruft: Die Grabstätte der Habsburger in Wien.

⁵²² The distance between Michaelerplatz 4 and Neuer Markt 9 is approximately 400 meters, which is equivalent to roughly 0.25 miles. Moving on to Herrengasse 25, the distance to Neuer Markt 9 doubles to approximately 800 meters, or about 0.5 miles.

⁵²³ While we lack the specific building number for Paradis's Kärntnerstrasse, known as Bockisches Haus (Wien Geschichte Wiki, "Maria Theresa Paradis"), the farthest distance from Neuer Markt 9 to Kärntnerstrasse is to building 1, spanning 300 meters. Lastly, the distance from the Auenbrugger's to Kohlmarkt 18 measures 450 meters.

⁵²⁴ Claudia Schweitzer, "Auernhammer, Josepha," *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*, 2012.

⁵²⁵ Michael Lorenz, "New and Old Documents Concerning Mozart's Pupils Barbara Ployer and Josepha Auernhammer," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 3, no. 2 (2006): 319.

prominent individuals, including Georg Friedrich Richter and Leopold Koželuch.⁵²⁶ However, her influential association with W. A. Mozart ensured her a place in musicological studies.⁵²⁷ While historical records regarding Auernhammer's education before 1778 are scarce, her family's musical background and subsequent tutelage under such consummate musicians imply a strong foundation in music that likely began during her early childhood.⁵²⁸

Auernhammer's life took a significant turn when she inherited a substantial fortune from her maternal great-uncle, Karl Timmer, upon his passing in 1785.⁵²⁹ This financial windfall empowered her to make a bold choice for a woman of her time: to remain unmarried and wholeheartedly pursue a career as a musician.⁵³⁰ Mozart, her famous piano instructor, promised to safeguard her secret and pledged to assist her in achieving her aspirations.⁵³¹ Despite her declarations of independence, however, Auernhammer was reportedly enamored with her teacher and harbored hopes of marrying him.⁵³² This situation incensed Mozart and led him to launch a vitriolic attack on her

⁵²⁶ Ibid. For a deeper exploration of the challenges associated with correctly identifying Georg Friedrich Richter, see Rita Steblin, "A Problem Solved: The Identity of Georg Friedrich Richter," *Newsletter of the Mozart Society of America* 13, no. 2 (August 27, 2009), 6. It is worth noting that Josepha Auernhammer shared instructors with Maria Theresia Paradis (Richter and Koželuch), underscoring the interconnectedness of Viennese musicians at that time.

⁵²⁷ The most comprehensive biographies are by Claudia Schweitzer, "Auernhammer, Josepha" *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*; and Melanie Unseld, "Auernhammer, Josepha," *MUGI*, 2006 (updated 2018).

⁵²⁸ Her musical lineage, originating from a family of famous Timmer musicians on her mother's side, undoubtedly influenced her artistic journey. See Lorenz, "New and Old Documents," 319–320; Unseld, "Auernhammer, Josepha."

⁵²⁹ Lorenz, "New and Old Documents," 319.

⁵³⁰ Auernhammer confided in Mozart that she did not consider herself conventionally beautiful and believed that, as a result, her marriage prospects would be limited to someone of lower social status, like a petty clerk. Demonstrating early feminist sentiments, she expressed her preference for remaining true to herself and relying on her talent for self-sufficiency. (Marianna Martines made a similar decision after receiving her inheritance from Metastasio.) Mozart, naturally, conveyed this conversation to his father. "denn sie sagt, ich bin nicht schön; *o contraire* hässlich. einen kanzleÿ Helden mit 3 oder 400 gulden mag ich nicht heurathen, und keinen andern bekomme ich nicht; mithin bleib ich lieber so, und will von meine talent leben." (Excerpt, Wolfgang's letter to Leopold, June 27, 1781) "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 608 (Vol. 3, pp. 134–135). All letters on the Mozarteum website may be found as facsimiles, transcriptions, reading views, and English translations.

⁵³¹ Their scheme was for her to practice diligently for two or three years, and then go to Paris and make a profession of it. However, despite Auernhammer's request for confidentiality, Mozart shared her plan with his father. "sie hat mir ihren Plan |: als ein geheimnüss: | entdeckt, der ist noch 2 oder 3 Jahr rechtschaffen zu studiren, und dann nach Paris zu gehen, und Metier davon zu machen. und da hat sie recht; sie bat mich also ihr beÿzustehen, um ihren Plan ausführen zu können. — aber sie möchte es niemand vorhersagen." Ibid.

⁵³² "— in der ganzen stadt sagt man das wir uns heÿrathen, 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 dazu gelacht habe; ich weis aber von einer gewissen Person daß sie es bejahet habe, mit dem zusatz, daß wir alsdann zusamm Reisen werden. — das hat mich aufgebracht. — die freulle ist ein scheusal! — spielt aber zum entzücken; nur geht ihr des Wahre feine, singende geschmack im *Cantabile* ab; sie verzapft alles. (Letter of June 27) [...] wenn ein Maler den Teufel recht natürlich Malen wollte, so müste er zu ihrem

musicianship and physical appearance, labeling her a monster and a lovesick clown.⁵³³ Regardless, Auernhammer and Mozart managed to maintain a close friendship that endured long after her infatuation abated.⁵³⁴ This friendship was not limited to personal connections but also extended to their professional collaborations, performing together in several concerts, including a particularly intricate duet at her parent's residence.⁵³⁵ Mozart even dedicated *Six Sonatas for Violin and Piano*, K.296 and K.376 to her, collectively known as the "Auernhammer Sonatas."⁵³⁶ Moreover, Auernhammer played a key role in printing several of Mozart's works.⁵³⁷

Contrary to her earlier intentions, Auernhammer married the magistrate Johann Bessenig (c1752-1837) in 1786.⁵³⁸ Even after her marriage, Josepha Auernhammer continued to pursue her musical career under her maiden name and established herself as one of Vienna's most celebrated piano virtuosos.⁵³⁹ Her early performances were met with widespread acclaim and admiration.⁵⁴⁰ However, as the eighteenth century drew to a

gesicht zuflucht nehmen. — sie ist dick wie eine bauerdirne; schwitzt also daß man speien möchte; und geht so bloß. [...] 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 dazu gelacht 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." (Mozarteum transcription) (Excerpt, Wolfgang's letter to Leopold, August 22, 1781) "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 619 (Vol. 3, pp. 150–152).

⁵³³ Ibid. See Melanie Unsel'd's analysis of the veracity of these letters in her "Josepha Auernhammer" *MUGI* article.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ According to Schweitzer, "Auernhammer, Josepha," the duo performed Mozart's elaborate *Sonata in D Major*, K. 448. See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Sonate in D für zwei Klaviere, KV 448 (375a)," in *Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie IX, Werkgruppe 24, Abt. 2: *Klaviermusik*, hrsg. von Ernst Fritz Schmid (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), 2–38.

⁵³⁶ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Sonate in C, KV 296," in *Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie VIII, Werkgruppe 23, Bd. 1: *Sonaten und Variationen für Klavier und Violine*, hrsg. von Eduard Reeser (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), 139–153; and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Sonate in F, KV 376 (374d)," in *Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie VIII, Werkgruppe 23, Bd. 2: *Sonaten und Variationen für Klavier und Violine*, hrsg. von Eduard Reeser (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), preface and 16–31.

⁵³⁷ Carl Cramer (1752–1807) noted this as early as 1784. Cramer, *Magazin der Musik*, 2.2: 1274.

⁵³⁸ The bride may have been pregnant at the time of her wedding, given that the marriage took place on May 23, 1786, and their first child, Marianne Clara, was born on December 13 of the same year. See [St. Michael Parish, Marriage records] 1784–1804, no. 0028; and [St. Michael Parish, Baptism record] 1781–1784, no. 0213. It is interesting to observe that Marianne Clara surname is recorded as Pöbkönig, deviating from the conventional spelling of "Bessenig." Josepha and Johann appear to have had at least three confirmed children: Marianne Clara (1786), Maria Barbara (1788), Carolus Josephus (1797). There is also a potential fourth child, Andreas (c1790), but this remains unverified. Lorenz, "New and Old Documents," 321.

⁵³⁹ Mozart and Reeser, Serie VIII, Werkgruppe 23, Bd. 2, preface, X. Auernhammer performed alongside prominent artists such as Theresa Gassmann Rosenbaum, Josepha Müllner-Gollenhofer, and Antonio Salieri, as well as her celebrated duets with Mozart. See "Appendix One: Public Concert Calendar" and Appendix Two: Private Concert Calendar" in Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*, 237–362 and 365–412.

⁵⁴⁰ Auernhammer performed almost annually in Vienna's Burgtheater, highlighting works by Mozart. See Schweitzer, "Auernhammer, Josepha."

close, a discernible shift in musical styles began emerging, leading to increasingly critical assessments of Auernhammer's style.⁵⁴¹ In a scathing review from 1799, an anonymous critic lamented Auernhammer's inability to perform with expressiveness and true nobility, which he attributed to her inclination to embellish her playing to flaunt her virtuosity.⁵⁴² Despite the acerbic criticism, the reviewer offered a glimmer of encouragement, acknowledging that she played quite well and admirably confronted her challenges.⁵⁴³ Interestingly, the reviewer expressed a certain fondness for the variations on a duet based on Salieri's opera *La stessa, la stessissima*, which Auernhammer had composed herself.⁵⁴⁴

In addition to her sustained performance schedule over the years, Auernhammer composed dozens of works for violin and piano and many sets of variations, including a set of six variations on "Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja" from Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte* in 1792-1793.⁵⁴⁵ Despite her accomplishments, Auernhammer faced criticism from those who believed such prolific output was inappropriate for a woman.⁵⁴⁶ The critiques of Auernhammer's work, however, were contradictory. A critic from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1799 condescendingly acknowledged her skill, stating that although her variations were not intricate, they could still be played and enjoyed while providing some exercise for the left hand.⁵⁴⁷ Conversely, a review in 1804 by the *Zeitung*

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² "Ihr ganzes Bestreben gehet auf Ueberwindung fast unüberwindlicher Schwierigkeiten, dabey vernachlässigt sie das, was man im edlern Sinn Vortrag nennet, und wird es, bey diesen Umständen niemals zum wirklich schönen und ausdrucksvollen Spiel bringen. Ich will nicht entscheiden, welche von den beyden gewöhnlichen Ursachen dieser Erscheinung — ob Mangel an feinem Gefühl, oder Begierde glänzen zu wollen, bey dieser Virtuusin hieran Schuld sind. Schade, dass noch immer so viele geschickte Virtuosen, und besonders Klavierspieler, nicht einsehen wollen, dass Deutlichkeit, Geschmack und schöner Vortrag ungleich mehr Werth haben, als alles Vorbeyrauschen undeutlicher Passagen und alles Hin — und Herspringen, wo doch fast immer unter drey Noten eine verfehlt, und wodurch das ganze Spiel dem ernsthaften Kenner, so wie dem gebildeten Manne, der nur nicht gerade selbst Virtuos ist — verleidet wird." (DT) *AMZ* 33 (May 15, 1799): 523–524.

⁵⁴³ "Uebrigens lasse ich der Dem. A. gern das Recht widerfahren, dass sie, nach dieser angegebenen Weise, recht brav spielt und ihre Schwierigkeiten ritterlich bekämpfte. *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ "Besonders gefielen mir und allen die von ihr selbst verfassten Variationen über das Duett: *La stessa, la stessissima* — aus Salieri's Oper." *AMZ* 33 (May 15, 1799): 524.

⁵⁴⁵ Josephine Aurnhammer and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *VI Variazioni per clavicembalo o pianoforte dell'aria "Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja" nel opera "Die Zauberflöte" [KV 620] del Mozart.* (Wien: Artaria, 1792).

⁵⁴⁶ "Das 63ste Werk? — Ey, ey, das ist für den äussern Beruf einer Dame, auch von noch so vielem innere Berufe zu den Musenkünsten, etwas viel! Aber noch, mehr wäre es, wenn das innere Spiel höherer Naturkräfte, die sich gerade aus nach Wirksamkeit sehnen, und über alle Bedenklichkeit und Schwierigkeit leicht und frey hinwegstreben, lange nicht so vielen Antheil als andere Motiven, wovon der Mann wie das Weib so gern sich bestimmen lassen, an dem Hervorbringen und Ausstellen so vieler Werke haben sollte." (DT) *AMZ* 5 (October 30, 1799): 90–91. In her *MUGI* article, Melanie Unseld lists Auernhammer's known compositions.

⁵⁴⁷ "Doch dem sey, wie ihm wolle; das Publikum, das Wiener wenigstens, muss es doch der Mad. Aurnhammer verdanken, dass sie so viel zu seinem Vergnügen und seiner Unterhaltung beyzutragen

für die elegante Welt highlighted the complexity of her compositions, declaring that “whatever Madame Auernhammer composes, only Madame A. can play.”⁵⁴⁸ Schilling echoed this sentiment in 1835, recommending all of Auernhammer’s compositions to only highly skilled musicians, emphasizing the need for subtlety and sensitivity.⁵⁴⁹

Auernhammer delivered her final performance at the Burgtheater in 1813, accompanied by her daughter, Marianne Clara.⁵⁵⁰ However, the concert received a scathing review from a *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* music critic.⁵⁵¹ He lamented that Auernhammer’s playing lacked the refined taste of the era and was devoid of any nuanced expression, resembling a mere exercise in musical technique.⁵⁵² Yet, despite the mixed reception of her compositions and performances, Auernhammer continued to perform at the Burgtheater⁵⁵³ and private Viennese residences.⁵⁵⁴ Her contributions to the Viennese music scene earned her the respect and admiration of her peers until her death in Vienna in 1820.⁵⁵⁵ Schönfeld expressed his appreciation for the presence of such a talented woman as Auernhammer, recognizing her as a valuable teacher for aspiring young women.⁵⁵⁶

bemüht gewesen ist. Auch dies Variationen lassen sich ganz angenehm spielen und hören, und die dritte kann der linken Hand einige Uebung geben. Künstliche Anlage und Verwickelung des Thema’s ist eben nicht darin, indess gut vorgetragen, wie Mad. A. sie wie ungleich andere Sachen gewiss vorträgt, werden sie dennoch gefallen.” Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ “Die Variationen über ein Thema aus einem Ballet, waren mit das Beste; denn was Mad. Auernhammer komponirt, kann auch nur Mad. A. spielen.” (DT) *ZW* 36 (March 24, 1804): 284.

⁵⁴⁹ “Alle ihre Compositionen übrigens verlangen weniger eine große mechanische Fingerfertigkeit, als Subtilität und Zartheit im Vortrage, Präcision und die höchste Delicatesse im Unschlage, weshalb wir sie weniger Anfängern als wirklich gebildeten Spielern empfehlen können. Mad. A. starb erst vor nicht gar langer Zeit.” (DT) Gustav Schilling, et al., eds., *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart: Löflundt, 1835), 1: 333.

⁵⁵⁰ Marianne had already established herself as a renowned singer by 1806. “Gerade diesen Abend hatte auch Madam Auernhammer zu ihrer Akademie gewählt. Von den Verdiensten dieser Klavierspielerin ist schon sehr richtig in Ihren Blättern geurtheilt worden. Ich bemerke blos, dass eine Tochter [Marianne] von ihr Stimme und Methode sehr ausgebildet habe, und jezt wirklich unter die vorzüglichern Sängern gerechnet werden müsse.” (DT) *AMZ* 29 (April 16, 1806): 459. Marianne was a member of the Viennese Court Opera (1809–1814) and a contralto at the Estates Theatre in Prague (1815–1822). She married Johann Franz Vinzenz Czegka in 1810 and taught music in Prague (the famous soprano Henriette Sonntag (1806–1854) was one of Marianne’s students. See Carl Maria von Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Anna Czegka.”

⁵⁵¹ “Mad. Auernhammer zeigte in dessen Vortrag, daß der veredelte Zeitgeschmack auf ihr Spiel wenig Einfluß genommen habe. Dieses ist wohl fertig, und sicher, wie man es von einer so lange geübten Klavierspielerinn erwarten kann; allein ohne Licht und Schatten, ohne Nüanze, blos schulgerecht, mithin der genialischen Komposition nicht entsprechend.” Ignaz Franz von Schönholz, *WAMZ* 13, no. 13 (March 27, 1813): 191–192.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Morrow, 251, 259, 273, 286, 291, 293, 301, 308, 311, 317, 322, 328, 335.

⁵⁵⁴ Dorothea Link, “Vienna’s Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 122:2 (1997): 239–248.

⁵⁵⁵ Unsel, “Auernhammer, Josepha.”

⁵⁵⁶ “Für junge Damen ist es eine erwünschte Gelegenheit an ihr ein Frauen zimmer von so großen Taleten zur Lehrerin zu finden.” Schönfeld, 9.

🌿 Auernhammer on the map 🌿

Josepha Auernhammer, like her contemporaries, played a vital role in the vibrant Viennese musical scene. She grew up at Himmelpfortgasse 6,⁵⁵⁷ which was located 180 meters from Katharina Auenbrugger Zois at Neuer Markt 9 and only a short two- or three-minute stroll from Maria Theresia Paradis's residence on Kärntnerstrasse. After her marriage to Johann Bessenig in 1786, Auernhammer resided at Stadt. 941/8R, now known as Kartnerstrasse 13/15.⁵⁵⁸ By this period, Paradis had relocated to the nearby suburb of Landstrasse.⁵⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the residence of Auernhammer Bessenig was situated at a distance of only 170 meters from Auenbrugger Zois.

The close proximity of Josepha Auernhammer, Katharina Auenbrugger, and Maria Theresia Paradis likely had considerable significance in terms of their interactions and the exchange of musical ideas. It is reasonable to assume that these accomplished musicians were familiar with the works and achievements of Marianna Martines, who was several years their senior and had already established a notable reputation for herself in Vienna's musical circles. Moreover, the shared connections, mutual acquaintances, and common teachers, including luminaries like Mozart and Salieri, would have created ample opportunities for these talented women to cross paths, collaborate, and draw inspiration from one another.

— Further delineation based on geographical proximity

Katharina Auenbrugger's network diagram, illustrated in Figure 1.22, demonstrates her illustrious connections. These associations are multifaceted, encompassing their links to the royal family and their common relationships with three prominent composers of the Vienna era: Mozart, Salieri, and Haydn. Notably, she maintains strong affiliations with Marianna Martines and Maria Theresia Paradis. It is worth highlighting a gradual increase in interconnectivity among the peripheral

⁵⁵⁷ Lorenz, "New and Old Documents," 320. This was Auernhammer's residence when she was Mozart's student. A plaque affixed to the building commemorates Mozart's performance at the newly established restaurant here in 1788 and Beethoven in 1797. "1788 gründete hier der Leibkoch der Kaiserin Maria Theresia, Franz John ein Nobelrestaurant, eine sogenannte Traiteurie, wo berühmte Konzerte stattfanden. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart führte hier 1788 ein Pastorale von Händel und Ludwig van Beethoven 1797 ein Quintett für vier Bläser und Pianoforte auf."

⁵⁵⁸ Paul Harrer-Lucienfeld, *Wien, seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur* (Wien: Self-published, 1951–1958), 5.2.

⁵⁵⁹ Wien Geschichte Wiki, "Maria Theresa Paradis."

individuals associated with Marianna Martines. This observation indicates the emergence of a more complex web of relationships and collaborations within this particular circle.

Josepha Auernhammer's map in Figure 1.23 portrays her strong affiliations with her birthplace and mentors, particularly Leopold Koželuch and Georg F. Richter, who were also associated with Maria Theresa Paradis. Although our knowledge of Auernhammer predominantly stems from her close association with W. A. Mozart, there is also the potential for intriguing connections with other Viennese female musicians. These links, indicated by narrower edges and positioned further from the center, also suggest possible associations with Josepha Müllner and Theresa Rosenbaum.⁵⁶⁰

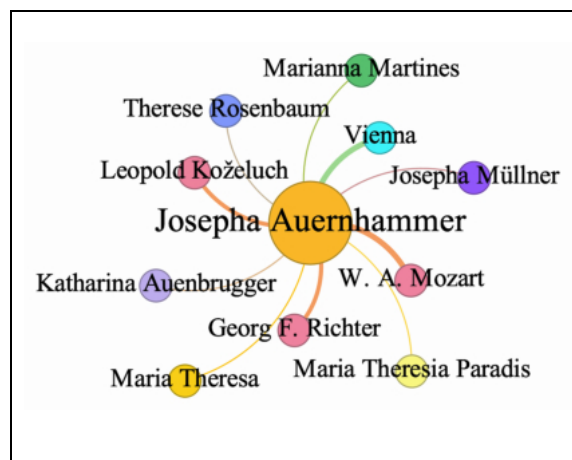
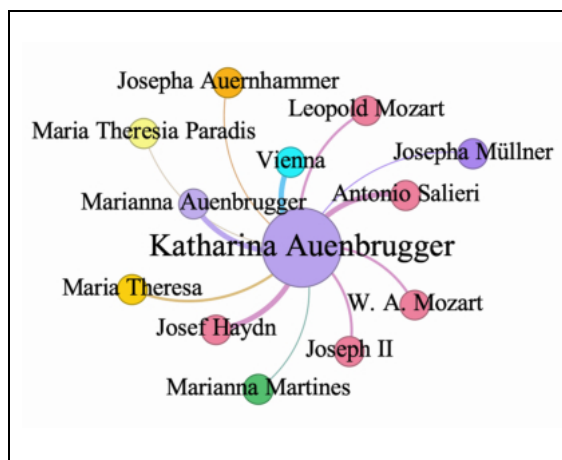


Fig. 1.22. Katharina Auenbrugger network

Fig. 1.23. Josepha Auernhammer network

Initially classified as ‘potential’ connections due to their geographical proximity to Marianna Martines, integrating Auenbrugger and Auernhammer into the network now underscores the substantive nature of the Viennese musicians’ secondary ties. Overall, Figures 1.24 and 1.25 provide a comprehensive visual representation of the intricate web of connections that Auenbrugger and Auernhammer established and highlights their significant role in connecting various individuals. What began as tentative geographical associations has evolved into a demonstrable ecosystem of domestic music-making and social exchange, suggesting that Vienna’s inner-city salons functioned as crucial—if informal—nodes of musical transmission and collaboration that have been underrecognized in conventional historiography.

⁵⁶⁰ Therese Rosenbaum and her connection to the other Viennese musicians will be introduced in a following section.

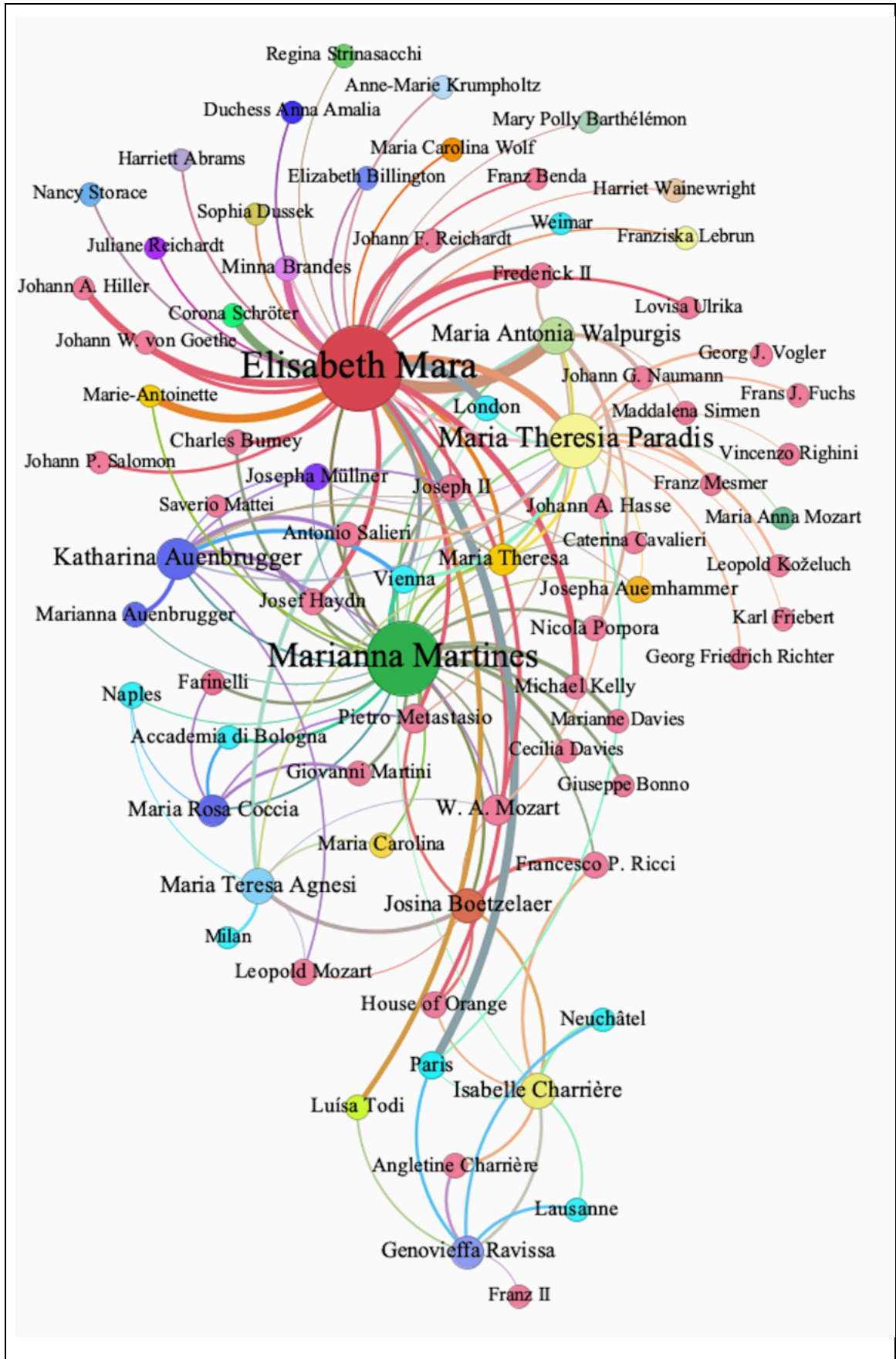


Fig. 1.24. Martines composite network with Katharina Auenbrugger

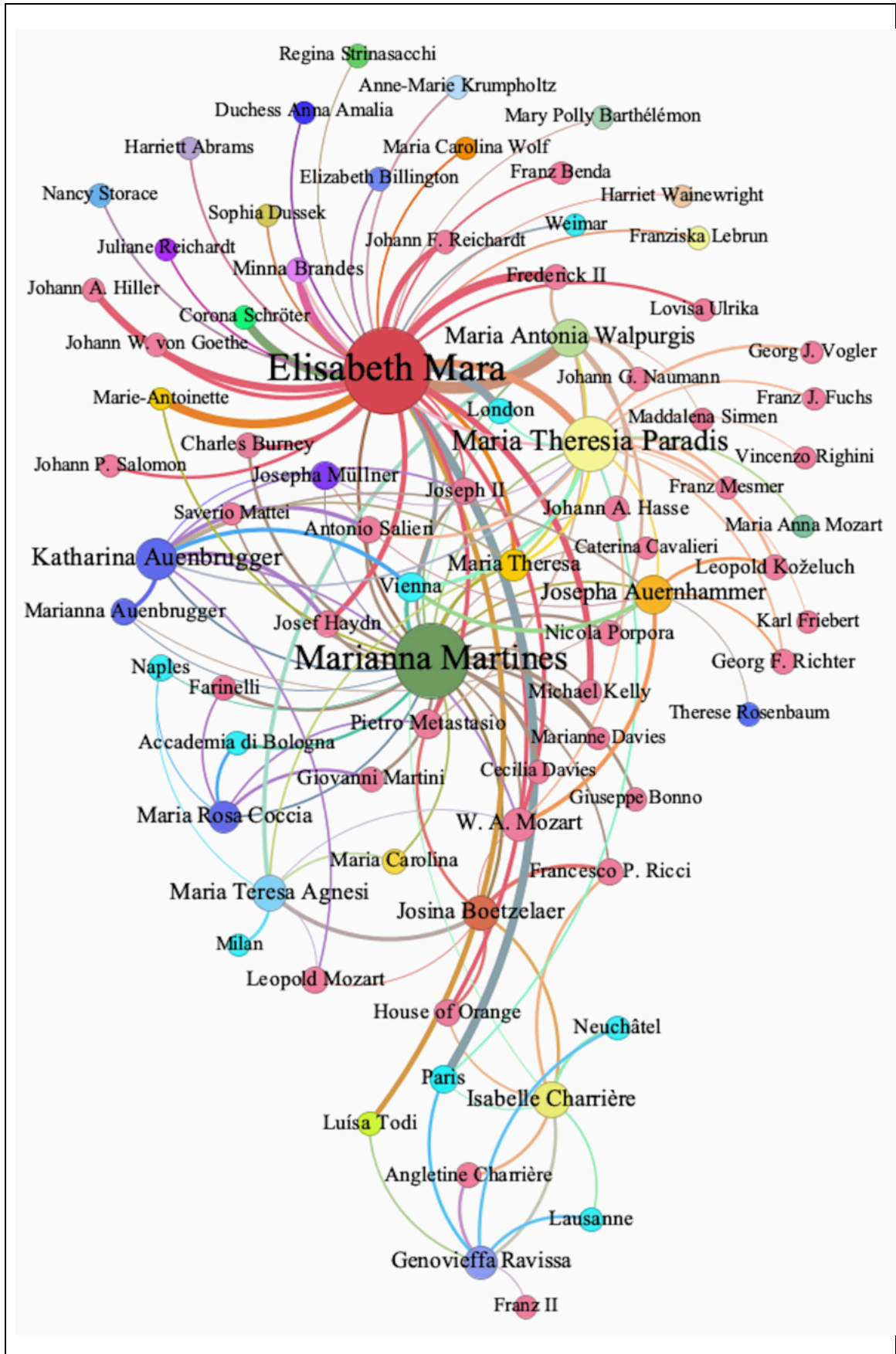


Fig. 1.25. Martines composite network with Josepha Auernhammer

1.13 Josepha Müllner Gollenhofer (c1768–c1843)⁵⁶¹

Our subsequent potential connection is with Josepha Müllner. She was a Viennese virtuoso harpist, teacher, and composer who overcame her lack of musical lineage to become one of the most renowned harpists of her time.⁵⁶² Müllner was born to Karl Müllner (n.d.), a master shoemaker, and Elisabeth Heinrich (n.d.).⁵⁶³ Information about her formal education is negligible, but it is documented that at seven, she received harp instruction from an elderly woman who rented her parents' summer house.⁵⁶⁴ Her exceptional musical abilities became apparent early on as she memorized all twenty-seven harp pieces in her instructor's repertoire.⁵⁶⁵ Consequently, a longtime family acquaintance by the name of Franz Bierfreund (1732–1788) provided her with three years of complimentary harp lessons.⁵⁶⁶

Josepha Müllner's career was marked by remarkable achievements from a young age. At twelve, she made her first public appearance at the Gumpendorfer Church.⁵⁶⁷ Her outstanding talent quickly garnered invitations to church festivals and intimate house concerts, which became a regular feature of her life.⁵⁶⁸ In 1780, Emperor Joseph II recognized Müllner's skill and presented her with a magnificent pedal harp.⁵⁶⁹ Overwhelmed with joy, she eagerly displayed her talents in a concert just two weeks later, playing with such passion that she remained oblivious to the fatigue in her fingers.⁵⁷⁰ From then on, Müllner remained regularly employed as a harpist in the Burgtheater's orchestra.⁵⁷¹

Emperor Joseph II's patronage reached its zenith when he orchestrated the

⁵⁶¹ There are various contradictory dates for Josepha Müllner's birth and death. For further clarification, see Gerlinde Haas, "Wunschtraum und Wirklichkeit: Korrigierende Notizen zu Leben Und Werk der Josepha Müllner-Gollenhofer," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, no. 44 (1995): 289–291.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.* A substantial portion of the information pertaining to Müllner's profile is sourced from Gerlinde Haas's research.

⁵⁶³ Haas, "Wunschtraum und Wirklichkeit," 290.

⁵⁶⁴ Haas presents the legends surrounding Müllner's early teachers. *Ibid.*, 291–292.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁶ Although Haas lacked knowledge of the surname of Müllner's harp teacher, Franz, this missing information has since been provided by Hanna Bergman, "Müllner-Gollenhofer, Josepha," *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*, 2008 (updated 2022).

⁵⁶⁷ Haas, 292.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 292–293.

⁵⁶⁹ Bergman, "Müllner-Gollenhofer, Josepha."

⁵⁷⁰ "Unter Thränen der Begeisterung erglühete sie aber, als ihr Kaiser Joseph eine Pedalharfe zum Geschenke übersandte, die sie bis an ihr Lebensende als ein geheiligtes Andenken bewahrt. Vierzehn Tage hiernach gab sie im Theatre bey gedrängt vollem Hause im Beyseyn Sr. Majestät des Kaisers mit stürmischem Beyfalle ein Concert auf der Pedalharfe und spielte hierbey mit einem solchen Eifer, daß sie nicht empfand, wie ihr das Blut von den Fingern rann." (DT) *WZ* 68 (March 9, 1843): 517.

⁵⁷¹ Bergman.

inaugural concert tour of Josepha Müllner and her mother in 1789.⁵⁷² To ensure their success, the Emperor provided them with a letter of recommendation, cementing Müllner's reputation as a virtuoso harpist of the highest caliber.⁵⁷³ With the resounding success of her tour and the imperial backing, Müllner's career continued to flourish.⁵⁷⁴ In addition to her position in the theatre orchestra, Müllner continued to actively engage in Vienna's musical scene.⁵⁷⁵ She frequently participated in charitable concerts and offered harp lessons to aspiring musicians, contributing to cultivating the next generation of harpists.⁵⁷⁶

Emperor Franz II assumed Müllner's sponsorship after Joseph II's death in 1790.⁵⁷⁷ He entrusted her with the responsibility of teaching harp to the archduchesses Maria Clementina (1798–1881) and Maria Leopoldina (1797–1826) and his second wife Empress Maria Therese (1772–1807).⁵⁷⁸ In addition to her teaching duties, Müllner embarked on an extensive tour across the Germanic and Prussian territories between 1792 and 1801.⁵⁷⁹ Her performances during this period were met with noteworthy success, contributing further to her reputation as a prominent harpist.⁵⁸⁰

In 1808, Josepha Müllner married Lieutenant Georg Gollenhofer (1780–1847) in a seemingly happy but childless union.⁵⁸¹ Nevertheless, her personal life did not hinder her professional accomplishments. Within the same year of her marriage, Müllner received

⁵⁷² This tour took them to prominent Italian cities such as Padua, Vicenza, Milan, and Parma. Haas, 294.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Based on an analysis by musicologist Mary Sue Morrow, it can be inferred that Müllner, due to her extensive performance calendar, was a highly skilled harpist during her time. She takes note of Müllner's full concert schedule as evidence of her exceptional abilities, which may have led to her being regarded as a dominant figure in the harp market, potentially eclipsing the contributions of other harpists. See Morrow, 172, 442.

⁵⁷⁵ Bergman.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid. As Bergman notes, Müllner began teaching when she was still a child. She had established a remarkable reputation and, on occasion, collaborated with her students in public performances, forming a harp sextet. One of Müllner's students was Karoline Schonz, providing a network connection between Müllner and Paradis, who taught Schonz music theory. *WAMZ 1817*, no. 32 (August 7, 1817): 265.

⁵⁷⁷ Joseph II, profoundly impressed by her musical prowess, became a steadfast supporter and promoter of her career until his passing. See Bergman.

⁵⁷⁸ Nancy B. Reich, "European Composers and Musicians, 1800–1890," in *Women & Music: A History*, 2nd ed., ed. by Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 169. It is worth noting that Empress Maria Therese, the Princess of Naples and Sicily, was not only Franz's cousin but also Maria Carolina's eldest daughter and the granddaughter of Empress Maria Theresa.

⁵⁷⁹ This decade-long European tour allowed her to showcase her exceptional musical talents in some of the most musical cities of the time. For a comprehensive list of cities visited during her tour, please visit Haas, 295–296.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 296. During her ten-year European tour, it is probable that she established connections with various individuals pertinent to my research.

⁵⁸¹ Haas, 296–297.

the prestigious title of “Hofharfenmeisterin,”⁵⁸² and in 1811, she was granted a permanent position as a virtuoso soloist in the court orchestra.⁵⁸³ Müllner’s performances with the court orchestra and other venues were praised for their excellence.⁵⁸⁴ While mentions of Josepha Müllner Gollenhofer in the press were typically brief, they consistently highlighted her virtuosity and the profound respect she commanded as a musician.⁵⁸⁵

Josepha Müllner’s illustrious career extended beyond her virtuosity as a harpist; she was also an acclaimed composer.⁵⁸⁶ However, despite her impressive output, her notoriety as a harp virtuoso often eclipsed her compositional achievements.⁵⁸⁷ In addition to the harp compositions featured in her performances, Müllner also composed songs for voice, harp, and piano.⁵⁸⁸ Furthermore, she wrote a chamber quartet and a singspiel, *Der Heimliche Bund*, for which she authored the libretto.⁵⁸⁹

Müllner’s talent and stature in the musical world inspired dedications from several notable composers. For instance, Johann Baptist Schenk (1753–1836), a Viennese Singspiel composer, dedicated four concerts for the pedal harp with orchestra to Müllner between 1784 and 1788.⁵⁹⁰ During her guest appearance in Dresden, Johann Naumann arranged a choir from his oratorio *Die Pilgrime am Grabe Christi* for four voices, wind instruments, and harp, dedicating this composition to her.⁵⁹¹ Even Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) included a harp part specifically for Müllner in his ballet *Die Geschöpfen des Prometheus*, performed as a tribute to Holy Roman Empress Maria Therese in 1801.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸² [Court Harp Mistress] *WZ* 16 (February 24, 1808): 902.

⁵⁸³ She retained both of these distinguished roles until 1841. Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, ed., *Die kaiserliche Hofkapelle in Wien von 1543–1867* (Wien: Beck, 1869), 92, 96.

⁵⁸⁴ The references can be found in various installments of *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 1798–1847. See *AMZ* 2 (1800): 330; *AMZ* 6 (1804): 622; *AMZ* 7 (1805): 614; *AMZ* 10 (1808): 540; *AMZ* 28 (1826): 217–218.

⁵⁸⁵ For example, “Selbst die alles zerstörende Zeit konnte auf die solide Virtuosität dieser seit mehr als 20 Jahren geachteten Künstlerin nicht nachtheilig einwirken.” *AMZ* 13 (March 29, 1826): 217.

⁵⁸⁶ Haas, 297–299.

⁵⁸⁷ Reviews of Josepha Müllner’s performances focused on her dexterity as a harpist rather than the compositions themselves. As highlighted in Gerber’s commendation, when Müllner fully immersed herself in performing one of her own Viennese folk songs, he described her playing as eliciting the purest silver tones from her instrument. “Sie entlockte, als sie über ein Wiener von ihr selbst komponirtes Volkslied sich ganz der Fantasie überließ, ihrem Instrumente die reinsten Silbertöne.” (DT) Ernst Ludwig Geber, ed., *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, 1812), 3: 271, col. 525.

⁵⁸⁸ Haas, 297–299, 302. The only composition presently accessible is a Thanksgiving song that Müllner dedicated to the daughter of Franz II, Maria Clementina. See Josepha Müllner-Gollenhofer, *Danklied* (Wien: A. Pennauer, 1830).

⁵⁸⁹ Haas, 299–300.

⁵⁹⁰ Bergman, “Müllner-Gollenhofer, Josepha.”

⁵⁹¹ Haas, 298, no. 53.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, no. 51.

After a brilliant career, Josepha Müllner Gollenhofer passed away on January 19, 1843, and was laid to rest in the Schmelzer cemetery, now the Märzpark, no. 1372.⁵⁹³ According to Schönfeld, Müllner was a strange genius.⁵⁹⁴ Despite being born into a bourgeois family and lacking exposure to the sophisticated world of high society, her innate musical sensibility propelled her to attain recognition as Vienna’s preeminent harpist.⁵⁹⁵

Müllner and Martines

It is noteworthy that during her childhood, Josepha Müllner had already established her dominance in the harp-playing industry and had become a renowned figure in the Viennese musical community.⁵⁹⁶ Meanwhile, her contemporary, Marianna Martines, had achieved considerable recognition as a composer, performer, and teacher in Vienna for over two decades. Given the thriving musical scene in Vienna and their shared status as distinguished musicians, it is highly probable that Müllner grew up in an environment where she was well aware of Martines’s widespread fame and accomplishments.

Müllner on the map

The proximity of Josepha Müllner and Marianna Martines, who resided in the same neighborhood, likely played a substantial role in their potential interaction. While the exact birthplace of Josepha Müllner remains uncertain, historical records indicate that she was raised in Basteihaus Nr. 129, which is currently known as Helferstorferstrasse 1.⁵⁹⁷ Following her marriage to Georg Gollenhofer in 1808, her father, Karl Müllner, gave the couple half of the house, which the Müllner Gollenhofers called home until its sale in 1832.⁵⁹⁸ The Müllner residence is of particular significance, given its proximity to

⁵⁹³ Gerlinde Haas reports the cause of death as “Auszehrung,” which translates to emaciation or consumption. This term was often used historically to describe various illnesses that led to severe weight loss and debilitation. On the other hand, Hanna Bergmann asserts that Müllner contracted breast cancer [Brustkrebs] in 1840 and succumbed to the disease three years later. It is not uncommon for historical records to contain variations or contradictions, especially when it comes to the cause of death. Further research or access to more comprehensive historical records may be necessary to conclusively determine the accurate cause of her death.

⁵⁹⁴ “[E]in merkwürdiges Genie.” Schönfeld, 45.

⁵⁹⁵ “Als eine Bürgerstochter, ohne Gelegenheit, durch Umgang mit der feinen Welt ihren Geschmack zu den zärtlichen tönen der Harmonie zu bilden, erwachte ihr Gefühl von selbst, und stieg in der Tonkunst so hoch, daß sie wirklich für die größte Harpenspielerinn Wiens geachtet wird.” (DT) Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Morrow, 172; Haas, 291.

⁵⁹⁷ Haas, 291; Harrer-Lucienfeld, *Wien, seine Häuser*, 2.1.

⁵⁹⁸ Haas, 290–291, no. 11.

Marianna Martines during both phases of the latter's life in Vienna.⁵⁹⁹ When Martines resided at Michaelerplatz 4, the distance between their homes was a mere 650 meters. Later, when Martines relocated to Herrengasse 25 after 1782, the distance between their residences decreased to just 250 meters. This physical closeness, coupled with the vibrant musical milieu of Vienna, created an ideal backdrop for potential interaction and collaboration between these two accomplished musicians.⁶⁰⁰

1.14 Therese Gassmann Rosenbaum (1774–1837)

Our investigation into potential geographical connections ultimately leads us to the fascinating figure of Therese Gassmann, an Austrian coloratura soprano most famously known for her iconic interpretations as the “Queen of the Night” in Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte*.⁶⁰¹ While the details about her early life are scarce, certain fundamental information offers an intriguing glimpse into her background.

Therese Gassmann, the godchild of Empress Maria Theresa, was the daughter of Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729–1774), a celebrated composer of “dramma giocoso,”⁶⁰² and Barbara Dam (1749–n.d.).⁶⁰³ Her enduring connection to Antonio Salieri adds a captivating dimension to Therese's life story; Salieri had long been a protégé of Florian Gassmann, with whom he resided until the latter's untimely passing in 1774.⁶⁰⁴ Florian died a mere ten weeks before Therese's birth, and therefore, Salieri assumed the role of a

⁵⁹⁹ The two distinct phases of Martines's life can be characterized by the years she spent living with Metastasio, followed by the period after his death.

⁶⁰⁰ Morrow, 172; Haas, 291.

⁶⁰¹ [The Magic Flute] “Rosenbaum, Therese (1774–1837), Sängerin,” Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon. Online edition.

⁶⁰² “Dramma giocoso” is an Italian term that translates to “playful drama” in English. It is a genre of opera that emerged in the eighteenth century, particularly in Italy. Dramma giocoso operas are characterized by a combination of serious and comic elements. Unlike the more serious and tragic operas of the time, such as opera seria, drammi giocosi incorporated humor and lighter themes into their plots. Key features of the genre include a blend of drama and comedy, lively and engaging music, complex characters, and satirical elements. One of the most famous composers associated with drammi giocosi is Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who wrote several operas in this genre, including *Le nozze di Figaro* [The Marriage of Figaro], *Don Giovanni*, and *Die Zauberflöte* [The Magic Flute]. These works are celebrated for their brilliant blending of drama and comedy, making them enduring opera classics.

⁶⁰³ Lorenz, “Antonio Salieri,” 8. Florian Gassmann's significance extends beyond his role as composer, however. He holds a pivotal place in the history of Viennese music due to his founding of the Tonkünstler-Societät [Society of Musical Artists]. This society held historical importance as it was the first group in Vienna to organize and present concerts to the general public. For further insights on Gassmann and the Society, see Wuchner, “The Tonkünstler-Societät and the Oratorio.”

⁶⁰⁴ Lorenz provides insights into the Gassmann/Salieri residences and Salieri's relationship with the Gassmann family. (Lorenz, “Antonio Salieri.”) This juncture proved crucial in Salieri's career, as he was appointed as the director of Italian opera at the Habsburg Court during that same year. See John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 211.

surrogate father in the lives of Therese and her sister, Anna.⁶⁰⁵ This bond had a profound and lasting impact on the sisters, as both Therese and Anna received their vocal training under Salieri's guidance, laying the foundation for their musical trajectories.⁶⁰⁶

Therese's career took off in 1790 when she secured a coveted engagement at the prestigious Kärntnertortheater in Vienna.⁶⁰⁷ As her career unfolded, her talent and dedication led her to perform in concerts organized by the Tonkünstler-Societät as early as 1793.⁶⁰⁸ According to her contemporaries, she enthralled audiences with her acclaimed stage performances, including notable roles such as "Elisetta" in Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*, "Eugenia" in Paisiello's *La molinara*, and the complex characters of the "Countess" and "Donna Elvira" in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, respectively.⁶⁰⁹

Therese's operatic success reached its zenith, however, when she assumed the role of "Königin der Nacht" in the Kärntnertortheater's premiere of *Die Zauberflöte* in 1801, which suited her coloratura.⁶¹⁰ Her performances were so captivating that even Empress Maria Therese of Naples and Sicily could not help but be moved, although her feelings seemed to be mixed with a touch of intimidation.⁶¹¹ The Empress remarked, "You sing confoundedly high, I am often frightened when you sing so high, and almost tremble."⁶¹² Despite the Empress's admiration and fascination with Therese's vocal prowess, which led to invitations for her to perform at court festivities, no documented evidence suggests that the Empress invited the soprano to participate in private concerts.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁵ Lorenz, "Antonio Salieri," 1–10. Therese's sister, Anna Barbara Gassmann (1772–1852), was also a singer and subsequently married composer Peter Fuchs (1753–1831), one of the most celebrated violin virtuosos of the era. *Ibid.*, 6–7.

⁶⁰⁶ Gerber, *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon*, 2: 141, col. 262.

⁶⁰⁷ Therese was an ensemble member at the Kärntnertortheater until 1809. "Rosenbaum, Therese," *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*. Hotel Sacher's present location stands on the site where the Kärntnertortheater stood until its demolition in 1870. See Austria-Forum, "Kärntnertortheater, AEIOU."

⁶⁰⁸ Wuchner, 336. Typically, the concerts took place at the Burgtheater.

⁶⁰⁹ "Rosenbaum, Therese," *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*.

⁶¹⁰ Therese also reprised the role of the "Queen of the Night" from 1812 to 1814. *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ "Verflucht hoch singen sie, ich habe manchmal Furcht, wenn sie hoch singen und zittere fast." [Empress Maria Therese to Therese Rosenbaum] (Quoted) Joseph Carl Rosenbaum's diary, July 2, 1800) Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Carl Rosenbaum, 1770–1829*, ed. by Else Radant (Bryn Mawr, Pa: Presser, 1968), 83.

⁶¹² (Quoted and translated) John Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and Music at the Viennese Court, 1792–1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 56.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

In 1800, at the age of 26, Therese married Joseph Carl Rosenbaum (1779–1829), a man who not only held a special place in her heart⁶¹⁴ but also shared a close friendship with Joseph Haydn and held a secretarial position for the Esterházy family.⁶¹⁵ However, their union faced considerable challenges. According to legend, Prince Esterházy himself harbored strong reservations about their marrying despite Haydn’s well-intentioned mediation efforts.⁶¹⁶ Consequently, Rosenbaum chose to leave the prince’s service and acquired a residence in Vienna, thus transitioning into the life of a private citizen, all in pursuit of his love for Therese.⁶¹⁷

The Rosenbaum residence emerged as a prominent venue for hosting many intimate concerts, a tradition that endured until Joseph’s passing in 1809.⁶¹⁸ In the wake of her husband’s death, Therese Rosenbaum continued her musical career and performed until she retired from the Vienna Court Opera in 1824.⁶¹⁹ She eventually passed away in Vienna in 1837.⁶²⁰ Somewhat unfairly, Therese Rosenbaum’s legacy has been eclipsed by her inadvertent involvement in a truly bizarre episode—the audacious theft of Joseph Haydn’s head, an unusual historical event that unfortunately overshadows her career achievements.⁶²¹

Rosenbaum and Auenbrugger

Antonio Salieri emerges as a central figure, linking Therese Rosenbaum and Katharina Auenbrugger. This connection holds significance on several fronts. First of all, Salieri taught both Therese and Anna Gassmann, as well as Katharina and Marianna

⁶¹⁴ Joseph Rosenbaum’s diary is filled with daily love and longing for his beloved Theresa. See the online transcription project at Peter Prokop, “Die Tagebücher des Joseph Carl Rosenbaum (ÖNB: SN 1940294) — eine Arbeitstranskription.” (Heraldisch-Genealogische Gesellschaft “ADLER,” Wien, 2025).

⁶¹⁵ “Joseph Karl Rosenbaum,” Wien Geschichte Wiki. Therese and Joseph were part of Haydn’s inner circle, and in 1797, she was the soloist for the premiere of his *Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze*. “Rosenbaum, Therese,” Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon.

⁶¹⁶ Peter Prokop, “Das Palais Esterházy [...] Joseph Carl Rosenbaum,” Katalogblätter des Rollettmuseums Baden, no. 101 (2017), 4, no. 7. Therese’s mother also disapproved of the match. Else Radant Landon, “Gassmann family,” in *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn*, ed. by David Wyn Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 115.

⁶¹⁷ Yet, intriguingly, doubts about the authenticity of this narrative arise when one discovers that “Count” Carl von Esterházy himself endorsed the couple’s marriage certificate. See Lorenz, “Antonio Salieri’s Early Years,” 10. At this point, Salieri’s name reappears in the documentation, as he signed both of the Gassmann sister’s marriage certificates, further demonstrating his close relationship with the family. *Ibid.*, 7, 9–10.

⁶¹⁸ Morrow, 391–410.

⁶¹⁹ Carol Padgham Albrecht, “The Face of the Vienna Court Opera, 1804–1805,” *Music in Art* 34, no. 1/2 (2009): 196.

⁶²⁰ Carl Maria von Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Rosenbaum-Gassmann, Therese.”

⁶²¹ For more information on the bizarre scandal, see Karl Geiringer, *Haydn: A Creative Life in Music* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1982), 192.

Auenbrugger. Moreover, Salieri’s close friendships with both Florian Gassmann and Leopold Auenbrugger suggest that the ties among these families likely ran deep, possibly forging a close and interconnected relationship beyond their shared music education.⁶²²

 **Auernhammer, Müllner, and Rosenbaum** 

Josepha Auernhammer, Josepha Müllner, and Theresa Rosenbaum were highly esteemed musicians who gained recognition in Vienna through frequent performances at prestigious academies, public concerts, and court events. To exemplify their significant contributions to the city’s musical culture, a compilation of the public concerts in which they collaborated is provided in Table 2 below. These combined efforts enriched the city’s musical culture and forged a dynamic auxiliary network.

Table 1: Combined performances

- a. Auernhammer and Müllner⁶²³
 - 1. Auernhammer’s benefit concert, March 25, 1799
 - 2. Auernhammer’s benefit concert, March 25, 1802
 - 3. Auernhammer’s benefit concert, March 25, 1805
- b. Müllner and Rosenbaum⁶²⁴
 - 1. Tonkünstler-Societät at Kärntnertor Theatre, March 20/21, 1796
 - 2. Verunglückten Tyroler benefit concert, May 23, 1799
 - 3. Theaterarmen benefit concert, April 13, 1802
 - 4. Müllner benefit concert, March 23, 1804
- c. Auernhammer and Rosenbaum⁶²⁵
 - 1. Auernhammer’s benefit concert, March 25, 1795
 - 2. Auernhammer’s benefit concert, April 5, 1797

Their reputations and the vibrant cultural milieu of the era in which they lived make it highly plausible that these remarkable musicians were well-acquainted with each other. Moreover, the available historical information strongly indicates that they likely moved within the same social circles in Vienna. Notably, they all held highly respected positions as musicians, and while Martines, Auenbrugger, and Paradis were renowned for hosting weekly music academies in the heart of the city, Auernhammer and Müllner were

⁶²² Indeed, Salieri resided at Spiegelgasse 11, only 190 meters from the Auenbrugger family. Lorenz, “Antonio Salieri’s Early Years,” 16. The connection between the two families and Salieri would be an intriguing avenue to explore.

⁶²³ Morrow, 301, 311, 328.

⁶²⁴ Wuchner, 438; Morrow, 302, 314–315, 322.

⁶²⁵ Morrow, 286, 293.

frequently granted access to the Burgtheater.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, these talented women enjoyed close and influential relationships with some of the most distinguished musicians of their time, including W. A. Mozart, Antonio Salieri, and Joseph Haydn. These fortuitous connections undoubtedly created an ideal environment for potential interactions and collaborations, significantly enriching the musical landscape of Vienna during this period.

Rosenbaum on the map

Theresa Gassmann Rosenbaum's precise birthplace remains indeterminate due to the lack of clarity in her baptismal records.⁶²⁷ Nevertheless, historical documents reveal that her father passed away at the location now known as Strauchgasse 3 shortly before her birth.⁶²⁸ Given that Florian's widow, Barbara Gassmann, was in an advanced stage of pregnancy, it is plausible that she may have chosen to remain at her residence at Strauchgasse 3 not only to give birth to Theresa but possibly for an extended postnatal period afterward as well. If Therese had indeed been born at Strauchgasse 3, it is interesting to note that it would have positioned her a mere 300 meters from Marianna Martines. Even more intriguing, however, is the proximity of the residence to that of her contemporary, Josepha Müllner, who was closest to Therese in age and resided only 400 meters away at Helferstorferstrasse 1.

Interestingly, Joseph Rosenbaum, driven by his desire to marry Therese, secured a residence at Ledererhof 9 after he left the employ of Prince Esterházy.⁶²⁹ The significance of this lies in the proximity it created between Therese Rosenbaum, Marianna Martines, and Josepha Müllner. At the height of their careers, Rosenbaum and Müllner resided 600 meters apart, while Rosenbaum lived a mere 450 meters from Martines's doorstep at her second residence, Herrengasse 25. This close physical proximity formed a unique circle of accomplished, renowned, and respected female musicians within Vienna's vibrant cultural landscape.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁶ See Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*.

⁶²⁷ Lorenz, "Antonio Salieri's Early Years," 8.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶²⁹ Wien Geschichte Wiki, "Joseph Karl Rosenbaum."

⁶³⁰ Please refer back to the map in Figure 1.18.

— Final geographical proximity links

Josepha Müllner stands out as one of the youngest musicians within the network, making her a bridge between two distinct generations of artists and patrons. Even though her potential connections were often older by one to two decades, with Joseph II serving as her initial patron in Figure 1.26, her other affiliations largely belong to the subsequent generation. Notable figures such as Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz II, and Princess Maria Therese were part of this next generation of musicians and supporters.⁶³¹

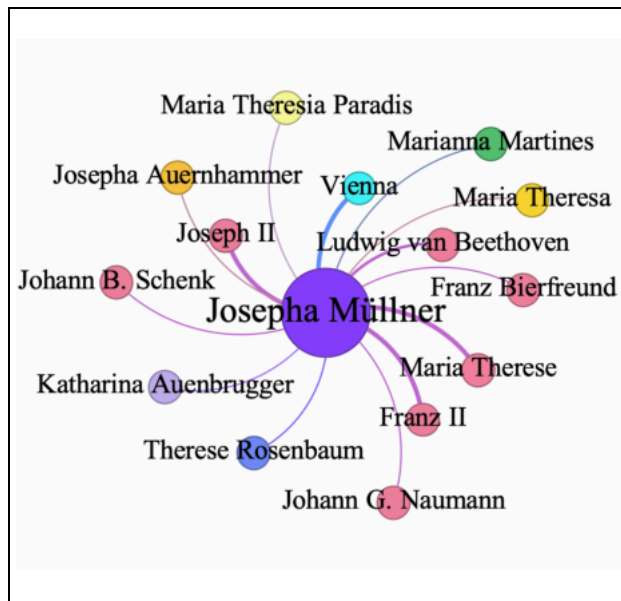


Fig. 1.26. Josepha Müllner network

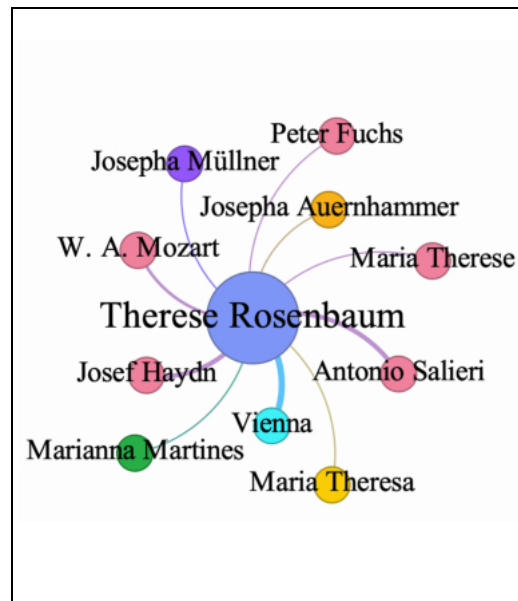


Fig. 1.27. Theresa Rosenbaum network

Much like her fellow Viennese female musicians, Therese Rosenbaum thrived under the patronage of the Habsburgs. She also enjoyed personal and professional connections with the foremost male musicians of the time, including Mozart, Haydn, and Salieri. Consequently, Vienna appears as a focal point in Rosenbaum’s career in Figure 1.27, highlighting the city’s importance as a center for musical activity. Her map further illustrates her collaborative performances with Josepha Auernhammer and Josepha Müllner.

When visualizing the dynamic in Figure 1.28, the generational gap surrounding Müllner becomes apparent, positioning her slightly on the periphery of the broader Viennese cluster. However, she still maintains significant connections to the central figures and key actors in this vibrant musical and cultural scene. This placement

⁶³¹ In this context, the term “Princess” is used to prevent any confusion with her grandmother, Empress Maria Theresa, given that Princess Maria Therese of Naples ascended to become Empress of Austria in 1804.

underscores her unique position as both an inheritor of established traditions and an active participant in the new artistic currents emerging in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

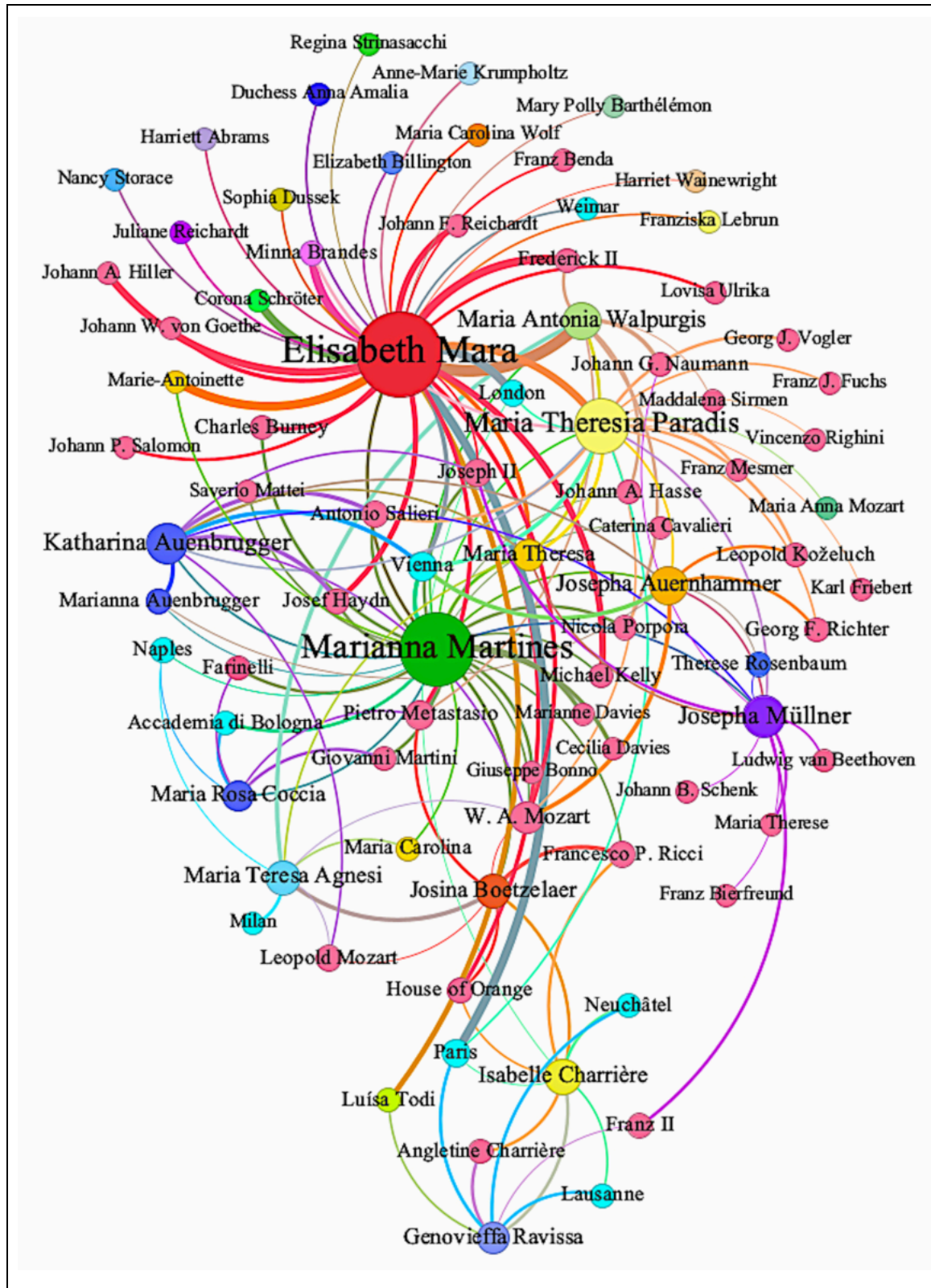


Fig. 1.28. Martines composite network with Josepha Müller

Müllner's association with Beethoven is particularly intriguing, as it suggests a link between the more formal, court-oriented musical traditions of Joseph II's reign and the increasingly expressive and individualistic styles that would define the Romantic era.

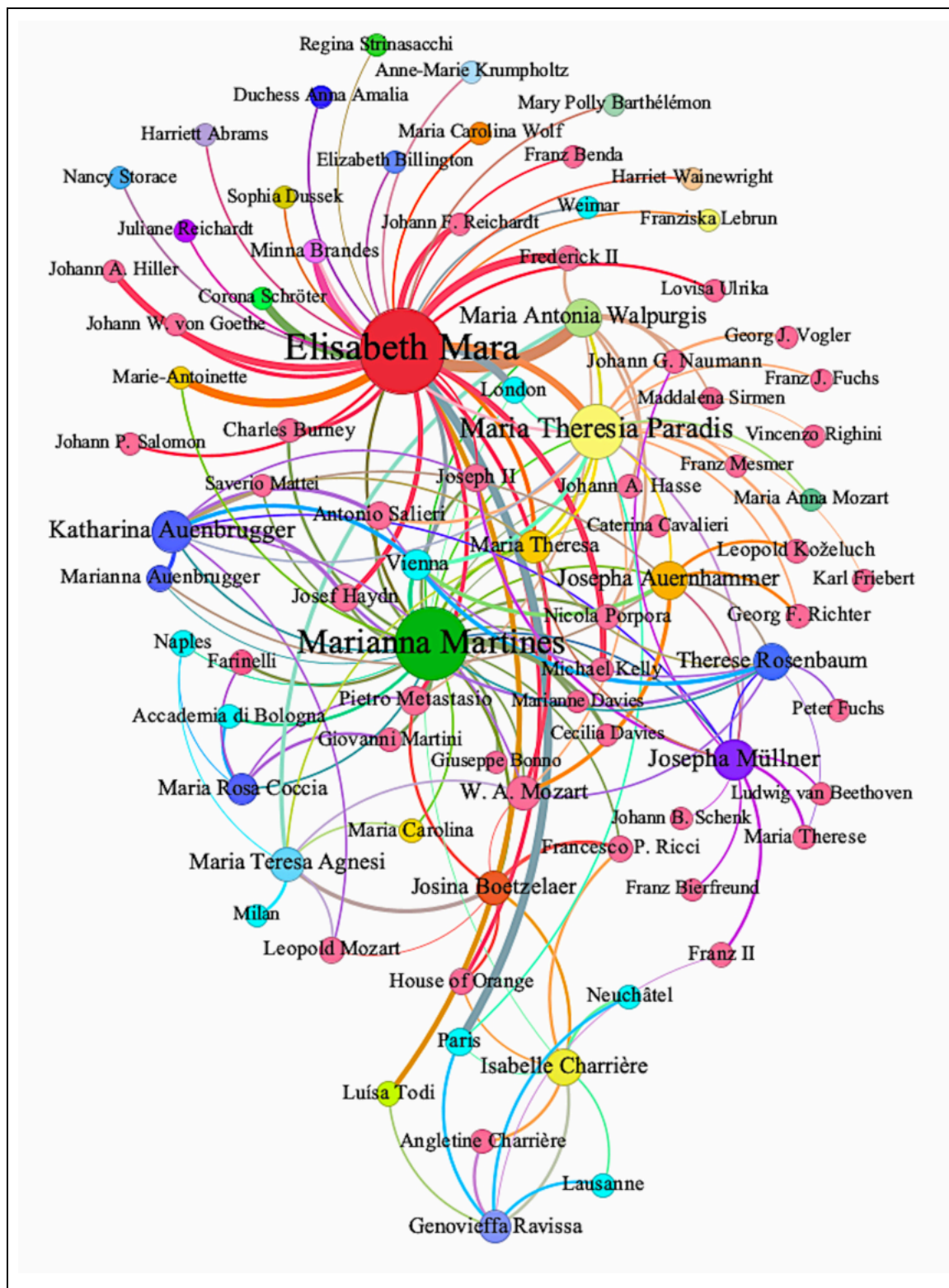


Fig. 1.29. Martines composite network with Therese Rosenbaum

Rosenbaum's connections have effectively augmented the network, as shown in Figure 1.29, resulting in 78 nodes and 155 edges. Adding the Müllner and Rosenbaum linkages has somewhat blurred the boundaries of individual network clusters. Notably, the Ravissa and Coccia networks have become slightly more interlaced. While a significant number of Mara's connections remain on the periphery, along with several peripheral links of Martines and Paradis, the network has evolved into a more interconnected structure, emphasizing the intricate relationships among these talented female musicians.⁶³²

— Tying them all together

In 1781, Friedrich Nicolai astutely observed that Vienna's music intertwined with the nation's sensual character.⁶³³ Nicolai's choice of the word "schmiegte" [nestled] is particularly apt, as it implies an intimate connection between Vienna's musical ambiance and the people with whom it resonated. Nestled in such proximity, the likelihood of all six women being acquainted with one another becomes increasingly plausible, especially considering their collective fame and deep-rooted relationships with prominent musicians and patrons within the city.⁶³⁴

Integrating network maps and biographies provides compelling evidence indicating that the women in question possessed knowledge of each other that extended beyond national boundaries. The final Martines map depicted in Figure 1.30 clarifies the network's primary, secondary, and potential connections by eliminating peripheral nodes that share only one link. This refinement enhances our understanding of the relationships between the nodes and facilitates a more comprehensive analysis of the network.⁶³⁵ Moreover, the visual representations illustrate the potential avenues through which these women may have connected with their contemporaries both within Vienna and in the musical hubs of England, France, and Italy.⁶³⁶

⁶³² It will be intriguing to observe how these peripheral actors integrate into future networks.

⁶³³ "...schmiegte sich endlich ganz an den Sinnlichen Charakter der Nation an." Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland*, 4: 526.

⁶³⁴ Marianna Martines, as the eldest among this sextet of talented musicians (Paradis, Auenbrugger, Auenhammer, Müllner, and Rosenbaum), likely occupied a position of influence and served as an inspiration for the five younger women who followed in her footsteps.

⁶³⁵ Note that Elisabeth Mara's prominence has diminished as peripheral connections have been removed from her node

⁶³⁶ All networks will have a selection bias based on the research parameters, star actor(s), and selection criteria. However, while Martines's network exhibits a natural bias toward connections in Vienna, subsequent chapters will explore other musical centers such as Paris, London, and Stockholm. These

An analysis of node positions and sizes, determined by the number of links, yields intriguing insights into the social networks of Martines, Mara, and Paradis. Particularly noteworthy is the distinction of Martines from the other two, as she had fewer mentions in primary news periodicals and limited travel experiences.

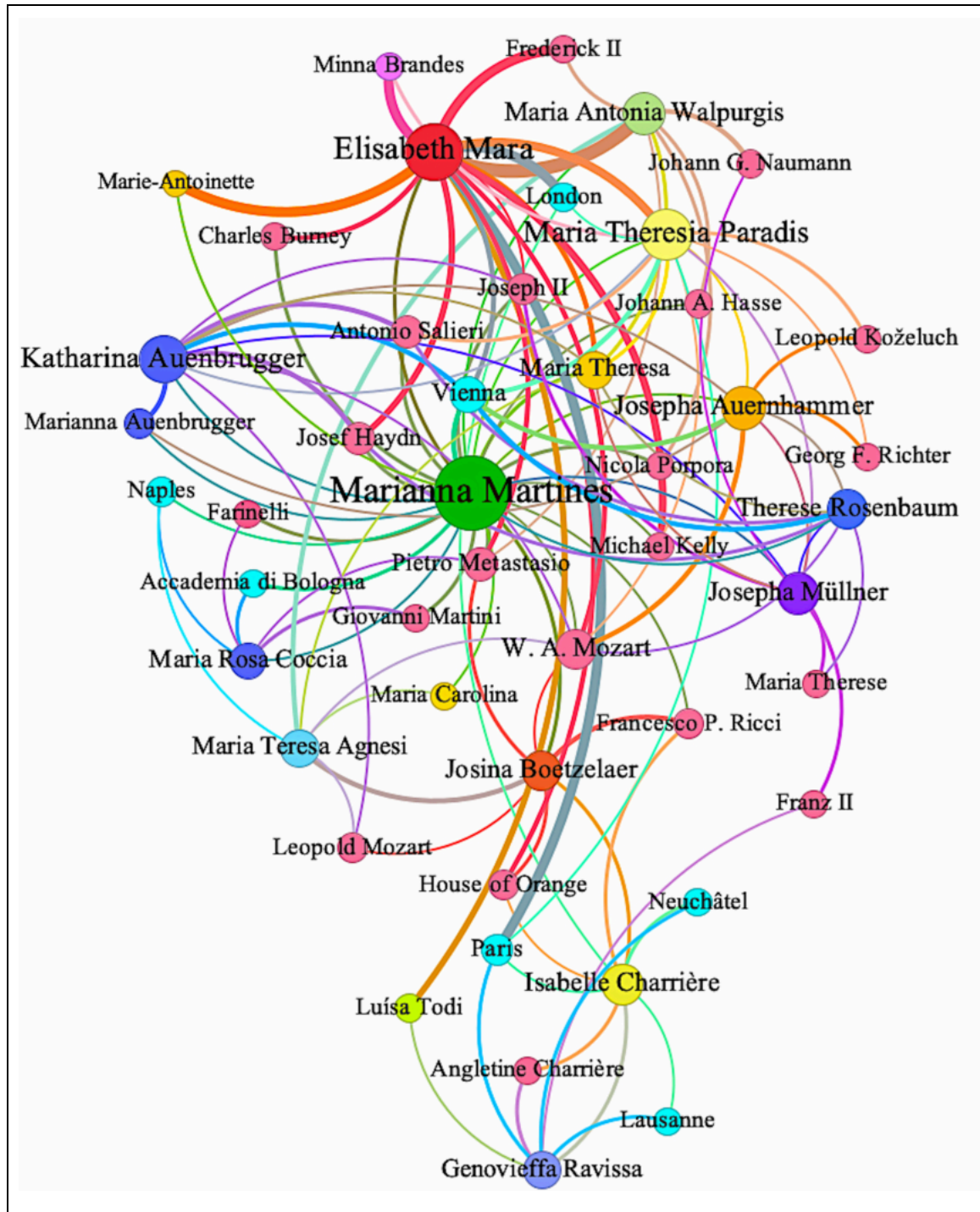


Fig. 1.30. Marianna Martines composite network, complete

chapters will explore the interconnectedness of these music centers with influential figures like Elisabeth Mara, Luísa Todi, and other notable individuals.

Nevertheless, by carefully mapping her interactions with others and analyzing their communication patterns, it becomes apparent that Martines occupied a prominent position within a vibrant musical culture.

Furthermore, the findings presented in the map provide compelling evidence of a strong correlation between the size of the nodes and the patronage highlighted in the profiles. This research unequivocally demonstrates the profound influence of Empress Maria Theresa and Maria Antonia Walpurgis as patrons within the Martines network. Their support for both male and female musicians underscores their commitment to promoting musical talents, regardless of gender. Moreover, while Metastasio initially served as the intermediary between various key individuals, other male figures such as Mozart, Salieri, and Haydn played pivotal roles in connecting the female musicians examined in this study, including Martines. However, it is important to note that Mara and Paradis emerge as the network's central female figures alongside Martines, linking to most peripheral nodes.

In Chapter 1, the primary focus lies in addressing the research questions central to my thesis. Through a meticulous analysis of the linkage categories, it becomes apparent that networks comprising female musicians did indeed exist. However, the extent to which these musicians identified themselves as part of a formal 'network' remains a subject of debate. Nevertheless, it is imperative to recognize that these women were not isolated entities, and the role of men in their lives should not be disregarded. Instead of a rigid gender divide, the network appears to have functioned as a cohesive and vibrant musical community. While the female musicians examined in this chapter undoubtedly relied on their male instructors, their profiles also reveal their profound influence on younger female musicians.⁶³⁷

Additional research is necessary to expand Martines's network further. The profiles indicate that Martines, Paradis, and Müllner, among others, received instruction from male performers and composers. However, they later established music schools for girls or offered individual training to other women. Unveiling details about these emerging female musicians would allow us to construct a comprehensive map highlighting the development of the female musicians' network during the eighteenth century and its impact on future generations.

⁶³⁷ The impact of this influence is vividly demonstrated through the relationship between Elisabeth Mara and Maria Antonia Walpurgis.

— Summary and conclusions

The network maps are valuable tools in visually representing the data collected from the female musicians' profiles. However, a comprehensive understanding of the network requires both quantitative and qualitative components. While the maps provide a bird's-eye view of various levels of association, the profiles offer more intimate and detailed accounts of the musicians' interactions, uncovering the stories behind the connections. Together, they paint a vivid picture of these women's journeys, showcasing how relationships shaped their artistic pursuits.

Significantly, this methodology reveals how mobility—or the lack thereof—shaped these women's networks differently: while amateur musicians like Martines remained rooted in Vienna's salon culture, their connections radiated outward through correspondence, published compositions, and the travels of mutual acquaintances. The maps demonstrate that geographical stasis did not preclude international influence, as stationary nodes often served as anchoring points through which more mobile musicians and patrons circulated.

In this chapter, I have established the fundamental linkage categories—primary, secondary, and potential—essential for understanding the intricate networks of female musicians. Moreover, examining Marianna Martines's network highlighted another exceptional musician who emerged with an extensive web of connections: Gertrud Elisabeth Mara, positioning her as the central actor in Chapter 2. Mara's far-reaching network connects these two extraordinary women, seamlessly transitioning the narrative from this chapter to the next as we progress from examining predominantly amateur musicians to exploring professional female musicians.

Chapter 2

Networking Elisabeth Mara

Nature had favored me with all that is necessary for a perfect singer, health, strength, a brilliant voice, a great range, pure intonation, a supple throat, a lively, passionate, emotional character; nevertheless, I worked as if I had none of these things; perseverance and diligence had to make me a true artist, for it was not enough for me to be called a mere singer.¹

—*Gertrud Elisabeth Mara*

Few eighteenth-century women embodied the cosmopolitan spirit of Enlightenment Europe as vividly as Gertrud Elisabeth Mara. Introduced in Chapter 1 alongside Marianna Martines, her biographical profile established her early formation and connections within European musical culture. Mara now emerges as the gravitational center of a transnational professional network. If Martines demonstrated how amateur female musicians could shape the intellectual and artistic life of Vienna through salons and patronage, then Mara exemplifies the new possibilities available to professional women who moved between courts, capitals, and public stages.

Building on the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter develops a network analysis of Mara's career to illustrate the mobility, visibility, and authority she achieved as one of the era's most celebrated sopranos. Although future archival discoveries may refine its contours, the reconstruction already reveals her as a key figure linking professional musicians across Europe. Her network includes primary connections through sustained collaborations, mentorships, and rivalries; secondary links through patrons and colleagues; and potential connections shaped by migration patterns, shared repertoire, or courtly proximity.

A trailblazing soprano and violinist renowned for her virtuosic command of opera seria and concert repertoire, Mara reshaped eighteenth-century musical culture by bridging elite and public spheres of performance. Unlike Martines, whose influence was largely anchored in Vienna's aristocratic salons, Mara's career stretched from Weimar to Paris and London, creating a web of influence that reflected—and at times challenged—the geopolitical and cultural contours of Enlightenment Europe.

¹ “Die Natur hatte mich mit allem was zu einer vollkommenen Sangerin nothig ist, begunstigt, Gesundheit, Kraft, brillante Stimme, grossen Umfang, reine Intonation, gelaufigen Hals, einen lebhaften, leidenschaftlichen, gefuhlvollen Charakter; dem ungeachtet arbeitete ich eben so, als hatte ich nichts von allem dem; Beharrlichkeit und Fleiss mussten mich also zur wahren Kunstlerin machen, denn es war mir nicht genug, bloss Sangerin zu heissen.” (DT) Riesemann, “Eine Selbstbiographie der Sangerin Gertrud Elisabeth Mara,” 531. (Translation) DeepL, November 4, 2023.

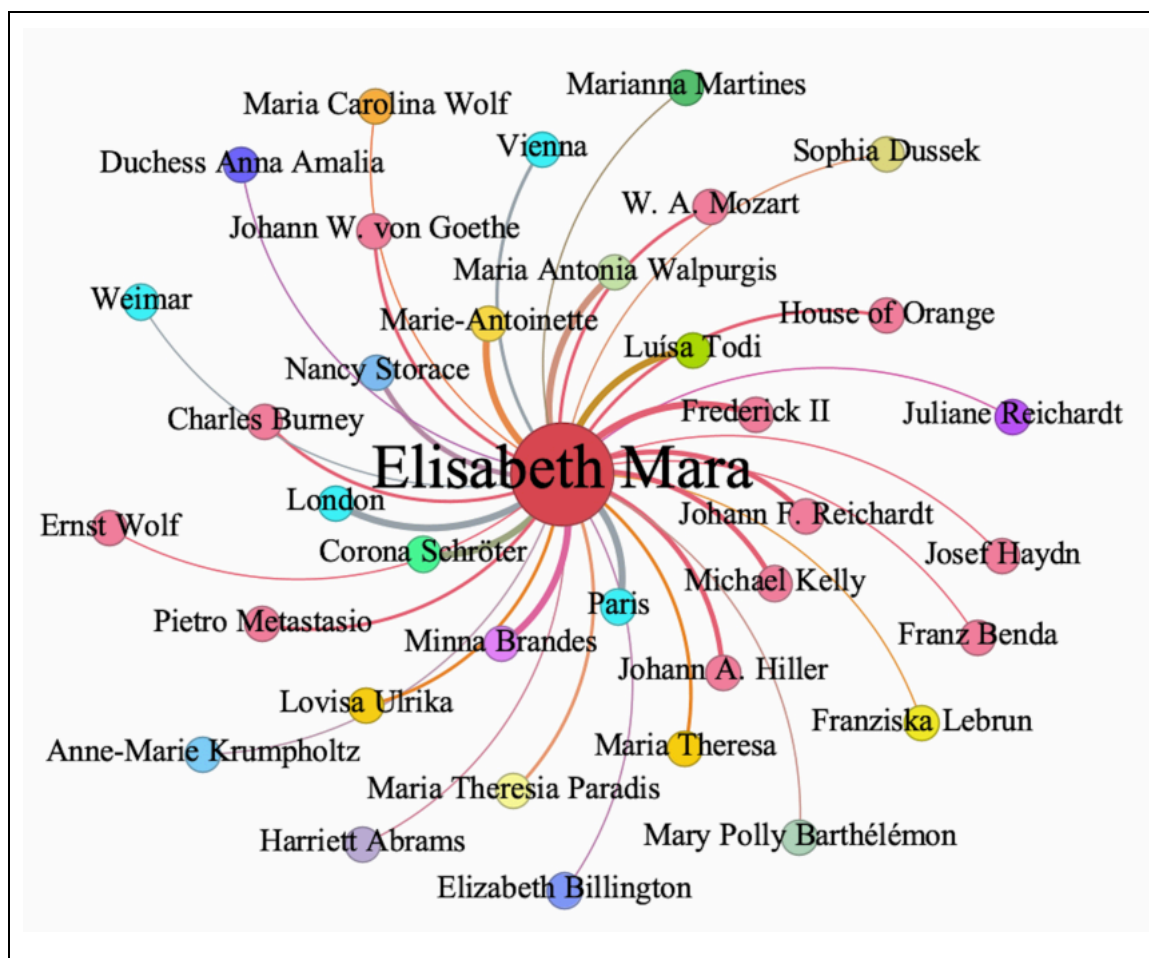


Fig. 2.1. Elisabeth Mara network (see Fig. 1.17)

Figure 2.1 presents Mara’s complete network, first constructed in Chapter 1. This chapter organizes her connections by city—Weimar, Paris, and London—reflecting the distinct cultural environments that shaped both her career trajectory and her artistic identity. Each city offered unique configurations of institutions, patrons, and audiences: Weimar, with its intimate court centered around Duchess Anna Amalia; Paris, the cosmopolitan heart of Enlightenment theatre and opera; and London, a dynamic and competitive hub of commercial music-making. Positioning Mara’s networks within these urban contexts underscores not only the geographical scope of her career but also the diverse professional strategies she employed to navigate—and ultimately thrive within—Europe’s most influential musical centers.

The analysis begins with Mara’s connections to two female musicians, Corona Schröter and Minna Brandes, before their rise to prominence at the Weimar court. Although it remains uncertain whether Mara herself ever appeared on Weimar’s stage, her documented relationships with these two figures illuminate the early strands of her

professional network and set the stage for examining how these ties resonated within Duchess Anna Amalia's cultural sphere. With Mara's biography and early Viennese ties outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter traces the broader European contours of Mara's career, positioning her as the quintessential itinerant performer—and as the vital link connecting Vienna to the wider musical landscape of Enlightenment Europe.

A. Schröter and Brandes—primary

2.1 Corona Schröter (1751–1802)

Corona Schröter, a popular German soprano and lieder composer, garnered widespread acclaim as a performer and for her musical compositions inspired by the works of Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and Johann von Goethe (1749–1832).² She was born into a musically gifted family in Guben, a town situated today on the border between Poland and Germany, and was the eldest of four siblings.³ Her parents, Johann Friedrich Schröter (1724–1811) and Marie Regine Hefter (n.d.–1766), actively nurtured her burgeoning musical talents.⁴ Young Corona demonstrated a notable musical aptitude, becoming proficient on various instruments, including the keyboard and guitar, under her father's expert tutelage.⁵ Additionally, Corona and her sister, Maria Henriette (1766–after 1804), received vocal training from Johann, who accompanied them on performance tours across England and Holland.⁶ Regrettably, the arduous nature of her father's vocal exercises and the tours ultimately inflicted irreparable damage to Schröter's vocal cords.⁷ Nevertheless, she persevered and continued to excel as a singer, defying the limitations imposed by her less-than-powerful voice.⁸

1764 marked a significant turning point for the Schröter family as they embarked

² Heckmann, *Tonsetzerinnen*, 152–157, 168–169.

³ Keil, 2: 9–10.

⁴ Ibid. Corona also demonstrated remarkable linguistic abilities, attaining fluency in German, French, English, and Italian, which is evident in the linguistic diversity of her lieder. See Heckmann, 164–167.

⁵ Johann Friedrich Schröter was the oboist for Augustus III of Poland (1696–1763). *AMZ 41* (October 13, 1875): 642. Augustus held the position of Elector of Saxony from 1733 to 1763 and was also the father-in-law of Maria Antonia Walpurgis.

⁶ Keil, 2: 11. Marcia J. Citron, “Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress,” *Music & Letters* 61, no. 1 (1980): 15.

⁷ *AMZ 41*: 642–643. Given that her father was an instrumentalist rather than a vocalist, it appears that he may not have fully grasped the intricacies of the voice as a delicate musical instrument.

⁸ Hans Michel Schletterer, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt: Sein Leben und seine musikalische Thätigkeit* (Augsburg: J. A. Schlosser, 1865), 103.

on a new chapter in Leipzig, a city known for its vibrant musical environment.⁹ In this culturally rich milieu, the composer Johann Adam Hiller undertook the musical education of twelve-year-old Corona and her brother Johann Samuel Schröter (1752–1788), a skilled pianist.¹⁰ Notably, Corona Schröter and Gertrud Elisabeth Schmeling, who later gained fame as Madame Mara, were among Hiller’s pupils who showcased their talents at the prestigious Großes Concerts under the direction of Hiller himself.¹¹ Biographer Robert Keil notes that while Mara gained notoriety for her flamboyant persona, Schröter exuded a more refined demeanor, accentuated by her innate beauty.¹² According to one of her admirers, the poet Johannes Falk (1768–1826), Schröter embodied a profound grace and decorum, qualities particularly unique among noble Polish women.¹³

In 1771, Leipzig was the backdrop for a fateful interlude between Schröter and the young composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt, one of her most passionate admirers.¹⁴ Reichardt nostalgically recalled the time they shared in Schröter’s garden apartment,

⁹ Heckmann, 154. Leipzig was a fortress with rural suburbs in the first half of the eighteenth century, but emerged into a more sophisticated city after the Seven Years War (1756–1763), developing an urban culture with concert halls and theatre. Citron, “Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress,” 15. In fact, Leipzig’s public concerts rivaled those of London and Paris. Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance*, 10.

¹⁰ *AMZ* 41: 642. Hiller’s wife, Henriette Schmidt (n.d.), was a native of Guben and Schröter’s godmother. Doris Mundus, “Schröter, Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmine,” biografie (Stadt Leipzig, 2015). Johann Samuel Schröter went on to teach piano in London to celebrated performers, including Elizabeth Billington, whose achievements will be explored later in this chapter. Riesemann, 643. Hiller, a highly respected educator, provided personalized vocal instruction to both male and female students, while also demonstrating a firm commitment to promoting the professional advancement of women in music. Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance*, 9; and Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange*, preface: 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 643. In addition to his many achievements, Hiller directed the Großes Concerts in Leipzig from 1763 until he established his own music academy in 1771. This transition was prompted by the substantial growth in the number of students under his tutelage. Hiller, *Treatise on Vocal Performance*, 9–10. For further insights into the Großes Concerts, I recommend Margaret Eleanor Menninger, “Ensemble Players: The *Großes Concert* and Musical Life in Leipzig before 1850,” in *A Serious Matter and True Joy* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2022), 211–251.

¹² This combination of qualities began to captivate admirers even when she was young. Keil, 2: 33–44. When Schröter was engaged as a singer at the Leipzig Großes Concerts in 1764, she made history by becoming the first professional German concert singer to perform in a public venue. Mundus, “Schröter, Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmine,” kurzporträt.

¹³ “Sine gewisse, fast nur den vornehmen Polinnen eigene ernste Grazie des Anstand’s [*sic*] mochte sie sich wohl dort zu eigen machen.” (DT) Johannes Falk, “Erinnerung an Corona Schröter aus Weimar,” *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet*, ed. by Stephan Schütze (Frankfurt am Main: Wilmans, n.d.), 288 [242].

¹⁴ Schletterer, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt*, 1: 102–110. Schröter declined marriage proposals from both Christian Gottfried Körner (1756–1831), a respected writer and lawyer, and Carl Wilhelm Müller (1728–1801). Notably, Müller, who was 23 years her senior, went on to become the highly respected mayor of Leipzig. In the 1780s, Müller had Schröter’s portrait painted by Anton Graff, and he remained unmarried until his passing in 1801. After Müller’s death, the portrait was acquired by Grand Duke Karl August von Weimar (1757–1828), Duchess Anna Amalia’s eldest son. Mundus, “Schröter, Corona,” par. 3. Intriguingly, Karl August, too, harbored affection for Schröter, adding another layer of complexity to the intricate web of relationships surrounding her. Richard Friedenthal, *Goethe, Sein Leben und seine Zeit* (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1963), 276.

replete with enchanting musical performances.¹⁵ He marveled at Schröter's ability to sing with her entire soul, imbuing songs with profound emotional depth, albeit subdued due to the strain her voice had undergone during the rigorous vocal training of her youth.¹⁶ The apparent bond between Schröter and Reichardt manifested as they performed jointly in amateur concerts at the prestigious Richter Garden Hall.¹⁷ Indeed, Reichardt composed Italian arias specifically for Schröter, and the two seemed to be inextricably linked.¹⁸ Even though Schröter did not reciprocate Reichardt's passionate feelings, his autobiographical entries provide the most comprehensive and vivid firsthand account of her character and abilities.¹⁹

Schröter's exceptional talent and entrancing charisma attracted the attention of the internationally renowned literary figure Johann von Goethe in 1766, which sparked a deep and enduring friendship that blossomed during Goethe's time studying law in Leipzig.²⁰ Their connection endured, and when Goethe later moved to Weimar in 1775, he invited Schröter to join him at the court of Duchess Anna Amalia (1739–1807).²¹ The Duchess, herself a celebrated musician and lieder composer, was already familiar with Schröter's reputation and yearned to harness her talents for the Weimar court.²²

¹⁵ "Ich sah die schöne, herrliche Künstlerin Corona Schröder und ward zum ersten Mal im Leben von heißer, inniger, tief begeisterter Liebe erfüllt und ganz durchdrungen. Sie ward mir die Sonne, die Tag und Nacht, Freud und Leid mir bestimmte, alles erhellte oder verdunkelte. Das Jahr, welches ich in Leipzig zubrachte, habe ich eigentlich nur für sie gelebt, so mannichfach ich mich auch nach vielen Seiten hin daneben zu beschäftigen suchte. Jeder Morgen und jeder Nachmittag ward fast ganz mit ihr, in ihrer Gartenwohnung vor der Stadt, an ihrem Flügel bei Hasseschen Partituren verlebt." *Ibid.*, 102–103.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁷ Mundus, "Schröter, Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmine," biografie.

¹⁸ "Besonders declamirte sie das Recitativ meisterhaft. Ihre schöne Gestalt, ihre edle, hohe Haltung, ihr bewegliches, ausdrucksvolles Gesicht gab diesem recitativischen Vortrag eine Kraft, einen Zauber, den ich nie gekannt, vorher nie empfunden hatte. Für sie componirte ich die ersten italienischen Arien nach Poesien von Metastasio fühlte aber sehr wohl, wie sie für eine solche Sängerin noch nicht gut genug waren, und kam gerne immer wieder mit ihr zu den Hasseschen Meisterscenen zurück, die sie so unübertrefflich vortrug. Besonders eine große Scene aus Hasse's ‚Artemisia‘, die mit der Arie schließt. ‚Rendetemi il mio ben, numi tiranni‘ konnte man gar nicht oft genug von ihr hören und es verging selten ein Tag, wo ich sie nicht von ihr mir erbat; aber auch nie habe ich ihr ohne die tiefste Herzensbewegung gelauscht. Dieser hohe Genuß hat mich vielleicht allein zu dem Künstler gemacht, der ich geworden bin." (DT) Schletterer, 1: 103.

¹⁹ Citron, 16–17.

²⁰ *AMZ* 42 (October 20, 1875): 662. Goethe was in Leipzig from 1765–1768. Friedenthal, *Goethe, Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 40–59.

²¹ *AMZ* 42, 662–663. In Weimar, Goethe made attempts to win Schröter's affection, but her past experiences with numerous proposals made her skeptical of his vague promises of marriage. Friedenthal, 278–279.

²² It is important to note that Schröter's reputation preceded her arrival in Weimar, a fact that is often overlooked in most accounts. Duchess Anna Amalia actively sought to have the gifted singer at her court. However, it is commonly believed that Goethe alone was responsible for bringing Schröter to Weimar. While Goethe did play a significant role in extending the invitation, it is essential to acknowledge the pivotal factors that contributed to Schröter's journey to Weimar—her established talent and the Duchess's deep appreciation for her skills. *Ibid.*, 662.

Consequently, she offered the performer the position of Kammersängerin [chamber singer] and a generous lifetime stipend of 400 thalers.²³

Schröter's brilliance truly sparkled in her performances, especially in the lead role of Anna Amalia's *Erwin und Elmire*.²⁴ Her theatrical prowess extended to at least eighteen amateur court theatre productions, six of which were written by Goethe himself.²⁵ However, the alliance between Schröter and Goethe expanded beyond her interpretations of his dramas, as they collaborated on numerous theatrical productions and occasionally shared the spotlight.²⁶ One collaborative endeavor was the singspiel *Die Fischerin*, in which Schröter not only assumed the lead role but also composed the incidental music, including the opening song, "Der Erbkönig."²⁷ However, as time passed, the previously warm relationship between Goethe and Schröter seemed to have cooled.²⁸ Goethe ceased to mention her in his diary, and Schröter deliberately omitted his poetry from her 1794 Lieder collection despite having previously included three of his works in her 1786 anthology.²⁹

Following the theatre's transition into a professional establishment in 1783, Schröter continued participating in informal performances but primarily focused on teaching acting and singing while exploring her artistic and poetic talents.³⁰ In 1801, respiratory complications forced her to move to Ilmenau with her longtime companion, Wilhelmine Probst (n.d.), who stayed with her until her death a year later.³¹ On August 23, 1802, Corona Schröter, a celebrated singer, actress, composer, poet, and artist, succumbed to her illness.³² No one attended her funeral except her friend, poet Karl

²³ Citron, 16–17. To delve into the complex history of the thaler, see Marc Blink, "From Thalers to Dollars." *The Planchet* 56, no. 10 (November 2009): 9–13.

²⁴ Citron, 17. See Anna Amalia and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Erwin und Elmire* (Autograph, 1776).

²⁵ Annie Janeiro Randall, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Corona Schröter's Autobiography," *Journal of Musicological Research* 14, no. 1 (1994): 1–15.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3. According to Keil, Schröter's dramatic career reached its peak in 1779 with her performance in Goethe's play *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, where she portrayed Iphigenie opposite Goethe's Orestes. Keil, 2:155–175.

²⁷ See Corona Schröter, "Der Erbkönig," *Fünf und zwanzig Lieder* (Weimar: Hoffmann, 1786), 24 [XVII]; and Corona Schröter and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Die Fischerin* (Autograph, 1782). For an in-depth analysis of *Die Fischerin* and insights into the narrative surrounding its premiere, see Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2013), 123–157.

²⁸ Citron, 18–19.

²⁹ See Schröter, *Fünf und zwanzig Lieder*. A discussion and analysis of Schröter's lieder collections can be found in Citron, 21–27.

³⁰ Keil, 2: 241–258.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 283–288.

³² *Ibid.*, 2: 288.

Ludwig von Knebel (1744–1834), highlighting the fickleness of fame.³³

It is disheartening to note that much of the literature about Schröter tends to place her in the shadow of the poet Johann von Goethe.³⁴ Nevertheless, there is a notable instance, where Goethe paid tribute to Schröter in his 1782 poem, “Auf Miedlings Tod,” which was included in her obituary two decades later.³⁵

Friends, attention! Retreat a small step! See there who comes and splendidly draws near! It is she herself, goodness never fails us; our plea is heard, the Muses send her. You know her well; she it is who continually pleases. As a flower she appears to the world: upwards the beautiful image grew towards the ideal; now completed, it is she in all her beauty. The Muses granted her every favour, and in her created art. Thus she freely attracts every charm upon herself, and even your name, Corona, graces you. She steps hither. See her pleasing stance! Unintentionally, yet as if with beautiful intent. And greatly astonished you see in her united an ideal that only appears in the artist.³⁶

This acknowledgment, although a positive recognition of her impact, highlights the need for a more comprehensive understanding of Schröter’s individual contributions to the cultural landscape. Ever since her death, portrayals of Schröter have continued to draw inspiration from Goethe’s homage.³⁷ It is crucial to explore and appreciate her artistic accomplishments beyond the lens of her association with Goethe, recognizing her as a significant figure in her own right.

³³ Ibid. Johannes Falk penned a heartfelt epitaph to the singer and dedicated a poem to her memory. “Doch es fehlt Corona Schröter, / Aller Anmuth riech, / Freundin mir und heitre Muse, / Beides mir zugleich: / Die ich liebte, die ich ehrte, / Warm aus treuer Brust, / Mehr als ich und sie es selber / Lebend einst gewußt; / Bis ein Tag, der ihr auf ewig / Beide Lippen schloß, / Mir die meinen unversieglich, / Und zur Klag’ erschloß. / So an ihres Hauses Schwelle / Klingt die Thür mir oft: / Hab’ ich doch, du müßtest rufen, / Hinter mir gehofft. [...] Ja, Corona, deine Stimme / Hör’ ich überall, / An der Ilme stillen Krümmung, / An dem Wasserfall. [...] Denn seitdem du mir entrissen / Und dich deckt die Gruft, / Schafft die Sehnsucht meinen Küssen / Nur ein Bild aus Luft. / Ach, du bist vorangegangen / In das Schattenland, / Wo die Sehnsucht und Verlangen / Jeden Wunsch verbannt.” (DT) Falk, “Erinnerung an Corona aus Weimar,” 246–248.

³⁴ Heckmann, 145–147. In 1778, Schröter gave her autobiographical notes to Goethe, but regrettably, they have not been recovered. Randall, “The Mysterious Disappearance of Corona Schröter’s Autobiography.”

³⁵ “Ihr Freunde, Platz! Weicht einen kleinen Schritt! / Seht, wer da kommt und festlich nähertritt! / Sie ist es selbst, die Gute fehlt uns nie; / Wir sind erhört, die Musen senden sie. / Ihr kennt sie wohl; sie ist’s, die stets gefallt; / Als eine Blume zeigt sie sich der Welt: / Zum Muster wuchs das schöne Bild empor, / Vollendet nun, sie ist’s und stellt es vor. / Es gönnten ihr die Musen jede Gunst, / Und die Natur erschuf in ihr die Kunst. / So häuft sie willig jeden Reiz auf sich, / Und selbst dein Name ziert, Corona, dich. / Sie tritt herbei. Seht sie gefällig stehn! / Nur absichtslos, doch wie mit Absicht schön. / Und hoch erstaunt seht ihr in ihr vereint / Ein Ideal, das Künstlern nur erscheint.” (Quoted) Keil, 2: 218–219.

³⁶ (Quoted and translated into prose) Citron, 18.

³⁷ Heckmann, 180.

Schröter and Mara

Corona Schröter, as previously mentioned, was among Hiller's principal students and performed at his Großes Concert, where she encountered Elisabeth Mara (then Schmeling). While historians have claimed that the two singers were rivals, the evidence is insufficient to support this assertion. Robert Keil discusses the pair extensively in his Schröter biography, generally favoring Schröter over Mara. However, the reviewer in the *AMZ* challenges much of his analysis.³⁸ Nevertheless, there is no indication that Schmeling considered Schröter as a formidable competitor and even harbored reservations about Hiller's teaching abilities.³⁹

Schmeling typically assumed the coveted role of prima donna [first singer] on stage.⁴⁰ In contrast, Schröter primarily assumed the position of seconda donna, occasionally referred to as the 'altra prima donna' [another first singer].⁴¹ These roles not only reflected the performers' distinct personalities both on and off stage⁴² but were also carefully tailored to their unique styles and capabilities, creating a harmonious fusion of their talents.⁴³ Goethe once observed the comparable levels of thunderous applause received by both artists.⁴⁴ In the case of Mara, the applause was a manifestation of the audience's admiration for her artistic abilities.⁴⁵ At the same time, Schröter's ovation reflected the emotional impact of her performances.⁴⁶ Numerous biographies indicate that Schröter did not appear to feel devalued, as she had gained her own celebrity status. Schmeling, of course, knew her worth early on.⁴⁷

³⁸ See Keil, 2: 33–44; and *AMZ* 41: 641–648.

³⁹ [Quoting Elisabeth Mara] “‘Wo hätte er [Hiller] sollen die Kenntnisse hernehmen, eine solche Sängerin, als ich war, zu bilden? Da er gewiss vom Singen (als Kunst betrachtet) nichts wusste. ’ Wird man natürlich nicht auf Corona anwenden können, denn sie war ein Kind mit einer verbildeten Stimme und konnte von einem solchen Manne immerhin vieles lernen.” (DT) *AMZ* 41: 643. Thus far, this stands as the only reference I have encountered from either individual that vaguely alludes to the other.

⁴⁰ Keil, 35–36.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; and John Rosselli, *Music & Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1991), 82.

⁴² George Jellinek, *Callas: Portrait of a Prima Donna* (Dover: Courier Corp., 1986), 293–297.

⁴³ *AMZ* 5 (April 6, 1803): 471–472. (Anthology). For instance, the two performed together in concert performances of Hasse's operas “Romolo ed Ersilia” and “L'asilo d'amore,” and in the Holy Week of 1767, they appeared with equal applause to Hasse's oratorio “Santa Elena al calvario.” See Mundus, “Mara, Elisabeth,” biographie.

⁴⁴ Hans Joachim Moser, *Goethe und die Musik* (Leipzig: Peters, 1949), 14.

⁴⁵ “Beide, die Schröter und Schmehling, habe ich oft im Hasseschen Oratorium nebeneinander singen hören, und di Wagschalen des Beifalls standen für beide immer gleich, indem bei der einen die Kunstliebe, bei der anderen das Gemüt in Betracht kam.” (DT) (Quoted) Moser, *Goethe und die Musik*, 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Keil, 2: 33–44.

2.2 Charlotte (Minna) Brandes (1765–1788)

Elisabeth Mara's second primary connection involves her mentorship of an up-and-coming soprano, Charlotte Brandes, whose pedigree reads like a tapestry of artistic and cultural distinction. Charlotte grew up in the world of theatre, the daughter of famous actress and opera singer Esther Charlotte Koch Brandes (1742–1786) and the accomplished actor and playwright Johann Christian Brandes (1735–1799).⁴⁸ Her roots trace back to Berlin, yet her childhood was a whirlwind of European exploration alongside her peripatetic parents.⁴⁹ Charlotte's formative years were shaped by the company of renowned luminaries, immersing her in an environment brimming with musical and scholarly creativity.⁵⁰ Notably, Minna's godfather was the legendary philosopher and dramatist Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), who affectionately gave her the endearing nickname "Minna."⁵¹

Throughout her travels, Minna received invaluable instruction and support from admired musicians. In Weimar, she honed her piano skills under the guidance of Johann Friedrich Hönicke (1755–1809),⁵² while in Dresden, Christoph Transchel (1721–1800) further nurtured her innate musical abilities.⁵³ She sought vocal expertise and pursued singing lessons from the young soprano Antonio Mariottini (1760–1783) in Dresden and

⁴⁸ Head, 87.

⁴⁹ This early exposure allowed her access to the most prestigious social and cultural circles. Ibid.

⁵⁰ Head, 87–88. Some of the luminaries in question are the Benda family, who held prominent positions in the Gotha, Potsdam, and Weimar courts. Minna's father, a notable figure himself, penned the libretto for Georg Benda's (1722–1795) first melodrama, *Ariadne auf Naxos*. Brandes, 1: 9–10. Minna's mother was a trailblazer in her own right, being the first to don historical attire as "Ariadne" in Benda's groundbreaking duodrama, a concept that revolutionized the theatrical landscape of that era. Wilhelm Kosch, ed., *Deutsches Theater-Lexikon* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 1: 191–192. An engraving may be seen at Heinrich Sinzenich, "Esther Charlotte Brandes, geb. Koch, in der Rolle Ariadne auf Naxos" (Engraving, 1782). Furthermore, Georg Benda, the Kapellmeister at the Gotha court where the Brandes family served, was the brother of Franz Benda (1709–1786) and the uncle of two subjects in this chapter: Juliane Benda Reichardt (1752–1783) and Maria Carolina Benda Wolf (1742–1820). The Benda women were employed in related courts: Frederick the Great in Potsdam and his niece, Duchess Anna Amalia, in Weimar. It is worth noting that the Gotha court was connected to the aforementioned individuals due to Frederick III of Gotha assuming regency over Anna Amalia's husband, Ernst August II (1737–1758), during his minority.

⁵¹ Brandes, *Meine Lebensgeschichte*, 2: 29. Another luminary, Minna's godfather played a helped shape the course of German literature through his plays and theoretical writings. Theatre historians widely recognize him as the first dramaturg, acknowledging his profound impact on the evolution of dramatic arts. Mary Luckhurst, *Dramaturgy: A Revolution in Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 24–37. To prevent confusion with her father, I will be referring to her by her nickname, Minna.

⁵² Hönicke was Minna's first instructor. Johann Christian Brandes and Christian August von Bertram, "Biographie der verstorbenen Sängerin und Schauspielerin Minna Brandes," *Annalen des Theaters* 3 (1789): 33. Intriguingly, he reappears in Hamburg, establishing a renewed connection with Minna as both a friend, teacher, and memoirist. Head, 92, 95.

⁵³ Brandes, 2: 213, Christoph Transchel was a former student of J. S. Bach. Head, 91.

the legendary Elisabeth Mara in Leipzig and Berlin.⁵⁴ When Mara was unavailable in Berlin, Brandes turned to the castrato Carlo Concialini (1742–1812) for lessons.⁵⁵ Moreover, in Hamburg, Minna achieved the significant feat of earning admiration from the revered C. P. E. Bach.⁵⁶ Brandes's access to such a diverse education, numerous performances, artistic patronage, and the refined circles in which she moved provided an ideal environment to cultivate her performance and compositional skills.⁵⁷ This tapestry of connections undoubtedly contributed to her development as a consummate artist.

Minna debuted on the Leipzig stage in 1768 at the incredibly young age of three, captivating audiences in her father's play *Der Schein betrügt*.⁵⁸ Her prodigious talent quickly caught the attention of Duchess Anna Amalia, who took her under her wing as a cherished protégé at the Weimar court in the early 1770s.⁵⁹ In 1774, the family performed in Gotha, followed by Dresden from the end of 1775 to 1778.⁶⁰ Settling in Mannheim in 1779, the fourteen-year-old soprano succeeded as the titular character in Anton Schweitzer's (1735–1787) *Rosamunde*.⁶¹ Her talent continued to shine brightly in various other performances, encompassing such works as *Zémire et Azor* (Zémire), Georg Benda's *Der Jarmarkt* (Bärbchen), and Friedrich Ludwig Benda's (1745–1814) adaptation of *Der Barbier von Sevilla* (Rosina).⁶² However, this flurry of performances was cut short in 1780 when the entire Brandes family succumbed to a fever, compelling them to leave Mannheim for Hamburg in 1781 on their doctor's advice.⁶³

⁵⁴ Brandes, 2: 223–224, 255.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 330. Elisabeth Mara, establishing a strong friendship with Brandes, went on to introduce the younger singer to the court of Frederick II in 1778. Carl Friedrich Ledebur, ed., *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: L. Rauh, 1861), 72.

⁵⁶ Head, 88, 93. The precise nature of the relationship between Brandes and Bach remains elusive, yet a compelling and tangible link between the two emerges within Bach's estate. Notably, a diminutive silhouette of Minna Brandes is cataloged among Bach's possessions, adding an air of mystery to their connection. C. P. E. Bach, *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des H. Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Hamburg, 1790), 126. Another intriguing detail includes the fact that both Bach and Haydn possessed a copy of Minna's sole posthumously published compositions. Furthermore, the timing of their deaths is a fascinating coincidence, as Minna Brandes and C.P.E. Bach died within a mere two months of each other. Head, 21, 95.

⁵⁷ Head, 92.

⁵⁸ Brandes, 2: 78.

⁵⁹ The Brandes family resided in Weimar for nearly three years. *Ibid.*, 169. This period saw the collaboration of court poet Anton Schweitzer and Kapellmeister Ernst Wilhelm Wolf (1735–1792), composing songs expressly for Brandes, which were then incorporated into court opera performances. *Ibid.*, 2: 135–136, 139. Ernst Wolf, the husband of Maria Carolina Benda, played a highly influential role in the Weimar court, the significance of which will become more apparent later in this chapter.

⁶⁰ Head, 88.

⁶¹ Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 72.

⁶² *Zémire et Azor* is attributed to Christian Gottlob Neef (1748–1798), according to Head, 91. Notably, Friedrich Benda, the eldest son of Georg Benda, was the cousin of Julianne and Maria Carolina Benda.

⁶³ Brandes, 2: 283.

In Hamburg, Minna faced formidable competition from a Madame Benda.⁶⁴ However, it is worth noting that this rivalry seemed to be driven more by the fans than the artists themselves.⁶⁵ Johann Brandes pointed out that Minna exhibited exceptional vocal talent, musical knowledge, beauty, and youth; however, Madame Benda had a more extensive education in the art and delivered a masterful, captivating performance.⁶⁶ This competitiveness, in fact, seemed to motivate Minna to dedicate herself even more diligently to her studies.⁶⁷ Consequently, a few years later, she gained recognition from music connoisseurs as an unparalleled pianist and one of the Germanic region's finest vocalists.⁶⁸

In 1782, Minna left Hamburg to tour East Prussia, only to return to Hamburg again in 1785.⁶⁹ However, tragedy struck the Brandes family in 1786, as both Minna's brother and mother passed away within a month of each other, possibly succumbing to tuberculosis.⁷⁰ In the aftermath of these devastating losses, Minna's behavior took a rebellious turn.⁷¹ Much to her father's chagrin, she began to show interest in unsuitable suitors and was embroiled in a scandal until her health began to deteriorate in 1787.⁷² Seeking solace and a new direction, Minna turned to composition, resuming her studies with Friedrich Hönicke, who had become Hamburg's theatre director and her close friend.⁷³ Despite devoting herself wholeheartedly to her craft, Minna chose not to publish her compositions, encompassing a diverse range of piano pieces and vocal works in

⁶⁴ The purported rivalry between Minna and Madame Benda forms yet another link between the Brandes and Benda families, with "Madame Benda" likely identified as Felicitas Agnesia Ritz Benda (1757–1835), the wife of Friedrich Benda and daughter-in-law of Georg Benda. Head, 91.

⁶⁵ Brandes, 2: 296.

⁶⁶ "Die erste Rolle, worin sie hier auftrat, war Parthenia in Wielands Oper, *Alceste*. Sowohl ihr Gesang, als auch ihr Spiel, wurde mit Beifall aufgenommen; aber demungeachtet fanden sich auch Gegner, welche der Madame Benda den Vorzug gaben, und diese hatten nicht Unrecht. Minna hatte zwar eine vortrefliche Stimme, Musikkenntniß, Schönheit und Jugend zu ihrer Empfehlung; aber Madame Benda weit mehr Bildung in der Kunst, und einen meisterhaften, hinreissenden Vortrag." (DT) Ibid.

⁶⁷ "Indeß hatte dies unangenehme Erfahrung doch auch ihr Gutes; denn die junge Sängerin fing nun an, mit ihrer Nebenbuhlerin zu wetteifern, widmete sich mit mehr Ernst, als jemals, dem Studium ihrer Kunst..." (DT) Ibid.

⁶⁸ "...und errang, nach Verlauf von ein paar Jahren die Ehre, von allen Kunstkennern, welche sie hörten, nicht allein als eine unvergleichliche Klavierspielerin, sondern auch als eine der besten Sängerrinnen Deutschlands, anerkannt zu werden." (DT) Ibid.

⁶⁹ During this period, the family increasingly depended on the income generated from Minna's performances. Johann Brandes provides a comprehensive account of their Prussian tour in his journals, shedding light on the people they encountered and the financial support they garnered throughout their travels. Brandes, 3: 1–110.

⁷⁰ Head, 92; and Brandes, 3: 191, 202–203.

⁷¹ Brandes, 3: 226–265.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 3: 252, 266. In his biography of Minna, Johann Brandes draws a connection between her compositional activity and the onset of her illness. See Brandes, "Biographie der verstorbenen Sängerin und Schauspielerin Minna Brandes," 48.

Italian and German.⁷⁴

Minna's life was abruptly cut short in Hamburg on June 13, 1788.⁷⁵ Following her untimely death, Hönicke stumbled upon her compositions and took it upon himself to publish them posthumously, accompanied by a "Forward" that he personally composed.⁷⁶

Brandes and Mara

In 1777, when Brandes was just twelve, she encountered Elisabeth Mara during the celebrated prima donna's visit to Dresden with her husband.⁷⁷ Mara was instantly captivated by the young vocalist and generously offered her singing lessons.⁷⁸ Fate reunited them the following year in Berlin, where Mara continued to guide and encourage the budding prodigy.⁷⁹ Undoubtedly, the invaluable guidance, companionship, and exposure to the Prussian court that Mara provided played a pivotal role in shaping the trajectory of Brandes's short-lived career.⁸⁰

Brandes and Paradis

Minna Brandes performed alongside at least two, potentially three, individuals under investigation in this study. The first of these female musicians is the renowned pianist Maria Theresia Paradis. Minna had the honor of performing alongside Paradis in 1785 during a private concert hosted at the residence of C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg.⁸¹ Furthermore, they also shared the stage at the public venue, Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp, on January 5, 1786.⁸² The other two subjects of interest are the Benda sisters, Maria Carolina Wolf and Juliane Reichardt, employed at the Gotha and Weimar courts

⁷⁴ Matthew Head explores a potential explanation for Hönicke's insistence that Minna's compositions were meant for her own enjoyment and that she had no intention of ever publishing them. See Head, 95–100.

⁷⁵ Brandes, 3: 289.

⁷⁶ See Charlotte Wilhelmine Franziska Brandes, *Musikalischer Nachlass von Minna Brandes*, ed. and forward by Friedrich Hönicke (Hamburg: Johann Henrich Herold, 1788). For a comprehensive exploration of Minna Brandes's life and compositions, see Head, 84–122.

⁷⁷ Brandes, 2: 222; and Riesemann, 563–564.

⁷⁸ "Madame Mara hörte die junge Sängerin, war entzückt über deren Talent, und machte es sich, von dem Augenblick an, zu einer ihrer angenehmsten Beschäftigungen, derselben täglich einige Stunden Unterricht im Gesange zu ertheilen." (DT) Brandes, 2: 223.

⁷⁹ "Meine Tochter war innigst erfreut, ihre Freundin, Madame Mara, hier wieder zu sehen. Diese empfing ihre ehemalige Schülerin gleichfallmit offenen Armen, wählte sie zu ihrer täglichen Gesellschafterin, und sekte nun den in Dresden abgebrochnen Unterricht im Gesange eifrigst mit ihr fort." (DT) *Ibid.*, 2: 255.

⁸⁰ Brandes, 2: 256.

⁸¹ Fürst, *Maria Theresia Paradis*, 128–129, 145.

⁸² *Ibid.*

alongside Brandes.⁸³ It is worth noting that while it remains plausible that Brandes knew of Schröter, the younger singer had already left Weimar before Schröter’s arrival.⁸⁴

— Mapping primary connections

Given that all of the female musicians discussed in this chapter are directly associated with Elisabeth Mara, it is appropriate to analyze their network connections in pairs to facilitate comparative analysis.⁸⁵

Figure 2.2 depicts the Corona Schröter network, where the edges’ thicknesses represent the strength of the relationships. It is worth noting that the strongest female connection is between Schröter and Elisabeth Mara, as indicated by the thicker edge. Conversely, the edges connecting Schröter to Maria Carolina Wolf and her sister, Juliane, are relatively thinner, suggesting a less intimate acquaintance despite their collaborative performances.⁸⁶ Notably, Johann Hasse and Minna Brandes fall into the “potential” category, marked by the thinnest edges, implying that their relationships may have been weaker or lacked sufficient evidence to establish conclusive links.

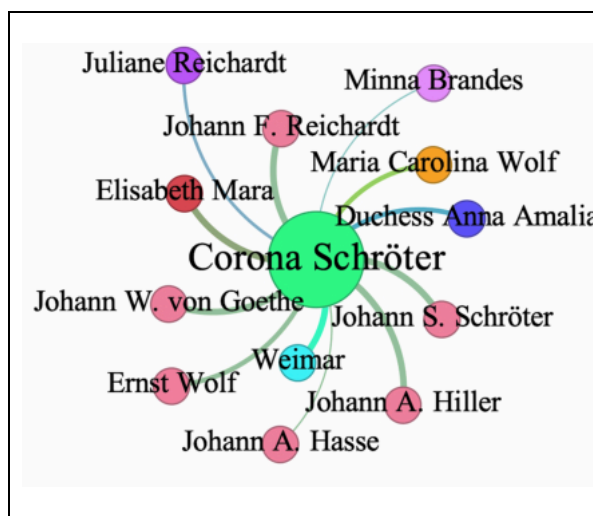


Fig. 2.2. Corona Schröter network



Fig. 2.3. Minna Brandes network

Regarding Minna Brandes, despite her unfortunate demise, her map (Figure 2.3)

⁸³ The details of Minna’s relationship with the Benda sisters are addressed later in the chapter.

⁸⁴ Minna and her family made the move to Gotha sometime between 1774 and 1775, while Schröter arrived in Weimar between 1776 and 1777.

⁸⁵ Notably, all of Mara’s links are considered primary. Consequently, the thickness of each edge serves as a visual indicator to emphasize the strength of these connections. Figure 2.1 explicitly portrays the connections to individuals with whom Mara was associated, as initially presented in her biographical sketch in Chapter 1. As we delve deeper into her relationships with other actors, the strength of the edge often changes.

⁸⁶ The details of Schröter’s collaboration with the Benda sisters are examined later in the chapter.

reveals significant associations with five female musicians, two influential patrons, and one renowned music critic, all of whom played crucial roles in shaping her achievements and legacy. The undeniable influence of these individuals on her life and professional trajectory is apparent.

Upon integrating Schröter’s connections into Mara’s network, as shown in Figure 2.4, the overlap in their associations becomes apparent, demonstrating the intertwined nature of their clusters within the dataset. This overlap highlights the interconnectedness of their professional and social circles.

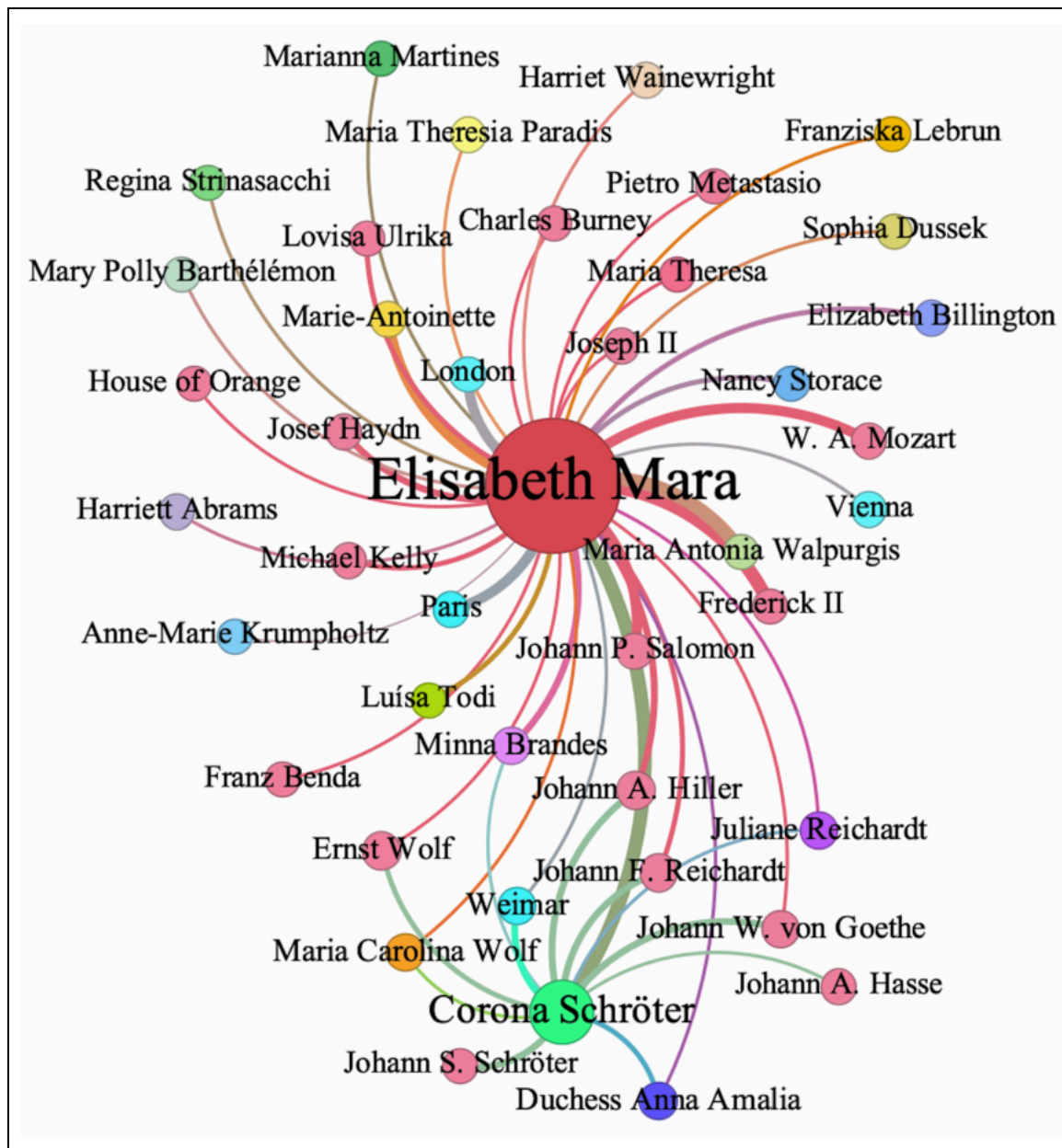


Fig. 2.4. Mara composite network with Corona Schröter

Notably, the nodes representing individuals linked to both Schröter and Mara are

significantly larger than those representing other individuals. This distinction underscores the direct relationship between node size and the number of connections, offering a clear representation of the network's dynamics.

When Minna Brandes's connections are added to the network in Figure 2.5, her prominent affiliations with Elisabeth Mara come to the forefront, along with secondary connections to Corona Schröter. This addition further enriches the visualization, illustrating how Brandes's relationships bridge these figures and contribute to the broader network.

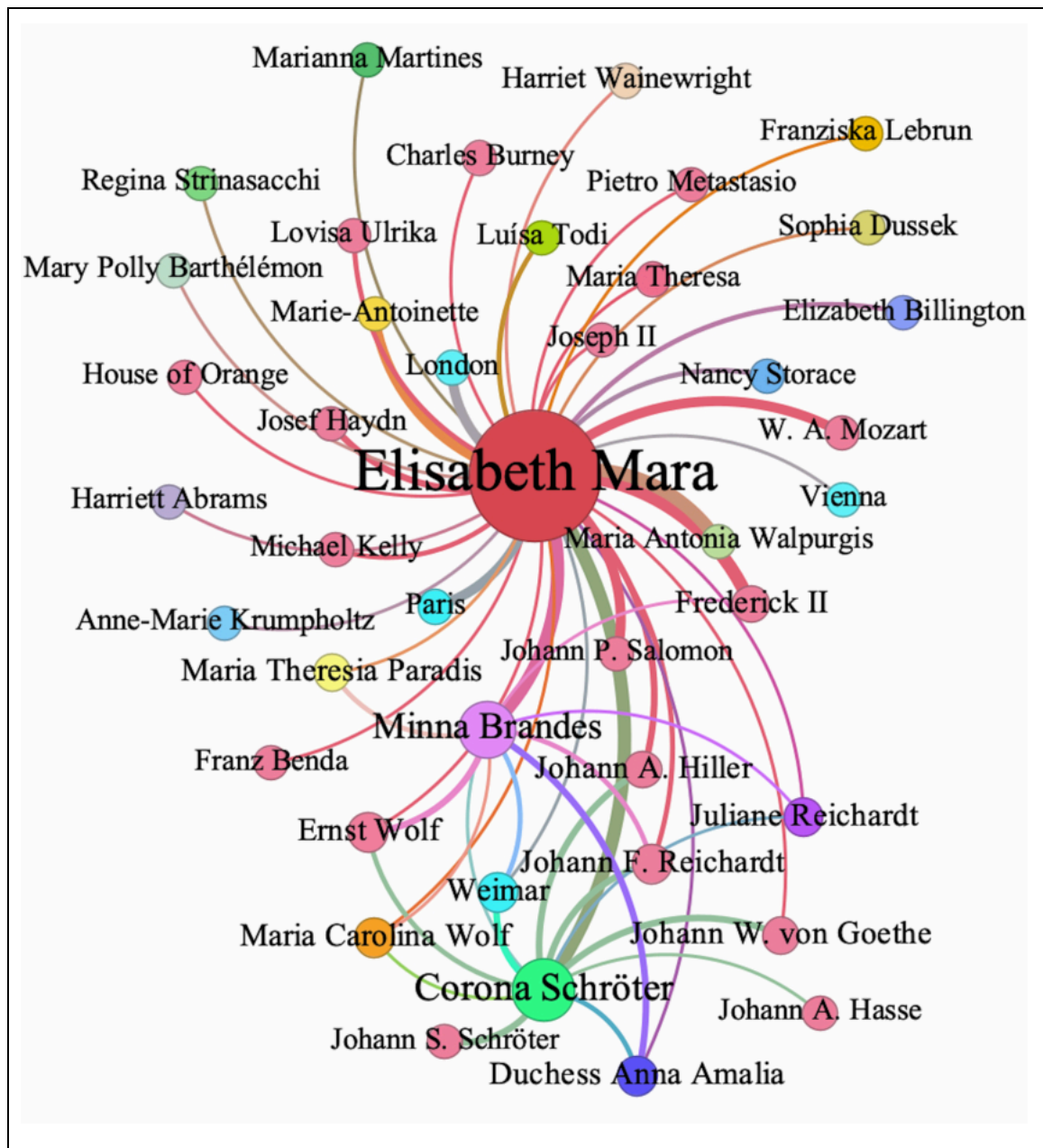


Fig. 2.5. Mara composite network with Minna Brandes

What is particularly striking is that Brandes has no peripheral associations in the database; her connections exclusively and directly align with the other two women. This observation suggests that their relationships were not incidental but rather integral to the fabric of their musical and social interactions.

B. Weimar—Anna Amalia, Wolf, Reichardt, Schlick—*primary, potential*

During the eighteenth century, Germanic states witnessed a musical renaissance primarily attributed to the influential figures of King Frederick II of Prussia, his sister Princess Anna Amalia (1723–1787), and his niece Duchess Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach.⁸⁷ Princess Anna Amalia, who also served as the Abbess of Quedlinburg, was a talented composer and a notable music advocate.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, Duchess Anna Amalia played a crucial role in transforming Weimar into a vibrant cultural center.⁸⁹ However, when Duchess Anna Amalia’s son, Karl August (1757–1828), came of age and assumed the dukedom, the dowager Duchess relocated her court to the Tiefurt mansion.⁹⁰ Here, she gathered some of the era’s most renowned musicians, poets, and playwrights, forming what became known as the “Weimarer Musenhof” or “Weimar Courtyard of the Muses.”⁹¹

In his obituary for the Duchess, Goethe portrayed Weimar as a court that housed a diverse community of educated, academic, and creative individuals.⁹² This description

⁸⁷ To delve deeper into Frederick II’s musical impact, I recommend the work of Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia,” in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. by Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 79–130; and Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Flutist of Sanssouci: Frederick “the Great” as Composer and Performer,” *The Flutist Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 18–26.

⁸⁸ Hannah French’s BBC podcast provides a captivating exploration of the lives and musical legacies of the two eighteenth-century German princess-composers. Their compositions, though somewhat overshadowed, are a testament to their exceptional skills and artistic vision. What sets them apart is the extensive music libraries they left behind, containing invaluable manuscripts, including unpublished works by the legendary J.S. Bach. This discovery alone is a testament to their significance in the musical world. Moreover, one cannot underestimate the impact of Princess Anna Amalia and Duchess Anna Amalia in the transition from the Baroque era to the Galante style. Their role in shaping this musical evolution is particularly noteworthy. See Hannah French, “The Anna Amalias,” *The Early Music Show* (podcast), BBC Radio 3, March 7, 2021.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Klassik Stiftung Weimar, “Tiefurt Mansion and Park: Duchess Anna Amalia’s Country Estate.”

⁹¹ Gabriele Busch-Salmen, Walter Salmen, and Christoph Michel, *Der Weimarer Musenhof: Dichtung, Musik und Tanz, Gartenkunst, Geselligkeit, Malerei* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1998), 2.

⁹² “Sie gefiel sich im Umgang geistreicher Personen, und freute sich Verhältnisse dieser Art anzuknüpfen, zu erhalten und nützlich zu machen; ja es ist kein bedeutender Name von Weimar ausgegangen, der nicht in ihre Kreise früher oder später gewürkt hätte.” (DT) Johann Wolfgang Goethe, “Anna Amalia,” *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, no. 102 (April 29, 1807): 407. As early as the tenth anniversary of Anna Amalia’s death, one of her earliest biographies draws on Goethe’s eulogy for its

highlights the intellectual and artistic atmosphere that flourished under Duchess Anna Amalia's patronage.⁹³ Indeed, Theobald von Oer's (1807–1885) famous nineteenth-century oil painting, intended as a tribute to the Enlightenment and Weimar Classicism, portrays an idealized gathering of nobles and commoners engaging in discussions about poetry, politics, art, and music.⁹⁴ While some modern critics may question the idyllic narrative surrounding Anna Amalia as a romantic legend, the love she inspired and the romanticism depicted in the artwork have forever linked the term “Weimarer Musenhof” to its cherished luminary.⁹⁵

2.3 Duchess Anna Amalia (1739–1807)

Anna Amalia, this princess, who had been removed from the world for a decade, but whose effects still persisted, a sublime model and example of true German women, as wife, mother and head of the largest family circle [...] For a full half-century, as a benevolent genius, she made her country happy through her beneficial work, creating prosperity, pleasure, spiritual joys within, respect, honor and splendor without, and thus laid the foundation for all the good and beauty that has since emerged from Weimar.⁹⁶

Anna Amalia, a prominent figure in Germanic history, was born in Wolfenbüttel to Karl I, Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1713–1780), and Philippine Charlotte of

portrayal of Weimar's Musenhof. See “Anna Amalia,” in *Frauenzimmer Almanach zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* (Leipzig: Cnobloch, 1817): IV–VI.

⁹³ The tradition of relying on Goethe's eulogy for the description of Anna Amalia and Weimar's Musenhof persists in the latest German publications on Anna Amalia. See Angela Borchert, “Goethe's Eulogy for Duchess Anna Amalia: Re-Membering Classicism,” *Modern Language Studies* 31, no. 1 (2001): 60 (4).

⁹⁴ Theobald von Oer, “Der Weimarer Musenhof. Schiller in Tiefurt dem Hof vorlesend,” Nationalgalerie, 2021. From a technical standpoint, a Musenhof can be likened to a French salon or an amateur music academy. The painting by von Oer not only captured the deep admiration and reverence for Anna Amalia but also elevated the term to a synonymous status with Weimar and its cherished figurehead.

⁹⁵ For a comprehensive assessment of significant literary and political histories spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, along with a systematic analysis of popular literature concerning Weimar and its royal house, see Justus H. Ulbricht, “Der Weimarer Musenhof — vom Fürstenideal zur Finalchiffre: eine erinnerungskulturelle Spurensuche,” in *Anna Amalia, Carl August und das Ereignis Weimar, Jahrbuch*, ed. by Hellmut Seemann (Weimar: Klassik Stiftung, 2007), 191–230.

⁹⁶ “Anna Amalia, diese seit einem Jahrzehend der Welt entrückte, aber in ihren Wirkungen noch fortdauernde Fürstin, ein erhabenes Muster und Vorbild ächtdeutscher Frauen, als Gattin, Mutter, und Vorsteherin des größten Familienkreises [...] Ein vollständiges Halbjahrhundert beglückte sie als ein wohlthätiger Genius ihr Land durch segnenreiches Wirken, erschuf ihm Wohlstand, Genuß, geistige Freuden nach innen, Achtung, Ehre und Glanz von außen, und legte so den Grund zu alle dem Guten und Schönen, welches seitdem aus Weimar hervorgegangen.” (DT) *Frauenzimmer Almanach*, I–II. (Translation) DeepL, November 22, 2023.

Prussia (1716–1801).⁹⁷ Her early years were spent at the Braunschweig court, where she received a comprehensive education encompassing natural sciences and humanities.⁹⁸ Under the tutelage of court musician Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer (1722–1806), Anna Amalia acquired proficiency in musical performance and received instruction in counterpoint.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, as revealed in her memoirs, profound unhappiness overshadowed Anna Amalia’s childhood.¹⁰⁰ She candidly expressed her sense of being unloved and consistently neglected by her parents, regarded as inferior to her siblings in every aspect, and even labeled as a reject of nature.¹⁰¹

At sixteen, Anna Amalia entered an arranged marriage with Ernst August II, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1737–1758).¹⁰² Despite the customary nature of such unions among royals, this particular match proved agreeable as the young Duke shared Anna Amalia’s enthusiasm for drama and music, even sponsoring a court theatre.¹⁰³ The Duke, who had always been in delicate health, succumbed just two years later, shortly before his twenty-first birthday and the birth of his second son, Frederick Ferdinand Constantin (1758–1793).¹⁰⁴ Faced with this heartrending loss, Anna Amalia assumed the regency and skillfully managed government affairs until her son, Karl August, reached maturity.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ Notably, Anna Amalia was the niece of Frederick II, as Philippine Charlotte was Frederick’s sister. For her complete biography, see Leonie Berger and Joachim Berger, *Anna Amalia von Weimar: eine Biographie* (München: C. H. Beck, 2006).

⁹⁸ Additionally, Anna Amalia received training in drawing, dancing, and composition, mastering instruments such as the harpsichord, harp, and flute. Lindeman contextualizes Anna Amalia’s upbringing within the broader cultural landscape of the eighteenth century. *Ibid.*, 10–12.

⁹⁹ Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Duchess Anna Amalia’s autobiography has been critically ed. by Volker Wahl, “Meine Gedanken,” in *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* (Wiesbaden, 1994) 9: 99–122.

¹⁰¹ “Nicht geliebt von meinen Eltern, immer zurückgesetzt, meinen Geschwistern in allen Stücken nachgesetzt, nannte man mich nur den Ausschuß der Natur.” *Ibid.*, 99. (Quoted) Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 7. According to the biographer Frances Gerard, Anna Amalia encountered resentment due to her not being a male heir. Specifically, her mother held a deep-seated grudge against her daughter, resulting in a strained relationship that persisted throughout their lives. Francis A. Gerard, *A Grand Duchess: The Life of Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, and the Classical Circle of Weimar*, 2 vols. (New York: EP Dutton & Co., 1902), 1: 12.

¹⁰² Christina Lindeman provides a succinct overview of August II’s accession and the deteriorating state of the duchy during this period. Christina K. Lindeman, *Representing Duchess Anna Amalia’s Bildung: A Visual Metamorphosis in Portraiture from Political to Personal in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), 12–13.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* Gerard’s entertaining narrative of the meeting between Anna Amalia and August II, along with their subsequent marriage, unfolds with the charm and allure of a romance novel. Gerard, *A Grand Duchess*, 1: 18–31.

¹⁰⁴ Becoming a mother brought immense joy to Anna Amalia, marking a significant turning point in her life and instilling newfound confidence in herself. Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Anna Amalia devoted herself to relentless study day and night, tirelessly endeavoring to master the intricacies of managing Weimar affairs. Throughout this period, she frequently found herself at odds with her advisors, as she delved deep into the intrigue of politics with limited funds at her disposal. *Ibid.*, 7–10.

Confronted with financial constraints, Duchess Anna Amalia demonstrated a resolute commitment to implementing stringent measures to revitalize her dilapidated duchy.¹⁰⁶ Undeterred by the fiscal challenges, she recognized the enduring importance of music in her court but made adjustments, including downsizing the court orchestra and dismissing Kapellmeister Johann Ernst Bach (1722–1777) from his post.¹⁰⁷ In lieu of exclusive courtly amusements, she introduced scholarly discourse, music, and drama, engaging the services of middle-class artists who were obliged to work at court.¹⁰⁸ This distinctive amalgamation of aristocratic figures and active artists from various circles transformed the court into a beacon of progress and a bastion of Enlightenment ideals.¹⁰⁹

In 1761, Duchess Anna Amalia appointed the talented and aspiring scholar Ernst Wilhelm Wolf as the piano master for herself and her sons.¹¹⁰ Recognizing his exceptional abilities, the Duchess subsequently elevated him to the prized position of court composer, conductor, and Kapellmeister in 1772.¹¹¹ Under Wolf's capable guidance, the court underwent a transformative period of musical rebirth.¹¹² One notable manifestation of this renaissance was the establishment of weekly Saturday concerts, which served as a platform for the ducal family's active participation as well as the showcasing of court singers of considerable renown, including Corona Schröter, Minna Brandes, and Wolf's future bride, Maria Carolina Benda.¹¹³

By the time her son assumed control of the government in 1775, Anna Amalia had successfully consolidated the budget and implemented significant measures to enhance the education and social systems.¹¹⁴ Freed from her regency responsibilities, she

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Biographical accounts, despite recounting the same events, offer an intriguing opportunity to examine the varied perspectives and approaches employed in their presentation. See also Gerard, 1: 40–72; Lindeman, 13–17; and Carolin Philipps, *Anna Amalia von Weimar: Regentin, Künstlerin und Freundin Goethes* (München, Piper Verlag GmbH, 2019), 89–411.

¹⁰⁷ Gabriele Busch-Salmen, “Anna Amalia Duchess of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach,” *MUGI*, 2004 (updated 2018).

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion on Anna Amalia's financial state and resultant austere measures, see Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 62–67.

¹⁰⁹ Cnobloch, IV–VI.

¹¹⁰ Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 64. Also in 1761, she initiated the conversion of the Grünes Schloss (Green Castle) into a library. (Lindeman, 92). Over the subsequent years, between 1763 and 1766, she committed herself to the monumental task of relocating the entire courtly book collection to the library. (Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 9–10). Today, this library is celebrated as the *Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek*, housing an extensive collection of German historical documents and literature that has withstood centuries of wars and natural disasters. See Klassik Stiftung Weimar, “Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek.”

¹¹¹ Lindeman, *Representing Duchess Anna Amalia's Bildung*, 6.

¹¹² Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 63–65.

¹¹³ Ibid., 19–20, 63–65, 70–73, 90–99; Franz Lorenz, *Franz Benda und seine Nachkommen* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 1: 81–83.

¹¹⁴ Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 9.

could now focus on her multifaceted interests, which extended beyond music and drama to encompass various realms of art and science.¹¹⁵ She organized festivals, balls, redoutes (masked balls), reading sessions, theatre performances, concerts, chamber music, and sleigh rides.¹¹⁶ In 1781, Anna Amalia relocated her entire court to the magnificent Tiefurt mansion in 1781.¹¹⁷ This move allowed her to assemble a distinguished group of writers, artists, and scholars who regularly convened to exchange ideas, compose poetry, create art, and compose and perform music.¹¹⁸

In November 1775, Anna Amalia invited Johann Goethe to relocate to Weimar, marking the commencement of a transformative period for both the city and the Duchess.¹¹⁹ Several months later, Goethe also brought Corona Schröter to Weimar, significantly bolstering her career.¹²⁰ While Anna Amalia had already demonstrated her musical aptitude through previous compositions, such as a sinfonia in 1765 and an oratorio in 1768, the presence of Goethe in her intimate circle presented a novel opportunity.¹²¹ Recognizing this, she capitalized on it by offering her singspiel setting of Goethe's *Erwin und Elmire* for the Court Theatre, with its premiere occurring on May 24, 1776.¹²² In this production, Corona Schröter assumed the leading role of "Elmire," with Maria Carolina Benda Wolf portraying "Olympia."¹²³

Shortly before her forty-ninth birthday, Anna Amalia fell gravely ill, prompting her physicians to recommend seeking a warmer climate.¹²⁴ Consequently, the Duchess embarked on a journey to Italy, the land of her dreams, in 1788.¹²⁵ Primarily staying in Rome and Naples, she formed communities of like-minded individuals who shared her passion for music, art, and philosophy.¹²⁶ Queen Maria Carolina of Naples and Sicily, in

¹¹⁵ Lindeman, 17.

¹¹⁶ Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 113–164.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹¹⁸ Cnobloch, VIII–IX; "Tiefurt Mansion and Park;" and Lindeman, 17–19. This vibrant community cultivated a rich intellectual and artistic environment, nurturing creativity and innovation, hence earning the moniker "Weimarer Musenhof."

¹¹⁹ Lindeman, 17–18. This move coincided with Anna Amalia's partial withdrawal from political life, as Karl August had assumed the throne by then.

¹²⁰ *AMZ* 42 (October 20, 1875): 662.

¹²¹ Panja Mücke, "Anna Amalia von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach (1739–1807)," in *Annäherung X – an sieben Komponistinnen*, ed. by Clara Mayer (Kassel: Furore, 2007), 22–23.

¹²² See Anna Amalia, Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Erwin und Elmire*. (Autograph, 1776).

¹²³ Citron, "Corona Schröter," 17; and Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 84.

¹²⁴ Cnobloch, IX.

¹²⁵ Gerard offers a narrative of Anna Amalia's Italian travels through the translated letters of the Duchess and her companions. Gerard, 2: 435–501.

¹²⁶ Lindeman, 44–45.

particular, welcomed Duchess Anna Amalia to her court with open arms.¹²⁷ While the Queen may not have been particularly fond of Italian music, she held an excellent appreciation for Germanic arts, which led to the flourishing of German musicians and artists in Naples.¹²⁸ Anna Amalia quickly became a central figure in this German community, hosting salons filled with German artists and scholars.¹²⁹ Much like in Weimar, she was beloved within her German sphere in Italy.¹³⁰ Johann Georg Schütz (1755–1813) expressed the sentiment best in a letter to Goethe:

Oh, what a Lady! A Lady, for whom I wish to build an eternal Paestum temple as a monument in Rome, to glorify her and the German nation, who are fortunate enough to be the subjects of such a sublime German princess. After all it is a society, that again strengthens the honor of the entire German nation in Rome, and I am now once again proud to be a German.¹³¹

Duchess Anna Amalia returned to Weimar in 1790, where she continued to pursue her passion for composing and performance.¹³² However, she confined her performances to the intimate settings of her private circle and abstained from participating in court concerts.¹³³ Her passing on April 10, 1807, signaled the end of an era, as she had already become a legend.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, the immense impact of her contributions remains unparalleled, owing to her role in advocating for and advancing the careers of female musicians.¹³⁵

We are all sad and in tears, there is probably no house in Weimar where people are not in tears mourning our beloved Regent. Even though she had long achieved all the great tasks she had set in front of herself — we mourn her passing. She knew how to unite the gentry and the people. She

¹²⁷ Ibid., 72. A discussion of Maria Carolina and music in her court can be found in Chapter 1.

¹²⁸ Dietz, 106–108.

¹²⁹ Lindeman, 72–75.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 74.

¹³¹ “O welche Dame! Eine Dame, der ich wünschte einen Pestonischen Tempel in Rom zum ewigen Denkmal aufbauen zu können, zum Ruhm ihrer und zur Ehre der deutschen Nation, die das Glück haben Unterthanen von einer so erhabenen deutschen Fürstin zu sehn. Überhaupt ist es eine Gesellschaft, die der ganzen deutschen Nation ihre Ehre wieder in Rom (auf) festen Fuß setzt, und ich nun auf’s Neue stolz darauf bin ein Deutscher zu sehn.” (DT) (Excerpt, letter from Schütz to Goethe, Rome, April 4, 1789) (Transcribed) Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Zur Nachgeschichte der italienischen Reise*, ed. by Otto Harnack (Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1890), 154. (Translation) Christina K. Lindeman, “Tischbein’s ‘Anna Amalia, Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach’: Friendship, Sociability, and ‘Heimat’ in Eighteenth-Century Naples,” *Notes in the History of Art* 33, no. 1 (2013): 25.

¹³² Gerard, 2: 502–504.

¹³³ Carolin Philipps, *Anna Amalia von Weimar: Regentin, Künstlerin und Freundin Goethes* (München, Piper Verlag GmbH, 2019), 226.

¹³⁴ Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, vii.

¹³⁵ To delve into a discussion on Anna Amalia's impact, refer to Lindeman, 110–123.

surrounded herself with the greatest minds; this will not happen anymore, and when Wieland and Goethe are gone, so will go Weimar's greatness and fame that came with the regency of Anna Amalia — we will only live on in history. We can consider ourselves lucky that we lived in the time of this great Regent; there will not be one greater than she. Everybody here who knew her feels this way — as we all mourn her we find comfort in that we knew her — she is irreplaceable. There is also joy in that grief that I felt in these last days in full measure; I never knew how attached I was to this greatest Regent ever.¹³⁶

Brandes and Weimar

Brandes's profile sketch indicates that Duchess Anna Amalia took Minna Brandes under her wing in 1773 when the child was only eight. Her father wrote:

My daughter, who had now entered her eighth year and expressed a talent for music, received her first lessons here and very soon made considerable progress, especially as, in addition to her usual teacher, the two bandmasters Wolf and Schweitzer also contributed to her musical education. The Duchess (who is a great friend of music and an artist herself) noticed the diligence of the young, studious pupil and often encouraged her with small gifts; sometimes she also chose her to accompany her on her walks; little by little she took a liking to their entertainment, and it was not long before she became a favorite of this lovely princess.¹³⁷

Indeed, Duchess Anna Amalia and her son, Karl August, welcomed Brandes into

¹³⁶ “Wir sind alle traurig und in Thränen; vielleicht ist kein Haus in Weimar, wo dieser edeln Fürstin nicht Thränen fließen. Ach! Obleich sie das Gute, zu dem sie sich berufen fühlte, langst vollbracht hat, so haben wir sie nicht mehr besitzen. Sie wußte den Fürsten und den Menschen sich zu vereinigen. Sie zog die besten Geister an sich, wo sie sie fand, das wird nun in Weimar nicht mehr geschehen, und sind Wieland und Goethe einmal nicht mehr, so wird Weimars Glanz und Ruhm, den Amalia ihm erwarb, nur noch in der Geschichte leben. Wir wollen uns glücklich preisen, daß wir in dieser Zeit gelebt und diese Fürstin gekannt haben; eine bessere sehen wir nicht wieder, auch ihres Gleichen nicht. Dies fühlt jeder hier, und das ist das Gefühl, mit welchem wir um sie trauern, ja es liegt selbst ein Trost darin, das Vortreffliche und Unersetzliche gekannt zu haben und es betrauen zu dürfen. Das ist the joy of grief, die ich in diesen Tagen im vollkommensten Maße empfunden habe; ich habe selbst nicht geglaubt, daß ich so sehr an der besten Fürstin hange.” (DT) (Excerpt, letter from Carl Ludwig Fernow (1763–1808), Karl August's librarian, to Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835) after Anna Amalia's death) (Quoted) Friederike Bornhak, *Anna Amalia, Herzogin von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, die Begründerin der klassischen Zeit Weimars* (Berlin: F. Fontaine & Co., 1892), 337–338. (Translation) Lindeman, 110.

¹³⁷ “Meine Tochter, welche jetzt ihr achttes Jahr angetreten hatte, und Talent zur Musik äußerte, erhielt hier darin den ersten Unterricht, und machte sehr bald merkliche Fortschritte, besonders da außer ihrem gewöhnlichen Lehrer, auch noch die beiden Kapellmeister Wolf und Schweitzer zu ihrer musikalischen Bildung beitrugen. Die Herzogin (welche eine große Freundin der Musik und selbst Künstlerin ist) bemerkte den Fleiß der jungen lehrbegierigen Schülerin, und ermunterte sie zum öftern durch klein Geschenke; zuweilen mahlte sie solche auch zur Begleiterin auf ihren Spaziergängen; nach und nach fand sie Gefallen an deren Unterhaltung, und es mährte nicht lange, so wurde sie ein Liebling dieser liebreichen Fürstin.” (DT) Brandes, 2: 139. (Translation) DeepL, December 11, 2023.

their family with open arms. She was treated with the utmost respect and care as if she were one of their own.

Along with my wife and daughter, I often had the honor of being summoned to the Duchess for a few hours in the morning, where we were then, at her command, entertained with breakfast and also occasionally presented with fruit, flowers or even finery and other useful things by this extremely kind lady herself. When the Duke appeared on such occasions, he was so condescending as to show himself only as a family man, and to relieve us of all ceremonial proofs of the reverence due to him. Then he would converse with his wife, play with his children, talk to me about the theatre or other subjects, occasionally ask my daughter to sing or perform a sonata, and so on.¹³⁸

Mara and Weimar

During his stay in Weimar in 1831, Johann Goethe paid tribute to Elisabeth Mara through his poem “Sangreich war Dein Ehrenweg.”¹³⁹ While Mara’s autobiography only briefly alludes to the city, there is a prevailing belief that she had visited Weimar during her Germanic tour in 1778.¹⁴⁰

In Weimar, they also wanted to keep me, yet I could not make up my mind. In the end, I think that since I have always been independent, the thought of being dependent frightens me.¹⁴¹

2.4 **Maria Carolina Benda Wolf (1742–1820)**

Maria Carolina Benda, a German singer, pianist, and composer, was born into Potsdam’s illustrious Benda family of musicians.¹⁴² She and her sister, Juliane, were

¹³⁸ “Ich hatte nebst meiner Frau und Tochter zum öftern die Ehre, des Morgens, auf einige Stunden, zur Herzogin berufen zu werden, wo wir dann, auf deren Befehl, mit einem Frühstück bewirthet, und auch zuweilen von dieser äußerst liebevollen Dame selbst mit Früchten, Blumen oder auch Putz und andere brauchbare Sachen beschenkt wurden. Erschien der Herzog bei dergleichen Gelegenheiten, so war er so herablassend, sich nur als Familienvater zu zeigen, und uns von allen zeremonieusen Beweisen der ihm schuldigen Ehrfurcht zu entbinden. Dann unterhielt er sich mit seiner Gemahlin, spielte mit seinen Kindern, sprach mit mir von der Schaubühne oder anderen Gegenständen, forderte auch zuweilen meine Tochter zum Gesange oder zum Vortrage einer Sonate auf, u dgl.” (DT) *Ibid.*, 2: 171–172. (Translation) DeepL, December 11, 2023.

¹³⁹ Riesemann, 498, 641–642.

¹⁴⁰ Kürschner, “Mara, Elisabeth,” 288.

¹⁴¹ “In Weimar wünschte man mich auch zu halten, und ich konnte mich doch nicht entschliessen. Ich glaube am Ende, dass da ich immer unabhängig gewesen bin mich der Gedanke, abhängig zu seyn, erschreckt.” (DT) Riesemann, 630. (Translation) DeepL, December 10, 2023.

¹⁴² The biographical information in this paragraph has been sourced from Jeanette Toussaint, “Maria Carolina Benda (1742 bis 1820), Juliane Bernhardine Benda (1752 bis 1783): Sängerinnen, Pianistinnen, Komponistinnen,” in *Zwischen Tradition und Eigensinn. Lebenswege Potsdamer Frauen vom*

privileged to receive piano and singing lessons from their father, Franz Benda (1709–1786), Frederick II’s first violinist and Kapellmeister.¹⁴³ Although the specifics of her early childhood are not well-documented, we know that her mother, Franziska Louise Benda (née Stephanie) (1718–1758), passed away when Maria Carolina was sixteen, leaving her and her older sister, Wilhelmina Louise Dorothea (1741–1798), to assume the onus of raising their four younger siblings.

In 1761, 18-year-old Maria Carolina embarked on a concert tour with her father to Gotha, Weimar, and Rudolstadt.¹⁴⁴ An intriguing outcome of this trip was the marriage between Franz Benda and Caroline Wilhelmine Stephanie (1712–1769), who happened to be the sister of Benda’s late wife and, thus, Maria Carolina’s aunt.¹⁴⁵ Caroline Wilhelmine served Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach as a chambermaid since she was five.¹⁴⁶ Following the wedding, Caroline Wilhelmine passed on her chambermaid duties to her new stepdaughters, Maria Carolina and Wilhelmine Louise.¹⁴⁷ Recognizing Maria Carolina’s exceptional talent as both a singer and pianist, the Duchess appointed her as one of her chamber singers early on, a position that significantly shaped the musician’s career.¹⁴⁸

Maria Carolina Benda’s connection with the ducal Kapellmeister Ernst Wilhelm Wolf blossomed into marriage in 1770.¹⁴⁹ From that point onward, the couple’s artistic endeavors became intricately woven into the fabric of the Weimar court, shaping their lives inextricably.¹⁵⁰ Demonstrating a commitment to the flourishing talents within her court, Duchess Anna Amalia played a crucial role in supporting Benda and Wolf’s union by funding their wedding, ensuring that her two exceptionally gifted musicians continued their careers in Weimar.¹⁵¹

The profound influence of Duchess Anna Amalia on Maria Carolina is evident in the singer’s unwavering resistance to the allure of Frederick II, who attempted to entice

18. bis 20. Jahrhundert (Potsdam: Autonomes Frauenzentrum, 2009), 30. To delve further into the musical Benda genealogy, see Arrey von Dommer, “Benda,” *ADB* 2 (1875), 314–318.

¹⁴³ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 21.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 31.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Charlotte Marlo Werner, *Goethes Herzogin Anna Amalia: Fürstin zwischen Rokoko und Revolution* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1996), 27.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Schletterer, 1: 106, 310. Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 90, 122, 158.

¹⁴⁹ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 82–83.

¹⁵⁰ Werner, *Goethes Herzogin Anna Amalia*, 84

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

her away from the ducal court.¹⁵² This steadfast loyalty underscores the deep bond between Anna Amalia and her employees, extending beyond professional relationships. Concrete examples of the Duchess's compassion and concern are reflected in her attentiveness to Maria Carolina's husband as he aged, gradually losing touch with contemporary music styles.¹⁵³ In a poignant display of solidarity, Anna Amalia took piano lessons from Kapellmeister Wolf to uplift his spirits, consistently honoring him at every available opportunity.¹⁵⁴

Maria Carolina played a prominent role in the Liebhabertheater, an avant-garde platform dedicated to exploring novel theatrical and compositional forms under Goethe's directorship.¹⁵⁵ Operating from 1775 to 1783, this pioneering theatre attracted a distinguished roster of elite and educated performers.¹⁵⁶ In 1776, the painter Georg Melchior Kraus created an etching capturing Maria Carolina as "Baronin von Forstheim" in Cornelius von Ayrenhoff's (1733–1819) comedy, *Der Postzug oder die noblen Passionen*, staged at the Liebhabertheater.¹⁵⁷ Adding a unique twist to this visual narrative, Kraus himself assumed the role of the male character, "Graf Blumenkranz."¹⁵⁸

Maria Carolina's talent and versatility were evident in her various documented performances. She charmed audiences as "Olympia" in *Erwin und Elmire*, a Goethe singspiel set to music by Anna Amalia.¹⁵⁹ In addition, she showcased her comedic skills as "Esther" in *Das Jahmarktfest von Plundersweilern*, another work penned by Goethe.¹⁶⁰ Her range extended even further as she took on the role of "Dilara" in *Zobeis*, a tragedy authored by Friedrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel (1750–1828).¹⁶¹

¹⁵² Friedrich Schlichtegroll, *Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1792: Enthaltend Nachrichten von dem Leben merkwürdiger in Diesem Jahre verstorbenen Personen*, 11 vols. (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1792), 3:2, 268.

¹⁵³ "Die Herzoginn Amalie, diese edle Pflegerinn und Schützerinn jedes Talents, liess den wackern Wolf auch da nicht sinken, als man seinen musikalischen Geschmack in Weimar altmodisch zu finden anfang; sie nahm, hauptsächlich um ihn zu zerstreuen, selbst Clavierstunden bey ihm, und distinguirte ihn bey jeder Gelegenheit." (DT) *Ibid.*, 269–270.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 83.

¹⁵⁶ In addition to Schröter, the other players included Duchess Anna Amalie and her sons, Duke Karl August and Prince Konstantin (1758–1793), Count Putbus (possibly Malte Friedrich 1725–1787), poet Karl Ludwig von Knebel (1774–1834), librettist Friedrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel (1750–1728), poet and composer Count Karl Siegmund von Seckendorff (1744–1785), author Johan Karl August Musäus (1735–1787), publisher Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1747–1822), and the painter Georg Melchior Kraus (1737–1806). *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ George Melchior Kraus, "Der Postzug oder die noblen Passionen" (1776). Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Bestand Museen, Inv-Number DK 193/83.

¹⁵⁸ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 84.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* Maria Carolina is featured in another of Kraus's works, a painting which captures the essence of actors preparing backstage for their performance of *Zobeis*. A facsimile of this captivating scene

Maria Carolina's artistic abilities extended beyond her stage performance. She also ventured into composition, creating songs accompanied by the keyboard. Her musical aptitude received well-deserved recognition when two of her lieder, "Die Rose" and "Glänzender sinket die Sonne," were published in the literary magazine *Der Teutsche Merkur*.¹⁶² Additionally, her talent was further expressed as three additional pieces were included in her husband's compilation of 51 songs, which he deemed to represent the pinnacle of German poetry and melody.¹⁶³

In the final year of her husband's life, Maria Carolina devotedly nursed him until his death from a cerebral stroke in 1792.¹⁶⁴ Following this loss, she remained in Weimar until her death on August 2, 1820.¹⁶⁵ Regrettably, there is a paucity of details regarding her activities after her husband's death, leaving a gap in the historical narrative. Nonetheless, her enduring affiliation with Weimar suggests a continued presence within the cultural milieu that had been a substantial component of her life.

Wolf and Schröter

Maria Carolina Wolf occupied a prominent position at the Weimar court when Corona Schröter arrived in 1776 and swiftly gained entry into the Liebhabertheater, Anna Amalia's experimental theatre.¹⁶⁶ The two vocalists first appeared together as "Elmire" (Schröter) and "Olympia" (Wolf) in Anna Amalia's *Erwin und Elmire* on May 24, 1776.¹⁶⁷ To date, no concrete evidence of any professional disputes or rivalry between the two performers has been uncovered, leading us to believe their collaboration was amicable. The duration of their joint performances remains unknown.

The posthumous activities of Wolf following the demise of her husband in 1792 have not been documented, although she resided in Weimar until her passing in 1820.¹⁶⁸

can be seen in Busch-Salmen, et al., *Der Weimarer Musenhof*, 153. In the painting, Maria Carolina embodies the character "Dilara." Ibid., 154. Kraus presents a case study that offers a rare and insightful glimpse into the behind-the-scenes moments of theatrical preparation, thereby adding an additional dimension to the visual documentation of theatre practices during this era.

¹⁶² See Maria Carolina Benda Wolf, "Die Rose," *Der Teutsche Merkur* (Weimar, 1779), 4: 16; and "Glänzender sinket die Sonne," *Der Teutsche Merkur* (Weimar, 1785), 4: 105.

¹⁶³ Maria Carolina Benda Wolf, *Ein und fünfzig Lieder der besten deutschen Dichter mit Melodien von Ernst Wilhelm Wolf*, by Ernst Wilhelm Wolf (Wittib und Erben: 1784), "Colin und Lucy: Eine Balade nach dem Englischen," 30–31; "Sterbe-Lied," 32; "Des armen Suschens Traum," 56.

¹⁶⁴ Schlichtegroll, 3:2, 270.

¹⁶⁵ Toussaint, "Maria Carolina Benda (1742 bis 1820), Juliane Bernhardine Benda (1752 bis 1783)," 38.

¹⁶⁶ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 83.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 84; and Citron, 17.

¹⁶⁸ Jeanette Toussaint, "Maria Carolina Benda (1742 bis 1820), 38.

Schröter also remained in the ducal city until she relocated to Ilmenau in 1801, just a year before her death.¹⁶⁹ An exploration into their personal and professional association would undoubtedly yield intriguing insights.

Wolf, Schröter, Brandes, and Mara

During her tenure at Anna Amalia's court, Maria Carolina Wolf is likely to have performed alongside Minna Brandes and Corona Schröter, albeit on separate occasions. While it is uncertain whether Brandes and Schröter were personally acquainted, as the latter arrived in Weimar two years after Brandes had already departed, it is reasonable to assume that Brandes would have been familiar with Wolf due to the latter's longstanding position as the Duchess's lady-in-waiting and chamber singer.¹⁷⁰

Furthermore, Wolf likely seized the opportunity to perform with Elisabeth Mara during the latter's visit to Weimar in 1778. Considering the pre-existing relationship between Mara and Schröter, this would have presented a unique and potentially fruitful opportunity for the three talented singers to collaborate.

— Mapping the Weimarer Musenhof

Figure 2.6 offers insights into the expansive network of connections maintained by Duchess Anna Amalia within her social circle. Of particular interest is the significant number of individuals centrally linked through the star actor, Elisabeth Mara. In contrast, Maria Carolina Wolf's profile suggests she may not have achieved the same level of widespread recognition as her contemporaries, such as Elisabeth Mara or Corona Schröter. Nevertheless, her network in Figure 2.7 exhibits substantial connections within the Weimar milieu, albeit with Elisabeth Mara appearing as a weaker link.

An identifiable community emerges when Duchess Anna Amalia's connections are integrated into Mara's network (Figure 2.8), spreading from the central node and forming an intricate network of relationships. This complex structure provides tangible evidence of the Duchess's influential stature, highlighting her strong affiliations with her peers. Moreover, when Wolf is introduced in Figure 2.9, a dense, intricately linked web

¹⁶⁹ Citron, 17.

¹⁷⁰ Werner, *Goethes Herzogin Anna Amalia*, 84.

begins to develop, increasingly clustering around the focal points of Weimar and Duchess Anna Amalia.

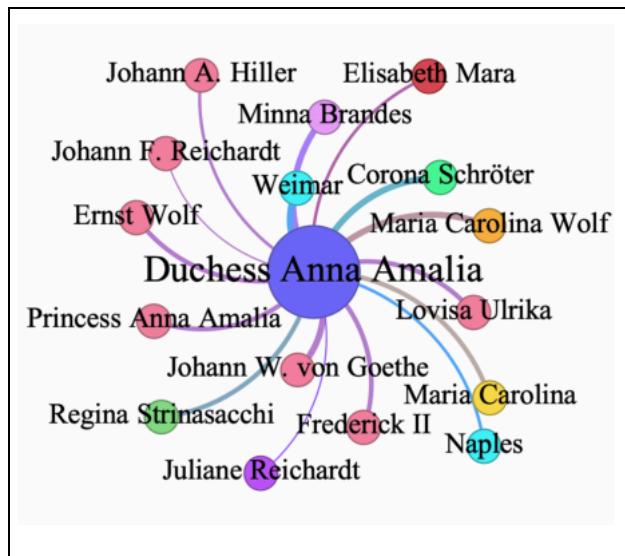


Fig. 2.6. Duchess Anna Amalia network

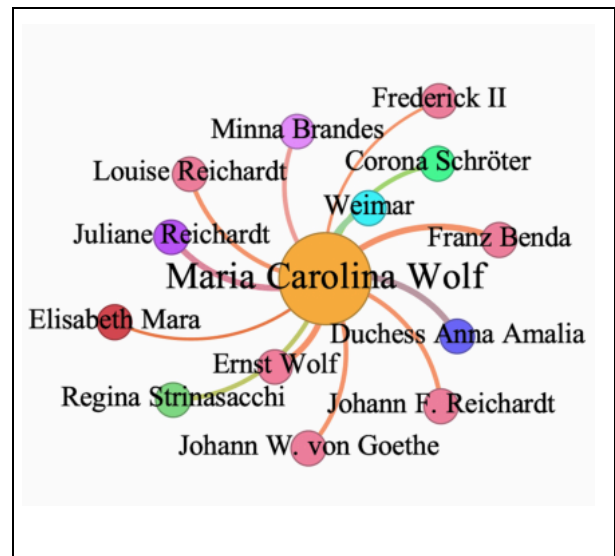


Fig. 2.7. Maria Carolina Wolf network

Utilizing social networking mapping tools like Gephi provides invaluable insights into connections that may not be immediately evident when analyzing individual musicians’ profiles. These visualizations offer a holistic, dynamic perspective on the complex network of relationships and interactions within a particular social or professional context.¹⁷¹ For instance, despite the relatively limited documentation available on Maria Carolina Wolf compared to Duchess Anna Amalia, their nodes appear to be of similar size, suggesting comparable significance within the network.

What becomes increasingly apparent through these visualizations is the collaborative and interdependent character of Weimar’s musical environment. The overlap between Anna Amalia’s and Wolf’s circles underscores the permeability of courtly and professional boundaries, revealing how artistic identity was sustained through reciprocal exchange rather than solitary achievement. The relative prominence of Mara within both networks highlights the magnetism of performance as a connecting force—drawing composers, patrons, and performers into overlapping constellations of influence. Taken together, these findings suggest that the Weimar court functioned less as a hierarchical institution and more as a cooperative artistic community, where women’s participation was not merely decorative but structurally integral to its musical life.

¹⁷¹ This observation underscores the interconnectedness of their worlds.

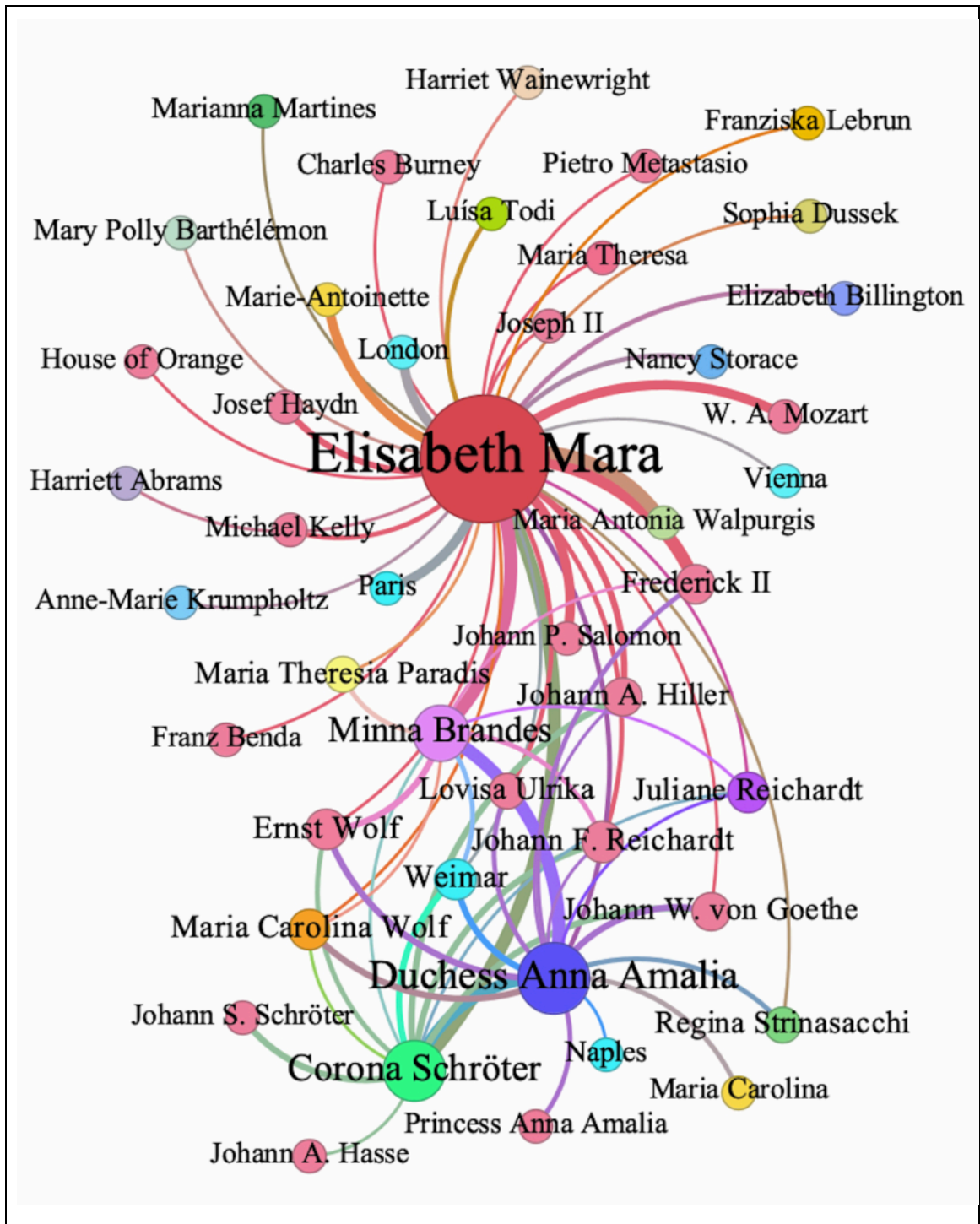


Fig. 2.8. Mara composite network with Duchess Anna Amalia

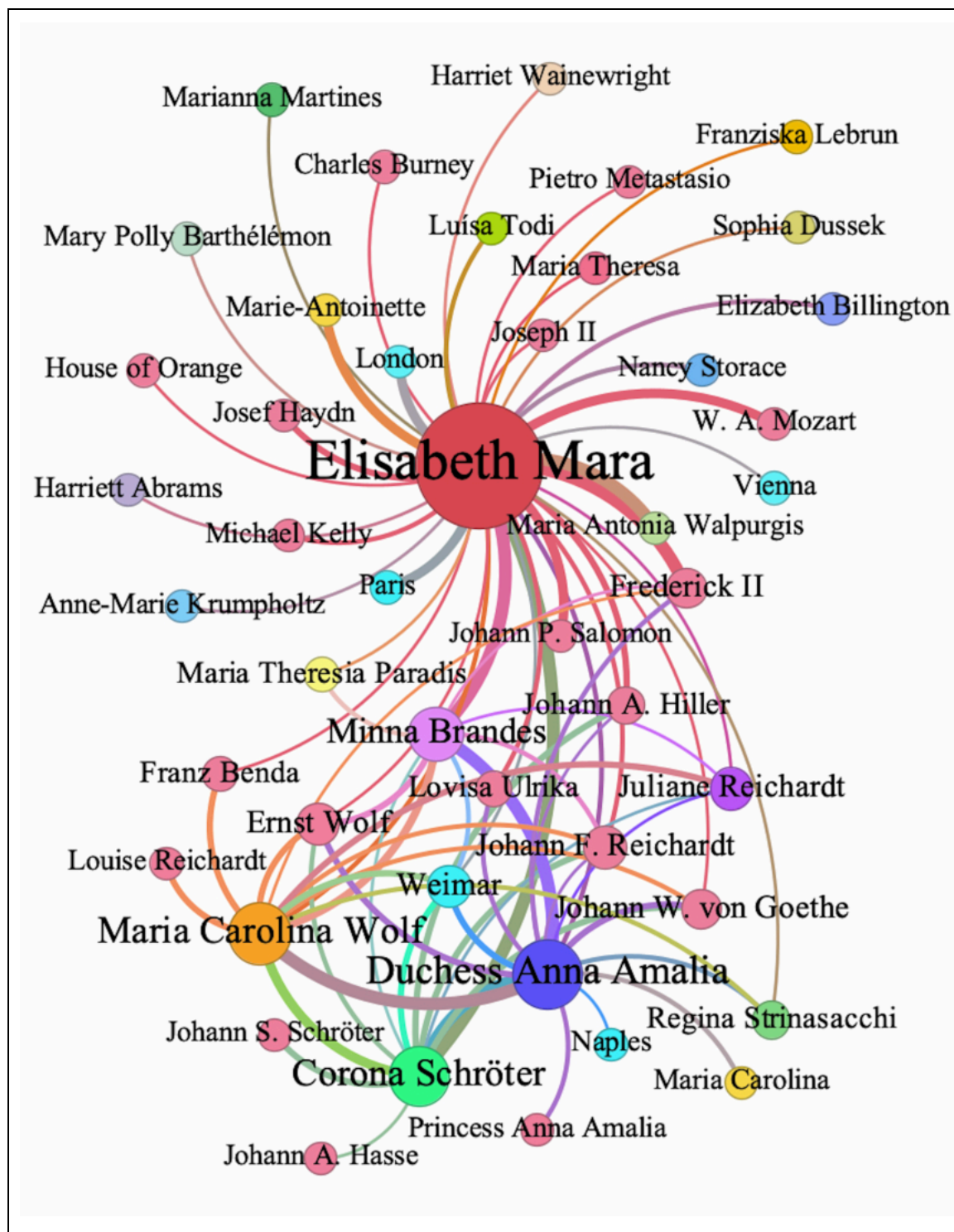


Fig. 2.9. Mara composite network with Maria Carolina Wolf

2.5 Juliane Benda Reichardt (1752–1783)

Juliane Benda's exceptional musical abilities were evident from an early age, as she demonstrated singing, harpsichord, and composition skills.¹⁷² Raised in a musically rich household in Potsdam, Juliane and her sister, Maria Carolina, were fortunate to be surrounded by a vibrant musical milieu.¹⁷³ The Benda residence was a bustling center of musical activity, attracting distinguished personalities such as Charles Burney, German violinist and composer Wilhelm Rust (1739–1796), the influential journalist Johann Christoph Bode (1730–1793), and composer Johann Reichardt.¹⁷⁴ By her mid-twenties, Juliane had earned a reputation as one of the most respected and soulful singers of her time.¹⁷⁵ Her expressive style, shaped by her father's noble and poignant techniques, earned her widespread acclaim.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, her vocal performances and mastery of the harpsichord were met with resounding enthusiasm at Berlin's amateur concerts.¹⁷⁷

Johann Reichardt's frequent visits to the Benda residence proved to be a turning point in Juliane's life.¹⁷⁸ As evidenced in Corona Schröter's profile, Reichardt's passionate role as a music critic connected women and their talents to ideals such as beauty, elegance, sensitivity, virtue, patriotism, and luxury.¹⁷⁹ This thematic thread is clearly discernible in his writings about Juliane, where he fervently expresses that she sings with a beautiful, pure voice, embodying a genuinely Italian, expressive style that

¹⁷² For a concise and contemporary biography of Juliane Benda, see Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 102–111. I consistently refer to Juliane by her first name throughout this profile to prevent any confusion with her well-known family or husband.

¹⁷³ Dommer, "Benda," *ADB* 2 (1875), 314–318.

¹⁷⁴ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 30. In addition to offering Juliane and her siblings a thorough musical education, this environment would have fostered an 'Enlightened' upbringing, indicative of the cultural and intellectual currents of the time.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 102; and Barbara Garvey Jackson, "Musical Women of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Women & Music: A History*, 2nd ed., ed. by Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 130–131.

¹⁷⁶ Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches*, 2: 135, col. 258.

¹⁷⁷ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 74–75, 102. The Liebhaber Konzerte, or lovers' concert, was founded by the Benda sisters' cousin, Johann Friedrich Ernst Benda (1749–1785). *Ibid.* In light of her success, the absence of any mention of Juliane in Charles Burney's writings is rather peculiar, especially considering the musicologist had composed a brief profile about her father. See Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 2: 128–141. This anomaly adds an intriguing dimension to Juliane's story and urges further exploration of historical records to unveil potential reasons for this omission. Moreover, Burney's exclusion of Juliane's sister, Maria Carolina, from his writings introduces an increased layer of interest, prompting questions about the criteria and considerations that shaped Burney's perspectives on these accomplished female musicians of the time. For a detailed exploration of the female musicians Burney acknowledged, see Head, 27–47.

¹⁷⁸ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 101.

¹⁷⁹ Matthew Head also engages in a discussion on Johann Reichardt's celebration of female musicians. *Ibid.*, 12–26.

left a lasting and profound impact on his life.¹⁸⁰ After witnessing Juliane's performance in the passion cantata "Tod Jesu"¹⁸¹ in the spring of 1774, Reichardt declared that, despite encountering the piece of music on numerous occasions and even participating in its performance, he had never heard it sung with such poignancy, emotion, and fervor as when Juliane took the stage.¹⁸²

Reichardt's initial admiration for Juliane's talents quickly blossomed into a profound love as he discovered her purity, tenderness, and vivacious spirit, culminating in a marriage proposal.¹⁸³ To secure his daughter's future, Juliane's father arranged Reichardt's employment under the patronage of Frederick II.¹⁸⁴ The couple's nuptials in Berlin in 1776 were evidently grand, sparking ongoing discussions among the elite for several months.¹⁸⁵ The marriage proved to be a happy one, marked by the arrival of three children: Friedrich Wilhelm (1777–1782), Louise (1779–1826), and Wilhelmina Juliane (1783–1839).¹⁸⁶ Despite Juliane's successful singing career, however, she suffered from frail health and passed away just shy of her thirty-first birthday, a mere five weeks after giving birth to her youngest child.¹⁸⁷ Her untimely demise left behind a grieving family

¹⁸⁰ "Die jüngste Tochter, Juliane, sang mit schöner, reiner Stimme und ächt italienischer, ausdrucksvoller Manier, Die Eindrücke, die ich aus diesem Hause schon damals mitnahm, haben hernach auf mein ganzes Leben entscheidenden Einfluß geübt." (DT) [Autobiographical entry] Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt: autobiographische Schriften*, ed. by Günter Hartung (Halle (Saale): MDV, Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2002), 70.

¹⁸¹ Carl Henrich Graun (1704–1759)

¹⁸² "Was der heutigen Aufführung eine besondere Zierde gab, war der Gesang der Madem. Benda aus Potsdam, einer Tochter des verehrungswürdigen Herrn Concertmeisters Benda. Schon oft habe ich diese Musik aufführen hören und selbst aufführen helfen, aber nie habe ich sie mit so vieler Ueberlegung, mit so viel Empfindung und mit solchem Nachdruck singen hören." (DT) [2nd letter to Herrn Sch. Kr. In K. Berlin] Johann Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: 1774), 1:41.

¹⁸³ "Einige Liedercompositionen Julianen's waren mir sehr lieb geworden und überaus gern hörte ich sie von ihr singen. Auch hatte ich sie in Berlin in vielen guten Häusern und besonders zuletzt in Potsdam auf Spaziergängen in der angenehmen Umgebung dieser Stadt als ein liebes, reines, zärtliches, doch munteres Mädchen herzlich liebgewonnen und nahm endlich nicht ohne Rührung Abschied von ihr, als ich am 10. Mai 1774 meine weitere Reise antrat. Auch sie war sehr gerührt." Schletterer, 1: 142.

¹⁸⁴ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 104. This appointment proved pivotal in Reichardt's career and played a crucial role in connecting several of the female musicians discussed in this study.

¹⁸⁵ An ode titled "Dedicated to the Marriages of Reichardt and Bendaischen" composed by Anna Luisa Karsch (1772–1791) was published in the *Berliner Litterarischen Wochenblatt* on February 1, 1777. This poetic tribute was not alone, as another poem dedicated to "Dem Capellmeister Herrn Reichardt am Tage seines Ehebandes mit der Demoiselle Benda gewidmet" by an unknown author was also featured in the same edition. Both of these literary works, capturing the spirit of the union between Juliane Benda and Johann Reichardt, are quoted in Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 104–105.

¹⁸⁶ The Reichardt family lost their eldest child, Friedrich, who succumbed to measles in 1782. *Ibid.*, 1: 106, 109.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1: 106–108.

who mourned the loss of a beloved wife and mother.¹⁸⁸

Juliane Benda Reichardt, an accomplished composer, left an indelible mark on the eighteenth-century musical landscape by publishing two sonatas and thirty lieder during her lifetime.¹⁸⁹ Fortuitously, her influential husband was a devoted admirer and an unwavering supporter, ensuring that her compositions reached a wider audience.¹⁹⁰ While some contemporary critics were not enthusiastic and deemed her work mediocre, others praised her lieder for their sincere and precise expression.¹⁹¹ In modern discourse, Eva Weissweiler classifies Juliane, her sister Maria Carolina, and her daughter Louise as notable representatives of the Berlin Liederschule.¹⁹² Weissweiler asserts that Juliane's folk tunes and popular-style music exemplify the values of the German Enlightenment and serve as revolutionary proponents of an anti-feudal musical culture.¹⁹³ Weissweiler further explains that Juliane's songs specifically target the middle class through their vernacular expression; her piano accompaniments are crafted to facilitate easy self-accompaniment and complement the melody.¹⁹⁴

Despite the divergent contemporary opinions on her compositional skills, as early as 1811, the French musicologist Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771–1834) recognized Juliane Reichardt as one of the finest singers of the eighteenth century, acknowledging her exceptional talent as a harpsichord virtuoso and commending her published compositions.¹⁹⁵ Accessing Juliane Reichardt's compositions today proves challenging;

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 1: 43, 108. Following the loss of Juliane, Reichardt went on to marry a widowed family friend, Dorothea Wilhelmine Alberti (1754–1826) in December of the same year, presumably to help him raise his two young daughters, Louise and Wilhelmina. Ibid., 1: 43, 108.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 1: 109–110.

¹⁹⁰ For instance, in his forward to *Gesänge fürs schöne Geschlecht*, Reichardt places Juliane in the company of the renowned female composers, Duchess Anna Amalia and her aunt, Princess Anna Amalia. “Kennt man denn nicht Frauen und Mädchen, die die Einsamkeit lieben und die in ihrer einsamen Zelle Pult und Clavier haben und Lieder dichten und componiren und singen können? Haben wir denn keine Amalien (Prinzessin Amalie von Preußen und Anna Amalia von Weimar, E.F.), keine Gräfin Stolberg [possibly the playwright Louise Stolberg (1746–1824)], keine [Juliane] Benda?” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Gesänge fürs schöne Geschlecht* (Berlin: Bey F. W. Birnstiel, 1775), V.

¹⁹¹ Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 109; and Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1783), 212–213.

¹⁹² In 1981, Weissweiler emerged as one of the first musicologists to conduct a thorough analysis of Juliane's compositional style. Eva Weissweiler, “Juliane Reichardt und die Komponistinnen der Berliner Liederschule,” in *Komponistinnen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Deutsche Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999).

¹⁹³ Ibid., 139.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 143.

¹⁹⁵ “Reichardt (Julie), fille du célèbre François Benda, et épouse du maître de chapelle Reichardt à Berlin, née dans cette dernière ville, en 1752, était une des meilleures cantatrice du dernière siècle: elle avait adopté la manière à la fois noble et touchante de son père; elle était en même temps virtuose sur le clavecin. Son union avec la maître de chapelle Reichardt, en 1776, ne servit qu'à perfectionner ses talens en musique. Elle a aussi composé plusieurs mélodies d'odes, dont une partie a été rendue publique dans les différens Almanachs des Muses: elles se distinguent par la vérité et la justesse de l'expression. En 1782, elle

however, it necessitates a comprehensive overview and a new edition for broader availability and study.

Reichardt and Schröter

Juliane Reichardt may have had valid reasons to harbor resentment toward Corona Schröter. Several years before meeting Juliane, Johann Reichardt had been deeply infatuated with Corona, and the two were inseparable for a while.¹⁹⁶ However, Corona did not reciprocate Johann's romantic affections, and after a time, both Johann and Corona moved on from their previous connection.¹⁹⁷ Despite this history, there is no evidence of animosity between Juliane and Corona, and the Reichardts' marriage was reportedly quite harmonious.¹⁹⁸ Even when Juliane and her family visited Maria Carolina in Weimar in 1780, there is no documentation of any ill feelings between the two women.¹⁹⁹ It is worth noting that Johann's expressions of love for Juliane were not as fervent as those he had professed for Corona Schröter three years earlier.²⁰⁰ However, this difference in intensity could possibly be attributed to Johann's maturity over time.

The Benda and Brandes families

The familial connection between the Benda and Brandes families is visibly intertwined. During their residence in Berlin, the Brandes family fostered a close relationship with Johann Reichardt,²⁰¹ and Juliane even had the opportunity to perform in a concert alongside Minna.²⁰² Additionally, it is highly probable that Maria Carolina also shared the stage with the child prodigy, given that Minna was under the patronage of Duchess Anna Amalia, while Wolf served as a court musician. Finally, it is worth noting

fit encore paraître à Hambourg un recueil de chansons et de pièces pour le clavecin. La mort l'enleva, le 9 mai 1783, au milieu d'une carrière qu'elle avait commencée avec tant de succès." (DT) Alexandre Étienne Choron, ed., *Dictionnaire historiques des musiciens, artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans musique* (Valade: Lenormant, 1810), 2: 208.

¹⁹⁶ *AMZ* 42 (October 20, 1875), 660.

¹⁹⁷ Citron, 17. Corona Schröter moved to Weimar with Johann Goethe around the same time that Johann Reichardt became Kapellmeister in Berlin and married Juliane Benda.

¹⁹⁸ In a letter to Caroline Rudolphi (1753–1811), Reichardt calls Juliane his beloved and seems to be a contented family man. See Otto Rüdiger, *Caroline Rudolphi: Eine deutsche Dichterin und Erzieherin, Klopstocks Freundin* (Hamburg: L. Voss, 1903), 244.

¹⁹⁹ Johann Gottfried Herder and Otto Hoffman, eds., *Brief an Joh. George Hamann* (Berlin: Gaertner, 1889), 155–156. Corona Schröter arrived in Weimar in 1776 and would have been an established performer at court by the time of Juliane Reichardt's arrival in 1780.

²⁰⁰ Schletterer, 1: 141–142 and 1: 102–103.

²⁰¹ Brandes, 2: 255n.

²⁰² Lorenz, *Franz Benda*, 1: 74–75.

that Minna was a student of Franziska Benda (1728–1781), Franz Benda’s only sister.²⁰³

Juliane Reichardt and Madame Mara

A potential link between Elisabeth Mara and Juliane Reichardt should not be disregarded, even though there is no explicit mention of Juliane in Madame Mara’s autobiography. It is reasonable to assume that the two musicians may have been acquainted, considering their ties to Weimar and Mara’s professional relationship with Johann Reichardt, Juliane’s spouse, during his tenure as Frederick II’s Kapellmeister, from his appointment in 1776 until Mara fled in 1780.²⁰⁴

2.6 Regina Strinasacchi Schlick (1761–1839)

Regina Strinasacchi, a musical prodigy, was born in Ostiglia, Italy, in 1761, the cherished daughter of Benedetto Strinasacchi (1738–1802) and Catterina Orlandi (n.d.).²⁰⁵ She inherited a rich and distinguished musical heritage from her family.²⁰⁶ Notably, Regina’s cousin was the opera singer Teresa Strinasacchi (1768–1838),²⁰⁷ and her younger brother was the accomplished violinist Antonio Strinasacchi (1764–n.d.), with whom she shared the stage from an early age.²⁰⁸ Regina’s formative years revealed an aptitude for music, particularly in singing and violin, where her exceptional ear, profound emotional expression, and innate rhythmic sensibility set her apart.²⁰⁹

Regina’s father, a distinguished violinist with the Mantua Philharmonic, nurtured her musical talent.²¹⁰ Defying traditional gender norms, he encouraged her to embrace the violin, a musical instrument often labeled as “unfeminine” during that era.”²¹¹ He

²⁰³ Ibid., 1: 78.

²⁰⁴ Rieseemann, 561–565.

²⁰⁵ Gisa Steguweit, “*Das Doppelglück der Töne wie der Liebe*”: *Regina Schlick-Strinasacchi (1761–1839)* (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz Verlag, 2018), 18–19.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 21–22. Some uncertainty exists regarding Teresa Strinasacchi’s birthdate, giving rise to debate among historical sources. Steguweit asserts that she was born in 1773, while the Carl Maria von Weber Gesamtausgabe website leans toward 1768. See Carl Maria von Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Schlick, Regina.” Adding to the complexity, the online register of singers, Quell’usignolo, aligns with 1768 but introduces an additional source suggesting the birth year of 1771. See Quell’usignolo. “Teresa Strinasacchi.” The conflicting information highlights the challenges of historical accuracy.

²⁰⁸ Steguweit, “*Das Doppelglück der Töne wie der Liebe*,” 7, 21.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 14, 17, 21.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 19.

²¹¹ Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper*, 222; and John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education* (London: J. Brotherton, 1722), 84–85. It should be noted that Hester Bell Jordan’s MA thesis “Transgressive Gestures: Women and Violin Performance in Eighteenth-Century Europe,” challenges the contemporary belief that female violinists were rare and anomalous. The prevailing discourse surrounding female violinists has been dominated by two approaches: either they are seen as mere novelties or

recognized his daughter's innate potential and sent her to Vienna for comprehensive and intensive musical training at the renowned Ospedale della Pietà in the early 1770s.²¹² This choice held particular significance, as Venice's four illustrious Ospedali Grandi had gained legendary status for their exceptional musical education of select female pupils, known as the "figlie del coro," to professional standards of musicianship.²¹³ The fame of these institutions was so widespread that aspiring female musicians like Regina were drawn to them; visitors from all across Europe flocked to Venice to witness the all-girl ensembles perform during religious services and other concerts.²¹⁴ The early education and performance opportunities the Ospedale della Pietà provided laid a solid foundation for Regina's future career.

exceptions to the norm, or portrayed as isolated entities stripped of their historical and cultural context. Such a narrow viewpoint fails to recognize the active involvement of these women within established musical communities. According to Jordan, these accomplished female musicians were not just novelties; they were integral members, contributing their talents to diverse settings across Europe, including courts, churches, public and private concerts, and even engaging in amateur performances. Jordan's thesis thus urges a reconsideration of the broader and more nuanced role that women played in the vibrant musical tapestry of eighteenth-century Europe. For a comprehensive discussion, see Hester Bell Jordan, "Transgressive Gestures: Women and Violin Performance in Eighteenth-Century Europe" (MA thesis, New Zealand School of Music, 2016).

²¹² Steguweit, 21–22.

²¹³ For a history of the Ospedali Grandi, see Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice: Musical Foundations, 1525–1855* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 45–63.

²¹⁴ In the sixteenth century, the Ospedale Grandi pioneered the establishment of all-female vocal and instrumental ensembles, collectively known as the cori. Initially dedicated to providing music for liturgical purposes, these ensembles featured local talents such as nuns, priests, and adept students serving as instructors. However, recognizing the economic potential inherent in the cori, hospice governors took a strategic turn. By the mid-seventeenth century, they began hiring professional composers and musicians to impart comprehensive musical education, covering singing, ear training, a diverse array of instruments, music theory, and performance practice. This higher-quality musical training resulted in more significant donations from both visitors and patrons, making the cori a profitable venture. Denis Arnold, "Music at the Ospedali," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113, no. 2 (1988): 159–160. An account in a German travel guide on Italy provides documented evidence of this unconventional approach to musical education, emphasizing the study of string and woodwind instruments. See Joachim Christoph Nemeitz, *Nachlese besonderer Nachrichten von Italien* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1726), 1: 61. The transformative music instruction offered at the Ospedale appears to support Hester Bell Jordan's assertions above.

This study notes five women who emerged from this flourishing musical environment. Regina Strinasacchi, a member of the cori at Ospedale della Pietà, followed in the footsteps of Anna Bon de Venezia (1738–after 1769). See Mary Matthews, "The Life and Flute Music of Anna Bonn di Venezia," *The Flutist Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Fall 2018): 20–24. Concurrently, contemporaries of Strinasacchi, operatic sopranos Adriana Gabrielli (1759–c1804) and Maria Marchetti Fantozzi (1761–n.d.) were members of the nearby Ospedale San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti. For information on these female musicians, see Patricia Lewy Gidwitz, "Mozart's Fiordiligi: Adriana Ferrarese del Bene," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8, no. 3 (Nov. 1996): 199–204; and John A. Rice, "Mozart and His Singers: The Case of Maria Marchetti Fantozzi, the First Vitellia," *The Opera Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1995): 31–52. Another prominent figure was the violinist and composer Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen (1745–1818), also associated with the Mendicanti. Strinasacchi, in particular, had a connection with Sirmen, occasionally performing the latter's compositions and performing alongside the older female violinist in 1777. Michaela Krucsay, *Zwischen Aufklärung und barocker Prachtentfaltung...* (Oldenburg: Carl von Ossietzky Universität, 2015), 78–81; and Karl Israëel, *Frankfurter Concert-Chronik von 1713–1780* (Frankfurt am Main: Selbstverlag des Vereins, 1876), 64.

In contrast to many of her female peers, Regina resided with her uncle, Francesco Strinasacchi (n.d.), who likely provided her with certain advantages during her time at the Ospedale.²¹⁵ For instance, the institutions maintained a stringent policy that restricted the girls' ability to leave, permitting only marriage or a religious vocation as a nun as viable options for departure.²¹⁶ This regulation was strictly enforced, as exemplified by the cases of Maddalena Lombardini²¹⁷ and Adriana Gabrielli at the Ospedale San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti.²¹⁸ However, there were noteworthy exceptions within the confines of this rule. One such case involved Maria Marchetti, who successfully obtained permission to leave the Ospedale and live with her sister.²¹⁹ Another intriguing instance involved Anna Bon, who successfully obtained approval to leave the Pietà and embark on a journey with her family.²²⁰ Similarly, Regina Strinasacchi resigned from the cori at the Pietà while still a teenager, which may have been due to her father's influence, as he is mentioned in reports regarding her travels.²²¹

Regina Strinasacchi first gained recognition in the *Gazzetta Toscana* in September 1775.²²² Two years later, she reappeared alongside her brother, Antonio, as they were prominently featured in the *Frankfurter Concert-Chronik*, showcasing their exceptional musical talents.²²³ As the 1780s unfolded, Strinasacchi's career flourished.²²⁴ Furthermore, she underwent a transformative period in Paris, where she was afforded the rare opportunity to fully immerse herself in the performances of the world's preeminent musical artists and violinists at the prestigious Concert Spirituel.²²⁵ Strinasacchi's accomplishments are considered remarkable, given the relative scarcity of female violinists during the era.²²⁶

²¹⁵ Steguweit, 21–22.

²¹⁶ Arnold, "Music at the Ospedali," 165.

²¹⁷ Elsie Arnold and Jane L. Berdes, *Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen: Eighteenth Century Composer, Violinist, and Businesswoman* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 38. Polish and English translations can be found at: Giuseppe Tartini, *Lettere e documenti / Pisma in dokumenty / Letters and Documents*, ed. by Giorgia Malagò (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2020), 2: 193–194, in English 2: 446–448.

²¹⁸ Karl Böhmer, "Mozart's Pathetic Prima Donna: Adriana Ferrarese del Bene and her Career in Rondòs" (Paper uploaded to Academia.edu).

²¹⁹ Rice, "Mozart and His Singers."

²²⁰ Krucsay, *Zwischen Aufklärung*, 75–77.

²²¹ *Gazzetta Toscana* 10, no. 35 (September 2, 1775): 137–138.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Israël, *Frankfurter Concert-Chronik*, 64.

²²⁴ Melanie Unseld, "Regina Strinasacchi," *MUGI*, 2006 (updated 2018).

²²⁵ Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches*, 2: 218, col. 435.

²²⁶ At the time, the sight of a woman playing the violin was not merely a matter of musical performance; it represented a breach of societal norms and moral expectations. Such a departure from

In 1783, Regina's concerts in Italy made a lasting impression on Carl Cramer, who eloquently likened her solo performances to the grandeur of a full orchestra.²²⁷ He sincerely admired her exceptional skill, passion, and impeccable musical taste.²²⁸ In 1784, Cramer documented Strinasacchi's reputation as a celebrated performer, renowned not only for her outstanding skill but also for her talent in composition and performing her own musical works.²²⁹ Regrettably, only a limited number of her compositions have withstood the test of time.²³⁰ Nonetheless, among the surviving pieces are the *Violin Concerto in B flat major*,²³¹ minuet and trios, and other chamber music.²³² Despite the scarcity of her extant works, these remnants offer a glimpse into the multifaceted brilliance of Regina Strinasacchi as both a composer and a virtuoso violinist.²³³

Also in 1784, Strinasacchi had the opportunity to collaborate with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Vienna.²³⁴ Mozart composed a sonata specifically for her, and in his assessment, he acclaimed her as an excellent violinist, praising her impeccable taste and the profound emotional depth of her performances.²³⁵ Interestingly, Leopold Mozart initially held modest expectations for Strinasacchi's performance the following year.²³⁶

convention elicited a range of responses, including amusement, curiosity, surprise, or outright rejection. Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper*, 180.

²²⁷ "Es ist zum Bewundern, mit welcher Geschicklichkeit dies junge Mädchen von 18 oder 19 Jahren mit ihren Fingern die Saiten rührt. Man glaubt eine volle Harmonie zu hören, wenn sie ein Solo spielt, und sie bringt ganz ungewöhnliche Töne auf dem Instrument hervor." (DT) Cramer, 2: 993.

²²⁸ "Italien hat nun wieder eine vortrefliche Violinspielerin an der Signora Caterina [sic] Strinasacchi aus Mantua gebürtig. Ich habe sie verschiednemal in Florenz, und jederzeit mit dem innigsten Vergnügen, in ihrem Concert gehört. Es ist unglaublich, mit welcher Leichtigkeit und gutem Anstand das Mädchen (sie ist ohngefähr 18 Jahr alt und sehr gut gebildet) dies an sich schwere Instrument zu behandeln weiß. Der Ton, den sie aus ihrer cremonesischen Geige herauszieht, ist feiner abgeschliffener Silberton. Die Violinconcerte von Giarnowick, St. George, Borra, Cambini etc. spielt sie besonders gut, mit vielem Feuer, oder wie die Italiener sich mit einem viel umfassenden Wort ausdrücken, *con molto Estro* [mit viel Eingebung]. [...] Kurz, sie hat den besten Geschmack in der Music." (DT) Cramer, 1: 344–345.

²²⁹ "Den 27sten Novemb. und den 4ten December gab Signora Regina Strinasacchi im Schauspielhause öffentlich Concert. Dies schon vorhero bekannte und berühmte große Vertuosinn auf der Violine hatte sich bereits an so vielen auswärtigen Orten einen so guten Ruf erworben, daß sie hier mit Verlangen erwartet wurde. Ihr Spiel übertraf aller Erwartung, und ihr erstes Concert, von ihrer eigenen Arbeit, war so vortreflich gesezt, mit so vielem Geschmack und Richtigkeit, Nettigkeit und Nachdruck vorgetragen, daß ein jeder von wahrem Gefühl des Gefallens hingerissen wurde." (DT) Cramer, 3:346.

²³⁰ Weber: Gesamtausgabe, "Schlick, Regina."

²³¹ For a detailed analysis of the concerto and its framework, see Jordan, "Transgressive Gestures," 44–86.

²³² Volker Timmerman, "Crux, Marianne," *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*, 2013.

²³³ Jordan, 85–86.

²³⁴ Steguweit, 14–17.

²³⁵ "Hier haben wir nun die berühmte Mantuanerin Strinasacchi, eine sehr gute Violinspielerin; sie hat sehr viel Geschmack und Empfindung in ihre Spiele. — Ich schreibe eben an einer Sonate, welche wir Donnerstag im Theatre bey ihrer Akademie zusammenspielen werden." (Excerpt, letter from Wolfgang to Leopold, April 24, 1784) (Transcription) "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 786 (Vol. 3, p. 311).

²³⁶ "Am Sonntag spielte ein *Violoncellist*, — und eine Violinspielerin bey Hofe, und heute wird eine *Accademie* auf dem Rathhaus seyn. Ich werde auch meine 24 X^r opfern, — und dann euch Nachricht geben. Man sagt mir, sie spiele ein schönes *Adagio*: übrigens 15 sey es mit dem Tempo sehr unrichtig." (Excerpt,

However, to his pleasant surprise, he echoed his son's sentiments about her musicality, declaring that she infused every piece with expression, highlighting her ability to convey deep emotions.²³⁷ He further commended her talent in playing Adagios, asserting that no one could match the level of feeling she brought to the music, emphasizing her wholehearted and soulful immersion in the melodies she performed.²³⁸

Regina Strinasacchi entered a new chapter of her life in 1785 when she married the distinguished cellist and composer Johann Conrad Schlick (1749–1818) and relocated to Gotha.²³⁹ Soon afterward, Regina attained unprecedented historical significance when Duke Ernst II of Gotha-Altenburg (1745–1804) appointed her to a full-time position in the Gotha court orchestra, thereby shattering barriers for female musicians.²⁴⁰ As a member of the court orchestra, she demonstrated exceptional talent and skill as a soloist, thereby earning a prominent position within the court and potentially even assuming the role of conductor.²⁴¹ Her influence was so profound that when Louis Spohr (1784–1859) arrived in Gotha in 1805 and assumed the role of Kapellmeister, he initially expressed concerns that the Schlicks, who enjoyed the favor of Prince Augustus, the Duke's uncle, would infringe upon his authority.²⁴² However, Spohr successfully maintained his directorial position without disturbance and, intriguingly, acquired Regina Schlick's Stradivarius violin in 1822.²⁴³

While the Schlicks resided in Gotha, they welcomed four children.²⁴⁴ Two of their

letter from Leopold to Maria Anna, December 7, 1785) (Transcription) "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 907 (Vol. 3, pp. 466–470).

²³⁷ "Mir thut es leid, daß du dieses nicht grosse, artige etwa 23 Jahr alte, nicht schandliche sehr geschickte Frauenzimmer nicht gehört hast. Sie spielt keine Note ohne Empfindung, sogar bey der *Synfonie* spielte sie alles mit *expression*, und ihr *Adagio* kann kein Mensch mit mehr Empfindung und rührender spielen als sie." Ibid.

²³⁸ "ihr ganzes Herz und Seele ist bey der Melodie, die sie vorträgt; und eben so schön ist ihr Ton, und auch kraft des Tones. überhaupts finde, daß ein Frauenzimmer, die Talent hat, mehr mit ausdruck spielt; als ein Mannsperson." Ibid.

²³⁹ Steguweit, 24–28. In the Gephi networks, I opt to utilize her maiden name, Strinasacchi, as it is the name most commonly associated with her today, rather than Schlick.

²⁴⁰ Timmerman, "Strinasacchi, Regina."

²⁴¹ Melanie Unseld, *Mozarts Frauen: Begegnungen in Musik und Liebe* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005), 153.

²⁴² Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Selbstbiographie* (Cassel [u.a.]: Wigand, 1860), 1: 95–96. In Spohr's account, he mentions Prince August as the duke's uncle. This would imply that Prince August was the brother of Duke Ernst's father, Frederick III, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (1699–1772). However, it is worth noting that Frederick III's brother, John August (1704–1767), would not have been alive during the time the Schlicks were in Gotha. Consequently, a more accurate interpretation suggests that Prince August was likely Duke Ernst's brother, Prince August (1747–1806), known for his correspondence with Goethe, Herder, and Wieland in Weimar. See August Beck, "August, Prince of Saxe-Gotha und Altenburg." *ADB* 1 (1875), 681. For more information on Prince August's musical circle and Louis Spohr's arrival in Gotha, see Steguweit, 49–51, 62–64.

²⁴³ Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Selbstbiographie*, 1: 246.

²⁴⁴ Steguweit, 52–60.

offspring, Charlotta Luisa Christiana (1790–1792) and Emilia Auguste Regina (1798–1801), did not survive infancy.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, their two surviving children, Carolina Wilhelmina Catharina (1786–1871) and Johann Friedrich Wilhelm (1801–1874), became accomplished musicians and achieved noteworthy success in their own right.²⁴⁶ Indeed, at age nine in 1795, Carolina began collaborating with her parents to form the renowned Schlick Trio.²⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Johann Friedrich followed in his father’s footsteps, pursuing a career as a cellist and building stringed instruments.²⁴⁸

The Schlicks established a close and enduring friendship with Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), who happened to be Mozart’s cousin by marriage, during his visit to Gotha in 1812.²⁴⁹ Johann Conrad passed away in 1818, leading Regina to withdraw from the public sphere.²⁵⁰ Although she continued to receive her pension until 1826, Regina’s last documented performance occurred in 1820 when she skillfully played a Beethoven trio alongside her children.²⁵¹ In her later years, Regina resided in Dresden, where she lived with her son until a severe stroke ultimately marked the end of her life on June 11, 1839.²⁵² Remarkably, despite Regina Strinasacchi Schlick’s prior fame and substantial influence, her passing went unnoticed in significant publications such as the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and the *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung*.²⁵³ Surprisingly, no commemorative plaque honoring Regina Strinasacchi Schlick in her birthplace of Ostiglia, in Gotha—the city of her fame—or in Dresden effectively acknowledges the enduring legacy of this pioneering female musician.²⁵⁴ Today, Regina is primarily remembered for her association with Mozart, overshadowing her extensive and diverse musical career.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁵ Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Schlick, Regina.”

²⁴⁶ Carolina Luisa, in addition to her mastery of the piano, showcased her versatility by proficiently playing the violin and guitar, and she was an active and accomplished singer. See Timmerman, “Strinasacchi, Regina.”

²⁴⁷ From 1793 to 1800, Regina and her husband regularly performed in joint concert tours. Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Schlick, Regina.” Caroline actively participated in musical performances alongside her parents, showcasing her talents both as a pianist and a singer. Steguweit, 64–68.

²⁴⁸ *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler*, no. 166 (3 August 1853), 1290. Interestingly, it is worth noting that Johann Schlick Sr. harbored different aspirations for his son, desiring him to pursue a career in business rather than music. Despite this parental preference, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm persisted in following his passion for music, ultimately becoming a cellist and contributing to the family’s musical heritage. Steguweit, 81–82.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 76–81.

²⁵⁰ Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Schlick, Regina;” and Steguweit, 89–90.

²⁵¹ Timmerman, “Strinasacchi, Regina.” Steguweit, 90–91, 94.

²⁵² Steguweit, 97–104.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

²⁵⁵ Unseld, “Regina Strinasacchi.”

Based on the narrative provided by Karoline Jagemann, a well-known actress and Karl August's mistress,²⁵⁶ it is evident that the Schlicks maintained a significant association with Duchess Anna Amalia and the Weimar court.

These two interesting people [the Schlicks] sometimes spent whole weeks in Weimar at the Duchess's invitation, lived in the palace and, with their artistic talent and fine manners, provided the Princess and her entourage with the most pleasant entertainment. [...] I was no stranger to Madame Schlick, who found my voice so excellent that she decided to draw the Princess's attention to it so that she would take an interest in my training.²⁵⁷

Given this historical context, it is highly plausible that Regina Strinasacchi Schlick interacted with Maria Carolina Wolf and Corona Schröter. These connections also establish Regina as a potential or secondary link to Elisabeth Mara and Juliane Benda Reichardt, further enriching the narrative of Weimar's musical network.

— Final links in the Weimarer Musenhof

As sisters in the same profession and residing in the same region, it is unsurprising that Juliane Reichardt's connections in Figure 2.10 align with those of Maria Carolina Wolf's links in Figure 2.7. Their shared environment and comparable career paths likely contributed to the similarities between their respective networks. It is readily apparent, however, that Regina Strinasacchi Schlick's associations in Figure 2.11 predominantly lie with peripheral figures rather than prominent subjects within the database.²⁵⁸

Nevertheless, it is important to stress that these fringe connections are frequently shared among the principal actors in the network. While Strinasacchi may not have been directly linked to the central figures, her affiliations with peripheral actors contribute to a nuanced

²⁵⁶ Duchess Anna Amalia's son, the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. See Wolfgang Freiherr von Löhneysen, "Jagemann von Heygersdorff, Karoline," *ADB* 10 (1974), 294–296.

²⁵⁷ "Diese beiden interessanten Leute brachten zuweilen auf Einladung der Herzogin ganze Wochen in Weimar zu, wohnten im Palais und gewährten mit ihrem Kunsttalent und feinen Umgangsformen der Fürstin und ihrer Umgebung die angenehmste Unterhaltung. [...] ich der Madame Schlick nicht fremd, die meine Stimme so ausgezeichnet fand, daß sie sich vornahm, die Fürstin darauf aufmerksam zu machen, damit sie sich für die Ausbildung interessieren möchte." (Translation) DeepL, January 31, 2024. Caroline Jagemann, *Selbstinszenierungen im klassischen Weimar*, ed. by Ruth B. Emde, annotated in collaboration with Achim von Heygendorff (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004), 110; and Karoline Jagemann, *Die Erinnerungen der Karoline Jagemann*, 3rd ed., ed. by Michael Holzinger (Berlin: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013), 15.

²⁵⁸ All peripheral actors' nodes are light red.

web of relationships, thereby highlighting the intricate, interdependent nature of the musical community.

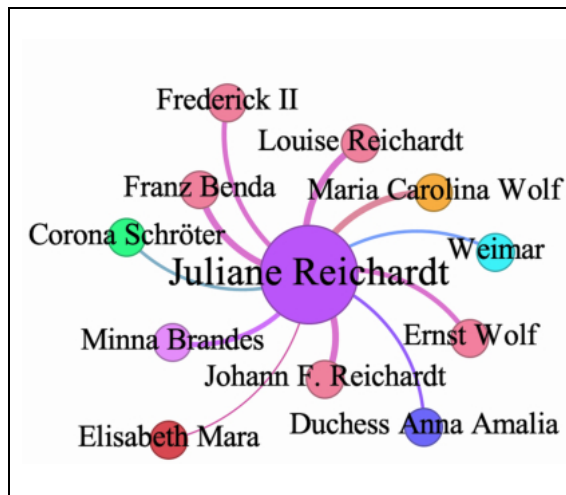


Fig. 2.10. Juliane Reichardt network

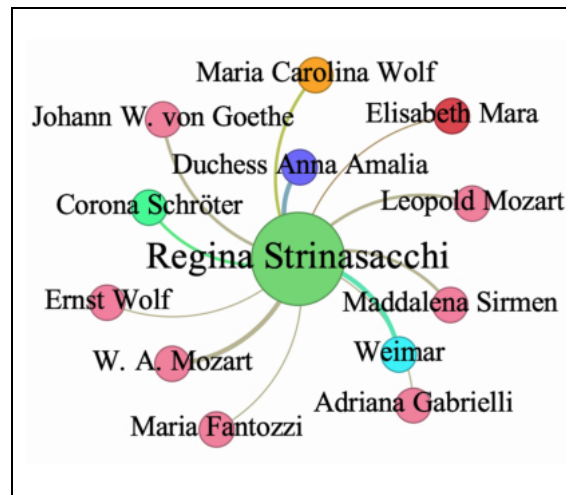


Fig. 2.11. Regina Strinasacchi network

The city of Weimar emerges as the central node in the first network cluster radiating from Elisabeth Mara. Its prominence is particularly evident in Figures 2.12 and 2.13, where the connectivity surrounding Weimar is notably strong, with only a few potential links displaying weaker edges. The thickness of the majority of these edges underscores the substantial influence and significance of these relationships within the network. Moreover, it is particularly striking that Weimar is the only consistently linked city in this cluster. This observation suggests a deliberate preference among the musicians to remain within the region, favoring localized collaboration over extensive touring. This regional focus could reflect practical considerations, such as travel challenges during the period or strategic decisions to cultivate and sustain relationships within a concentrated cultural hub.

Duchess Anna Amalia’s journey to Naples is an exception, suggesting selective engagement with broader European cultural centers. However, the overarching pattern highlights a network rooted in Weimar, emphasizing the city as a nexus of artistic and musical activity during this time. This dynamic not only underscores the importance of Weimar within the network but also highlights the localized nature of these musical exchanges, where sustained patronage and repeated collaborations fostered deeper artistic relationships than transient touring might have afforded.

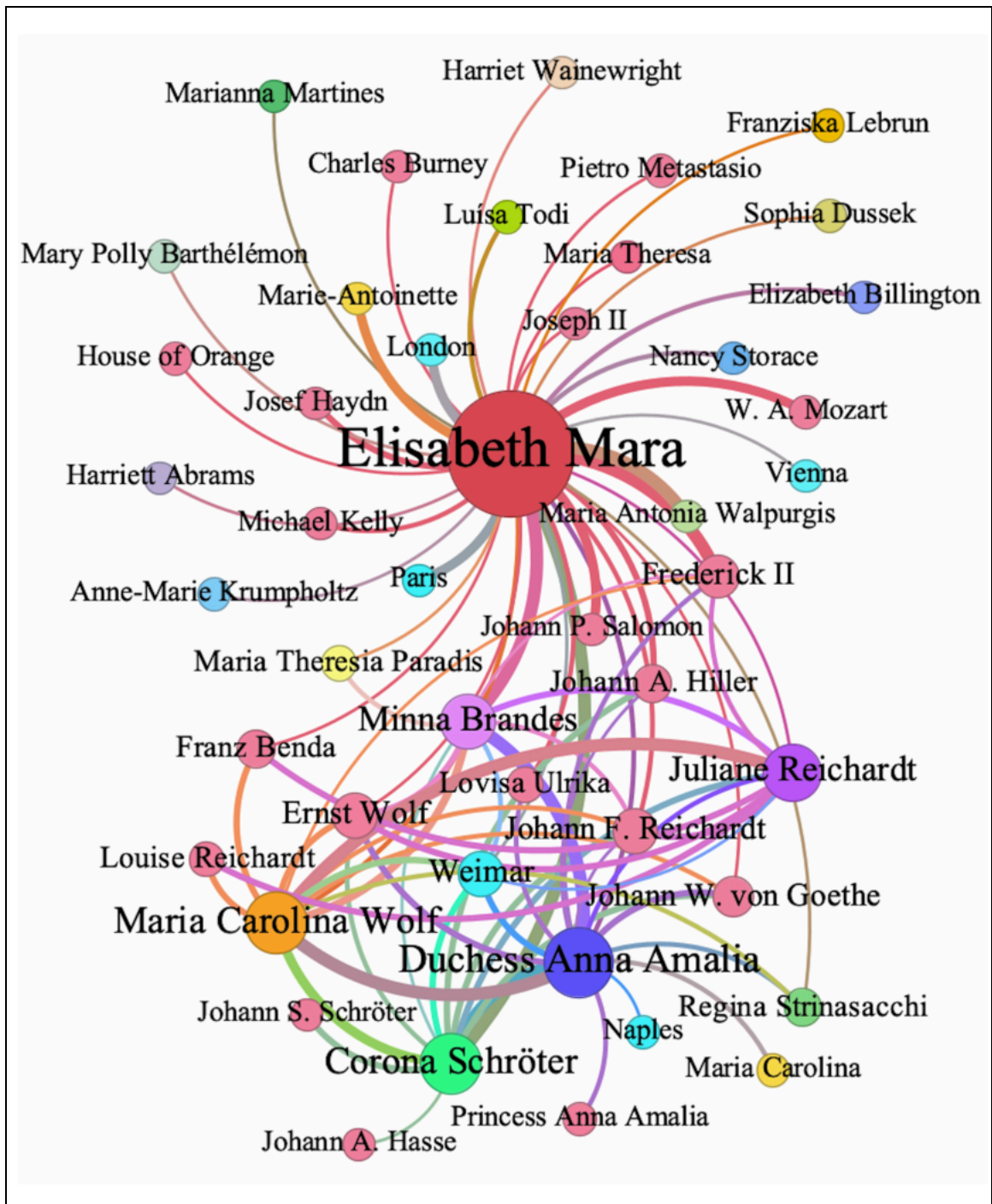


Fig. 2.12. Mara composite network with Juliane Reichardt

In contrast to the predominantly narrow and widely distributed edges observed in Chapter 1, primarily defined by Marianna Martines and Elisabeth Mara, Chapter 2 reveals a markedly distinct cluster within the network centered around Duchess Anna Amalia. This cluster is characterized by a dense pattern of interconnectivity, with wide edges indicating robust, significant relationships among multiple individuals. At the heart of this network lies Weimar, a focal point and cultural hub that anchors the connections within

this tightly knit community. The disparity between the two chapters underscores a shift from a more dispersed network, reflecting a broader geographic and social reach, to a concentrated, localized nexus of interactions. This shift from Martines's dispersed Viennese salon network to the concentrated Weimar cluster reflects not only different geographical circumstances but also the distinct dynamics of court patronage versus urban salon culture.

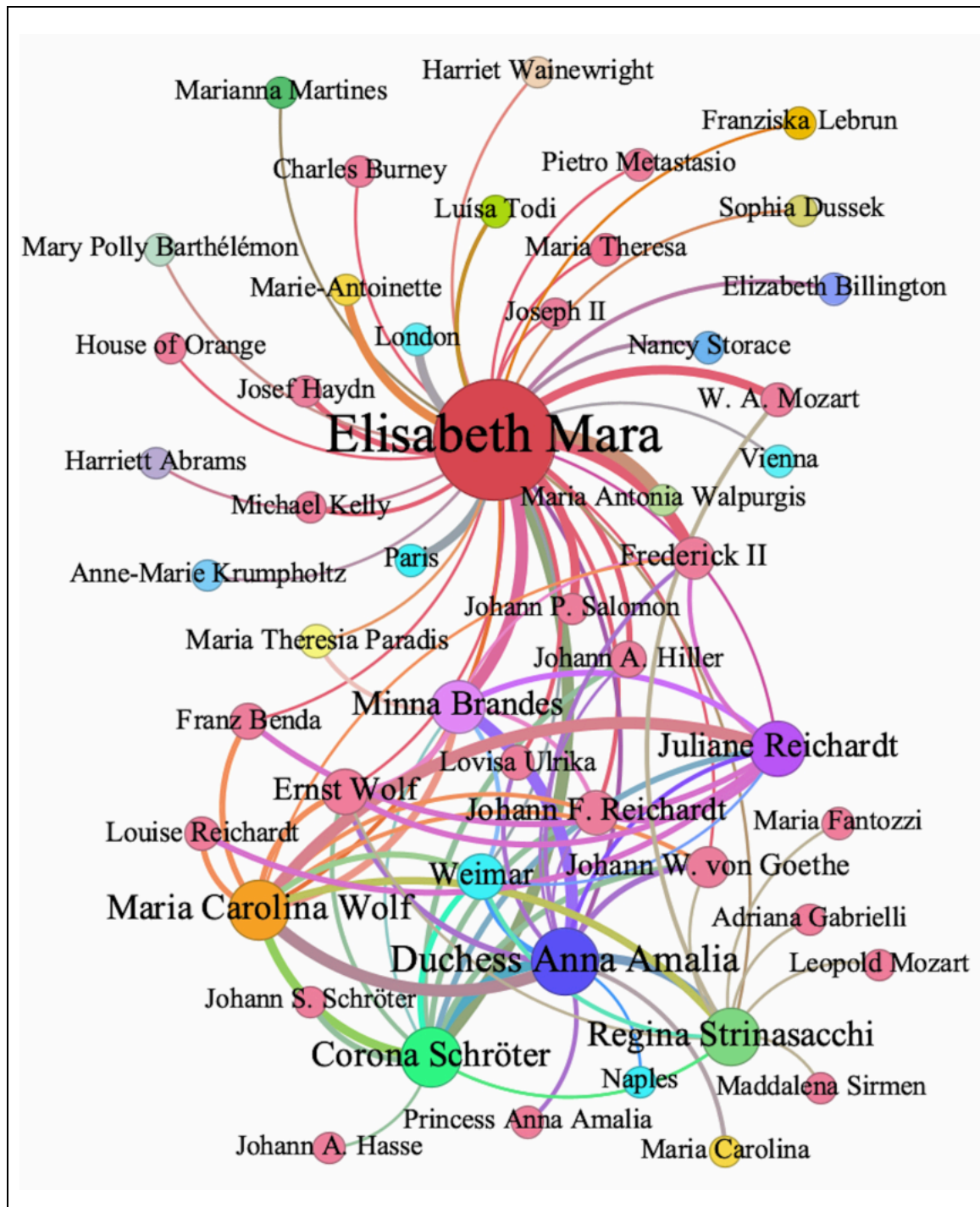


Fig. 2.13. Mara composite network with Regina Strinasacchi

C. *Paris*—Todi, Lebrun, Krumpholtz—*primary, potential*

We met again later in Paris,
where I spent the most pleasant time of
my life with these talented people.²⁵⁹

—*Gertrud Elisabeth Mara*

After a decade of devoted service to Frederick II, King of Prussia, Elisabeth Mara and her husband were finally granted permission to leave Berlin in 1780.²⁶⁰ Their journey led them to Prague for the winter season; then, in the spring of 1781, they continued to Vienna, where Joseph II extended his patronage to ensure their safety and well-being throughout the Habsburg-controlled territories.²⁶¹ Following their time in Vienna, they embarked on a tour encompassing Prague, Munich, and various regions of German and French Switzerland.²⁶² This tour proved largely successful, culminating in their arrival in Paris in 1782.²⁶³ Inevitably, Mara performed at the renowned Concert Spirituel, captivating the audience and earning thunderous applause from both the spectators and the orchestra.²⁶⁴

The Concert Spirituel emerged in 1725 as one of the earliest public concert venues in Paris, entertaining during the months when the Paris Opera, Comédie-Française, and Comédie-Italienne were on hiatus.²⁶⁵ Hosted in the splendid Tuileries Palace and predominantly covered by the *Mercure de France*, the Concert Spirituel serves as the backdrop for the exploration of the exceptional female musicians in the following section: the famous opera singers Elisabeth Mara, Luísa Todi, and Franziska Lebrun, alongside the celebrated harpist Anne-Marie Krumpholtz.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ “Wir trafen uns nachher wieder in Paris, wo ich die angenehmste Zeit meines Lebens mit diesen talentvollen Menschen zugebracht habe.” Riesemann, 580. (Translation) DeepL, January 31, 2024.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 577–578.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 578.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 578–579.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 579–580. The Mara’s tour, despite its overall success, encountered a notable setback, as Mozart expressed his lack of enthusiasm for both Elisabeth and Giovanni Mara during their time in Munich, as mentioned earlier.

²⁶⁴ “Da ich vor den Fasten nach Paris kam, so konnte es nicht fehlen, dass ich fürs *Concert spirituel* engagirt wurde. Das Publicum war gespannt; man hatte die Todi zwey Jahr vorher beynahe vergöttert. Als ich das erste mahl in die Probe kam, empfang mich das Orchester mit Händeklatschen und Bogenschlagen. [...] Als ich den Abend auftrat, wurde ich mit einem Donner von Applaudissement von Seiten des Publicums und Orchesters empfangen.” (DT) *Ibid.*, 580.

²⁶⁵ See Marie Christine Vila, *Paris musique: de l’école de Notre-Dame à la Cité de la musique: huit siècles d’histoire* (Paris: Parigramme, 2007) for a history on music in the French capital.

²⁶⁶ Beverly Wilcox provides a concise history of the Concert Spirituel in “The Music Libraries of the Concert Spirituel: Canons, Repertoires, and Bricolage in Eighteenth-Century Paris” (PhD diss., University of California, 2013), 1–5.

During this period, opera star Joseph Legros (1739–1793) directed the Concert Spirituel, curating performances that showcased brilliant soloists and setting the stage for the long-standing rivalry between the Maratistas and Todistas.²⁶⁷ Much like the well-documented rivalry between Elisabeth Mara and Corona Schröter, the competition between Mara and Luísa Todi was primarily fueled by their respective fanbases rather than by any personal animosity between the singers themselves.²⁶⁸ To gain a deeper understanding of these exceptional musicians and the captivating atmosphere of Paris and the Concert Spirituel, let us now delve into their world.

2.7 Luísa Aguiar Todi (1753–1833)

Luísa Aguiar Todi, the only Portuguese female musician recorded in the database, rose as one of the preeminent lyrical sopranos of the eighteenth century, earning widespread acclaim across Europe.²⁶⁹ Born in the picturesque town of Setúbal, Portugal, she was the eldest of six siblings to Manoel José de Aguiar (1710–1778), a musician and music instructor, and Ana Joaquina de Almeida (1726–1823).²⁷⁰ While little information is available about her early childhood, it is punctuated by a gripping anecdote recounted by one of her biographers, Ribeiro Guimarães.²⁷¹ Amid the catastrophic earthquake of 1755, two-year-old Luísa, overwhelmed by fear, sought refuge in a lime kiln, causing immense distress to her parents, who eventually discovered her crouching in the oven.²⁷²

Luísa's journey into music and theatre was shaped by her father's guidance and the family's relocation to Lisbon in 1765.²⁷³ Here, Manoel composed music for the renowned Teatro do Bairro Alto, a theatre that greatly influenced Luísa and her sisters, Cecilia Rosa (1746–n.d.) and Isabel Iphigenia (1750–n.d.) to pursue their artistic passions.²⁷⁴ Collectively known as the “Three Graces of Setúbal,” the three sisters

²⁶⁷ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Luiza Todi: Estudo Crítico* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1873), 71–74, 165.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ António Adérito Alves Conde, “Luísa Todi: a diva que encantou a Europa e as suas raízes vila-realenses.” *Tellus: Revista de Cultura Trasmontana e Duriense* 67 (November 11, 2017): 36, 39.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 36–37.

²⁷¹ J. Ribeiro Guimarães, *Biographia de Luiza de Aguiar Todi* (Lisboa: J.G. de Sousa Neves, 1872).

²⁷² “a Todi [Luísa Rosa] então com dois anos de idade, e que a criancinha, levada pelo susto, se fôra esconder n’um forno de cal, o que causou muitas aflicções a seus paes que, passado o primeiro tremor, procuraram reunir as pessoas da sua família e não encontraram a filhinha, a qual, depois de muitas buscas, foram achar agachadinha no forno.” *Ibid.*, 12. (Quoted) Conde, “Luísa Todi,” 38.

²⁷³ Conde, 38.

²⁷⁴ Alberto Pimentel, *Memoria sobre a historia e administração do municipio de Setubal* (Lisboa: Typographia de G. A. Gutierres da Silva, 1879), 363.

attained celebrity in Portugal, with Luísa ultimately achieving international recognition.²⁷⁵ At fourteen, Luísa made her professional theatrical debut at the Teatro, portraying the character of “Faustina” in a Portuguese rendition of Molière’s *Tartufo*.²⁷⁶ After this auspicious beginning, Luísa primarily featured as a soubrette in comedic dramas²⁷⁷ while she pursued singing lessons from Davide Perez (1711–1778), the court composer for King José I of Portugal (1714–1777).²⁷⁸

At sixteen, Luísa’s life underwent a fateful transformation when she married Francesco Saverio Todi (1745–1803), a widowed Neapolitan who served as the first violinist at the Teatro.²⁷⁹ According to biographer Vasconcelos, it is highly likely that her husband was the driving force behind Luísa’s decision to pursue a singing career.²⁸⁰ In the 1770–1771 season at the Teatro do Bairro Alto, Luísa exhibited her talent in the *dramma giocoso* *Il Bejglieberj di Caramania*, featuring music by Giuseppe Scolari (1720–1774).²⁸¹ However, a disagreement between Scolari and Francesco Todi prompted the couple’s departure from the theatre, leading them to relocate to Porto until 1776.²⁸² In Porto, at the Teatro do Corpo da Guarda, audiences witnessed a decisive moment in Luísa’s career. During her performance in David Perez’s *Demofonte*, Todi transitioned from singing “*dramma giocoso*” to “*opera seria*,” a genre that not only propelled her to

²⁷⁵ “As irmãs Aguiar podem, com propriedade, chamar-se as tres graças de Setubal. Ao formoso jardim do Sado, tão fecundo em talentos das mais variadas aptidões, nem sequer lhe falta a gloria de ter sido berço de tres mulheres que se tornaram notaveis no teatro, n’uma epocha em que os talentos femininos como que tinham medo de queimar as suas azas melindrosas na luz da ribalta. [...] Luiza a que maior colheita de louvores pôde realisar, não só em Portugal, mas na Europa toda.” (DT) Ibid.

²⁷⁶ ARPMD Martins, “A fábrica do Teatro do Bairro Alto (1761–1775)” (PhD diss., Universidade de Lisboa, 2017), 92.

²⁷⁷ Conde, 39. A soubrette, typically portrayed as the vivacious and witty companion of the leading female character, adds an element of charm and humor to comedic narratives.

²⁷⁸ Vasconcelos, *Luiza Todi*, 41. Davide Perez, an Italian composer of Spanish descent born in Naples, initially worked in Palermo before being appointed by King José I to serve as the children’s tutor, court composer, and conductor of the Royal Chapel. Perez’s influence extended far beyond his duties, profoundly impacting the development and training of Portuguese composers during this era. Conde, 40 n7.

²⁷⁹ Conde, 39.

²⁸⁰ “Foi sem duvida o marido que estimulou os brios da joven cantora, contando-lhe talvez os triumphos de algumas das grandes artistas então vivas que houvesse presenciado e lembrando-lhe os louros de futuras corôas que ella entrevia em sonhos. [...] É natural que o marido a decidisse a abraçar definitivamente a carreira lyrica, não só como a mais lucrativa e gloriosa, mas como aquella em que poderia empregar melhor os recursos de uma voz que já então, apesar dos 16 annos, devia dar bellas esperanças.” (DT)Vasconcelos, 7.

²⁸¹ Vasconcelos, 165. Eighteenth-century Italy saw the emergence of a new style of opera known as “*dramma giocoso*.” Translating to “playful drama” or “comic drama,” this genre interweaves moments of humor and satire with emotionally intense or dramatic scenes. Mozart’s opera *Don Giovanni* is a quintessential example of *dramma giocoso*, skillfully blending tragic and comedic elements within its characters and plot.

²⁸² Conde, 40.

fame but also perfectly complemented her vocal virtuosity and expressive abilities.²⁸³

Luísa Todi was among a few well-known female musicians in her native country; nevertheless, she achieved her greatest fame as a lyrical mezzo-soprano on the global stage.²⁸⁴ The Todis thrived in Porto between 1772 and 1776; however, it was not until 1777 that Luísa's first international exposure in six *dramma giocoso* performances at the King's Theatre in London launched her rise to transnational stardom.²⁸⁵ Although the shows themselves were somewhat underwhelming, they prompted her to fully commit herself to opera seria, effectively concluding her involvement in comic opera permanently.²⁸⁶

Over the ensuing 22 years, Todi forged an international career, accumulating both public adoration and critical acclaim across numerous European cities, each with its own unique linguistic and cultural backdrop.²⁸⁷ Following her London tour, Todi made a triumphant debut at the prestigious Teatro Real in Madrid.²⁸⁸ Subsequently, she performed at the Parisian Concert Spirituel for four seasons (1778, 1779, 1783, and 1789) and embarked on tours across Southern France and Switzerland. In fact, Todi's Concert Spirituel performances in 1778 and 1779 established her status as one of the most outstanding foreign performers to grace the stages of France.²⁸⁹ A decade later, her time in Paris gained further immortality through the masterful brushstrokes of the legendary portraitist Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842), who skillfully captured Todi's essence in a stunning portrait.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, Luísa had the honor of headlining

²⁸³ Ibid. For an intriguing exploration of the evolution of opera seria in Portugal and Spain, including its unique divergence from the broader European context, see the scholarly discourse of Ana Llorens and Alvar Torrente, "Construyendo opera seria en las cortes de la península ibérica: Repertorio de Metastasio para España y Portugal," *Anuario Musical*, no. 76 (2021), 73–110. This study delves into how the musical characteristics of opera seria were shaped not only by the conventions of the time but also by the particular musical customs, gender stereotypes prevalent in the courts of the Iberian Peninsula, and the distinct traits of composers and vocalists active in the region.

²⁸⁴ Conde, 42–44.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 42. "Dramma giocoso" is synonymous with "opera buffa."

²⁸⁶ Vasconcelos, 111. Charles Burney claimed, "And as for Signora Todi, she must have improved very much since he was in England, or we treated her very unworthily; for though her voice was thought to be feeble and seldom in tune while she was here, she has since been extremely admired in France, Spain, Russia, and Germany, as a most touching and exquisite performer." Burney, *General History*, 4: 509.

²⁸⁷ Conde, 42–44. Luísa was fluent in French, English, Italian, and German. Vasconcelos, 140.

²⁸⁸ Vasconcelos engages in a debate regarding whether the performance in Madrid occurred before or after the one in London. Ibid., 13–14.

²⁸⁹ "On a fini ce Spectacle par un air de M. *Piccini*, qui avoit été redemandé. Les talens & la voix de Mde *Todi* a excité de nouveaux transports ; elle a répété cet air attendrissant avec le même succès. De toutes les cantatrices étrangères que nous avons entendues dans cette capitale, Mde *Todi* est, sans contredit la plus accomplie." *MF* (December 1778): 172.

²⁹⁰ Elisabeth-Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Retrato de Luísa Todi* (1789), oil on canvas (Museu da Música, Portugal, 2011).

an Easter concert at the Concert Spirituel in 1789.²⁹¹ This event was attended by the respected American statesman Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), further solidifying her international reputation.²⁹²

Moreover, Luísa Todi's virtuosity transcended other European borders, leaving an indelible impact in Austria, Prussia, and Russia. In the discerning city of Vienna, Todi showcased her prowess through concert performances between 1781 and 1782, receiving unequivocal acclaim on both occasions.²⁹³ Thereafter, she turned her attention to the Prussian opera scene and undertook two independent engagements, each yielding contrasting outcomes.²⁹⁴ The first occurrence, under Frederick II's patronage, witnessed her performances at the court opera in Berlin from 1783 to 1784.²⁹⁵ Her initial experience in Berlin was marred by disappointment: the audience's reception fell short of expectations, and, to compound matters, Frederick II refused to compensate her for a protracted stay.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, upon Frederick II's death in 1786, Todi received an invitation from his successor, Frederick William II, to return to Berlin.²⁹⁷ This subsequent engagement proved significantly more successful and advantageous for her career.²⁹⁸

Between her Prussian engagements, the Todi family traveled to St. Petersburg, where they secured the patronage of Empress Catherine II for nearly four years.²⁹⁹ Todi's debut performance in 1784 left a lasting impression on the Empress, who expressed her admiration by presenting the singer with two exquisite diamond bracelets.³⁰⁰ Catherine II's support extended beyond St. Petersburg to Moscow, where Todi also served as the princess's vocal instructor, and in return, she received lavish jewels in appreciation.³⁰¹ Finally, Todi returned to her adoring audience in Paris shortly before the onset of the French Revolution in 1789.³⁰²

²⁹¹ *JP* (April 12, 1789): 465.

²⁹² Founders Online, "Memorandum Books, 1789," #45.

²⁹³ Vasconcelos, 165.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 60–70, 80–87.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 60–70.

²⁹⁶ Conde, 43.

²⁹⁷ Vasconcelos, 80–87.

²⁹⁸ Conde, 43–44.

²⁹⁹ The couple had six children, each born in different cities where Todi performed: João (1772, Porto), Anna José (1773, Porto), Maria Clara (1775, Guimarães), Francisco (1777, Madrid), Adelaide (1778, Paris), and Leopoldo (1782, Turin). Vasconcelos, 165.

³⁰⁰ François-Joseph Fétis, ed., *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie général de la musique*, 8 vols. (Bruxelles: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 8: 372. Note: Fétis incorrectly presents the first name and birthdate as Marie-Françoise, 1748.

³⁰¹ Isabel Lousada and Vasco DB Bonifácio, et al., "Luisa Rosa de Aguiar Todi (1753–1833)," in *Portuguese Women Scientists: Historical Overview*.

³⁰² "Mais ce qui avoit surtout attire l'affluence à ce Concert, étoit la célèbre Madame Todi, cette virtuose à qui nous devons peut-être le gout, la connoissance & le premier modèle d'une bonne méthode de

Basking in the glow of her celebrity, Todi embarked on a triumphant tour of the Germanic, Italian, and Spanish territories in 1790, beginning with engagements in Hannover and Bonn.³⁰³ At thirty-seven, Todi reached the pinnacle of her career upon arriving in Venice during the autumn of that same year.³⁰⁴ The Venetian opera season of 1790–1791 became identified as “anno Todi,” as the public’s fascination with the singer soared to unprecedented heights.³⁰⁵ Her immense popularity was such that her likeness was engraved on copper and distributed alongside a poem throughout the Teatro di San Samuele, where she thrilled her audiences.³⁰⁶ Todi-themed pamphlets, collectible portraits, and poetry collections became ubiquitous throughout the Veneto region.³⁰⁷ However, Luísa fell victim to a debilitating disease during her time in Venice, which gradually eroded her vision and eventually led to complete blindness.³⁰⁸ This unfortunate circumstance forced her to temporarily withdraw from the stage, prompting speculation about the authenticity of her condition.³⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Todi was greeted with thunderous applause when she resumed her performances in Vienna and successfully concluded her Italian tour with shows in Parma and Naples.³¹⁰

In the final chapter of her memorable international career, Todi’s journey took her to Madrid, where she charmed admirers with twelve extraordinarily well-received performances at the Teatro de los Caños during the 1792 and 1793 seasons.³¹¹ The

chant. *MF* (April 1789): 37; and “Madame Todi, dont nous avons déjà parlé avec éloge, & qui est au-dessus de tout éloge par son habileté, par le charme de son expression & la perfection de sa méthode, á soutenu le succès qu’elle a eu d’abord en reparaisant ici.” *MF* (May 1789): 38–39.

³⁰³ Vasconcelos, 95–104. Numerous contemporary online sources suggest that Todi performed for a young Beethoven during her time in Bonn. However, despite extensive research, primary sources confirming this assertion have proven elusive. Moreover, the absence of this anecdote from Todi’s biographies casts doubts on its veracity, suggesting it may be a speculative embellishment.

³⁰⁴ Jessica Gabriel Peritz, “The Female Sublime: Domesticating Luigia Todi’s Voice,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 74, no. 2 (2021): 236–240. This was not her first trip to Italy, however. Vasconcelos, 51. Eight years earlier, she had secured her first truly prestigious contract as prima donna at the Teatro Regio in Turin, where she received immense praise from critics who already regarded her as one of the finest voices of the era. Lousada and Bonifácio, “Luísa Rosa de Aguiar Todi.”

³⁰⁵ “Anno Todi” translates to the “Year of Todi.” Marco Foscari IV, a prominent local patrician, even dated one of his letters, “Venetis, 6 marii anno Todi.” Marco Foscari and Fausto Sartori, eds., *Lettere a Marco Foscari, 1789–1792* (Venezia: La Malcontenta, 2011), 100. Foscari’s correspondence sheds light on significant Venetian events dominated by opera and theatre. For a detailed analysis of Foscari’s letters concerning Luísa Todi, see Marija Kocič and Maja Vasiljević, “In the Shadow of the French Revolution,” *Muzikoloski Zbornik; Ljubljana* 55, no. 1 (2019): 97–110.

³⁰⁶ Vasconcelos, 101–102.

³⁰⁷ For more on this phenomenon, see Jessica Gabriel Peritz, “The Female Sublime: Domesticating Luigia Todi’s Voice,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 74, no. 2 (2021): 235–288.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

³⁰⁹ Foscari, *Lettere a Marco Foscari*, 113–115. Elisabeth Mara had her own perspective on Todi’s vision issues, which she deemed as fraudulent. See Riesemann, 364–365.

³¹⁰ Foscari, 124–125.

³¹¹ Vasconcelos, 105–128.

critique published in the *Diario del Madrid* lauded Todi for her exceptional vocal prowess, impeccable diction, linguistic proficiency, utmost professionalism, remarkable acting skills, and her ability to imbue her roles with profound emotion and sensitivity. She was hailed as the goddess of sound, gesture, and motion.³¹²

As the century drew to a close, Todi returned to Portugal a wealthy woman, settling in Porto and continuing to perform until her retirement in 1811, after which she moved to Lisbon.³¹³ She eventually lost sight in both eyes, the first in 1813, and the other in 1822.³¹⁴ After a long and illustrious career, Luísa Aguiar Todi suffered a stroke in July 1833 and passed away in October at the age of 80.³¹⁵ Before her death, she witnessed her talent immortalized in Anton Reicha's (1770–1836) *Traité de mélodie*, where he declares Luísa Todi the singer of all the centuries, outshining all others whose performances wax and wane with changing tastes.³¹⁶

Luísa Aguiar Todi is among a select group of eighteenth-century female performers whose enduring legacy has transcended time. Situated on the avenue that bears her name, a monument of Luísa Todi proudly stands in front of the Civil Government building in Setúbal. It was inaugurated in 1933 to commemorate the

³¹² “Una de las destrezas que más sorprende es su habilidad vocal y la dulzura de su voz. Sus admiradores celebran insistentemente su canto suave, su acento armonioso, su dulce acento, su amable melodía, sus dulces cadencias, su voz encantadora, su diestra voz, su garganta hermosa y su gentil dicción. Junto a la voz, la otra destreza que es Digna también de repetido elogio es la excelente interpretación gestual que poseía. Se alaba reiteradamente su gesto elocuente y su gracia expresiva. Se dice que es la diosa del son, del gesto y de las mociones.” *Diario del Madrid* (August 22, 1792) Reported in Fernando D. López, Alberto R. Ferrer, and Marieta Cantos Casenave, *La Patria Poética: Estudios sobre literatura y poética en la obra de Manuel José Quintana* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2009), 40.

³¹³ A chronicle of her appearances can be found in Vasconcelos, 165. There is an intriguing tale that recounts the unfortunate events that befell Luísa Todi during the second French invasion in 1809. In the midst of chaos and desperation, a multitude of people sought refuge from the advancing French forces by attempting to cross the Ponte das Barcas. This bridge succumbed to the overwhelming weight, resulting in the loss of nearly 4,000 lives. However, on that fateful day, Luísa Todi, with her children in tow and a few bundles of belongings, beseeched a boatman to ferry them to the safety of Gaia's shores. In a cruel twist of fate, as she was placing her children in the boat, she slipped and fell into the river, causing her to lose a significant portion of her possessions, particularly her jewelry. In a desperate struggle for survival, she managed to grasp an oar and be pulled into the boat. As the French cavalry rapidly approached the pier, a bullet grazed Todi's daughter, Maria Ana. Fortunately, the general, Jean-de-Dieu Soult (1769–1851), recognized the famous M^{me} Todi, sparing her life and sending her back home. Firmino Pereira, “A invasão francesa e Luísa Todi,” *O Tripeiro* 1, no. 28 (1909), 160–161. Discussed in Adalberto Dias de Carvalho, ed., “Cadernos de Turismo,” *Percursos & Ideias* 7, 2nd series (2016): 27–28.

³¹⁴ Vasconcelos, 104. Conde, 47.

³¹⁵ Vasconcelos, 141. Francesco Todi passed away in 1803. Conde, 45.

³¹⁶ “Il ne suffit pas d'inventer des Mélodies heureuses, il faut encore qu'elles soient exécutées d'une manière parfaite [...] Parmi les chanteurs des deux sexes de ce climat heureux, il y en a qui, avec leur voix céleste et leur manière incomparable d'exécuter la Mélodie (comme Farinelli), ont renouvelé les merveilles et la puissance extraordinaire de la Musique de Grecs. Il y une évidence d'exécution qui, si elle pouvait être connue de tous les chanteurs, excluerait toute autre exécution: la célèbre M^{me}. Todi serait la cantatrice de tous les siècles: les autres manières d'exécuter sont de mode et passent de mode.” (DT) Anton Reicha, *Traité de mélodie* (Paris: A. Farrenc, 1814), 65.

centenary of her death.³¹⁷ In 2010, the musical group Os Músicos do Tejo released an album entitled *As Árias de Luísa Todi*,³¹⁸ and a documentary, *Todi—A segunda morte de Luísa Aguiar*, was also released that same year.³¹⁹ To further memorialize her legacy, the Concurso Nacional de Canto Luísa Todi, a prestigious biannual singing contest founded in 1990, is named in her honor and held in Setúbal.³²⁰ The Academia de Música e Belas Artes Luísa Todi was founded in 1961 in her honor, on the very street of her birth.³²¹ Furthermore, Maria Helena Ventura included Todi in her 2020 fictional novel *Minha irmã Luísa Todi*.³²²

The fact that Luísa Aguiar Todi’s extraordinary life and illustrious career are still celebrated and remembered centuries after her passing is unquestionably encouraging.

Todi and Mara

Upon witnessing Luísa Todi’s performance in Strasbourg in 1778, Elisabeth Mara was unimpressed with her skills. Similar to her assessment of Corona Schröter, Mara did not regard Todi as a formidable competitor to her own status as a worldwide celebrity.³²³

Here I heard Todi, whose name I had never heard before. She gave a concert in the theatre; she seemed to me to be a forcible singer, had a strong, raspy contra-alto voice, and it seemed to cost her an effort to bring it out because when she sang, the veins in her throat swelled up as thick as a finger; in a small room she is said to have been very uncomfortable. She had just come from England and complained a lot about the English because they had hissed her out in the opera buffa in London.³²⁴ She went to Paris in 1780, where she was idolized because she sang in the style of the old French grand opera.³²⁵

³¹⁷ Lousada and Bonifácio, “Luisa Rosa de Aguiar Todi.”

³¹⁸ Os Músicos do Tejo, *As Árias de Luísa Todi* (2010).

³¹⁹ Rui Esteves, Maria João Seixas, and Laura Soveral, *Luísa Todi: Em Busca da Voz do Século* [Luísa Todi: In Search of the Voice of the Century] (original title: *Todi — a segunda morte de Luísa Aguiar* [Todi — the Second Death of Luísa Aguiar] (Documentary. Lisbon: Midas films, 2009).

³²⁰ Setúbal Concurso Nacional de Canto Luísa Todi.

³²¹ See the Academia de Música e Belas Artes Luisa Todi website.

³²² Maria Helena Ventura, *Minha irmã Luísa Todi* (Porto Salvo: Saída de Emergência, 2020).

³²³ The anecdote is intriguing because Todi’s biographers make no mention of the singer’s presence in Strasbourg in 1778. Mara penned her autobiography toward the twilight of her life, nearly half a century after many of the events transpired. Therefore, it is possible she misremembered the dates, or Todi’s dates may have been inaccurately recorded. Interestingly, Todi’s son, Francisco, was born in Madrid in 1777, and her daughter, Adelaide, was born in Paris in 1778. See Vasconcelos, 163.

³²⁴ The statement regarding Todi’s time in London would corroborate the 1777–1778 dates. If accurate, Todi embarked on an ambitious journey across England, Portugal, Spain, and France in a relatively short period of time, all while pregnant or giving birth and performing.

³²⁵ “Hier hörte ich die *Todi*, deren Nahmen mir bis dahin unbekannt gewesen war. Sie gab ein Concert im Theatre, mir schien sie eine forcirte Sängerin zu seyn, hatte eine starke, raube Contra-Alt-

During the 1780s, the music world was abuzz with the talents of both Elisabeth Mara and Luísa Todi. Mara, already renowned internationally, had recently concluded her association with Frederick II and was traversing the Habsburg territories.³²⁶ Meanwhile, Todi had secured a prestigious contract with Teatro Regio in Turin, triumphed at the Concert Spirituel in Paris, and rapidly gained acclaim across Europe.³²⁷ The famous rivalry between these two impressive performers arose during Todi's second tour of the Concert Spirituel in 1783.³²⁸ The audience became divided into two factions—Todistas and Maratistas—and the ensuing battle for supremacy held the music community spellbound from April to June 1783, as documented in the *Mercure de France*.³²⁹

We are flattered to hear that Mrs. Mara & Mrs. Todi will both be singing at Concert during the fortnight. Nothing, no doubt, will be so piquant for the Public as this battle of talent. We expect to see the enthusiasm of their mutual supporters renew musical dissensions; the wisest, perhaps, will be content to enjoy each other's perfection, without bothering with a reference that it is not at all necessary to assign.³³⁰

Mrs. Mara astonishes, delights, transports with pleasure; Mrs. Todi moves, interests, tears the soul; often a thousand bravos, a thousand enthusiastic applauses interrupt Mrs. Mara in the middle of a line that the Listener's soul, too filled with admiration, could not let her finish. Often when Mrs. Todi sings, far from thinking of applauding her, we fear to breathe; the heart, full of the pleasure it feels, seems to forget for a moment the one to whom it owes it.³³¹

To this day, the debate persists over who the superior singer was, depending on

Stimme, es schien ihr auch Mühe zu kosten, dieselbe heraus zu bringen, weil ihr, wenn sie sang, die Adern am Halse fingerdick aufschwollen; in einem kleinen Raume soll sie sehr unangenehm gewesen seyn. Sie kam eben aus England und beschwerte sich sehr über die Engländer, denn man hatte sie in London in der Opera buffa ausgezischt. Sie ging 1780 nach Paris, wo man sie vergötterte, weil sie im Styl der alten französischen grossen Oper sang." (DT) Riesemann, 564. (Translation) DeepL, February 5, 2024.

³²⁶ Riesemann, 577–580.

³²⁷ Lousada and Bonifácio, "Luisa Rosa de Aguiar Todi."

³²⁸ Vasconcelos, 71–74, 165.

³²⁹ See *MF* (April 1783): 26, 127–129; *MF* (May 1783): 77–83; and *MF* (June 1783): 89–95, 195.

³³⁰ "On nous flatte que M^{me} Mara & M^{me} Todi chanteront toutes deux à Concert pendant la quinzaine. Rien, sans doute, ne sera si piquant pour le Public que cette lutte de talent. On s'attend à voir l'enthousiasme de leurs partisans mutuels, renouveler à leur suet les dissensions musicales ; les plus sages, peut-être, se contenteront de jouir de ce que l'une & l'autre ont de parfait, sans s'embarrasser d'une référence qu'il n'est pas du tout nécessaire d'assigner." *MF* (April 1783): 26. (Translation) DeepL, February 5, 2024.

³³¹ "M^{me} Mara étonne, ravit, transporte de plaisir ; M^{me} Todi émeut, intéresse, déchire l'âme ; souvent mille *bravo*, mille applaudissemens d'enthousiasme ont interrompu M^{me} Mara au milieu d'un trait que l'âme des Auditeurs, trop remplie d'admiration, ne pouvoit lui laisser achever. Souvent quand M^{me} Todi chante, loin de songer à l'applaudir, on craint de respirer ; le cœur, tout plein du plaisir qu'il éprouve, semble oublier un moment celle à qui il le doit." (DT) *MF* (June 1783): 94. (Translation) DeepL, February 5, 2024.

the source. Nonetheless, it is indisputable that both Elisabeth Mara and Luísa Todi were musical titans of their era.

Potential connections

The inclusive network maps presented thus far in this chapter have unveiled a substantial number of secondary and potential connections. However, unlike the Martines network, which primarily identified potential links based on circumstance and geographical proximity, Mara's network is built upon a shared professional community. In addition, a select group of highly visible performers, such as Franziska Lebrun and Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, form the cornerstone for potential connections.

2.8 Franziska Danzi Lebrun (1756–1791)³³²

Franziska Danzi Lebrun was a triply gifted musician, excelling as a keyboard virtuoso, composer, and renowned opera diva.³³³ Her vocal dexterity was legendary, and she was considered one of the leading sopranos of her time, rivaling the likes of Luísa Todi and Elisabeth Mara.³³⁴ Franziska grew up immersed in the innovative musical milieu of the Mannheim school, being the daughter of Innocenz Danzi (c1730–1798), the court's first cellist, and Barbara Toeshi Danzi (n.d.), who hailed from a lineage of Mannheim concertmasters.³³⁵ Alongside her siblings, Johann Baptist (1758–n.d.) and Franz Ignaz (1763–1826), she received her initial music education directly from her father, probably focusing on piano performance and vocal training.³³⁶ Franziska, in turn, gave singing lessons to Margarethe Marchand Danzi (1768–1800), who later married her brother Franz.³³⁷

³³² Coincidentally, Franziska Lebrun shared the same birth and death dates as W. A. Mozart.

³³³ Joseph Kürschner, "Lebrun, Franziska," *ADB* 18 (102–103), 286.

³³⁴ "Rien de plus étonnant que l'étendue de la voix de la D^{lle}. Danzi, si on étoit enthousiasmé des petits cris aigus de la Signora *Aguiari*, lorsqu'elle passoit la portée ordinaire de la voix, combien doit-on être admirablement surpris d'entendre une voix naturelle & agréable, passer de cinq tons, cette portée-là plus étendue, avec une justesse étonnante & la netteté la plus incompréhensible." (DT) *Journal Étranger* 11 (November 1777), 154 [143].

³³⁵ Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 530, 543–544. The Mannheim School was famous throughout Europe for its highly disciplined virtuosity and its ability to produce certain novel and arousing effects. For more information, visit Bärbel Pelker and Elke Platz Waury, "The Mannheim School," Chamber Orchestra Mannheim: UNESCO City of Music.

³³⁶ Bärbel Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun," *MUGI*, 2008.

³³⁷ Franziska provided Margarethe with singing lessons from 1778 to 1782, following which Margarethe pursued further studies under Leopold Mozart from 1782 to 1784. The profound impact of Franziska on her protégé cannot be overstated, as Margarethe mirrored her mentor's career trajectory. Monika Kammerlander, "Margarethe Danzi," *MUGI*, 2006.

Danzi's operatic debut occurred in 1772 when she was sixteen at a small castle theatre in Schwetzingen, starring in Florian Gassmann's opera *L'Amore Artigiano* and Antonio Sacchini's *La Contadina in Corte*.³³⁸ Her incontrovertible talent quickly propelled her to prima donna status by 1777 in Ignaz Holzbauer's (1711–1783) *Günther von Schwarzburg*, prompting her to expand her reputation beyond Mannheim.³³⁹ Teaming up with composer and oboe virtuoso Ludwig August Lebrun (1752–1790), she set off on numerous concert tours, frequently taking her to France, England, and Italy.³⁴⁰ Indeed, while Danzi remained a member of the Palatinate-Bavarian court orchestra, her presence there became increasingly infrequent.³⁴¹

Danzi's trademark was her virtuosity in ornamentation, highlighting her extraordinary vocal range and effortless command of extremely high notes.³⁴² This unique skill prompted her to explore unorthodox singing techniques, such as vocalizing instrumental solos using Italian text syllables.³⁴³ In 1777, Danzi journeyed to Paris, creating a sensation by exhibiting these skills alongside Lebrun's mastery of the oboe.³⁴⁴ Their brilliance and musical interaction amazed and enthralled the Parisian spectators at the Concert Spirituel.³⁴⁵ In one unforgettable performance, Danzi even demonstrated her uncanny ability to mimic the timbre of an oboe, delighting her listeners.³⁴⁶ Nevertheless,

³³⁸ Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun."

³³⁹ The opera debuted at the celebrated opening of the Mannheim National Theatre in January 1777, garnering attention and praise from across Europe and catapulting Danzi to international fame. (Hertz, *Music in European Capitals*, 578–592). Danzi's performance of Anna, the palatine countess, even sparked fellow artists to compose effusive poems of admiration. (Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun.") For an excerpt of Holzbauer's opera, which demonstrates Danzi's virtuosity, see Paul Corneilson, "Franziska Danzi-Lebrun, Prima Donna: Her Career and Portrait by Gainsborough," in *Artists and Musicians: Portrait Studies from the Rococo to the Revolution*, ed. by Daniel Hertz (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing Inc., 2014), 212–214.

³⁴⁰ Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun."

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Felix Joseph Lipowsky, ed., *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* (München: Giel, 1811), 40.

³⁴³ "La voix de Mde *le Brun*, & celle de M. *Amantini*, ont exécuté plusieurs symphonies concertantes, auxquelles on avoit adapté des syllabes Italiennes propres à conduire leurs voix, & à les reposer sur les voyelles les plus favorables à ce nouveau genre de chant." (DT) *MF* (April 1779): 57.

³⁴⁴ "M. *Baër* & M. *le Brun*, sont les seuls qui n'ayent point eu de rivaux dans tous ces Concerts." Ibid., 179.

³⁴⁵ Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun."

³⁴⁶ According to Charles Burney, "In the summer of 1778 she went into Italy and sung at Milan with Pacchierotti, Rubinelli, and the Balducci; and during this journey it was imagined that she would have improved her style of singing; but travelling with her husband, an excellent performer on the hautbois, she seems to have listened to nothing else; and at her return to London she copied the tone of his instrument so exactly, that when he accompanied her in divisions of thirds and sixths, it was impossible to discover who was uppermost." (DT) Burney, *A General History*, 4: 509 (z). The phenomenon was also reported in the *Mercure de France*. "Après avoir lutté contre il *Signor Amantini*, Mde *le Brun* a osé défier un hautbois dans une autre espèce de concerto dialogué. Sa voix, non moins rapide que l'instrument, aussi juste dans ses intonations, aussi hardie dans ses écarts, s'est élancée à la même hauteur, & y a battu les mêmes cadences. Jamais les transports du public n'ont été plus bruyans ni plus unanimes." (DT) *MF* (April 1779): 57–58.

despite their shows' innovative and popular appeal, certain critics proposed that Danzi might be better suited to comedic roles.³⁴⁷ Although it is accurate that she initially inclined toward opera buffa in the early stages of her career, she eventually became a prima donna in opere seria.³⁴⁸

Following their success in Paris, the talented duo redirected their focus to London, a city that proved fertile ground for their artistic and financial ambitions.³⁴⁹ Within a year, Danzi had accumulated sufficient resources to secure a dowry, facilitating her marriage to Lebrun in London in 1778.³⁵⁰ The exact nature of their relationship remains ambiguous—it is unclear whether Lebrun had already planned to marry Danzi before leaving Mannheim or if their love blossomed after arriving in London.³⁵¹ Nonetheless, their union appeared harmonious and produced two daughters, Sophie (1781–1863) and Rosine (1783–1855), who also became famous musicians.³⁵²

Later, in 1778, the newlyweds dazzled audiences with their breathtaking performances at the grand opening of La Scala in Milan.³⁵³ Notable music aficionado Benedetto Frizzi (1756–1844) was among the attendees and eloquently described the duo's musical enchantment with genuine admiration and heartfelt appreciation.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁷ “[Danzy] ist die erste Sängerin des Churfürsten. Unter allen bis jetzt lebende Sängern brachte noch keine ihre Stimme zu der bewundernswürdigen Höhe, als sie; denn sie erreichte mit derselben das dreygestrichene a, und zwar nicht mit stumpfer Intonierung, sondern mit Klarheit und Deutlichkeit. Die Coloraturen, sie mögen so schwer seyn als sie wollen, bringt sie mit vieler Richtigkeit heraus; nur ist in rührenden und gefühlvollen Arien ihr Ton nicht dick genug. Sie scheint mehr glänzen, als das Herz treffen zu wollen, auch scheint ihr Geist mehr Neigung zum komischen als zum tragischen Vortrage zu haben.” (DT) Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Christ. Fried. Dan. Schubart's Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. by Ludwig Schubart (Wien: Degen, 1806), 143.

³⁴⁸ For a comprehensive list of her roles, see Corneilson, “Franziska Danzi-Lebrun, 241–242.

³⁴⁹ Pelker, “Franziska Lebrun,” Corneilson, 222–223; Hertz, 902.

³⁵⁰ Highfill, 9: 187–188. Pelker, “Franziska Lebrun.” Silhouettes of the Lebruns can be seen in Corneilson, 211.

³⁵¹ Corneilson, 222–223.

³⁵² The Danzi-Lebrun family boasted a dynastic legacy deeply rooted in eighteenth-century music. Franziska and Ludwig both hailed from musical lineages in Mannheim, and their two daughters perpetuated the family tradition. Rosine pursued a career as a singer and actress in Munich, while Sophie distinguished herself as a pianist and composer. Married to the official piano maker of the Munich court, Sophie bore four children, all of whom followed in their parent's footsteps as professional musicians. This musical legacy extended to Sophie's grandchildren, as well, ensuring that the family's musical tradition endured through multiple generations. See Anja Herold and Christiane Barlag, “LeBrun, Sophie,” *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*, 2006 (updated 2022).

³⁵³ Pelker, “Franziska Lebrun.”

³⁵⁴ “Il fortunato suo matrimonio col celebratissimo Monsieur le Brune suonatore di oboè, compì l'ultima mano a rendere cotesti giugali il ritratto dell'incanto musicale. Io sentij per due volte in Milano e in Mantova arie a due caratteri obbligate all'oboè con alternative continue, di ogni genere, con canoni i più ben aggiustati di quella sorprendente voce, e di quell'inimitabile professore, che giustamente mossero in me, e in ogni sensibile ascoltare, la vera ammirazione, e la grata tenerezza.” (Quoted) John A. Rice, “Benedetto Frizzi on Singers, Composers, and Opera in Late Eighteenth Century Italy,” *Studi Musicali*, no. 28 (1994): 17. Revision posted on Academia.edu (October 2, 2015).

Subsequently, the Lebruns stopped in Paris for another triumphant series at the Concert Spirituel before relocating back to London in 1779, a move that proved particularly advantageous for Franziska's career.³⁵⁵ Her engagement as the lead vocalist for the upcoming season at the King's Theatre and frequent appearances in other theatrical productions and concerts firmly established her status within London's musical community.³⁵⁶

Franziska and Ludwig Lebrun became the talk of the town wherever they went, their incomparable talents earning them enormous respect.³⁵⁷ Their performances consistently drew enthusiastic applause, launching their reputation as luminaries in their field.³⁵⁸ Despite widespread acclaim, however, a few individuals, notably Charles Burney and his daughter Susan (1755–1800), harbored reservations regarding Franziska's distinctive performance style.³⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Susan acknowledged, "She is always so polite, & so gentle, & always willing to do her duty."³⁶⁰ It is worth reiterating, however,

³⁵⁵ Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun."

³⁵⁶ Ibid. Her concert venues and fellow performers can be seen at Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*, [Danzi — <Signora>Franziska]; and [Lebrun — <Signora>Franziska].

³⁵⁷ Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun." Antoine Le Texier, a French critic who would later become Richard Sheridan's opera manager at the King's Theatre, wrote about the young soprano in some detail. "La Demoiselle *Dantzy*, chargée des premiers rôles sérieux, a un genre de voix qui est une des choses les plus extraordinaires qu'il soit possible d'entendre: une étendue incompréhensible, & surtout, une grande justesse. Elle chante dans le second acte de *Creso* un air de *Bravoura*, qui est de la plus sublime composition, & qui réunit de difficultés qu'aucun auteur n'auroit osé écrire, n'imaginant pas qu'il fut possible de les rendre. Elle a d'ailleurs, une figure agréable qui sera, surement, tres bien au théâtre; elle paroît avoir beaucoup de timidité, deffaut dont on pourra la corriger en la rassurant par les applaudissemens que surement elle méritera." (DT) *Journal Étranger* 8–10 (October–November 1777): 500 [149].

³⁵⁸ Lipowsky, *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon*, 38.

³⁵⁹ As Signora Danzi, now Madame Le Brun, had a voice well in tune, a good shake, great execution, a prodigious compass, and great knowledge of Music, with youth, and a face and figure far from disagreeable; it seems difficult to account for the little pleasure her performance afforded to persons accustomed to good Italian singing. However, the problem certainly admits of a solution, if it be considered, that the natural tone of her voice is not interesting; that she had never been in Italy, and had been constantly imitating the tone and difficulties of instruments; that her chief labour and ambition had been to surprise, concluding perhaps that wonder however excited includes pleasure; and forgetting that though an ounce of salt may make a soup or ragout sufficiently savoury, yet that two ounces will spoil it; in short, forgetting that she is not a bird in a bush or a cage, and that from a human figure, representing a princess or great personage, it is natural for an audience to expect human passions to be expressed in such tones, and with such art and energy, as will not degrade an individual of our own species, into a being of an inferior order." Burney, *A General History*, 4: 508–509. "Madame Le Brun's songs, except two, I [Susan Burney] cannot confess I recollect anything of, but I believe their Style was unmarked — for she cannot sing a Cantabile, wch prevents there being much variety in her airs — but one of the 2 I remember was a *chicherichi* song in the 2d Act — A Bravura composed purposely for her wch goes *up to the high*, & a very unpleasing one, I think. — Her Husband, who looks a conceited fop, gave the time & c when she sung, & the *composition* for ought I know might be his — I shd suspect her Rondeau in the last Act at least to be his as it is very French." (DT) Philip Olleson and Susanna Burney, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2016), 89.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 127–128.

that much of the public adored the flashy coloratura.³⁶¹

Two events marked 1780 as a significant year in Franziska Lebrun's life. First, the renowned English artist Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788) painted the famous prima donna, immortalizing her in the annals of art history.³⁶² Additionally, this same year saw her debut as a composer with the publication of a collection of six harpsichord and violin sonatas.³⁶³ These compositions were dedicated to Lady Louisa Clarges (1760–1809), a prominent figure in London's social circles, renowned for her musical talents as a singer and harpist.³⁶⁴ Lebrun's musical endeavors continued to flourish as she released a second set of sonatas in Mannheim in 1785.³⁶⁵ These sonata compilations, designed for amateur music enthusiasts, quickly gained popularity and were widely disseminated across Europe.³⁶⁶

The time Franziska Lebrun spent abroad significantly enhanced her reputation back home.³⁶⁷ Upon returning to Munich in 1782, she was acknowledged as one of the region's preeminent vocalists, celebrated for the singing style she had perfected.³⁶⁸ After 1784, the artistic duo traveled continuously, performing in Munich, Vienna, and prestigious musical centers throughout Italy.³⁶⁹ They only returned to Mannheim and Munich for the carnival season as stipulated in their contracts.³⁷⁰ This extensive itinerary

³⁶¹ “Cette célèbre Cantatrice, une des plus parfaite qui se soit jamais faire entendre au Concert Spirituel, a osé y défier un haut-bois dans un Concerto dialogué. Sa voix, non moins rapide que l'instrument, aussi juste dans ses intonnations, aussi hardie dans ses écarts, s'est élancée à la même hauteur, & y a battu la même cadence. Cet effort surnaturel de la voix lui a mérité du Public les applaudissemens les plus vifs & les plus bruyans.” (DT) Mathurin Roze de Chantoiseau, *Tablettes de Renommée des Musiciens, Auteurs, Compositeurs, Virtuoses....* (Paris: Cailleau, 1785), 28.

³⁶² For a comprehensive discussion of Gainsborough's life and his portrait of Franziska Lebrun, see Corneilson, 230–240. Surprisingly, he portrayed Lebrun in a manner that suggests an affiliation with elite society rather than emphasizing her identity as a singer. *Ibid.*, 236–237. Gainsborough employed a reversed representation in his portrait of Lady Clarges, refer to n. 363.

³⁶³ Like Maria Theresia Paradis, Franziska Lebrun and her brother Franz received composition lessons from the vice-kapellmeister Georg Vogler. Lipowsky, 40–41. Franziska Lebrun, *Sonates pour clavecin avec accompagnement d'un violon, op. 1* (London: James Blundell, 1780).

³⁶⁴ Lady Louisa Skrine Clarges was a talented singer and harpist who shared a close friendship with Susan Burney. Clarges is frequently referenced in Burney's correspondence. Moreover, Thomas Gainsborough produced a portrait of Clarges in 1778. Interestingly, while Gainsborough depicted the aristocratic Clarges as a musician playing the harp, he portrayed the musician Lebrun as a member of high society. Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 66, no. 4.

³⁶⁵ Franziska LeBrun, *Sonates pour clavecin ou piano forte avec accompagnement d'un violon*, op. 2 (Mannheim: Götz, 1785).

³⁶⁶ Corneilson, 227–228. The works of Francesca Lebrun are limited in number, yet they are expertly crafted in the Mannheim style and display a level of innovation that remains impressive even by today's standards. Lebrun's compositions exhibit a high level of technical proficiency, particularly evident in the complexity of her piano passages, indicating a formidable command of the instrument.

³⁶⁷ Pelker, “Franziska Lebrun.”

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ Corneilson, 228–229.

³⁷⁰ Pelker, “Franziska Lebrun;” Lipowsky, 40–41.

facilitated encounters with numerous prominent individuals, including Wolfgang and Leopold Mozart in 1785, whom the Lebruns encountered on multiple occasions.³⁷¹ However, the pinnacle of her career as a Germanic-born singer may have been her performances during the 1786–1787 season at Teatro San Carlo in Naples.³⁷²

With her reputation preceding her, Lebrun secured the coveted role of prima donna at the Royal Opera in Berlin in 1789.³⁷³ Her debut performance of Johann Reichardt’s opera *Brenno* captivated the audience, showcasing her vocal abilities and earning her another engagement for the following season.³⁷⁴ However, tragedy struck when her husband passed away unexpectedly due to liver inflammation shortly after they arrived in Berlin.³⁷⁵ The loss of Ludwig was a devastating blow to Franziska, and she never fully recovered from the grief.³⁷⁶ She passed away a few months later in Berlin at only 35, on May 14, 1791.³⁷⁷ Johann Reichardt praised Lebrun as one of the most exceptional vocalists in the Germanic territories.³⁷⁸ An epitaph befitting Franziska can be found in Felix Lipowsky’s lexicon: “Her life was a song; her death, the dissolution of harmony.”³⁷⁹

³⁷¹ “Auf den Abend aber ist dein Bruder in einem *Concert* beym *Graf Cizi*, wo h: *Le brun* und seine Frau sich das erste mahl *producieren*. [...] Freytag den 18^{ten} war tafel beym jüngern *Stephani*, wo niemand als wir 4, dann h: *Le brun*, seine Frau, der *Carl Cannabich* und ein geistlicher waren. [...] Dienstag den 22^{ten}. Heut frühe hab abermahl kletturzen thee genommen und bin erst um halbe 11 uhr aufgestanden. h: und *Md.^{me} Lebrun* waren bey uns bis halbe 2 uhr.” (DT) (Excerpt, Leopold’s letter to Maria Anna, February 21, 1785) (Transcription) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 848 (Vol. 3, pp. 374–377). I find it intriguing that despite their close acquaintance, there is no apparent record of Mozart composing any arias specifically for Franziska Lebrun’s voice, unlike other singers mentioned in this dissertation.

³⁷² As previously discussed, Italian opera exerted significant influence over the Germanic population. Even Frederick II held a dim view of German-born singers, initially refusing to hear Elisabeth Mara perform due to her German heritage and his belief that her singing style would be ill-suited for Italian opera. Burney, *Germany*, 1: 101–102; Bourke, “Frederick the Great,” 70–71. Lebrun’s success paved the way for German-born singers in Italy, an opportunity that Mara seized for a triumphant tour of Turin and Venice from 1788 to 1790. Riesemann, 593–596 and 609–613. Interestingly, Mara’s Italian tour occurred concurrently with Duchess Anna Amalia’s presence in Rome and Naples. Gerard, 2: 435–501.

³⁷³ In fact, Lebrun was the third choice for the 1790 carnival, as both Luisa Todi and Elisabeth Mara had canceled their appearances. Louis Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper und des königlichen Opernhauses in Berlin* (Berlin: Dunker and Humblot, 1852), 225, 232.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 234–236. King Frederick William III, who was playing the cello in the orchestra enjoyed Lebrun’s performance so much that he shouted “Bravo, bravo Madame Lebrun” from the stage. *Ibid.*, 234.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 241. Pelker, “Franziska Lebrun.”

³⁷⁶ Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper*, 241.

³⁷⁷ Lipowsky, 41.

³⁷⁸ “Wenn Mechanismus der Kunst die Größe des Künstlers bestimmt; wenn diese Größe in schwindlichter Höhe der Tonleiter, als zum Beyspiel im dreygestrichenen f, — in Fertigkeit der Läufe, in Sprüngen von der Tiefe in die Höhe, von der Höhe in die Tiefe — liegt: so ist Danzy eine der größten Sängerinnen von Deutschland.” (DT) Johann Reichardt, “Danzi (In Mannheim),” in *Musikalischer Almanach auf das Jahr 1782*, ed. by Karl Ludwig Junker (Alethinopel, 1782), 54 [10].

³⁷⁹ “Ihr Leben war ein Gesang; ihr Tod, die Auflösung einer Harmonie,” Lipowsky, 41. (Translation) Corneilson, 230.

Lebrun, Mara, and Todi

Lebrun rose to prominence as one of the most celebrated sopranos of the eighteenth century, although her legacy faded over time. Yet, during her lifetime, she commanded considerable esteem, with contemporaries frequently placing her on par with, or even superior to, renowned figures such as Luísa Todi and Elisabeth Mara.³⁸⁰ Lebrun's virtuosic embellishments were central to this reputation, enabling her to cultivate a highly individualized vocal style that distinguished her from her peers. Rather than engaging in direct competition, her inimitable technique functioned alongside those of other leading singers, contributing to a broader culture of stylistic plurality among elite performers.³⁸¹

Given their overlapping reputations, repertoires, and appearances within shared musical circuits, it is likely that Lebrun maintained at least an indirect acquaintance with Mara and Todi. Even in the absence of documented collaboration, their mutual visibility within transnational performance networks suggests a plausible sphere of recognition and potential connection. This form of indirect association is particularly significant within the framework of network analysis employed in this study. In the eighteenth-century musical world, professional recognition, shared repertory, and reputation often constituted meaningful ties, even without documented personal interaction. Lebrun's positioning alongside Mara and Todi thus reflects not only individual artistic achievement but also participation in a transnational community of elite female performers whose careers intersected through audiences, critics, and institutions rather than through sustained collaboration.

The network maps in Figures 2.14 through 2.17 illustrate these interconnections, revealing how shared performance venues, overlapping critical reception, and common patrons created webs of association that transcended direct personal contact. Such patterns underscore the necessity of expanding traditional definitions of 'connection' beyond documented correspondence or collaboration to encompass the reputational and professional proximities that shaped women's careers in this period.

³⁸⁰ Pelker, "Franziska Lebrun."

³⁸¹ "Ces étranges phénomènes n'ont pas empêché qu'on ne rendit hommage à la sagesse & à l'expression du chant de Mde Todi, surtout lorsque sa voix plaintive & tendre fait retentir au fond des cœurs le cri de la nature, & met en action tous les ressorts de l'ame. [...] M^{de} Todi & M^{de} le Brun, distinguées chacune dans un genre très-différent & presque opposé, soutiennent encore leur brillante réputation." *MF* (April 1779): 58, 180.

— Forming a minimal cluster

Upon analyzing the Gephi graphs in this section, a salient observation emerges: the wider network among professional musicians compared to the amateurs explored in Chapter 1. This contrast can be ascribed, at least in part, to the greater accessibility of source materials.³⁸² For instance, despite Luísa Todi displaying relatively few direct connections within the dataset, her associations with prominent music centers and peripheral benefactors are clearly delineated in Figure 2.14.

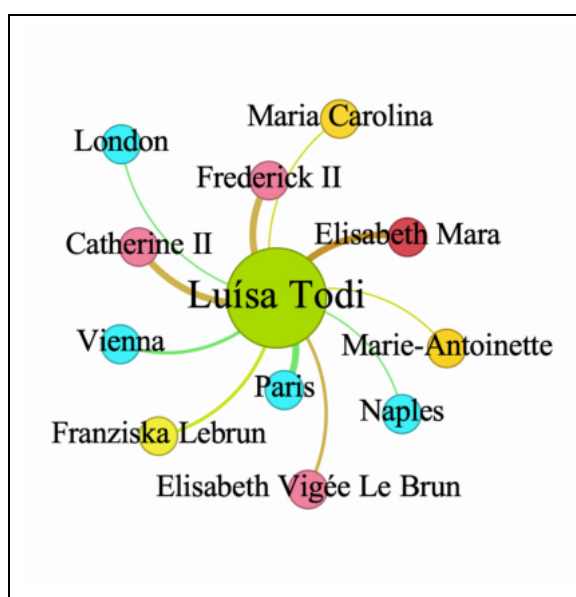


Fig. 2.14. Luísa Todi network

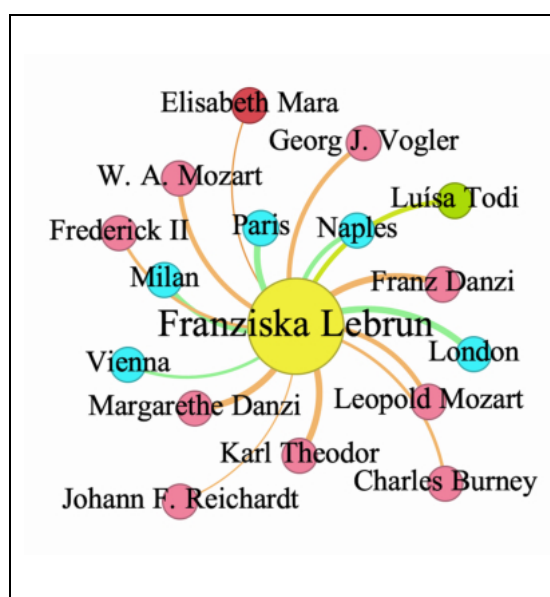


Fig. 2.15. Franziska Lebrun network

Compared with the extensive scholarly literature on internationally renowned figures such as Luísa Todi and Elisabeth Mara, the documentation on Franziska Lebrun remains relatively sparse. While it is plausible that Lebrun formed professional connections with musicians in cultural hubs like Paris, London, and Vienna, the precise nature and scope of these associations remain elusive, with only a few parallels drawn between her and Todi. Nevertheless, Figure 2.15 highlights Lebrun's significant ties to these major cities and influential figures of her era, shedding light on her role within the broader musical network.

Analysis of the interconnected networks in Figure 2.16 reveals that Todi maintained minimal engagement with the Weimar cluster. Todi's strongest documented connection in the database of female musicians is with Elisabeth Mara, underscoring a

³⁸² The available historical records documenting professional female musicians surpass those pertaining to amateurs, yet the extant sources for these same musicians remain notably scarce when compared with those available for their male counterparts.

relationship that aligns more with the dispersed, international networks described in Chapter 1 than with the dense, localized Weimar cluster.

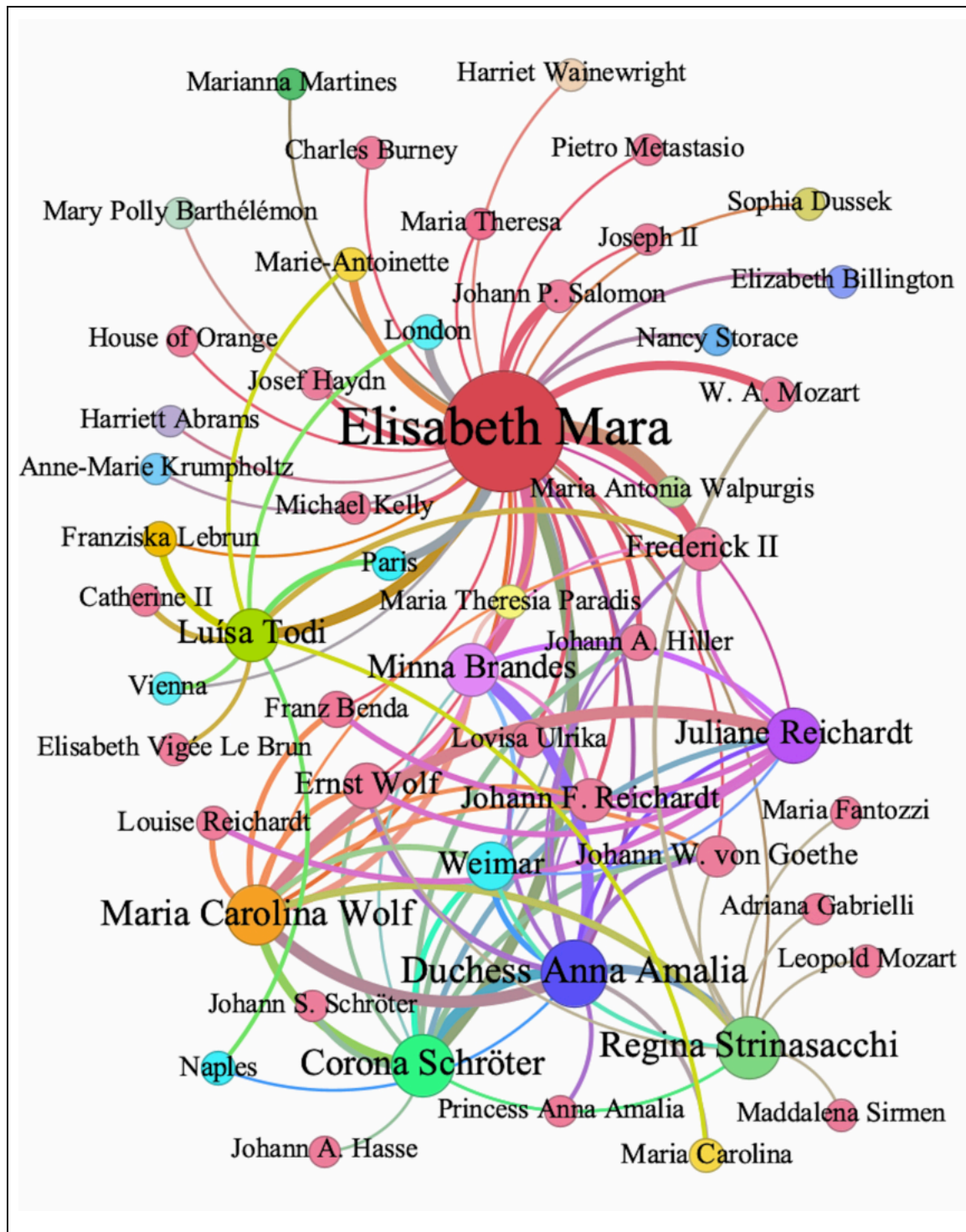


Fig. 2.16. Mara composite network with Luísa Todi

The introduction of Lebrun into the network in Figure 2.17 creates an adjacent cluster centered around Paris, emphasizing her significant connections within this key cultural center. This addition not only highlights Lebrun's influence but also further

integrates Todi into the broader network, illustrating how individual figures bridged distinct cultural and geographic spheres. The emergence of this Parisian cluster alongside the Weimar nexus reveals the multi-centered nature of professional musicians' networks, where distinct cultural capitals functioned as independent hubs rather than radiating from a single geographic focal point.

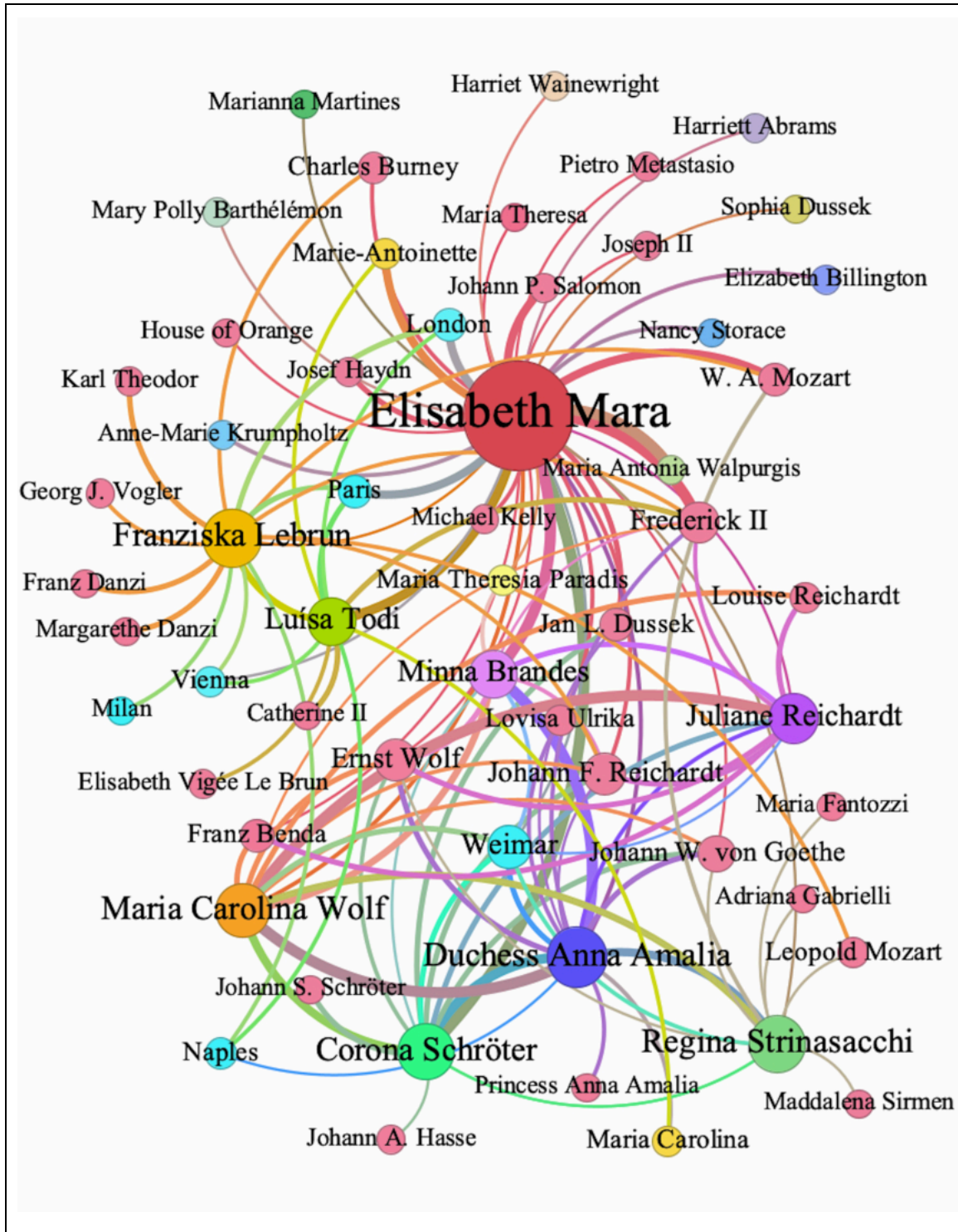


Fig. 2.17. Mara composite network with Franziska Lebrun

Bridge

Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, along with Elisabeth Mara, plays a crucial role in bridging this network's Paris and London branches, facilitating connections between the two locations. Moving forward, we will explore how the female musicians in London, previously only associated with Mara, are integrated into the network's framework.

2.9 Anne-Marie Steckler Krumpholtz (1766–1813)

Anne-Marie Steckler was born in Haute-Vigneulles, France, to luthier Christian Steckler (1746–1838) and Marie Baillon (c1726–n.d.).³⁸³ When she was four years old, the Steckler family relocated to Metz, where they frequently received visits from Anne-Marie's future teacher and eventual husband, harpist and composer Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz (1745–1790).³⁸⁴ While details of Anne-Marie's early education are limited, her innate talent for the harp was evident, prompting her formal musical training under Krumpholtz in 1776.³⁸⁵ A year later, Krumpholtz married Marguerite Gilbert (n.d.–1782), and the newlyweds moved to Paris, bringing along the ten-year-old harp prodigy to further enhance her skills.³⁸⁶ In Paris, the epicenter of the harp world,³⁸⁷ Anne-Marie thrived within a dynamic musical milieu, amplified by the presence of Queen Marie-Antoinette (1755–1793), an accomplished harpist herself.³⁸⁸

Even at a young age, Anne-Marie quickly established herself as a talented musician, earning a reputation as one of the most skilled harpists in Paris.³⁸⁹ At thirteen, she debuted at the Concert Spirituel in 1779, performing for Marie-Antoinette.³⁹⁰ Her performances continued to attract considerable admiration the following year, with publications such as *Mercure de France* and *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés* paying her

³⁸³ Henri Tribout de Morembert, "Anne-Marie Steckler: a virtuoso de la harpe au XVIIIe siècle," *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale de Metz* (1962): 133, 135. A luthier is a skilled artisan who specializes in the construction and maintenance of stringed instruments like guitars, violins, and harps.

³⁸⁴ Krumpholtz, on a two-year hiatus from his studies with Joseph Haydn at the Esterházy court, had temporarily settled in Metz. Alfons Zechner, "Der Harfenist Jean Baptiste Krumpholtz und seine Familie. Biografische Skizzen." Postgraduate research paper (Munich: Grin Verlag, 2020), 9–24.

³⁸⁵ Morembert, "Anne-Marie Steckler," 135.

³⁸⁶ Zechner, "Der Harfenist Jean Baptiste Krumpholtz und seine Familie," 24–25, 27. Little information is available about the marriage between the Krumpholtzes or the specifics of their agreement with the Steckler family regarding Anne-Marie's relocation to Paris.

³⁸⁷ Alfred Kastner, "The Harp," *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, no. 35 (1908): 1.

³⁸⁸ Zechner, 27; Nora Turriago, "The Harp," *Re-membering Marie Antoinette: An Online Exhibit* (2012).

³⁸⁹ Thomas Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians, Ancient and Modern*, 3 vols. (London: Clementi & Co. 1825), 2: 89.

³⁹⁰ Morembert, 135.

homage.³⁹¹ Steckler's return to Metz in 1781 for a series of five performances further solidified her acclaim, with critics declaring her extraordinary talent as a phenomenon deserving of celebration on the world stage.³⁹²

In 1783, Anne-Marie returned to the Concert Spirituel, impressing the audience with her musical prowess.³⁹³ Later that month, she married her teacher and guardian, Jean-Baptiste, who had recently lost his spouse.³⁹⁴ The newly-wed Mrs. Krumpholtz announced her upcoming benefit concert in the March 2nd issue of the *Journal de Paris*.³⁹⁵ Eight months later, when pregnant with her first child, the harpist performed a few smaller pieces at a Concert Spirituel on November 1.³⁹⁶ The *Mercure de France* reported that "M^{me} Krumpholtz-Stecler" aimed not to showcase her talent but to dispel the widespread prejudice that playing the harp was perilous for pregnant women.³⁹⁷ She emphasized the absence of danger even shortly before birth.³⁹⁸ However, she avoided a

³⁹¹ "Mlle. Steckler, élève de M. Krumpholtz, dont l'exécution prodigieuse éclipse celle du plus grand nombre de nos Maîtres de Harpe." *MF* (January 1780): 32; and "La Dlle. Steckler, née à Metz ; cette jeune enfant à peine âgée de 12 ans, que nous avons vû élevée chez le sieur *Gilbert*, Marchand Luthier en *Fournirue*, vient de faire les délices du *Concert Spirituel* de la Capitale. Les 8 & 25 du mois dernier, elle y a exécuté sur la harpe différens morceaux de la plus grande difficulté. L'accord de ses mains, la netteté & le brillant de ses *trils*, la sûreté et la hardiesse de son exécution, ont transporté d'admiration tous les Spectateurs. Quiconque s'intéresse aux talens, verra, avec plaisir, l'hommage que nous rendons à ceux de Mlle. *Steckler*." *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés* (January 13, 1780): 14.

³⁹² Morembert, 136. "Nous avons rendu compte dans les tems des applaudissemens universels qu'elle a mérités & obtenus au Concert Spirituel. Tous les Amateurs savent qu'au mérite de l'extrême difficulté vaincue, elle joint l'expression la plus agréable. Un talent aussi extraordinaire, aussi parfait dans un âge aussi tendre, est réellement un phénomène que tout le monde doit s'empresser d'accueillir. (DT) *ATÉ* (January 4, 1781): 2. "C'est précisément dans ces principes que la Dlle. *Steckler* paroît élevée. Si elle ne jouoit que de petits airs, elle ne seroit qu'une écolière, les exécutât — elle parfaitement. Il faut donc que marchant sur les traces des grands hommes dont aujourd'hui les noms seuls font l'éloge, elle s'attache singulièrement aux Concerto, aux Sonates & autres morceaux de ce genre, seuls capables de fixer à l'avenir la réputation dont elle commence à jouir. Si elle exécute à 15 ans les Concerto de *Krumpholtz*, que fera-t-elle à 20, à 25 ?" *ATÉ* (January 18, 1781): 19.

³⁹³ "Mlle *Stekler* a exécuté un Concerto de harpe, de la composition de M. *Krumpholtz*. Cette jeune Virtuose, qui joint de grâces infinies à une force, une netteté, une précision étonnante, donne une grande idée des talens de M. *Krumpholtz*, dont elle est l'Élève." *MF* (February 1783): 127–128.

³⁹⁴ Krumpholtz's first wife, Marguerite, passed away in September. Together, they had two children: Louise Françoise "Fanny" (1779–1862) and Pierre-Joseph Victor (1781–n.d.). Zechner, 31. It is worth noting that older publications, such as Fétis and Wurzbach, state Anne-Marie's maiden name as "Meyer," which may be confusing as it pertains to another German harpist, Nancy (c1750–n.d.). It seems that the inaccurate information was perpetuated by one author adopting it from another over an extended period without undergoing thorough verification. Zechner, 29–30; Morembert, 142. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie*, 5: 414; and Constantin von Wurzbach, ed., *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna: L.C. Zamarski, 1865), 13: 279.

³⁹⁵ *JP* (March 2, 1783): 256.

³⁹⁶ Zechner, 31.

³⁹⁷ "M^{me} Krumpholtz-Stecler [*sic*] a joué quelques petits airs variés sur la harpe, non pour faire connoître ses talens, dont elle a donné souvent de plus grandes preuves, mais pour détruire un préjugé répandu dans le Public contre cet instrument. Plusieurs Accoucheurs interdisent la harpe aux femmes enceintes." (DT) *MF* (November 1783): 132.

³⁹⁸ "M^{me} Krumpholtz, convaincue qu'elle n'est nullement dangereuse dans cet état, a voulu en donner une preuve publique en en jouant elle-même, quoiqu'au moment d'accoucher." *Ibid*.

large concert due to its taxing nature.³⁹⁹ Twenty-five days after the performance, Anne-Marie gave birth to Louis-Armand (1783–n.d.), followed by Charlotte-Esprit (1785–c1863) and Antoine-Philippe (1787–n.d.).⁴⁰⁰

In 1788, Anne-Marie caused a scandal when she left her husband in France and relocated to England, ostensibly accompanied by a young lover.⁴⁰¹ While several accounts suggest that Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812) was her paramour, this has recently been disputed since Dussek did not arrive in London until 1789, a year after Anne-Marie’s move.⁴⁰² Nevertheless, this intriguing scandal piqued my interest, particularly because Dussek married Sophia Corri (1775–1831), a key figure in my current research.⁴⁰³ Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz allegedly drowned himself in the Seine two years later,⁴⁰⁴ igniting speculation and blame that has persisted for centuries.⁴⁰⁵

Maintaining her married name, Anne-Marie Krumpholtz swiftly rose to fame in London.⁴⁰⁶ Her debut concert at the Hanover Square Rooms on April 14, 1788, marked a significant turning point in her career, propelling her to stardom.⁴⁰⁷ The event featured performances by artists such as opera star Elizabeth Billington (1765–1818) and successful concert soprano Harriet Abrams (1762–1821), presenting works by Mozart

³⁹⁹ “Seulement elle a craint qu’un grand Concerto ne la fatiguât trop, & elle n’a osé se permettre que des petits airs qui suffisoient à son objet.” Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Zechner, 31. There is no additional documentation available regarding the children Anne-Marie had with Jean-Baptiste.

⁴⁰¹ Morembert, 139. As there is no further mention of her children after their births, Morembert speculates about the possibility that they may have died in early childhood before Anne-Marie’s departure to England. Morembert, 140–141.

⁴⁰² Zechner, 42.

⁴⁰³ Sophia Corri Dussek’s profile sketch is provided later in this chapter for further reference and context.

⁴⁰⁴ The verdict of Krumpholtz’s alleged suicide has more recently been challenged. See Zechner, 49–50. Surprisingly, there is no mention of condemnation in any literature regarding Krumpholtz, who, being twenty years Anne-Marie’s senior, married the young woman who had been under his care since she was a child within a few months of his wife’s death.

⁴⁰⁵ Fétis, in 1839, and Wurzbach, 25 years later, suggest that Anne-Marie was seduced by a young man who took her to London. See Fétis, *Biographie Universelle*, 5: 414; and Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 13: 279. Henri Tribout de Morembert, in his 1962 biography of Anne-Marie, also mentions this account. (Morembert, 139). However, despite these claims, I have not been able to find any original source material to corroborate these rumors. Alfons Zechner’s comprehensive biography of Fanny Krumpholtz Pittar (Louise Françoise), her father Jean-Baptiste, and her stepmother Anne-Marie addresses all facets of these long-standing rumors, yet the results remain inconclusive. (Zechner, 36–45). Interestingly, Fanny’s harp composition, *Dedans mon petit Reduit*, dedicated to “The Memory of the late celebrated Madame Krumpholtz, by her Daughter Madlle. Krumpholtz,” suggests that Fanny held no resentment toward her stepmother. Ursula M. Rempel, “Fanny Krumpholtz Pittar,” in *WCMA*, 3: 264, no. 2.

⁴⁰⁶ Zechner, 54.

⁴⁰⁷ Lina Büngener, “Krumpholz, Anne-Marie.” (2010).

and Haydn.⁴⁰⁸ Oboist William Thomas Parke (1761–1847) chronicled one of Anne-Marie’s performances at Drury Lane the following year in his *Musical Memoirs*.

At the end of the first part I [Parke] executed a concerto on the oboe, and at the end of the second Madame Krumpholtz, from Paris, played, for the first time in England [*sic*], a concerto on the pedal harp, in which she evinced rapid execution, elegant taste and expression, and was loudly applauded.⁴⁰⁹

In 1790, Anne-Marie found herself at the home of Esther (Hetty)⁴¹⁰ with Susan Burney, Johann Salomon, and Sophia Corri’s family.⁴¹¹

Mad^e Krumpholtz exceeded all my expectations or ideas — I think greater *perfection* I never heard on any instrument — nor anything perhaps so heavenly as was the Adagio wth w^{ch} her Concerto began — the Music was Dussek’s — & the same in w^{ch} I had heard him at Giornovich’s benefit — but tho’ he played it wth a very fine & impassioned expression, Mad^e Krumpholtz rendered it a million of times more pathetic & more celestial the dying sounds — The effect of distance w^{ch} she is able to produce in her diminuendos, have an effect that I cannot describe — but w^{ch} seemed to lift me to another sphere — Her lesson was so universally wished to be repeated, that a murmured encore by degrees gathered strength — & she had the goodnature to comply with it — I w^d give a great deal indeed that you c^d have heard this Performance.⁴¹²

These concerts were just the beginning of a flurry of musical activity that would define Anne-Marie’s career throughout the 1790s.⁴¹³ Her active participation in performances alongside prominent figures such as Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815), Josef Haydn, and Jan Dussek in Salomon’s subscription concerts from 1791 to 1794 emphasizes her significance within the London musical milieu.⁴¹⁴ The *Oracle* notably

⁴⁰⁸ McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts*, [Krumpholtz — <Mme>Anne-Marie] (April 14, 1788). Additional information about these musicians and further insights into performances in London will be presented in the subsequent section.

⁴⁰⁹ William Thomas Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 2 vols. (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), 1: 120. As previously mentioned, Anne-Marie’s performance at Drury Lane was not her debut. In fact, it seems Parke overlooked that he participated in her inaugural performance at Hanover Square the preceding year. See McVeigh, [Krumpholtz — <Mme>Anne-Marie] linked in the previous citation.

⁴¹⁰ The same Hetty Burney who performed with young Gertrud Elisabeth Mara in 1760. See p. 96.

⁴¹¹ [Susan Burney’s journal, Sunday, March 28, 1790] Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, 243.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 243–244.

⁴¹³ For a complete list of her London performances, please refer to McVeigh, [Krumpholtz — <Mme>Anne-Marie].

⁴¹⁴ H. C. Robbins Landon and Joseph Haydn, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1955), 441–507.

highlighted Krumpholtz's ongoing success, solidifying her status as one of the most talented and sought-after performers of her time.⁴¹⁵ Beyond her solo presentations at these events, Anne-Marie was an integral member of a musical community that boasted other accomplished female musicians, including Harriett Abrams, Nancy Storace, Sophia Dussek, and Elisabeth Mara.⁴¹⁶

Anne-Marie found herself embroiled in a scandal once again when she engaged in a prolonged romantic relationship with Charles Sturt (1763–1812) in 1793, resulting in the birth of two children: Henry Charles Napier Sturt (1794–1864)⁴¹⁷ and Julie Napier Sturt (1798–1839).⁴¹⁸ The affair took a dramatic turn in 1801, as it came to a highly publicized climax following the revelation that Sturt's wife, Lady Mary Anne (n.d.–1854), had conceived a child through her own liaison with George Spencer, Marquis of Blandford (1766–1840).⁴¹⁹ Upon discovering his wife's infidelity with his close friend, Spencer, Sturt initiated legal proceedings against him, thereby bringing to light that Sturt himself was involved in a "state of avowed concubinage with a Madame Krumpholtz, a celebrated player on the harp."⁴²⁰ The notoriety stemming from this scandal, compounded by prior rumors of Anne-Marie's abandonment of her famous husband in Paris, likely contributed to the eclipse of her musical achievements in historical narratives.⁴²¹

Anne-Marie's final documented public appearance occurred during a performance of a Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787) opera at the King's Theatre on May 8, 1797.⁴²² Following this event, she shifted her focus to composing harp arrangements,

⁴¹⁵ "Madame Krumpholtz delighted everybody by the brilliancy of her Harp Concerto. — She is without doubt the first Player we have. — There is an additional charm in manner; that too is her own. — We should wish she might please highly, if we did not know that she certainly would." (Quoted) H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn*, 482,

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 441–507. This group of musicians collectively comprises a substantial portion of the subsequent section of this chapter, which examines the collaborative interactions among opera and concert performers in London.

⁴¹⁷ Not to be confused with Sturt's "legitimate" son Henry Charles Sturt (1795–1866) the following year. Zechner, 62.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 59–63.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁴²⁰ George Spencer Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, *Report of the Cause Between Charles Sturt ...* (London: J. Ridgway, 1801), 49.

⁴²¹ Even in contemporary times, as recently as 2019, Anne-Marie Steckler is a central figure in a novel where, although a work of fiction, the author intertwines the different aspects of her life, including the scandals detailed in Morembert's biography. Anne Villemin-Sicherman, *Rumeur 1789* (La Valette: Éditions du Palio, 2019).

⁴²² McVeigh, [Krumpholtz — <Mme>Anne-Marie]. Anne-Marie performed alongside the renowned violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755–1824), who was closely associated with Hélène de Montgeroult (1764–1836), another subject explored in this study. See Chapter 4.

including *The Favorite Air of Robin Adair* and *Somebody*, an air with variations.⁴²³ She also brokered the sale of Érard harps and continued to offer harp lessons until the end of her life.⁴²⁴ After the turn of the nineteenth century, in 1802, she was unequivocally described as “the first female harp player in the world” without any dispute.⁴²⁵ Her virtuosity and unmatched artistic expression received widespread admiration.⁴²⁶

Information regarding Anne-Marie’s activities post-1802, culminating in her death on November 15, 1813, is limited.⁴²⁷ The announcement of her demise appeared in *The European Magazine, and London Review*, indicating that she succumbed to an apoplectic fit at her residence on Upper Marylebone Street.⁴²⁸ Twelve years later, English composer Thomas Busby (1755–1838) composed a poignant tribute in her honor, underscoring Anne-Marie Krumpholtz’s profound impact in London.

Of all modern performers on the harp, no one has ever touched that instrument with such delicacy, or rendered it so eloquent and sentimental, as Madame Krumpholz. Other candidates for public favor have exhibited equal strength of finger, and have thrown into their execution as much rapidity and fire; but none have matched her in the province of expression. The melting tenderness with which, during one season of the oratorios, towards the end of the last century, her grace and pathos appealed to the hearts of her auditors, affected every one, and defied all rivalry. Her *andante* and *adagio* movements were so irresistibly pathetic, that they may be said to have caressed and won the soul. This lady, the wife and pupil of the distinguished harpist, J. B. Krumpholz, far transcended her husband and tutor, in the art of awakening the softer sensibilities; and, excellent as he and other masters may, in some respects, have been, seemed to prove, beyond dispute, that only female hands can draw from the harp all the exquisite and heart-thrilling expression of which that instrument is capable.⁴²⁹

⁴²³ Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, *The Favorite Air of Robin Adair* (London: Joseph Dale, 1803); and Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, *Somebody* (London: R. Birchall, n.d.).

⁴²⁴ Zechner, 64–66.

⁴²⁵ “Mad. Krumbholz, Witwe des berühmten Harfenkomponisten dieses Namens, ohne allen Streit die erste Harfenspielerin der Welt.” *AMZ* 5 (December 15, 1802): 200. (Anthology) (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1803), 200.

⁴²⁶ “Es ist kaum zu begreifen, was sie auf ihrem Instrumente für Schwierigkeiten spielend überwindet: doch darin kommen ihr vielleicht Andere bey; aber ihre Behandlung der Harfe im Zarten und Sanften, wo ihre Finger die Saiten in der grössten Fertigkeit nur wie ein leiser Wind berühren, wo sie gebundene Sätze des Andante so herrlich vorträgt — der Himmel mag wissen, wie sie das zwingt — darin ist sie gewiss einzig. Die Krumbholzischen Konzerte für die Harfe sind bekannt und gehören unter die besten, die für dies Instrument geschrieben sind.” (DT) Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Brief information regarding her death and estate is available in Zechner, 66–67.

⁴²⁸ *The European Magazine, and London Review* 64 (November 1813): 466. An apoplectic fit, also known as apoplexy, refers to a sudden loss of consciousness resulting from a burst blood vessel in the brain, typically causing a stroke.

⁴²⁹ Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes of Music and Musicians*, 2: 89–90.

Krumpholtz, Todi, Lebrun, and Mara

Anne-Marie Krumpholtz's debut in Paris coincided with Franziska Lebrun's return to the city in 1779. While there is no evidence that the two performed together, they each contributed significantly to the musical community. Krumpholtz was a young prodigy, while Lebrun was already well-known for her unique style. Moreover, Krumpholtz had recently returned to the Concert Spirituel just before the Maratistas-Todistas explosion, performing both before and after the operatic stars. In the vibrant musical scene of Paris, all four female musicians were likely aware of one another, potentially fostering connections even if they did not collaborate directly.⁴³⁰

Krumpholtz and Mara

At present, no empirical evidence exists to support the joint artistic endeavors of Krumpholtz and Mara in Paris. Nonetheless, the duo participated in nine of London's twelve Salomon Symphonies subscription concerts.⁴³¹ The forthcoming section will delve into this particular collaboration and illuminate the roles of female musicians who have thus far occupied the peripheries of the music network and remain largely unexplored. These women are poised to form a closely-knit community within the network.

— Forming a second cluster

Anne-Marie Krumpholtz established significant connections with numerous female musicians examined in this research, thereby creating a pivotal link between the music networks of Paris and London. In Figure 2.18, however, Krumpholtz has far fewer links with patrons than previous musicians. The emphasis on primary connections, represented by denser edges and proximity to the central figure, is noteworthy. These relational dynamics will be further elucidated through an analysis of the female musicians in London.

This shift from patron-heavy to musician-centered connections highlights Krumpholtz's distinctive role within the network: rather than relying on aristocratic

⁴³⁰ The music enthusiasts in Paris were profoundly devoted to the Concert Spirituel performers. Wilcox, "The Music Libraries of the Concert Spirituel: Canons," 17.

⁴³¹ See Susan M. Holman, "London Performances," Cross-referencing database. The link and access updates are located in the bibliography.

support to anchor her position, she functioned primarily as a connector between professional peers. Her network structure thus exemplifies how touring musicians created lateral ties across geographic boundaries, bridging otherwise separate cultural spheres through shared performance circuits and professional relationships.

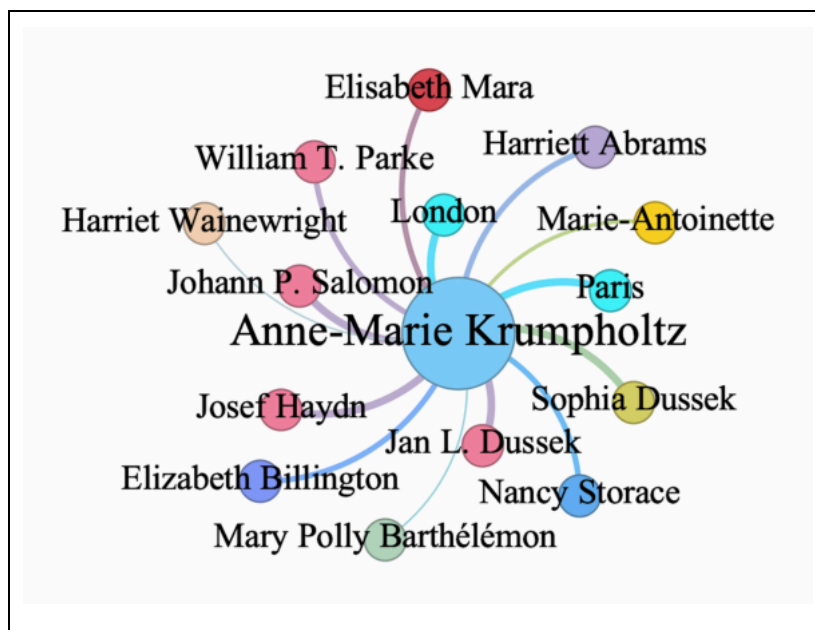


Fig. 2.18. Anne-Marie Krumpholtz network

Two distinct clusters emerge after integrating Krumpholtz into Mara’s network (Figure 2.19), featuring Duchess Anna Amalia’s intricate circle in Weimar and the Concert Spirituel performers in a loose circle with Elisabeth Mara. The final map in this series presents an increasingly intriguing scenario as six female musicians, previously seen on the fringes, are now integrated into the network, joining the Mara and Krumpholtz clusters. Additionally, secondary and potential links are becoming increasingly apparent, intertwining the Paris and London nodes. As the chapter progresses, these interconnections will strengthen further.

Interestingly, Marianna Martines, once the central figure in Chapter 1, now occupies a more peripheral position within the network, connected only through a potential link to Elisabeth Mara. This shift underscores the dynamic and multifaceted nature of network mapping, where an individual’s prominence can fluctuate depending on the specific criteria or context under examination. These transformations emphasize the fluidity of mapping historical networks, illustrating how relationship research is not static but evolves as further information is uncovered.

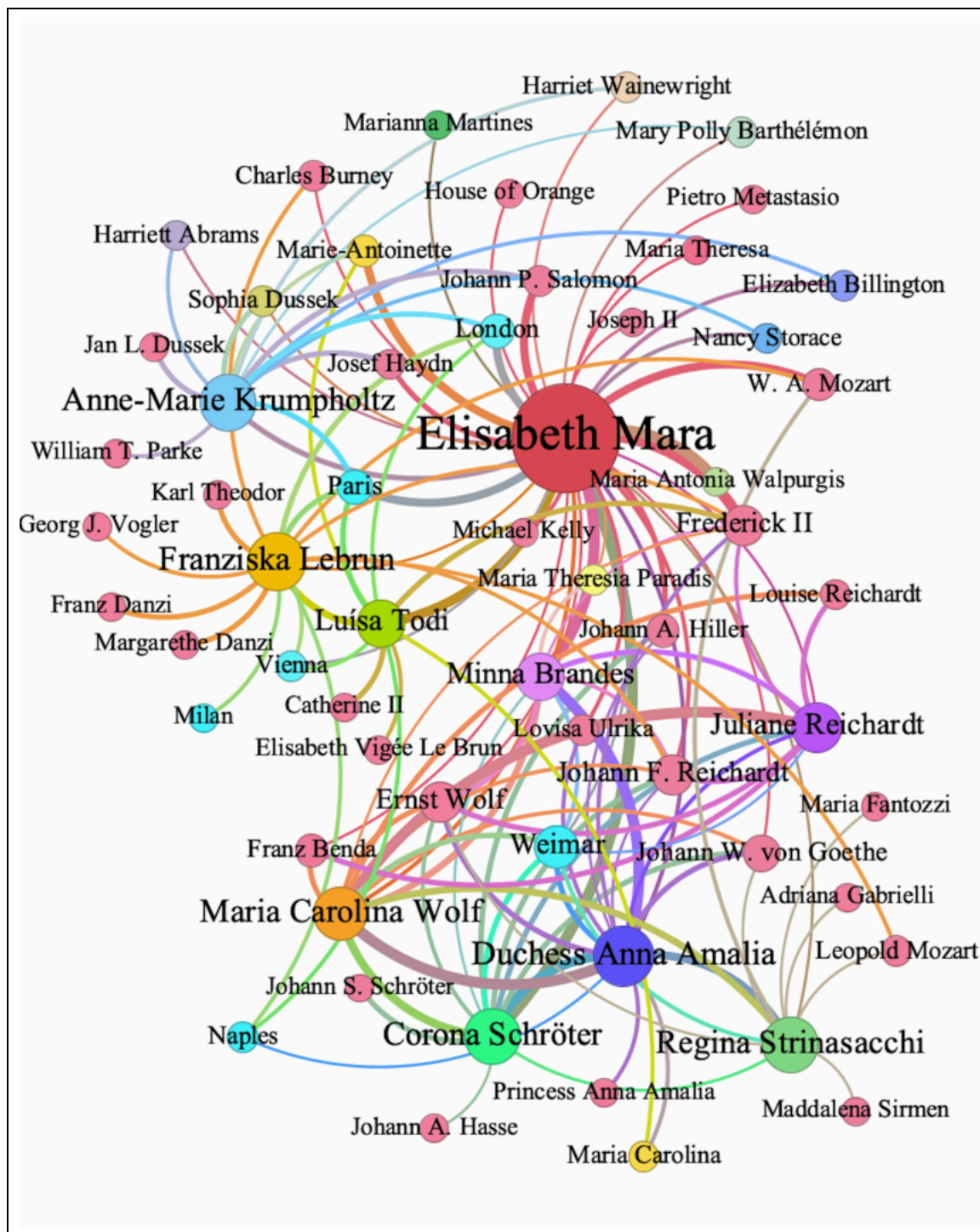


Fig. 2.19. Mara composite network with Anne-Marie Krumpholtz

Krumpholtz's role as a bridge between Paris and London exemplifies how individual musicians could serve as crucial connective tissue between otherwise distinct geographical clusters. Her integration into the network demonstrates that connectivity itself—rather than fame or extensive patronage—could constitute a form of influence within these professional communities.

D. London—Storace, Billington, Abrams, Barthélémon, Dussek,
Wainewright—*primary, secondary, potential*

London is probably the worst place in the world for an artist who has not been signed, who is not already expected and eagerly awaited. Anyone who goes there on his own initiative without a great reputation (no matter how great the talent) must spend 6 months there in order to become known, that is, to get protection.⁴³²

—*Gertrud Elisabeth Mara*

The latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed a vibrant musical scene in London, as evidenced by Simon McVeigh’s extensive database documenting over 4,000 concerts advertised in London newspapers.⁴³³ Although Luísa Todi’s London endeavors encountered limited success,⁴³⁴ the city’s vibrant musical environment offered ample opportunities for other notable female musicians to showcase their talents.⁴³⁵ The Hanover Square Rooms is a prime example.

To the MUSICAL WORLD

London, Dec. 27, 1790.

By a letter just received, on my arrival in Town, from Mr. SALOMON, I am authorized to lay before the Publick an Advertisement, written by Mr. Salomon, at Vienna, which he desires may be immediately inserted in the English Newspapers.

JOHN BAPTIST MARA.

Mr. SALOMON having taken a Journey to Vienna purposely to engage the celebrated HAYDN, Chapel-Master to his present Highness Prince ESTERHAZY, to come to England, most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that he has actually signed an agreement with Mr. Haydn; in consequence, they are to set out together from Vienna in a few Days, and hope to be in London before the end of December when Mr. Salomon will have the honour of submitting to the Publick a Plan of a

⁴³² “London is wohl der schlechteste Ort in der Welt für einen Künstler, welcher nicht verschrieben ist, welchen man nicht schon voraus erwartet und darauf gespannt ist. Wer ohne einen grossen Ruf zu haben auf seine eigene Hand dahin geht (wenn das Talent auch noch so gross ist), der muss 3 auch wohl 6 Monathe daselbst zubringen, um bekannt zu werden, das heisst, Protection zu bekommen.” (DT) Riesemann, 513. (Translated) DeepL, March 6, 2024. In 1759, Elisabeth Mara initially captivated London audiences as a child prodigy, yet it was not until 1784 that she returned triumphantly as a star. *Ibid.*, 580–582.

⁴³³ See McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*.

⁴³⁴ Todi’s lack of success in London is underscored by the absence of any record of her in Simon McVeigh’s database.

⁴³⁵ A.J. Gustar, “Eighteenth Century London Concerts: 3–Concert Venues” in *Statistics in Historical Musicology* (10th September, 2020).

Subscription Concert, which he flatters himself will meet with its
Approbation and Encouragement.
Vienna, Dec. 9, 1790.⁴³⁶

This momentous announcement heralded the beginning of a fruitful musical collaboration.⁴³⁷ Johann Salomon, an impresario, violinist, and composer, successfully arranged for the renowned Austrian composer Joseph Haydn to visit London, a development with promising outcomes for all parties involved.⁴³⁸ Salomon orchestrated a series of highly anticipated subscription concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, showcasing Haydn's latest works, including his acclaimed twelve London Symphonies.⁴³⁹ This series, often dubbed the Salomon Symphonies, epitomized Haydn's symphonic repertoire and was presented in a setting featuring prominent female musicians of the era during their tenure in London.⁴⁴⁰

Beyond the Hanover Square Rooms, several other performance venues in London, including the Haymarket Theatre, Drury Lane, and the Tottenham Street Rooms, played a significant role in facilitating connections among the ten female musicians depicted in Figure 2.20.⁴⁴¹ Leveraging McVeigh's database, I cross-referenced the musicians and their concert appearances, generating a Gephi graph that illustrates the intricate network of concerts in which they performed.⁴⁴² The graph effectively captures the relationships established through collaborative concert performances, with larger nodes indicating a higher degree of connections and thicker edges reflecting a greater frequency of joint concerts.

While Mara's quote at the opening of this section emphasizes the challenges of

⁴³⁶ Printed in the *Morning Chronicle*, January 1, 1791. (Quoted) Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1955), 436–437.

⁴³⁷ See H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works. 3: Haydn in England 1791–1795* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).

⁴³⁸ Haydn himself received a total sum of thirteen hundred pounds, far surpassing his expectations. Geiringer, *Haydn: A Creative Life in Music*, 97.

⁴³⁹ For a detailed analysis of the compositions. see Landon, *The Symphonies*, 552–593. The symphonies composed during this period represent some of Haydn's finest work in the genre and played a significant role in the development of the symphony form. They are considered masterpieces of classical music and are still performed and appreciated today. Landon, *Haydn in England 1791–1795*, 3: 501–504.

⁴⁴⁰ Landon, *The Symphonies*, 435–551.

⁴⁴¹ Gustar, "Eighteenth Century London Concerts: 3–Concert Venues." For a comprehensive examination of the rival subscription concerts, including insights into their venues, management, and performers, see Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783–1793," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no. 22 (1989): 1–135.

⁴⁴² See Holman, "London Performances," Cross-referencing database. It is intriguing that McVeigh omits Sophia Corri's debut opera performance at the Hanover Square Rooms. This connection will be further explored in her profile sketch, as it links the singer with the composer, Harriet Wainwright (c1766–1843).

breaking into London’s musical establishment, the network visualization reveals that once established, female musicians benefited from a remarkably interconnected performance ecosystem.

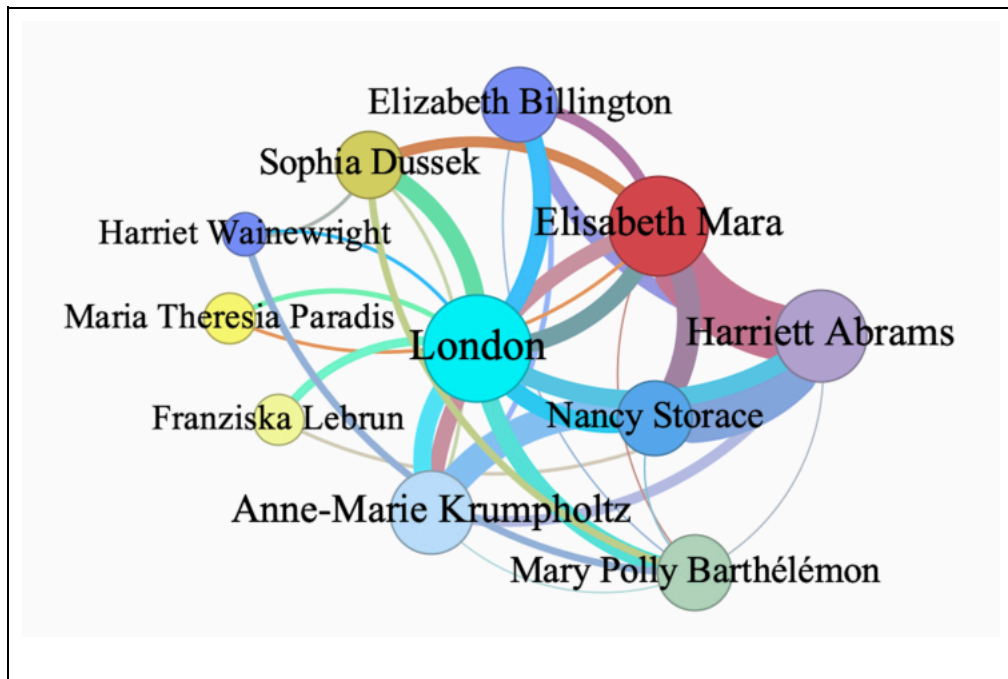


Fig. 2.20. London performance connections

The density of shared concert appearances among these ten women suggests that London's commercial concert culture, despite its initial barriers, fostered more systematic professional collaboration among female performers than the salon-based networks of Vienna or the court-centered world of Weimar. With this foundation in place, let us consider two female opera stars often associated with Elisabeth Mara: Nancy Storage and Elizabeth Billington.

2.10 Nancy Storace (1765–1817)

At the play “The Deuce is in Him.” The Royal Family there, and when Signora Storace sang “God Save the King,” I do believe half the audience shed tears, as her manner, voice, and action was beyond anything one could imagine.⁴⁴³

—*Caroline Powys*

⁴⁴³ An entry in the diary of Caroline Girel Powys (1736–1817) on January 3, 1797. Caroline Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, ed. by Emily J. Climenson (London: Longmans, Green, 1899), 294.

During the eighteenth century, London's pleasure gardens emerged as havens from the bustle of urban life, offering an eclectic mix of entertainment, from fireworks displays and animal combats to musical performances and theatrical productions.⁴⁴⁴ Among these venues, the Marylebone Gardens held a prominent position, shaping the early years of Anna Selina "Nancy" Storace's childhood.⁴⁴⁵ Her father, Stefano Storace (1725–1781), a composer and professional double bass player, organized musical events in the garden and married Elizabeth Trusler (n.d.), who was employed as the pastry chef alongside her father, John, the garden's proprietor.⁴⁴⁶

Nancy and her elder brother Stephen (1762–1796) exhibited early signs of musical prowess and were afforded a comprehensive musical education: Stephen in composition and conducting, and Nancy in vocal performance.⁴⁴⁷ Michael Kelly declared, "Nancy, the only daughter, could play and sing at sight as early as eight years old; she evinced an extraordinary genius for music, and Stephen the son, for *everything!*"⁴⁴⁸ Their upbringing fostered a deep bond, with Stephen composing many of the operatic hits that would define his sister's illustrious career.⁴⁴⁹ Their formative years were also enriched by the company of esteemed musicians, including the renowned husband-and-wife duo violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélémon (1741–1808) and lead singer Mary Polly Young Barthélémon (1749–1799).⁴⁵⁰

Stefano Storace initiated Nancy's career at the age of eight, arranging her debut performance alongside his colleague, violinist Nicolás Ximénez Brufal (1742–c1791) at the Martin's Long Rooms in the seaside town of Southampton in 1773.⁴⁵¹ The success

⁴⁴⁴ Melanie Doderer-Winkler, *Magnificent Entertainments: Temporary Architecture for Georgian Festivals* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 2–4.

⁴⁴⁵ Betty Matthews, "The Childhood of Nancy Storace," *The Musical Times* 110, no. 1517 (1969): 733.

⁴⁴⁶ Mollie Sands, *The Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens of Marylebone, 1737–177* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), 25.

⁴⁴⁷ Melanie Unseld, "Nancy Storace," *MUGI*, 2006 (updated 2018). Although Stefano went by the Anglicized name of Stephen, I will refer to him as Stefano to avoid any confusion with his son Stephen. Additionally, throughout Nancy Storace's profile, I will refer to her as Nancy to also avoid any confusion with her brother, who is frequently mentioned.

⁴⁴⁸ Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 97.

⁴⁴⁹ Emmanuelle Pesque, *Nancy Storace, muse de Mozart et de Haydn* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2017), 18. While Nancy Storace has been featured in several articles, frequently due to her connection with Mozart, Emmanuelle Pesque's biography is the most comprehensive account of the singer's life to date, particularly outside of the context of Mozart and Vienna. In this work, the author offers fresh insights and endeavors to rectify any inaccuracies or omissions that may have occurred in previous attempts to document Storace's life and career. *Ibid.*, 1–15.

⁴⁵⁰ Sands, *The Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens of Marylebone*, 80–81. Mary Polly Barthélémon's life and connections will be explored later in this chapter.

⁴⁵¹ Pesque, *Nancy Storace, muse de Mozart et de Haydn*, 29.

achieved through a series of subsequent concerts sparked discussions among several leading women in society about organizing a benefit performance for Nancy.⁴⁵² The sudden surge in popularity for his young daughter caught Stefano off guard, disrupting his carefully laid plans.⁴⁵³ Consequently, he left the child alone in Southampton for the benefit concert while attending to his professional commitments in Worcester, where he performed at the Three Choirs Festival.⁴⁵⁴ Nancy reunited with her father at the annual Salisbury Music Festival a few weeks later.⁴⁵⁵

Following Nancy's initial success, Stefano facilitated her transition to the London stage and ensured she received superior instruction.⁴⁵⁶ In 1774, he orchestrated Nancy's debut at the Haymarket Theatre, and the following year, he engaged the renowned soprano Venanzio Rauzzini (1746–1810) to oversee her musical education.⁴⁵⁷ Rauzzini, known for his expertise in vocal training,⁴⁵⁸ shared connections with three individuals who would become integral to Nancy's life: tenor Michael Kelly, her future lover John Braham (1774–1857), and Elisabeth Mara.⁴⁵⁹ Nancy's rapid progress in her musical

⁴⁵² Ibid. A benefit concert is a special performance where the proceeds are donated by the theatre to support a specific individual such as an actor, author, or musician. The beneficiary takes charge of organizing the entire event, including selecting the program, selling tickets, and managing publicity. Typically, the theatre deducts the cost of venue rental from the proceeds before turning over the remainder to the beneficiary. In some cases, performers may choose to donate their talents to support their colleagues by performing without compensation.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. Before he left, Stefano inserted an advertisement into the local newspaper. "Mr. Storace (ever thankful and ready to oblige the Public, particularly those Ladies and Gentlemen who have taken notice of his Child, and have encouraged her to have a Benefit) hopes, by his Absence (Being obliged to go to Worcester Music-Meeting), his Child will find Protection from the Nobility and Gentry to whom she will respectfully pay her Devoirs at their several Habitations." *Southampton Hampshire Chronicle*, vol. II, no. 56 (September 13, 1773). (Quoted) Betty Matthews, "The Childhood of Nancy Storace," col. 734. Today, the act of a father leaving a child, particularly a girl, in such circumstances would undoubtedly raise significant concerns about his parenting capabilities. However, as Emmanuelle Pesque aptly points out, such a strategy was not uncommon within the economic context of the era. (Pesque, 30). In a society where families often relied on various members to contribute financially, including children, and where opportunities for professional advancement were limited, decisions like Stefano's to leave Nancy alone for performances were sometimes made out of necessity rather than neglect. Understanding the historical context helps illuminate why such actions, while seemingly unconventional by today's standards, were more accepted in the past. See Hugh Cunningham, "Combating Child Labour: The British Experience" in *Child Labour in Historical Perspective 1800–1985: Case Studies from Europe, Japan and Colombia*, ed. by Hugh Cunningham and Pier Paolo Viazzo (Florence: International Child Development Centre, 1996), 41–55. *The Three Choirs Festival is widely regarded as the oldest classical music festival in existence. Its origins can be traced back to at least 1715, which marks the establishment of the festival's Music Meetings. However, it was not until 1838, during the Gloucester Music Meeting, that the festival adopted its current title, "Three Choirs Festival." Since then, the festival has persisted through the centuries and continues to thrive to this day. See the Three Choirs Festival website link in the bibliography.

⁴⁵⁵ Matthews, "Nancy Storace," col. 734.

⁴⁵⁶ Pesque, 32.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Paul F. Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain* (University of Rochester Press, 2015), 192.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 157, 180, 184.

education led to her first operatic role in 1776, at the age of twelve, when she performed alongside Rauzzini in his production of *Le Ali d'Amore*.⁴⁶⁰

The subsequent year marked Rauzzini's final performance in London, prompting Nancy to commence music lessons under Antonio Sacchini.⁴⁶¹ Despite this new development, her relationship with Rauzzini remained close.⁴⁶² In 1778, he helped organize a benefit concert for Nancy at the New Rooms on Tottenham Street, with music composed by both of her mentors.⁴⁶³ The objective of the benefit was to raise funds for Nancy's upcoming journey to Italy, where she planned to further her vocal studies.⁴⁶⁴ Her brother, Stephen, was already studying at the Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio in Naples, a prestigious institution where their father had also undergone musical training during his youth.⁴⁶⁵

Thus, Nancy Storace, just 13 or 14 years old, began her stage career in Italy. The Storace family joined Stephen in Naples, where Nancy performed in oratorios at the Teatro di San Carlo during the Lenten season.⁴⁶⁶ The family later relocated to Florence, where Nancy secured the "seconda donna" position at the Teatro della Pergola in 1779.⁴⁶⁷ Regrettably, her immaturity and hubris led her to upstage the eminent castrato, Luigi Marchesi (1754–1829), resulting in her dismissal from the theatre.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 54–55.

⁴⁶¹ Pesque, 35. For potential insights into why Rauzzini withdrew from the opera scene in London, see Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain*, 69–72.

⁴⁶² Rice, *Venanzio*, 238, 280.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 72, 88–89.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 88. Rauzzini showed a keen interest in Nancy's career and supported her parent's decision to take her to Italy for advanced education. Ibid., 184.

⁴⁶⁵ V. E. Chancellor, "Nancy Storace: Mozart's Susanna," *The Opera Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (July 1990), 105; and Pesque, 18. The Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio was a venerable institution in Naples, Italy, established in the 16th century. Although it functioned as an orphanage where children received education and training in various disciplines, it served primarily as a music school. Throughout its history, the conservatory boasted a roster of illustrious alumni, including renowned composers and musicians such as Alessandro Scarlatti, Giovanni Paisiello, Antonio Sacchini, and Nicola Porpora. In 1806, all four of the music institutions in Naples were amalgamated into the Real Collegio di Musica, later evolving into the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella. This institution continues to be one of the leading conservatories in Italy, renowned for its excellence in music education and for nurturing talented musicians and composers. See Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella. Moreover, the Conservatorio Museo preserves a rich heritage, including the arias presented by Marianna Martines to Queen Maria Carolina.

⁴⁶⁶ Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 97.

⁴⁶⁷ Patricia Lewy Gidwitz and Betty Matthews, "Storace Nancy," in *The Grove Book of Opera Singers*, ed. by Laura Macy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 469. "She was very well liked, and afterward went to Florence, where the celebrated soprano singer, Marchesi [a castrato] was engaged at the Pergola theatre. He was then in his prime, and attracted not only all Florence, but I may say all Tuscany. Storace was engaged to sing second woman in his operas; and to the following circumstance, well known all over the Continent, did she owe her sudden elevation in her profession." Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 97–98.

⁴⁶⁸ Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 98.

Bianchi had composed the celebrated cavatina “Sembianza amabile del mio bel sole,” which Marchesi sung with most ravishing taste; in one passage he ran up a voletta of semitone octaves, the last note of which he gave with such exquisite power and strength, that it was ever after called “La Bomba di Marchesi!” Immediately after this song, Storace had to sing one, and was determined to show the audience that she could bring a bomba into the field also. She attempted it, and executed it, to the admiration and astonishment of the audience, but to the dismay of poor Marchesi. Campigli, the manager, requested her to discontinue it, but she peremptorily refused, saying, that she had as good a right to shew the power of her bomba as anybody else. The contention was brought to a close, by Marchesi’s declaring, that if she did not leave the theatre, *he* would; and unjust as it was, the manager was obliged to dismiss her, and engage another lady, who was not so ambitious of exhibiting a bomba.⁴⁶⁹

Between 1780 and 1783, their Italian tour took the Storaces to Lucca, Parma, and Milan, where they were honored and celebrated, further elevating Nancy’s fame and fortune.⁴⁷⁰ Notably, Nancy gave a benefit concert in Venice, believed to be among the first of its kind in the city, which led to a considerable influx of monetary contributions and valuable gifts.⁴⁷¹ Nancy met Michael Kelly in Leghorn, an encounter that would ignite a lifelong friendship.⁴⁷² While the two were performing in Venice, Count Giacomo Durazzo (1717–1794), a talent agent scouting for the imperial court in Vienna, negotiated lucrative contracts for both Nancy and Kelly to join Emperor Joseph II’s newly established Italian opera company.⁴⁷³ Nancy rapidly endeared herself to audiences in Vienna, becoming the star of the Italian ensemble.⁴⁷⁴ On April 22, 1783, Count Zinzendorf noted in his diary that Nancy had a “joyful figure, voluptuous, beautiful eyes, white neck, fresh mouth, beautiful skin, the naivety and petulance of childhood, sings like an angel.”⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Chancellor, “Nancy Storace: Mozart’s Susanna,” 106

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Kelly extensively chronicles Nancy’s life and shares anecdotes from their time together in both volumes of Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly* and Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ed. by Roger Fiske. *The British traditionally referred to Livorno, an Italian port city in Tuscany, as Leghorn.

⁴⁷³ Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 193–194; Macy, *The Grove Book of Opera Singers*, 469–470; and Karl Geiringer and Irene Geiringer, “Stephen und Nancy Storace in Wien,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 34, no. 1 (1979): 18–19.

⁴⁷⁴ Lorenzo da Ponte, *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, tr. by Elisabeth Abbott, ed. by Arthur Livingston (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott, 1959), 137.

⁴⁷⁵ “Joi figure, voluptueux, beaux yeux, cou blanc, bouche fraiche, belle peu, la naiveté et la pétulance de l’enfance, chante comme un ange.” (Quoted) Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, *Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor: ungedruckte Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Kinderjahren des Burgtheaters*, ed. by Rudolf Payer von Thurn (Wien: L Heidrich, 1920), 36.

While on her Italian tour, Nancy's father, Stefano, passed away, leaving her mother to assume responsibility for the singer's career.⁴⁷⁶ Consequently, in 1784, to ensure a social safety net for her daughter, Mrs. Storace urged Nancy to marry the wealthy violinist and composer John Abraham Fisher (1744–1806) in Vienna, even though he was twice her age.⁴⁷⁷ The marriage was a disaster from its onset.⁴⁷⁸ Fisher's aggressive and abusive behavior toward his young wife was so egregious that the Emperor intervened, decreeing Fisher's exile from Vienna.⁴⁷⁹ Nancy adopted her married surname for only a short time, a detail unearthed solely in the draft of Mozart's unfinished opera *Lo sposo deluso*; otherwise, she used her maiden name.⁴⁸⁰

1785 proved to be tumultuous for Nancy, beginning with her being in the advanced stages of pregnancy.⁴⁸¹ Despite her physical condition, she appeared in Giuseppe Sarti's (1729–1802) *Le gelosie villane* on January 17 and christened her daughter, Maria Anna, on January 30, shortly before her husband's expulsion from Vienna.⁴⁸² Nancy resumed work several months later, but her health deteriorated, culminating in a severe vocal crisis while performing in her brother's *Gli sposi*

⁴⁷⁶ Chancellor, 106. Although the specifics of Stefano's death are unknown, in 1784, the *European Magazine* referred to Stefano as the "late Stephen Storace so well known for his performance on the double Bass for many years in this kingdom." *EMLR* 6 (August 1784): 136.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ "It was very little known that she [Nancy] had been married at Vienna, to one Fisher, a doctor of music, and player on the fiddle. The ceremony was performed by a protestant German clergyman in the chapel of the Dutch ambassador. Prince Adam Auersperg and myself led the bride to the altar, and our minister Sir Robert Keith (whose proxy I had been) gave the wedding dinner, but the union was productive of so little happiness, that a separation soon took place, she never bore his name, and Dr. Fisher was heard of no more." Robert Mount Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscence of an Old Amateur*, 2nd ed. (London: G. Clark, 1827), 65–66.

⁴⁷⁹ "The harmonious Doctor, however, (who by the by was a very ugly Christian) laid siege to poor Nancy Storace, and by dint of perseverance with her, and drink teach with her mother, prevailed upon her to take him for better for worse, which she did in despite of the advice of all her friends; she had cause, however, in a short time to repent of her bargain, for instead of harmony, there was nothing but discord between them, and it was said he had a very striking way of enforcing his opinion, of which a friend of her's informed the Emperor, who intimated to him, that it would be fit for him to try a change of air, and so the Doctor was banished from Vienna." Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 232.

⁴⁸⁰ Holger Mario Stüwe, *Lo sposo deluso, Kritischer Bericht*, Serie II: Bühnenwerke: NMA II/5/14 (*NME*, 2005).

⁴⁸¹ Dorothea Link, "Nancy Storace's Annus Horribilis, 1785," *Mozart Society of America Newsletter* 18, no. 1 (January 27, 2014): 3. There is no indication of any further pregnancies for Nancy Storace beyond the birth of her daughter. See Unseld, "Nancy Storace."

⁴⁸² Ibid., 3–4.

malcontenti in June 1785.⁴⁸³ Her infant passed away a month later, on July 17.⁴⁸⁴ Nancy returned to the stage in September, and by December she had resumed her role as “Eginia” in *Gli sposi malcontenti*, eliciting an enthusiastic response from the audience.⁴⁸⁵

During her residency in Vienna, Nancy was warmly welcomed into the elite circle of the era’s leading composers, including Salieri, Haydn, and Mozart.⁴⁸⁶ In less than four years, she performed in twenty operas, marking her debut in the Viennese opera scene with Salieri’s *La scuola dei gelosi* in 1783.⁴⁸⁷ Nancy’s close association with Haydn extended to her involvement in his oratorio *Il ritorno di Tobia* in 1784.⁴⁸⁸ Additionally, Haydn visited the Storace siblings at their home, where they would gather to enjoy chamber music together.⁴⁸⁹ Moreover, he composed a cantata “for the voice of my dear Storace that I kiss many times,” thought to be *Miseri noi*, H. XXIVa.⁴⁹⁰

Nancy’s considerable popularity among her circle of friends inspired Mozart, Salieri, Cornetti, and librettist Lorenzo da Ponte (1749–1838) to collaborate on a cantata titled *Per la ricuperata salute di Ophelia*, an homage celebrating her vocal recovery and return to the stage in 1785.⁴⁹¹ Mozart then crafted the role of Susanna in *Le nozze di*

⁴⁸³ “A new opera, composed by Stephen Storace, was produced on the occasion; Signora Storace and myself had the two principal parts in it. In the middle of the first act, Storace all at once lost her voice, and could not utter a sound during the whole of the performance; this naturally threw a damp over the audience, as well as the performers. The loss of the first female singer, who was a great and deserved favourite, was to the composer, her brother, a severe blow. I never shall forget her despair and disappointment, but she was not then prepared for the extent of her misfortune, for she did not recover her voice sufficiently to appear on stage for five months.” Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 266. Scholars have engaged in extensive discussions regarding the factors that led to this failure, positing that a throat infection may have caused it, fatigue resulting from performing while pregnant, or the impact of spousal abuse. Chancellor, 107.

⁴⁸⁴ Link, “Nancy Storace’s Annus Horribilis, 1785,” 4–6. At the time of her child’s passing, Nancy Storace resided at Löwellstrasse 35, only 300 meters away from Marianna Martines. Though I omitted this detail from the bird’s-eye view map in Chapter 1, focusing instead on the six Vienna-born women under scrutiny, it is fascinating to note the close proximity between these two notable figures. One cannot help but wonder: Did their paths ever cross?

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁸⁶ Gidwitz and Matthews, “Storace Nancy,” 470. Each of these luminaries composed music specifically tailored for her skill set. Dorothea Link, *Arias for Nancy Storace: Mozart’s first Susanna* (Middleton, Wis: A–R Editions, 2002), viii–xii.

⁴⁸⁷ For a complete listing of Storace’s opera performances, see Link, *Arias for Nancy Storace*, xiv–xvi.

⁴⁸⁸ H. C. Robbins Landon and David Wyn Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 178.

⁴⁸⁹ Geiringer, “Stephen und Nancy Storace in Wien,” 20.

⁴⁹⁰ (Letter from Haydn to London publisher John Bland, April 12, 1790) (Quoted) Landon and Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music*, 178.

⁴⁹¹ The composer Cornetti remains unidentified to date. The cantata was lost until 2016 when musicologist and composer Timo Jouko Herrmann discovered a printed copy of the text—a poem in 30 stanzas by Lorenzo Da Ponte—while researching Antonio Salieri in the collections of the Czech Museum of Music. Remarkably, this libretto, produced by Joseph von Kurzböck, the printer for the Imperial court in Vienna, includes musical settings by Mozart, Salieri, and Cornetti. However, only four of the poem’s 30

Figaro explicitly for Nancy in 1786, a role that secured her a place in musical history.⁴⁹² Furthermore, he composed “Ch’io mi scordi di te?”—“Non temer, amato bene” (a recitative with rondo) for Nancy’s farewell performance in 1787, featuring an obligato piano part for himself.⁴⁹³

Despite enjoying a circle of esteemed friends and widespread adoration from her audience, the exact reason for Nancy Storace’s decision to leave Vienna in 1787 remains unclear.⁴⁹⁴ Nevertheless, she and her entourage embarked on a journey back to England via Salzburg, where they encountered Leopold Mozart.⁴⁹⁵ Upon reaching London, Nancy made a triumphant comeback with a performance in Giovanni Paisiello’s (1740–1816) *Gli schiavi per amore* at a royal gala at the King’s Theatre.⁴⁹⁶

[N]ever did a debut give such earnest of perfection. Her figure petite—yet pleasing—eyes full of fire—features finely formed—a volubility of expression admirably calculated for the recitative of *burletta* [opera buffa]—a sweetness and depth of tone, rarely to be met with in a female voice—a delightful shake with the most perfect knowledge of “music’s art” sum up the perfections of this new operatical star.⁴⁹⁷

This performance marked the beginning of a series of successes over the next several

stanzas were set to music; those by Salieri and Cornetti frame the two by Mozart. Matthias Roth, “Walldorfer Musikforscher weist Teamwork von Mozart und Salieri nach,” *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 2016.

⁴⁹² Chancellor, 107, 120, 122–123.

⁴⁹³ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, “Arien, Szenen, Ensembles und Chöre mit Orchester.” In: *Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie II, Werkgruppe 7, Bd. 3: *Bühnenwerke*, hrsg. von Eduard Kunze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971). The inscription “Composto per la Signora Storace dal suo servo e amico WA Mozart” on the autograph manuscript sparked speculation regarding a romantic involvement between Nancy and Mozart. However, musicologist Melanie Unseld proposes that it is more plausible that Mozart intended to convey his genuine admiration and appreciation for the singer. Unseld, “Nancy Storace.” In her podcast, world-renowned soprano Catherine Bott delves into Nancy’s relationship with Mozart and examines the roles he specifically crafted for her. Catherine Bott, “Nancy Storace: Mozart’s English Soprano” (*BBC Sounds*, October 16, 2014).

⁴⁹⁴ According to Storace biographer V. E. Chancellor, the altercation involving Michael Kelly and a Bohemian officer, as detailed in Kelly’s *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly* (1: 268–271), along with Stephen Storace’s intoxicated behavior at a ball (*Ibid.*, 1: 275–276), possibly led to the sudden departure of Nancy Storace and her entourage. See Chancellor, 107–109. However, another perspective suggests that the inducements offered in England may have been as enticing as those in Vienna, as noted in M. Kingdon Ward. “Nancy Storace.” *The Musical Times* 90, no. 1281 (1949): 385.

⁴⁹⁵ Leopold Mozart was not impressed with the group. He harbored resentment toward the Storace troupe due to several reasons, including their rushed tour of Salzburg, their excessive amount of luggage, their extravagant spending habits, and their preference for speaking in English rather than Italian. See (Leopold’s letter to his daughter, Anna Maria, dated March 1, 1787) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente.” However, it is important to note that Michael Kelly provides a contrasting, more positive account of their visit in his recollections. Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 1: 278–279.

⁴⁹⁶ Highfill, 14: 297; and Paul Boucher, et al., *A Passion for Opera: The Duchess and the Georgian Stage* (Boughton: The Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust, 2019), 66–68.

⁴⁹⁷ *The Times* (London), April 26, 1787. (Quoted) Geoffrey Brace, *Anna-Susanna: Anna Storace, Mozart’s First Susanna: Her Life, Times, and Family* (London: Thames Publishing, 1991), 66.

years.⁴⁹⁸

Despite persistent rumors of a romantic involvement with Mozart,⁴⁹⁹ it was Haydn who developed a powerful relationship with Nancy during her tenure in Vienna.⁵⁰⁰ Upon his arrival in London, their friendship was reignited, resulting in Nancy's participation in several Salomon Symphonies honoring Haydn's compositions.⁵⁰¹ In addition to her operatic and concert performances at the King's Theatre, Nancy Storace showcased her talent at Covent Garden and Westminster Abbey.⁵⁰² Furthermore, she participated in a fundraising concert for the Royal Society of Musicians at the Pantheon, as mandated by royal decree.⁵⁰³ From 1789 onwards, Nancy frequently worked alongside her brother, Stephen, in English musical theatre at Drury Lane until his death in 1796.⁵⁰⁴

Nancy regularly visited Bath to maintain contact with her former mentor, Rauzzini, and occasionally participated in his musical performances.⁵⁰⁵ It was during these visits that she first encountered her future partner, the tenor John Braham (1774–1856), a student of Rauzzini's and a budding vocalist at the beginning of his career.⁵⁰⁶ Nancy and Braham began a discreet relationship in 1796, which endured for two decades despite never formalizing their union due to Nancy's refusal to acquire a divorce from her husband.⁵⁰⁷ The couple embarked on a continental tour in 1797, initially settling in Paris for a year.⁵⁰⁸ Despite the turbulent political climate after the French Revolution, they enjoyed considerable success, even performing for Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763–1814).⁵⁰⁹ Following a prosperous three-year expedition in Italy, the duo returned to England in 1801 and established a shared residence.⁵¹⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Highfill, 14: 297–301; and Link, *Arias for Nancy Storace*, xv–xvi.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Geiringer, *Haydn: A Creative Life in Music*, 103.

⁵⁰¹ Landon, *The Symphonies*, 441–463.

⁵⁰² Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 1: 107, 120, 132.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 1: 147.

⁵⁰⁴ Highfill, 14: 308–309; Link, *Arias for Nancy Storace*, xv–xvi; Boucher, et al., *A Passion for Opera*, 68; and Parke, (performances) 1: 123–124, 129–130, 135, etc., (Stephen Storace's death and benefit concert) 1: 219–220.

⁵⁰⁵ Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain*, 229, 238, 251–252.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 238; and Chancellor, 109. Nancy Storace and John Braham financed the placement of a memorial tablet for Rauzzini in Bath Abbey. Rice, 280.

⁵⁰⁷ Although Nancy had the grounds and means to divorce her husband, she made no such attempt. (Chancellor, 115). Fisher died in 1806, so she would have been free to marry Braham then, but she did not. (Highfill, 14: 302). Braham, a Jewish tenor nine years her junior, greatly benefited from Storace's fame and connections. (Highfill, 14: 300–302; and Chancellor, 115, 118). Rumors about the affair surfaced in English newspapers in May 1796 and are quoted in Pesque, 233–234.

⁵⁰⁸ Highfill, 14: 301.

⁵⁰⁹ Chancellor, 115.

⁵¹⁰ They had a son, William Spencer Harris Braham (1802–1883) and continued to sing together for a further seven years. Ibid., 115–116.

Nancy retired at the age of forty-four in 1808, having delivered a total of 130 shows in London alone.⁵¹¹ After Nancy's "official" farewell, her partner, Braham, continued to build a successful career.⁵¹² However, in 1816, Braham eloped with a mutual friend, Sophie Wright (n.d.),⁵¹³ only to abandon her in favor of marrying the wealthy Frances Elizabeth Bolton (1799–1846) four months later.⁵¹⁴ The aftermath of the rift between Storace and Braham was acrimonious, leading to contentious disputes over belongings and personal effects, predominantly those owned by Storace.⁵¹⁵ The affair momentarily tarnished Braham's reputation, yet his career ultimately survived.⁵¹⁶ Over the years, conjecture has lingered regarding the potential impact of Braham's desertion and the ensuing conflicts on Nancy's untimely demise the following year, as she succumbed to a cerebral hemorrhage on August 24, 1817.⁵¹⁷ Her obituary reads:

“Aug. 24. At Herne Hill, near Dulwich, aged 49, Signora Storace, sister of Stephen Storace, the eminent composer. Of her professional talents as a singer and an actress, it is unnecessary to say anything: they were the delight and admiration of the publick; and certainly, she was altogether unrivalled in her particular line. She was not handsome, nor feminine in her person; but one of the most accomplished and agreeable women of her age—fascinating every one by her habitual good humour, her lively and intelligent conversation, and her open and ingenuous character. She had for a few years past retired from the stage; but her house at Herne Hill was a seat of hospitality to numerous respectable friends of both sexes, by

⁵¹¹ William Thomas Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 2: 108–110. Michael Kelly recounts: “On the 30th May, 1808, I witnessed the retirement of my friend, Madame Storace, from the stage, in her favourite part of Margareta, in ‘No Song, no Supper’. Colman wrote a farewell address for her which she sang in character; and quitted public life, esteemed and regretted by all those who were acquainted with her. I continued in intimate friendship with her to the day of her death.” Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 2: 266. Nancy's concert performances can be found listed in McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800* in the bibliography: [Storace — <Signora>Nancy [Anna]].

⁵¹² Mollie Sands, “John Braham, Singer.” *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 20 (1959): 208–209.

⁵¹³ John Braham, *The Trial for Crim. Con.: Wright versus Braham, the Celebrated Singer and Music Composer* (London: F. C. and W. James, 1816).

⁵¹⁴ Sands, “John Braham, Singer,” 210.

⁵¹⁵ Chancellor, 118.

⁵¹⁶ Sands, 210–212. It is important to acknowledge that Michael Kelly failed as a supportive friend to Nancy during this time. According to Roger Fiske, the Storace/Braham dispute led news reporters to “under-praise Nancy” or even ignore her completely to maintain favor with the country's leading tenor. Kelly, being cautious not to appear excessively supportive of Nancy, reiterated his praise of Braham and avoids any mention of the dispute altogether. See Kelly, “Explanatory Notes,” *Reminiscences*, ed. by Roger Fiske, 365, no. 220.

⁵¹⁷ Highfill, 14: 302.

whom she was admired and beloved.”⁵¹⁸

Nancy Storace is distinguished among eighteenth-century vocalists, most often remembered for her association with Mozart and her colorful lifestyle.⁵¹⁹ Nevertheless, contemporary scholarship, spearheaded by musicologists such as Dorothea Link, has been instrumental in reevaluating Storace’s reputation as a professional singer and honoring her artistic contributions.⁵²⁰ Central to this reassessment is a critical analysis of the operatic roles and arias tailored to Storace by composers, offering valuable perspectives on her vocal prowess and artistic mastery.⁵²¹

Storace and Mara

Elizabeth Mara held sway as the reigning queen of dramatic roles in London, while Nancy Storace dominated opera buffa. Indeed, the *Times* recognized Storace as a leading performer of comic roles in their March 1, 1790 edition, indicating that the competition between the two prima donnas was not particularly fierce.⁵²² Nevertheless, Storace’s close friend, the inimitable Kelly, unwittingly incurred Mara’s wrath by praising Storace.

One evening, after the first act of the oratorio, I went into the green-room, where, amongst other ladies, was Madame Mara, to whom I had never spoken. Doctor Arnold said, ‘Pray, Mr. Kelly, tell us what sort of singer is Signora Storace?’ I replied that, in my opinion, she was the best singer in Europe. I meant, of course, in her line; but, as it proved afterwards, Madame Mara was highly offended at the praise which I had given to my friend, and said to a lady, when I quitted the green-room, that I was an impertinent coxcomb. I then knew nothing of Madame Mara, nor at that time valued her good opinion; however, she carried her resentment so far against me, that she afterwards declared she would not sing where I did, if she could avoid it.⁵²³

Despite Mara’s initial displeasure, she and Kelly eventually established a lifelong friendship.⁵²⁴ Surprisingly, Mara’s autobiography omits any mention of Storace. Yet the

⁵¹⁸ Edward Cave, *Gentleman’s Magazine: and Historical Chronicle*, 87: 2, 285.

⁵¹⁹ See Link, *Arias for Nancy Storace*.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²² Elizabeth Billington, an emerging opera seria star, was beginning to carve out a reputation for herself during this period, posing more competition for Mara than Storace. See Chancellor, 110–112.

⁵²³ (DT) Kelly and Fiske, *Reminiscences*, 149.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

two collaborated in thirteen concerts over the next several seasons in London,⁵²⁵ including the Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey in 1791⁵²⁶ and Rauzzini's shows in Bath throughout the rest of the decade.⁵²⁷ Furthermore, Mara, Storace, and Kelly socialized together, as noted in Haydn's journal entry on June 3, 1792, where he mentions that he "dined with Mon^r and M[a]^d Mara, M^r Kely, and M^{dam} Storace at her brother Storaces."⁵²⁸

2.11 Elizabeth Weichsell Billington (1768–1818)

Nothing ever was so beautiful, even the memory of those sounds, so clear, so sweet, so harmonious, that voice that ran about like silver water over pearls!⁵²⁹

—*Elizabeth Grant*

A musical prodigy, Elizabeth Weichsell quickly gained recognition as a child pianist before transitioning to a prominent English soprano.⁵³⁰ Indeed, by the time of her death, *Gentleman's Magazine* acknowledged Elizabeth as "the most celebrated vocal performer England ever produced."⁵³¹ Born in Soho, London, around 1765, Elizabeth and her brother Charles (1767–1850) were immersed in a musical milieu from the outset.⁵³² Her parents, Fredericka Weirman (n.d.–1786), an eminent oratorio singer, and Carl Friedrich Weichsell (1728–1811), a professional oboist, paved the way for their gifted offspring.⁵³³ Young Elizabeth's musical abilities blossomed from her father's guidance

⁵²⁵ See McVeigh, [Mara — <Mme>Gertrud Elisabeth]; and [Storace — <Signora>Nancy [Anna]]

⁵²⁶ (Comprehensive list of concert and opera performances) Pesque, 414–415, 420–441. Kelly describes the event in Fiske, *Reminiscences*, 153–154.

⁵²⁷ Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain*, 204–278.

⁵²⁸ Haydn, *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 485. (English translation) Haydn and Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, 254.

⁵²⁹ Elizabeth Grant Smith, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady....*, 3rd ed., ed. by Lady Strachey (London: J. Murray, 1897), 108. In 1810, diarist Elizabeth Grant was nearly 13 when she first saw Billington in an opera. "The first song I heard Mrs. Billington sing was Handel's 'Sweet bird that shunn'st the noise of folly,' accompanied on the violin by Salomon. I was sitting next my father, behind whom I slunk, holding down my head to conceal the tears whose shedding relieved my heart." *Ibid.*, 107–108.

⁵³⁰ Highfill, 2: 122.

⁵³¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 88: 2, 469.

⁵³² William Ayrton, ed. "Memoir of Mrs. Billington," *The Harmonicon*, 11 vols. (London: W. Pinnock, 1830), 8: 93. Elizabeth Billington's date of birth has been reported with some variation, ranging from 1765 to 1770. [1765] Rachel E. Cowgill, "Billington [née Weichsel], Elizabeth," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 5: 730. [1768] William Barclay Squire, "Billington, Elizabeth," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan, 1886), 5: 37. [1700] George T. Ferris, *Great Singers: Faustina Bordoni to Henrietta Sontag* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1880), 86. [1765 or 1768] Highfill, 2: 122.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, all of the above. Elizabeth's mother studied under Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782).

and later under Johann Samuel Schröter's tutelage.⁵³⁴

Elizabeth and Charles made their first appearance at the Haymarket Theatre in 1774, performing concertos on the piano and violin, respectively, in a benefit concert arranged for their mother.⁵³⁵ Three years later, they continued to impress audiences by collaborating with organist Samuel Wesley (1766–1837) at Hickford's Long Room and subsequently by performing alongside violinist Carl Philipp Stamitz (1745–1801) and flutist Pietro Grassi Florio (1730–1795) as equals at Covent Garden.⁵³⁶ Elizabeth's musical gifts were further highlighted by her composition of two sets of keyboard sonatas before the age of twelve and three sonatas for piano and violin in 1792.⁵³⁷ Nevertheless, despite her achievements as a pianist and composer, Elizabeth's enduring legacy primarily rests on her illustrious career as the celebrated vocalist Mrs. Billington, which flourished across England, Ireland, and Italy.⁵³⁸

As Elizabeth matured, she focused on developing her singing skills, receiving vocal instruction from James Billington (1756–1794), and debuted in a public concert in Oxford in 1782.⁵³⁹ Despite facing strong opposition from her parents, she entered into a clandestine marriage with Billington the following year under the pseudonym of Elizabeth Weirman, her mother's maiden name.⁵⁴⁰ The newlyweds soon traveled to Dublin, where Elizabeth made her theatrical debut in the titular role of Gluck's *Orpheus ed Euridice* alongside the celebrated soprano Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (1734–1790).⁵⁴¹ However, stage fright hindered her initial performance, leading to lukewarm audience reception that left her disheartened.⁵⁴² Fortunately, actor John Bernard (1756–1828) provided the young Mrs. Billington with guidance a few months later in Waterford,

⁵³⁴ Fétis, 2: 195. Johann Samuel Schröter, Corona Schröter's brother, connects Elizabeth to our Weimar cluster.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ *The Public Advertiser*, on March 13, 1778, states that Elizabeth was eleven at this time, which would coincide with a 1768 birthdate. Highfill, 2: 122. Pietro Florio creates an indirect link with Elisabeth Mara, as he was the father of Mara's lover, Charles Haiman Florio. Highfill, 5: 311–312.

⁵³⁷ Highfill, 2: 122. For an analysis of Elizabeth's "Sonata VI" from *Six Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, op. 2, see Ursula M. Rempel, "Elizabeth Weichsell Billington (1765/1768–1818)," in *WCMA*, 3: 184–192.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 181–182.

⁵³⁹ Ayrton, "Memoir of Mrs. Billington," 93; and Squire, "Billington, Elizabeth," 38. Historical accounts do not document the specific circumstances of how James Billington, a double-bass player in the Drury Lane Orchestra, came to teach Elizabeth voice lessons.

⁵⁴⁰ Squire, 5: 38.

⁵⁴¹ Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *Queens of Song: Being Memoirs of Some of the Most Celebrated Female Vocalists*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1863), 1: 231–233.

⁵⁴² John Bernard, *Retrospections of the Stage*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1830), 1: 378–379.

and she gradually gained confidence with each successive performance throughout her three-year Irish tour.⁵⁴³

During her tenure in Ireland, Billington found the courage to assert her worth and transitioned into a discerning businesswoman.⁵⁴⁴ A notable instance of her business acumen occurred upon her re-entry to London in 1786, where she was initially offered a meager £12 compensation for a three-night performance at Covent Garden.⁵⁴⁵ Unwilling to settle for such an inadequate payment, she successfully negotiated an extended engagement of twelve nights.⁵⁴⁶ However, Billington's reputation had preceded her, leading to an invitation to perform for King George III (1738–1820) and Queen Charlotte (1744–1818) in Thomas Augustine Arne's (1710–1778) *Love in a Village* the evening preceding her Covent Garden debut.⁵⁴⁷ The resounding success of this royal performance propelled her to prima donna status during the subsequent twelve-night engagement.⁵⁴⁸ The management was duly impressed by her accomplishments and consequently extended an offer to retain her services for the remainder of the season at a rate of £1000, a substantial increase from the initial proposal of £12.⁵⁴⁹ From 1786 until 1793, Mrs. Billington sustained her appeal to audiences through performances across multiple venues, including Covent Garden, Vauxhall Gardens, the Handel Commemorations, and the Concerts of Ancient Music.⁵⁵⁰

Elizabeth Billington's rise to fame was abruptly interrupted by a scandal stemming from the release of James Ridgway's *Memoirs of Elizabeth Billington* in 1792.⁵⁵¹ Allegedly containing private correspondence between Elizabeth and her mother,

⁵⁴³ Ibid. Despite her brilliant successes later on, Elizabeth Billington was constantly striving for self-improvement and studied with Michele Mortellari (1750–1807) in London to improve her acting technique and vocal quality (Highfill, 2: 124) before seeking instruction from Antonio Sacchini in Paris between 1786 and 1787. Alexander Stephens, *Public Characters of 1802–1803* (London: Richard Phillips, 1803), 397.

⁵⁴⁴ Clayton, *Queens of Song*, 234–235.

⁵⁴⁵ Squire, 5: 38.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 1: 63. "Her success was beyond the most sanguine hopes, and her brilliant style, then an innovation in English singing, bewildered the pit and delighted the musical connoisseurs. The leader of the orchestra was so much absorbed in one of her beautiful cadenzas that he forgot to give the chord at its close. So much science, taste, birdlike sweetness, and brilliancy had never before been united in an English singer. So, Mrs. Billington assumed undisputed sovereignty in the realm of song, for the night made her famous." Ferris, *Great Singers*, 89–90.

⁵⁴⁹ Clayton, *Queens of Song*, 238; and Squire, 5: 38.

⁵⁵⁰ Ayrton, 94. See the database of her London concert performances in the bibliography under McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Billington — <Mrs>Elizabeth].

⁵⁵¹ James Ridgway, *Memoirs of Mrs. Billington, from Her Birth: Containing a Variety of Matter, Ludicrous, Theatrical, Musical ...* (London: James Ridgway, 1792). James Ridgway (n.d.) was known as a politicalizing pamphleteer who frequently collaborated with fellow publisher H. D. Symonds (n.d.).

this publication briefly influenced her public image.⁵⁵² Despite widespread scorn for its scurrilous nature, the *Memoirs* catapulted Elizabeth to overnight notoriety.⁵⁵³ In response, Billington pursued legal action against the publishers, followed by the swift emergence of an anonymous rebuttal to the *Memoirs*.⁵⁵⁴ The scandal dissipated swiftly, suggesting the content was deemed too ludicrous to warrant further attention.⁵⁵⁵ Nonetheless, it left an enduring imprint on Elizabeth Billington's legacy.⁵⁵⁶

In 1794, the Billingtons set out on a continental journey with Elizabeth's brother, Charles, intending to tour incognito and passively observe productions rather than actively perform.⁵⁵⁷ However, fate intervened when news spread of the renowned prima

Together, they recognized lucrative opportunities to cater to the public's fascination with the intimate details of notable individuals' sexual escapades, among a broad range of other subjects. Peter Robinson, "Henry Delahay Symonds and James Ridgway's Conversion from Whig Pamphleteers to Doyens of the Radical Press, 1788–1793," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 108, no. 1 (2014): 61–90. *It is worth mentioning that Ridgway was incarcerated for seditious libel in 1793, just a year after the Billington scandal, and served a four-year prison sentence. *Ibid.*, 78–81.

⁵⁵² The scandal was compounded by an attempt, documented in the volume, to blackmail Elizabeth Billington into suppressing its publication. (Ridgway, *Memoirs of Mrs. Billington*, i–xv). This aligns with Susan Levin's proposition that profit was the principal motive behind Ridgway's decision to publish the *Memoirs*, asserting, "One cynical reason [why he published them] is that he wanted to make money. Scandalous memoirs sold, and Ridgway published his share." Susan Levin, "Vice, Ugly Vice: *Memoirs of Mrs. Billington from her Birth*," in *Romantic Biography in England*, ed. by Eugene Stelzig (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2009), 58.

⁵⁵³ Highfill, 2: 124. On the day of its publication, January 14th, Joseph Haydn remarked that "you could not get a single copy after 3 o'clock in the afternoon," indicating the swift and widespread demand for the publication. (Quoted) Landon, *The Collected Correspondence*, 255. Elizabeth's friend, John Taylor (1757–1832), acknowledged the distress the *Memoirs* caused her and noted that the Billingtons planned to prosecute. However, he advised them "to let the slander drop into obscurity." John Taylor, *Records of My Life*, complete in one volume (London: Bull, 1833), 299.

⁵⁵⁴ Anonymous, *An Answer to the Memoirs of Mrs. Billington* (London: Self-published, 1792).

⁵⁵⁵ Billington's contemporaries, such as William Thomas Parke and Richard Mount Edgcumbe (1764–1839), make no mention of the volume or the subsequent scandal in their own memoirs. Moreover, Charles Burney, known for his outspoken views, does not acknowledge the publication whatsoever but rather accords Elizabeth Billington's prominent position as the concluding vocalist in his ultimate *General History* volume (4: 681). The publication and scandal are conspicuously missing from the Fétis entry (2: 195–197), as well as the contemporary biography by Stephens, *Public Characters of 1802–1803*, 394–402. Nor was it included in the nineteenth-century biography by Ellen Creathorne Clayton, *Queens of Song*, 1: 229–261.

⁵⁵⁶ The allure of sensational narratives tends to attract attention, prompting concise biographies such as Highfill's *Biographical Dictionary* (2: 124–125) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (5: 731–732) to resurrect the scandal in the 20th century. These accounts heavily rely on the *Memoirs* publication despite acknowledging its veracity. However, the absence of verifiable primary sources undermines their credibility. Consequently, such accounts have been omitted here due to the scarcity of concrete documentary evidence. "Before her departure, some needy scribbler gave the public her Life; but, like the 'Memoirs of Mrs. Baddeley,' it was justly consigned to oblivion." *The Thespian Dictionary; Or, Dramatic Biography of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by James Cundee, Thomas Hurst, and William Porter (London: J. Cundee, Ivy Lane, 1802), 35.

⁵⁵⁷ During her break from performing, Elizabeth chose not to carry any letters of introduction, ensuring her anonymity. (Ayrton, 94; Clayton, 243). While some scholars argue that the *Memoirs* scandal may have motivated the Billingtons to leave for the Continent (Cowgill, "Billington [née Weichsel], Elizabeth," 732), the validity of this assertion may be questionable. The Billington family did not commence their travels until 1794, and there is limited evidence to indicate that the gossip continued beyond 1792, the year of the publication's circulation.

donna's presence in Naples.⁵⁵⁸ Lady Emma Hamilton (1765–1815), the wife of the British ambassador, insisted on introducing Elizabeth to Queen Maria Carolina, leading to a private performance for the royal family at their country palace in Caserta.⁵⁵⁹ Thus, an invitation to perform at the Teatro di San Carlo in a new opera written expressly for her by Francesco Bianchi (1752–1810), entitled *Inez di Castro*, appeared almost inevitable.⁵⁶⁰ The Neapolitan audience greeted her with exuberance, a reception markedly dissimilar from the reactions she had encountered from London's more reserved English audiences.⁵⁶¹ However, her success was abruptly curtailed when her husband, James, unexpectedly suffered an apoplectic fit and passed away instantly as they were preparing to attend the theatre.⁵⁶² The shock and grief proved overwhelming for Elizabeth, prompting Queen Maria Carolina to prohibit her from performing until she had fully recuperated.⁵⁶³

Following a successful sixteen-month performance run in Naples, Mrs. Billington embarked on a lucrative tour across Italy's foremost music centers.⁵⁶⁴ During her stay in Bologna in 1796, she unexpectedly found herself singing for Napoleon Bonaparte and his officers.⁵⁶⁵ Napoleon assured the prima donna of her safety and also promised that his wife, Joséphine, would extend her every possible courtesy.⁵⁶⁶ As a result, she became a regular guest at Empress Joséphine's gatherings in Milan the following year, where she met a young Frenchman, Count Jean-Jacques Gayet de Félissent (1774–1842), an officer in Napoleon's commissariat department.⁵⁶⁷ The two fell in love, married, and settled in S.

⁵⁵⁸ Stephens, 398. The English community, in particular, received Billington enthusiastically. Clarke, ed., *The Georgian Era: Memoirs of the Most Eminent Persons, who have Flourished in Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London: Vizetelly, Branston, 1832–1834), 4: 292.

⁵⁵⁹ Ayrton, 94; and Clayton, 243.

⁵⁶⁰ Ferris, 93–94; and Ayrton, 94. The King and Queen lavished her with gifts, while the English nobility expressed admiration for both her vocal talent and her personal charm. As a result, Mrs. Billington became the subject of much discussion and admiration in Naples for a considerable period. Clarke, *The Georgian Era*, 4: 292; Clayton, 243; and Stephens, 398.

⁵⁶¹ Ferris, 94.

⁵⁶² Ayrton, 94.

⁵⁶³ Many of the Billington biographies cited here adhere to the narrative that Elizabeth's husband passed away after Elizabeth's Neapolitan debut in 1794. They also recount the eruption of Mount Vesuvius during this time, with some superstitious Italians attributing the volcanic activity to the success of the English prima donna. However, Clayton and Ferris diverge from this account, proposing that the two events occurred during Billington's return to Naples toward the end of 1796. Clayton, 244–245; and Ferris, 95–96.

⁵⁶⁴ Florence, Leghorn [Livorno], Bologna, Milan, Venice, and Trieste. Ayrton, 94–95.

⁵⁶⁵ Clayton, 244.

⁵⁶⁶ Ayrton, 94.

⁵⁶⁷ In most biographies, Elizabeth's new husband is identified solely by his surname, which is subject to various orthographic iterations including Felican, Felissant, Fleissant, Felisson, Felissent, Felissini, Florresent, or Felipent (Clayton, 247; Squire, 5: 38–39; Ayrton, 95). According to his grandson, Jean-Jacques Gayet de Felissent escaped from Lyon where he had been imprisoned during the French Revolution, which is why he was in Italy. J.-J. de Félissent, "Le Comte Jean-Jacques Gayet de Félissent, Un

Artien, a suburb of Treviso, Italy.⁵⁶⁸ Mrs. Billington (she retained her professional name throughout her lifetime) soon found herself in an abusive marriage.⁵⁶⁹ Therefore, in 1801, she returned to England, leaving her husband behind in Italy, although she continued to support him with a pension.⁵⁷⁰ Despite her attempts to distance herself, however, Félissent followed her to London, where the authorities promptly deported him.⁵⁷¹

At the height of her fame, Mrs. Billington's reappearance in London sparked considerable excitement, as both Covent Garden and Drury Lane sought to engage the celebrity.⁵⁷² Following extensive negotiation, a compromise was reached whereby she would perform alternately at both venues, accompanied by her brother, who directed the orchestra on her performance evenings.⁵⁷³ The singer was greeted with palpable enthusiasm indicative of the audience's anticipation of her London stage comeback, a sentiment that was duly met by the excellence of her performances.⁵⁷⁴

Of Mrs. Billington's performance of *Mandane*, in which character she first appeared on her return from Italy, it were superfluous to expatiate, by

homme de la Révolution e de l'Empire 1774–1842,” in *Napoléon et son Temps. Collection historique et artistique* (Milan: Maison de Ventes Lino Pesaro, 1914), VII–IX. (Referenced) Lyle Humphrey, “Cristoforo Cortese's Signed Frontispieces in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia and the Mariogola of the Scuola dei Milanesi of Venice,” in *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 12, ed. by Giulia Orofino (Firenze: Centro di Firenze, 2008), 85–86, 93, no. 30.

⁵⁶⁸ Some biographies mention that Elizabeth Billington purchased an estate at St. Artien between Treviso and Venice (Squire, 38; Highfill, 2:126; Cowgill, 732), whereas others simply report that she bought an estate in Venice (Clarke, 4: 292; Ayrton, 95; and Stephens, 399).

⁵⁶⁹ “He was a remarkably handsome man, and (as Mrs. Billington told me) before marriage, a most insinuating monster of meekness; but the very first week after their union, the dove assumed the fierceness of the hawk. It was said, that he used to treat her unmercifully.” Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 2: 188–189. Thomas Busby provides a vivid description of Félissent's abusive behavior toward Elizabeth, documenting frequent physical assault and extortion. Busby, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*, 1: 152. Catherine Hyde recounts the tale of the couple's tumultuous relationship in her characteristic florid and colorful style. See Catherine Hyde, Marquise de Govion Broglio Solari, *Venice Under the Yoke of France and of Austria*, 2 vols. (London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, 1824), 1: 267–273. However, it is essential to acknowledge that much of Hyde's narrative lacks verifiable evidence, and historians consider her work to be spurious, regardless of its entertainment value. See Hedva Ben-Israel Kidron, *English Historians on the French Revolution* (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), 64–65.

⁵⁷⁰ Stephens, 399; Squire, 5: 38–39; and Taylor, *Records of My Life*, 2: 108.

⁵⁷¹ Squire, 5: 38–39. Per Kelly, “Mrs. Billington had her benefit at Drury Lane, 30th April [1802] ... The opera was successful, though, on the first representation of it, poor Mrs. Billington had a terrible fright; and no wonder, poor thing, for at the end of the first act, who did she find sitting in her dressing-room, but her beloved husband, Monsieur de Felican; whom she thought safe and snug at Venice, whence she had escaped from him; but he, good soul, was deeply in love with her English guineas, and all at once vowed he could no longer bear to be separated from his beloved *Bettina*, as he called her. [...] How it was managed, I know not, but his stay in this country was very short; I have reason to believe, that he had many weighty arguments put to him, to hasten his departure.” Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 2: 188. Félissent served as Capitaine aux Chasseurs in the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, after which, Napoleon appointed him governor of the forest of Montello on the Piave River, near Treviso. Humphrey, “Cristoforo Cortese's Signed Frontispieces,” 93, no. 30.

⁵⁷² Squire, 5: 39

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*; Ferris, 99; and Highfill, 2: 126.

⁵⁷⁴ Stephens, 399–401.

those who witnessed it, it can never be forgotten; to those who did not, it cannot be described. With a daring hand she introduced a new bravura song into the work of Dr. Arne, which she executed with such rapid, varied, and surprising feats of the voice, if we may be allowed the expression, as to electrify the audience: it was a species of wonder, which made the mind doubt of its being human, so nearly did it resemble the warbling of a bird.⁵⁷⁵

Mrs. Billington consistently mesmerized her audiences over the next decade, despite her deteriorating health in the years leading up to her retirement in 1811.⁵⁷⁶ In addition, she achieved a significant milestone in London's musical history by presenting the first-ever performance of a Mozart opera, *La Clemenza di Tito*, during her benefit in 1806.⁵⁷⁷ Her farewell performance took place at her brother's benefit concert on May 3, 1811, and was met with sustained applause.⁵⁷⁸ However, she emerged from retirement for one last show at Whitehall Chapel in 1814 to support the victims of the German Campaign of 1813.⁵⁷⁹ Mrs. Billington lived in her Fulham villa until 1817, when she reunited with her husband, Félissent, after a sixteen-year separation.⁵⁸⁰ Despite her friends' pleas to refrain from returning with him to Italy, especially considering her fear of the man, she responded, "He is my husband, and I know my duty."⁵⁸¹ Thus, Elizabeth accompanied her husband to Italy and passed away the following year on August 25, 1818, under circumstances that remain undetermined.⁵⁸²

The discrepancy between historical documents and biographical narratives regarding the ownership of Elizabeth Billington's estate in Italy exemplifies the

⁵⁷⁵ Allatson Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814), 3: 442. Mandane is the daughter of Xerxes in Thomas Arne's opera *Artaxerxes*.

⁵⁷⁶ Squire, 5: 39.

⁵⁷⁷ Parke, 2: 3–4. "It is a curious fact that no opera of Mozart was performed on the Italian stage in London till that year [1806], when Mrs. Billington produced his 'Clemenza di Tito' for her benefit at the King's Theatre. Thus the high distinction of making known the greatest musical genius of the age to the British public was reserved for an English female." *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵⁷⁸ Parke, 144. Some biographers place the year of Mrs. Billington's retirement in 1809. See Fétis, 2: 197; Clarke, 292; Ayrton, 96.

⁵⁷⁹ Squire, 5: 39.

⁵⁸⁰ Busby asserts that Elizabeth asked her husband to come to London in 1817 (Busby, 153), whereas Taylor states that Félissent "could not subdue his affection for her, and desired her to rejoin him abroad." Taylor, 2: 108.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸² Busby claimed Elizabeth's husband, Félissent, was responsible for her death, giving Billington "a blow that necessitated her taking to her bed, from which she never arose alive." (Busby, 1: 153). Ayrton simply states that she died of a brief illness. (Ayrton, 96). According to John Taylor, "She returned to him, and I never heard from her again. There were strange reports respecting the cause of her death; but as her brother, Mr. Weichsell, was on the spot, or near it, when she died, and does not give countenance to these reports, it may be concluded that they are not well founded." (Taylor, 300).

intricacies inherent in historical inquiry. My research has revealed that Elizabeth Billington's estate still stands today under the appellation of Villa Félissent, denoting her married surname.⁵⁸³ However, contrary to previous accounts, the villa is actually located on the northern outskirts of Treviso, rather than between Treviso and Venice.⁵⁸⁴ Furthermore, while biographical narratives contend that Elizabeth Billington purchased the estate, city records cite its acquisition solely by a wealthy Lyonnais named Gian Giacomo Félissent de Gayet.⁵⁸⁵ The apparent absence of a "Signora" Félissent in historical records might be attributed to the property ownership laws in Italy at that time, particularly as they pertained to women or foreigners.⁵⁸⁶ The Villorba City Guide indicates that the family chapel on the Félissent estate contains tombstones of various family members who inhabited the villa over the past two centuries, prompting speculation about the possible burial of Elizabeth Billington Félissent at the site.⁵⁸⁷

Throughout her career, Mrs. Billington performed in 100 concerts in London, leaving behind a legacy of consummate vocal prowess.⁵⁸⁸

The compass of Mrs. Billington's voice was from D to G in altissimo; its tone rather distinguished by sweetness than force; her style was chiefly marked by an inexhaustible fund of ornaments, always elegant, always varying, always extemporaneous: not even a pencil memorandum of what she meant to do was ever made upon her singing copy; she trusted to the suggestion of the moment, never sang the same song twice with the same ornaments, and never was known to attempt anything she did not completely accomplish.⁵⁸⁹

Mrs. Billington also enjoyed extensive admiration from many of her contemporaries. Michael Kelly described her as "an angel in beauty, and the Saint Cecilia of song."⁵⁹⁰ Poet Anna Seward praised her voice as possessing "great sweetness, compass, power, and execution," and commended her skill, stating that "Mrs. Billington

⁵⁸³ See Comune di Villorba, "Villorba City Guide," 55–57.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Comune di Villorba, "Villorba City Guide," 56–57.

⁵⁸⁶ It is also worth noting that she only resided at the villa for approximately three years: from 1799 to 1801, when she was first married, and then again in 1817 when she returned with her husband to her death in 1818.

⁵⁸⁷ Comune di Villorba, 56–57.

⁵⁸⁸ See McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts*, [Billington — <Mrs>Elizabeth]; Ayrton, 96–97.

⁵⁸⁹ Ayrton, 96–97.

⁵⁹⁰ Kelly and Fiske, *Reminiscences*, 150. Kelly also expounds on Elizabeth's kindness as exemplified in an anecdote about Rauzzini. "

possesses a great deal of genuine beauty, and very unaffected and charming manners.”⁵⁹¹ Charles Burney also spoke highly of her, lauding her natural tone as “exquisitely sweet,” her musical knowledge as considerable, and praising her various embellishments and expressions, asserting that “nothing but envy or apathy can hear her without delight.”⁵⁹² Moreover, one memorable and oft-cited anecdote recounts a charming social interaction involving Joseph Haydn, Elizabeth Billington, and Johann Salomon.⁵⁹³ As the trio dined, Haydn noticed a painting portraying Mrs. Billington listening to an angel singing.⁵⁹⁴ Haydn remarked that the scene should have been reversed, with Mrs. Billington as the singer and the angel listening.⁵⁹⁵ Kelly also illustrates Elizabeth’s kindness toward her friends:

I have known Mrs. Billington renounce many profitable engagements in London, when Rauzzini has required the aid of her talents, and at her own expense, travel to Bath, and back to London, as fast as four horses could carry her, without accepting the most trifling remuneration.⁵⁹⁶

Billington, Mara, and Storace

Venanzio Rauzzini and Michael Kelly were close friends of Elizabeth Billington, Elisabeth Mara, and Nancy Storace, as evidenced throughout their biographies.⁵⁹⁷ Billington and Mara, maintaining a cordial rivalry, shared the stage in six concerts before 1800.⁵⁹⁸ Additionally, in 1802, Billington and Storace collaborated in a farewell concert for Elisabeth Mara.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹¹ Anna Seward, *Letters of Anna Seward: Written Between the Years 1784 and 1807*, ed. by Archibald Constable, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: George Ramsay & Co., 1811), 3: 153–154.

⁵⁹² Burney, *A General History*, 4: 681.

⁵⁹³ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works: Haydn. 5: The Late Years 1801–1809* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 5: 494.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.* According to Landon, this account offers the first genuine confirmation of the story regarding Haydn and the Reynolds portrait of Mrs. Billington as St. Cecilia (*Ibid.*, 494, no.1), a tale he previously questioned for its veracity (Landon, *Haydn in England 1791–1795*, p. 275n). The only known evidence for this story was presented in Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine* (Milano: Candido Buccinelli, 1812), 230.

⁵⁹⁶ Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 2: 119. *Reminiscences* is brimming with entertaining stories about Billington.

⁵⁹⁷ Rice’s *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain* is replete with their names, as is Kelly’s *Reminiscences*.

⁵⁹⁸ [Billington — <Mrs>Elizabeth] and [Mara — <Mme>Gertrud Elisabeth]. For a comprehensive exploration of their rivalry, see Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, “Rivalry, Camaraderie and the Prima Donnas: Elizabeth Billington & Gertrude Mara,” in *Exploring the Lives of Women, 1558–1837*, ed. by Louise Duckling, et al. (London: Pen and Sword, 2018), 109–120.

⁵⁹⁹ Ayrton, 96. According to McVeigh’s *Calendar of London Concerts*, [Storace — <Signora>Nancy [Anna]], Billington and Storace did not perform together on stage by 1800, as can be seen in Holman, “London Performances,” Cross-referencing database.

The 3d of June was rendered memorable to every lover of the old school of singing, by the last benefit concert of Madame Mara at the Opera House, previous to her departure for the continent. On this occasion, a constellation of talent appeared worthy the notice of a musical historian. [...] Signora Storace, Madame Banti, and Mrs. Billington, all united their friendly beams to irradiate the path of the receding sister. A duet between Madame Mara and Billington, which was expressly composed to display the powers of these rival syrens, may be considered as an eccentric effulgence of celestial light, not likely to revisit this hemisphere during our time.⁶⁰⁰

Billington and Clendining

The primary focus of this study is to investigate the existence of a supportive, challenging, and motivating network of female musicians. This inquiry led to an exploration of the relationship between Elizabeth Billington and Elizabeth Clendining. In 1791, Billington extended her hospitality to Clendining, a fellow singer she had previously encountered in Dublin.⁶⁰¹ Clendining found refuge in Billington's home, as she was facing financial hardship and displacement due to her husband's incarceration in a debtor's prison.⁶⁰² Billington provided Clendining with financial aid and guidance as Clendining endeavored to secure performance opportunities at venues such as Covent Garden and Vauxhall.⁶⁰³

In 1792, Billington suggested that Clendining explore singing opportunities in Bath.⁶⁰⁴ It is plausible to infer that Billington anticipated Clendining would be able to secure professional engagements at Venanzio Rauzzini's concerts, considering his influential position as the principal director of Bath's subscription series.⁶⁰⁵ In Bath, Clendining met flutist Andrew Ashe (c1758–1838), who arranged for her to receive singing lessons from Rauzzini,⁶⁰⁶ thus linking her to Elisabeth Mara and Nancy Storace,

⁶⁰⁰ Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical*, 3: 444–445. This performance is not documented in McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts*, as it falls outside the parameters of 1750–1800.

⁶⁰¹ Joseph Haslewood, *The Secret History of the Green-room*, new edition, 2 vols. (London: J. Owen, 1795), 2: 380–381.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 379–380.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 380–381. Later, Kelly reports that Clendening “belonged to the Covent Garden company, and had a very good voice, and was a favourite with the town, in spite of a most implacable Irish brogue.” Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 2: 123.

⁶⁰⁴ Haslewood states the year as 1793; however, according to the “New Assembly Rooms” (March 17, 1792), Clendining sang alongside Billington in Rauzzini's 1792 subscription concert. (Referenced) Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, *Venanzio Rauzzini and the Birth of a New Style in English Singing: Scandalous Lessons* (New York: Routledge, 2022), 74, 80.

⁶⁰⁵ Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain*, xi.

⁶⁰⁶ Haslewood, *The Secret History of the Green-room*, 2: 81; Highfill, 3: 328.

in addition to her existing relationship with Elizabeth Billington. This anecdote underscores the often-unacknowledged contributions and significance of female musicians in music history. Elizabeth Billington’s benevolence and mentorship not only helped Elizabeth Clendining navigate financial challenges but also paved the way for her prosperous career.⁶⁰⁷

— Incorporating London opera stars

Figure 2.21 provides a detailed overview of Nancy Storace’s connections with some of the most renowned and influential individuals of her time. Noteworthy connections are prominently highlighted with wide edges, particularly those originating from London and Vienna, underscoring the geographical and cultural significance of these hubs in her career. These connections are not just personal but also reflect the professional and artistic circles that Storace navigated, shaping her legacy in the music world. Additionally, Maria Anna Mozart is introduced as a secondary link, primarily through her familial ties and her father’s correspondence, offering insight into the subtle yet meaningful connections that defined Storace’s network.

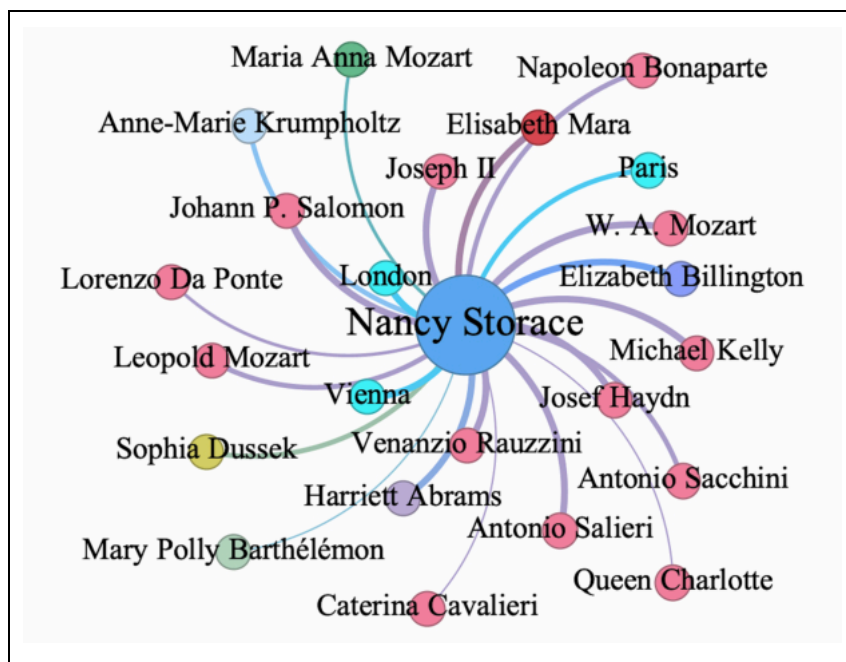


Fig. 2.21. Nancy Storace network

Similarly, Elizabeth Billington’s network in Figure 2.22 exhibits her affiliations with various distinguished figures, particularly emphasizing fellow female performers.

⁶⁰⁷ For further details regarding the remainder of Clendining’s career, see Haslewood, 382–385.

The network reveals how Billington, like Storace, was embedded in a web of professional relationships that transcended national borders. Although both Billington and Storace were celebrated opera singers who performed concurrently in their respective genres, their potential association beyond the United Kingdom appears to be limited. This may reflect the different trajectories of their careers or the social and professional boundaries that existed between them, particularly in the context of the British opera scene

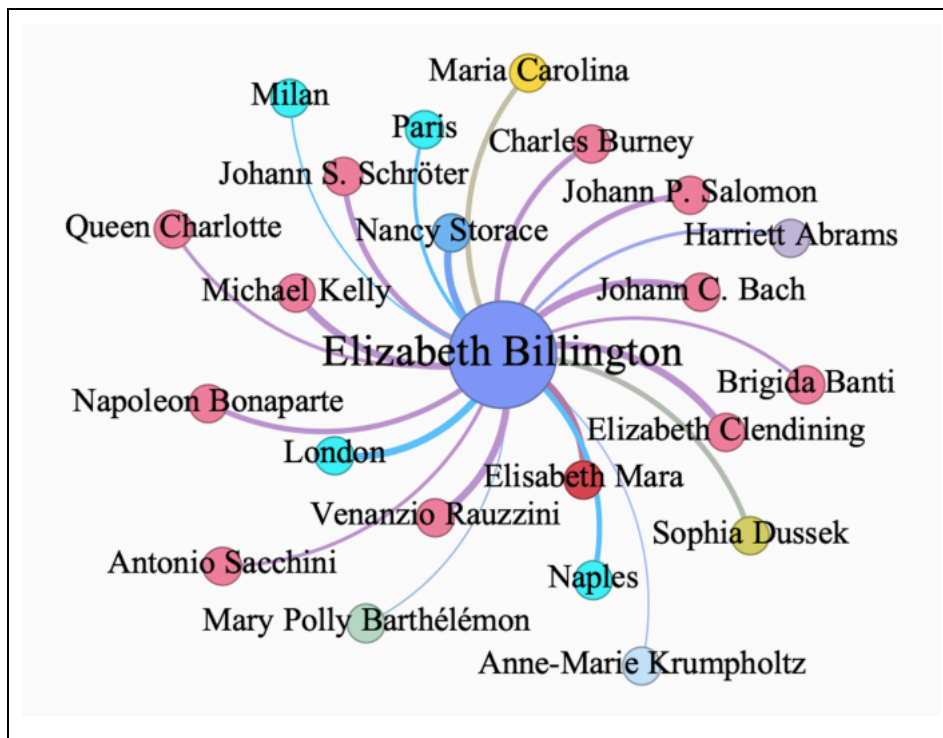


Fig. 2.22. Elizabeth Billington network

In Figure 2.23, Nancy Storace branches off from the center to form a new cluster, albeit one that remains relatively sparse. The larger size of her node, compared to those of other female musicians—except for Mara—suggests the possibility of a longer career, more extensive travels, or both. This expansion of her network is not only a reflection of her personal achievements but also an indication of her influence across different musical and cultural landscapes. The bridge established by Anne-Marie Krumpholtz is clearly visible, linking Storace to other significant figures in the European music scene.

Additionally, Storace’s secondary bridge to the Weimar cluster through Leopold Mozart and Regina Strinasacchi Schlick introduces new dimensions to her network, highlighting her connections to the broader European musical elite. Introducing new peripheral figures further enriches the network, suggesting that Storace’s influence extended beyond the immediate circles of London and Vienna. These peripheral figures

may represent less well-documented relationships or the broader reach of Storace's artistic and personal impact, which continues to be explored through historical and musicological research.

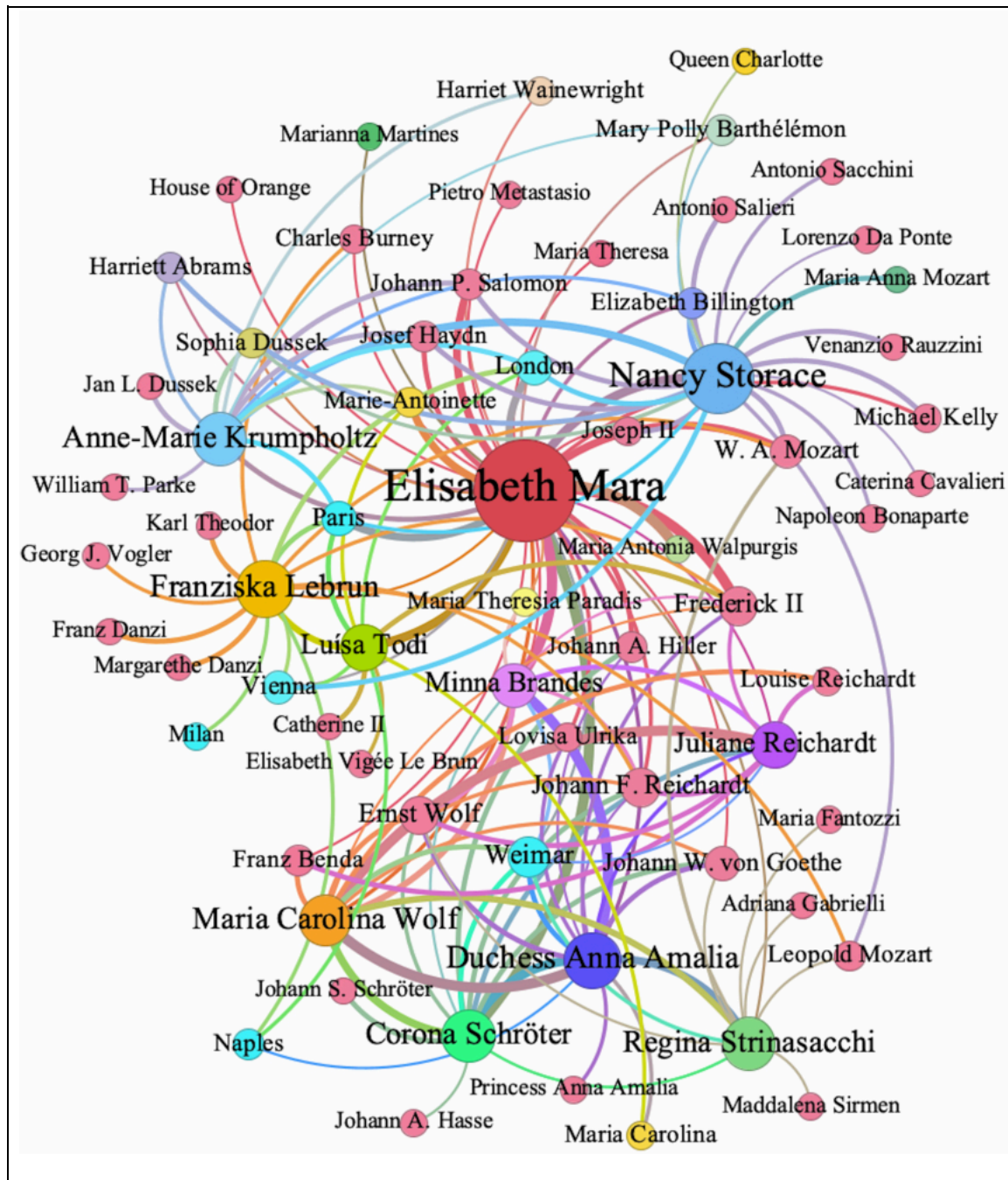


Fig. 2.23. Mara composite network with Nancy Storace

Figure 2.24 illustrates three discernible groupings positioned outside the central figure of Elisabeth Mara. While these groupings are not yet fully developed into distinct “clusters” at this stage, their presence is clear. The Paris grouping exhibits considerably lower density than the Weimar set and primarily functions as intermediary links to Mara

and London, rather than forming a self-contained cluster. This suggests that while Paris played a role in the broader network, it did not serve as a central hub in the same way as Weimar or London. Moreover, there is an observable movement among the peripheral figures, such as Maria Carolina and Venanzio Rauzzini, as they connect with other actors in the network. The gradual inclusion of more peripheral figures contributes to the network's evolving complexity.

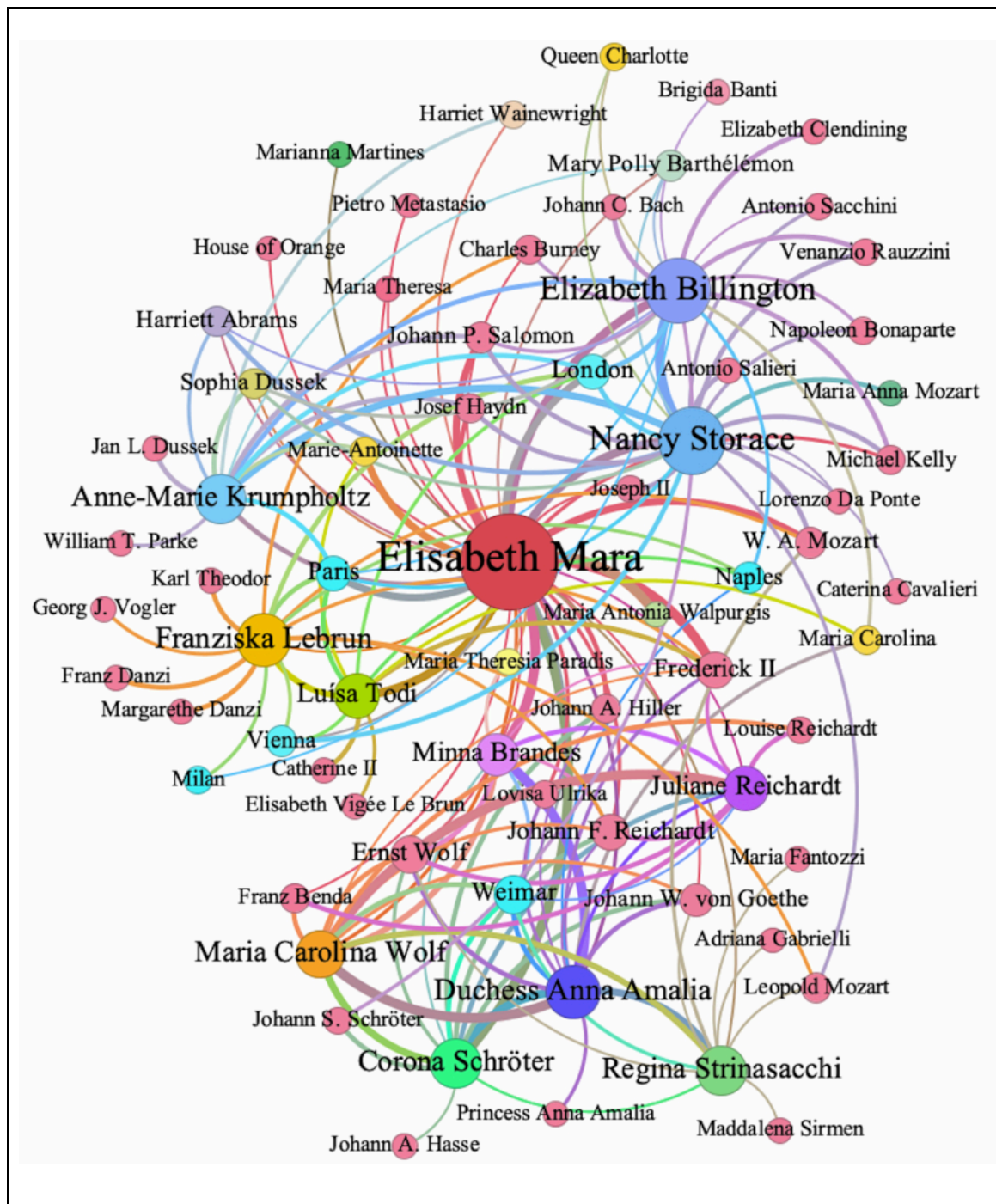


Fig. 2.24. Mara composite network with Elizabeth Billington

Nancy Storace and Elizabeth Billington emerge as the principal figures with the most extensive interconnections within the database alongside Elisabeth Mara. This highlights their prominence in the broader musical and social landscape of the time. While some peripheral individuals may not be firmly embedded in the core network, a significant number remain prominently linked to the central figures, suggesting their relevance in the broader web of relationships.

The collective network unveils an intricate web that revolves around Weimar, London, and Paris. Anne-Marie Krumpholz and Franziska Lebrun demonstrate affiliations spanning Paris and London, in contrast to the distinct Weimar cluster, which exhibits less crossover. This observation suggests that Duchess Anna Amalia's circle operated in relative seclusion with limited travel. However, including Nancy Storace and Elizabeth Billington has slightly deepened the integration of the Weimar cluster into the overall network.

London's concert scene

In the vibrant atmosphere of eighteenth-century London, a diverse array of music genres flourished, extending well beyond the realm of opera.⁶⁰⁸ While opera performances undoubtedly held a prominent place,⁶⁰⁹ the city also boasted a flourishing concert scene, thanks in part to the contributions of the opera stars we have previously discussed: Elisabeth Mara, Nancy Storace, and Elisabeth Billington. However, these women were not alone in shaping London's musical landscape; they shared the limelight with notable performers such as Harriett Abrams, Mary Polly Young Barthélemon, and Sophia Corri Dussek, collectively enriching the city's musical tapestry.

2.12 Harriett Abrams (1758–1821)

Singer, composer, and entrepreneur Harriett Abrams was a musically gifted Jewish family member with roots primarily in the London region.⁶¹⁰ The family comprised a number of talented individuals including singer/actress Georgiana (Miss G.,

⁶⁰⁸ Maxine Berg, "Music, Culture, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain," Warwick Global History and Culture Center (blog), University of Warwick, August 4, 2020.

⁶⁰⁹ For a comprehensive exploration of the cultural and commercial life of opera in London during the eighteenth century, I recommend Ian Woodfield, *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London: The King's Theatre, Garrick and the Business of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶¹⁰ Kalman A. Burnim, "The Jewish Presence in the London Theatre, 1660–1800," *Jewish Historical Studies*, no. 33 (1992): 83.

n.d.), singers Jane (c1767–1814), Flora (n.d.), and Theodosia (1761–1849), singer/pianist Eliza (c1763–after 1827), violinist Charles (n.d.), cellist William (n.d.) and violinist/singer David Bramah (1775–1837).⁶¹¹ While each member achieved varying degrees of success, Harriett stood out as the family’s most recognized figure, frequently collaborating with her sisters.⁶¹²

Harriett’s resume underscores her formidable musical talent, which defied societal expectations and expanded the possibilities for women, particularly those of Jewish descent, in late eighteenth-century England.⁶¹³ Despite receiving vocal training from composer Thomas Arne,⁶¹⁴ it was playwright David Garrick (1717–1779) who ultimately recognized her talent.⁶¹⁵

I am somewhat puzzled about introducing my little jew Girl — she is surprizing! — I want to introduce her as the little Gipsy with 3 or 4 exquisite Songs.⁶¹⁶

As a result, Arne and Garrick collaborated to produce a musical farce titled *May-Day* for Harriett’s debut theatrical performance in 1775.⁶¹⁷ Over the next five years, she continued to perform at Drury Lane with varying degrees of success.⁶¹⁸

After 1780, Harriett transitioned from the theatrical stage to London’s premier concert venues, focusing predominantly on performing Italian arias and duets alongside her sisters.⁶¹⁹ She was a regular performer in the prestigious Concert of Antient Music

⁶¹¹ David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 78–81. Conway disputes David Bramah’s connection to the family. *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 80.

⁶¹³ Susan Levin, “The Gipsy Is a Jewess: Harriett Abrams and Theatrical Romanticism,” in *Romantic Women Writers: Voices and Countervoices*, ed. by Paula R. Feldman and Theresa M. Kelley (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), 10, 236–251.

⁶¹⁴ “[Abrams] first appeared in ‘May-Day, or the Little Gipsy,’ written by David Garrick; the music by Dr. Arne, whose pupil she was.” Parke, 1: 148. Contemporary scholars question whether Arne did, indeed, teach Abrams. Berta Joncus, “‘United Voices Formed the Very Perfection of Harmony’: Music and the Invention of Harriett Abrams (c1758–1821),” in *Celebrity: The Idiom of a Modern Era*, ed. by Bärbel Czennia (New York: AMS Press, 2013), 71–72.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 68, 80.

⁶¹⁶ (Excerpt, letter from David Garrick to George Colman (1732–1794), October 1775) David Garrick, *The Letters of David Garrick*, ed. by David M. Little George M. Kahrl, and Phoebe deK. Wilson, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1963), 3: 1041. For information about Jewish actors in London, see Burnim, “The Jewish Presence in the London Theatre,” 65–96.

⁶¹⁷ “Story of May-Day, or the Little Gypsy,” *The Lady’s Magazine* (London: G. Robinson, 1778), 599–600. For a contemporary analysis of the play and its contextual circumstances, see Joncus, “‘United Voices Formed the Very Perfection of Harmony,’” 72–76.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 76–81. In 1779, on January 8 and September 30, her sister Georgiana, known as Miss G, also joined Harriett in performances at Drury Lane. See Ben Ross Schneider, *Index to The London Stage, 1660–1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 2.

⁶¹⁹ Joncus, 83–85.

subscription series, often appearing alongside Elisabeth Mara.⁶²⁰ Although lacking a powerful voice, Harriett's singing was distinguished by its "sweetness and delicacy."⁶²¹ This quality rendered her particularly suited for performances in intimate settings such as concert halls and salons rather than expansive opera houses and theatres, a fact duly noted by Charles Burney following her performance at Handel's Commemoration at Westminster Abbey in 1784.

The happy construction of Westminster-Abbey for cherishing and preserving musical tones, by a gentle augmentation without echo or repetition, was demonstrated by no part of the performance more clearly than in that of Miss Abrams; whose voice, though sweet and of a good quality, is not regarded as Theatrical, but such as the Italians denominate *Voce di Camera*. Ye, in singing the pleasing Air, "But thou didst not leave his soul in hell," (Ps. xvi. II.) which she did with considerable taste and expression, her voice was rendered more audible in every part of that immense building, than it has ever been in any Concert-Room in London.⁶²²

During the 1790s, Harriett's entrepreneurial spirit soared as she joined forces with her sisters, Theodosia and Eliza, to form a trio.⁶²³ Their performances became highly sought after at events such as the "Ladies' Catch and Glee Concerts" and at exclusive gatherings among the aristocracy.⁶²⁴ Moreover, the Abrams sisters were featured in Salomon's London Symphonies, performing with a distinguished cohort of London's leading musicians, including Anne-Marie Krumpholtz and Nancy Storace.⁶²⁵ Daniel Lysons noted the harmonious blend of the Abrams sisters' voices, which emanated from their extensive experience of singing together.⁶²⁶ Earl Richard Mount Edgcumbe echoes the sentiment and emphasizes their popularity.

There is but one name more that I shall mention, and that very slightly; but when excellence in music is the subject, it cannot be omitted. It is that of the Misses Abrams, who were unrivalled in their line, and whose united

⁶²⁰ Levin, "The Gipsy Is a Jewess," 241–242; and Parke, 1: 55.

⁶²¹ Parke, 1: 55, 92, 149.

⁶²² Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey* (London: Musical Fund, 1785), 80–81.

⁶²³ Daniel Lysons, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Meeting of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford* (Gloucester: D. Walker, 1812), 214.

⁶²⁴ Carl Ferdinand Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1867), 2: 54 [284].

⁶²⁵ Landon, *The Symphonies*, 441. For insights into the female musicians who performed at the Professional Concerts and Salomon Symphonies, such as Elizabeth Billington, Elisabeth Mara, and Sophia Corri Dussek, see Landon, 435–551.

⁶²⁶ Lysons, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Meeting of the Three Choirs*, 214.

voices formed the very perfection of harmony. But of them I shall not permit myself to speak; private friendship might make my praise appear too partial. I restrain myself with the less regret from saying what I feel, because their talents (still fresh in the remembrance of many) and their merits of every kind are too widely known to need my panegyric, and too universally acknowledged to admit of the possibility of contradiction.⁶²⁷

Between 1780 and 1796, she appeared in ninety performances, although certain engagements may have been attributed to her sister Theodosia.⁶²⁸ Harriett demonstrated her organizational skills by orchestrating benefit concerts in 1792, 1794, and 1795, with Haydn himself presiding.⁶²⁹ William Thomas Parke recalls Harriett engaging him for a series of concerts that she conducted at Lord Vernon's residence, further indicating her influence on the music scene.⁶³⁰

In addition to her singing career, Harriett Abrams was recognized as a prolific composer, credited with creating at least sixty songs.⁶³¹ Her compositions exhibit a predominant stylistic inclination toward sentimental ballads imbued with dramatic flair.⁶³² They reflect her familiarity with theatre music, marked by strategic use of dramatic pauses, shifting moods, varied tempos, and vibrant accompaniments that infuse her compositions with a sense of dynamism.⁶³³ Among her notable songs, "Crazy Jane" stands out for its exceptional popularity, inspiring numerous adaptations, including piano variations by virtuoso Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858) and even a unique hat.⁶³⁴

Little is known of Harriett Abrams after 1800. She remained unmarried, and she and Eliza lived with their sister, Theodosia, in Torquay until their deaths.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁷ Mount Edgcumbe, 148–149.

⁶²⁸ See McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Abrams — <Miss>Harriet].

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 485–486, 516, 544. Both Harriett and Theodosia were admirers of Haydn and subscribed to the first edition of his *Creation*. See H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works. 4: The Years of 'The Creation' 1796–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 4: 622.

⁶³⁰ [possibly George Venables-Vernon, 2nd Baron Vernon (1735–1813)] Parke, 1: 148–149. Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London*, 2: 54 [284] provides a litany of other aristocratic homes in which the Abrams sisters.

⁶³¹ Levin, 243. For a complete list of her extant works, see Joncus, 99–100; and Barbara Garvey Jackson, "Miss Abrams (ca. 1758–ca.1822), in *WCMA*, ed. by Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York, NY: G.K. Hall & Co, 1996), 4: 224–237.

⁶³² Joncus, 92–104.

⁶³³ Levin, 242–246.

⁶³⁴ Margaret Baron-Wilson, *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), 1: 189; and Highfill, 1:24. For copies of the "Crazy Jane" and Cramer's variations, see Harriett Abrams, "Crazy Jane" in *The Music of Pizarro: A Play*, ed. by Michael Kelley (London: Mr. Kelley, 1799), 122–125; and Harriett Abrams and Johann Baptist Cramer, *Variazioni per cembalo, o piano forte, del Sig.^{re} Gio: Batta Cramer*, no. 6, 131–136. For additional history on the extraordinary popularity of "Crazy Jane," see Joncus, 94–95, no. 86.

⁶³⁵ Theodosia was the only sister to have married, first to Thomas Fisher (1773–1810) and then to Joseph Garrow (1789–1857). Her daughter, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, was a well-known English writer,

They have for many years quitted the profession, but still continued till lately to delight their friends in private; but I lament to add that Miss Abrams [Harriett] died two years ago. Her sister, Miss Theodosia (now Mrs. Garrow), and Miss Eliza, yet sing as well as when in the height of their practice, and Mrs. Garrow's beautiful contralto voice remains unimpaired: they live wholly in the country.⁶³⁶

Abrams, Mara, Storace, Billington, and Krumpholtz

Harriett Abrams was a seasoned performer who sang before King George III and Queen Charlotte at the Concerts of Antient Music as early as 1785, and at Johann Salomon's subscription concerts in the 1790s.⁶³⁷ Moreover, she shared the limelight with some of the most celebrated musicians of the day, such as Joseph Haydn, Michael Kelly, Johann Baptist Cramer, and Jan Ladislav Dussek.⁶³⁸ However, what distinguishes her in this investigation is her collaborations with opera luminaries Elisabeth Mara, Nancy Storace, and Elizabeth Billington, as well as with harpist Anne-Marie Krumpholtz.⁶³⁹ According to the *Calendar of London Concerts*, Abrams performed in eight concerts with Billington, six with Krumpholtz, an impressive twenty-five with Storace, and an incredible thirty-one with Mara.⁶⁴⁰ In addition, she was the only female in the database to share the stage with Franziska Danzi Lebrun.⁶⁴¹ These numbers speak volumes about Harriett Abrams's talent and popularity as a performer.

2.13 Mary Polly Young Barthélemon (1749–1799)

Mary Polly Young, a soprano, composer, and harpsichordist native to London, was born into a family of consummate organists, composers, and singers.⁶⁴² Given her

poet, and translator. John Hostettler and Richard Braby, *Sir William Garrow: His Life, Times, and Fight for Justice* (Hampshire: Waterside Press, 2010), 249–253.

⁶³⁶ Mount Edgcumbe, 149.

⁶³⁷ Parke, 1: 55; Pohl, 2: 8; and Landon, *The Symphonies*, 441, 449, 485.

⁶³⁸ Landon, *The Symphonies*, 441, 516, 544; and Pohl, 2: 8, 15, 106; and Parke, 1: 92.

⁶³⁹ See Pohl, 2: 8, 15, 106; Parke, 1: 55, 92, 143; and Landon, *The Symphonies*, 441, 449, 544.

⁶⁴⁰ McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Abrams — <Miss>Harriet]; [Billington — <Mrs>Elizabeth]; [Krumpholtz — <Mme>Anne-Marie]; [Mara — <Mme>Gertrud Elisabeth].

⁶⁴¹ See Holman, "London Performances," Cross-referencing database.

⁶⁴² Deborah Hayes, "Maria Barthélemon (1749–1799)," in *WCMA*, 5: 54. Mary Polly's musical lineage is impressive. Her grandfather, Charles Young (1686–1758), was a renowned organist and composer recognized for his contributions to the Church of England, as well as for his vocal performances at St. Paul's Cathedral (Highfill, 16: 349, 354). Her granduncle, Anthony Young (1683–1747), was a distinguished organist and composer who played a key role in establishing the Royal Society of Musicians (Highfill, 16: 348–349). Polly's aunt, Esther Young Jones (1717–1795), gained acclaim as an operatic contralto and was married to music publisher Charles Jones (n.d.) (Highfill, 16: 349–351). Another aunt, Cecilia Young Arne (1712–1789), was celebrated as one of the premier English sopranos of the eighteenth

family's rich musical heritage, it seems inevitable that Polly would continue their musical tradition.⁶⁴³ Despite an atypical upbringing under the guardianship of her aunt and uncle, Cecilia and Thomas Arne, instead of her biological parents, Polly exhibited remarkable talent from an early age.⁶⁴⁴ Accompanied by her sister Elizabeth, she traveled to Dublin with her guardians and made her operatic debut at age six in Arne's *Eliza*.⁶⁴⁵ The Irish dramatist John O'Keefe once described Polly as a "beautiful little creature," noting her fine singing and performance as "Ariel" in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, which he found appealing.⁶⁴⁶ He highlighted her charming face and petite figure, which he felt added to her representation of a "bewitching sprite."⁶⁴⁷

In May the following year, Polly and Elizabeth sang in a production of their uncle's opera, *Alfred*, in oratorio format, culminating in a ball.⁶⁴⁸ However, in the aftermath of the performance, Arne left for London, deserting his wife, amid speculations hinting that Polly's apprenticeship with the couple might have influenced his decision.⁶⁴⁹

century. She was wed to composer Thomas Arne (1710–1778) and was the mother or adopted mother of composer and keyboardist Michael Arne (1740–1786) (Highfill, 1: 101, 118). A third aunt, Isabella Young Lampe (1715–1795), was a renowned operatic soprano recognized for her notable performances and married to the composer John Frederick Lampe (1703–1751) (Highfill, 9: 139–141). Polly's sister, Isabella Young Scott (n.d.–1791), a mezzo-soprano and organist known for her concert and operatic singing, was married to the Honorable John Scott (1738–1788), the son of Henry Scott, 3rd Earl of Deloraine (1712–1739) (Highfill, 16: 351–353). Her other sister, Elizabeth Young Dorman (n.d.–1773), distinguished herself as a contralto and actress, specializing in trouser and mature women's roles. She was married to the violinist Ridley Dorman (n.d.) (Highfill, 4: 455–456). In contrast to her musically inclined relatives, Polly's father, Charles Young (n.d.), pursued a career as a treasury clerk, standing out as the only member of the family not directly involved in the music industry (Highfill, 16: 349, 354). Information about Polly's mother is not available. The family tree is published in Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 131.

⁶⁴³ Throughout her profile, I refer to her as Polly to distinguish her primarily from the many musical members of her family, the Youngs, and later from her equally renowned husband, François-Hippolyte Barthélemon.

⁶⁴⁴ Sophie Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers: Britain and the United States, 1629–Present* (London: Pandora, 1994), 47.

⁶⁴⁵ "Mrs. Arne, whose Excellence is well known, had the Misfortune of a violent Hoarseness, and rose from her Bed in a Fever to perform [...] but Miss Polly Young, a Child of six Years of Age, pleased and astonished the whole Company, having a sweet melodious voice, accenting her Words with great Propriety, and Singing perfectly in Time and Tune." (*Dublin Journal*, December 6, 1755) (Quoted) William H. Cummings, *Dr. Arne and "Rule, Britannia"* (London: Novello and Company, 1912), 42–43.

⁶⁴⁶ John O'Keefe, *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe*, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1826), 1: 149–150.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Cummings, *Dr. Arne and "Rule, Britannia,"* 45–46.

⁶⁴⁹ Highfill, 16: 354. Despite thorough research, no primary sources have been identified to substantiate the conjecture regarding the potential impact of Polly's presence on her uncle's move to London. Nevertheless, it has been suggested by certain scholars that Thomas Arne's departure from Dublin could have been influenced by his association with his pupil, Charlotte Brent (1734–1802), who accompanied Polly and her family to Dublin and subsequently returned with Arne to London. (Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 241; Sands, 75; Highfill, 1: 112–113.). Charles Burney was apprenticed to Thomas Arne in 1744 and lived with him and Cecilia for three years. He attested to Cecilia's parental and musical guidance and her kindness toward him and noted that Arne did not merit the "title of a good family man." See Charles Burney, "Letter to François Barthelemon and his Wife, October 21, 1789," Burney Family

Nevertheless, Polly and her Aunt Cecilia remained in Dublin, where the young singer continued to perform.⁶⁵⁰ Suffering from ill health, Cecilia began offering singing lessons with Polly accompanying them on the harpsichord.⁶⁵¹ Recognizing their hardships, the Dublin community rallied around Cecilia and Polly, organizing a benefit concert in their honor in March of 1757.⁶⁵² After a series of successful benefit concerts and grand balls, the two performers eventually returned to London.⁶⁵³

In 1762, at thirteen, Polly made her London debut at Covent Garden in the *Conscious Lovers*.⁶⁵⁴ Working on her craft, Polly studied under the castrato Giovanni Manzuoli (1720–1782) during the 1764 season and appeared in several pasticcio operas, which included arias by Johann Christian Bach.⁶⁵⁵ In 1765, Polly took to the stage at the Haymarket Theatre, where she met her future husband, the celebrated violinist, composer, and orchestra leader François-Hippolyte Barthélemon.⁶⁵⁶ Their meeting marked the beginning of a lifelong partnership both on and off the stage.⁶⁵⁷ Polly sang in a new Italian opera, *Pelopida*, Barthélemon’s compositional debut in May of the following year.⁶⁵⁸ Throughout the remainder of the decade, Mrs. Barthélemon experienced a considerable rise in popularity.⁶⁵⁹ She primarily worked alongside her recently-wedded

Collection. The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

⁶⁵⁰ Highfill, 16: 354–355. No extant records document Elizabeth’s activities in Dublin subsequent to her involvement in *Alfred*, suggesting a possible return to London with her uncle. Highfill, 4: 455–456.

⁶⁵¹ Mary Granville Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. by Lady Llanover, 3 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1861), 502–503. Mrs. Delany criticized Cecilia, claiming that she could have been a great singer if only she had not been so idle. (Ibid.) However, William Cummings hastens to remark that Mrs. Delany must have been ignorant of the fact that at this juncture, Cecilia was 47 years old and had been performing for the public for 26 years. Cummings, 48.

⁶⁵² “Mrs. Arne, having opened the Music-Hall in Fishamble-Street for her Benefit on Saturday the 12th of Feb., under great Disadvantages, is advised by her Friends (who had Notice of that Night, *and are sensible of her Losses*) to fix on Thursday, the 10th of March, for her Benefit and Miss Young’s, when the Ladies and Gentlemen who will honour them with their Company, may depend they shall on no Account be disappointed.” *Dublin Journal* (March 5–8, 1757) (Quoted) Cummings, 46–47.

⁶⁵³ Cummings, 46–49.

⁶⁵⁴ “Mr. Beard [John Beard (1716–1791)] introduced this young lady, with a few occasional words, on the 30th of September, in the *Conscious Lovers*: This, with the agreeable innocence of her appearance (for she is scarce in her teens) greatly prepossessed the audience in her favour. Her performance heightened their opinion of her; and those who were judges, pronounced that she would one day reach the summit of musical perfection. Her performance on the harpsichord, is equal to her excellence in singing.” *The Theatrical Review; or, Annals of the Drama* (London: S. Williams, Wilson and Fell, 1762), 1: 39; and “The London Stage Database, 1660–1800 [Actor: Young, Polly]” *Eighteenth Century Drama: Censorship, Society and the Stage*, 2024.

⁶⁵⁵ Heinz Gärtner, *J. C. Bach, Mozart’s Friend and Mentor*, tr. by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1994), 268; and Charles Sanford Terry, *John Christian Bach* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 81–85.

⁶⁵⁶ Highfill, 16: 355.

⁶⁵⁷ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 285.

⁶⁵⁸ Highfill, 16: 355.

⁶⁵⁹ Hayes, “Maria Barthélemon,” 5: 54–55.

husband, standing out as the sole non-Italian singer active in the Italian opera circuit of the 1760s.⁶⁶⁰ Despite their demanding careers, the couple had a child, Cecilia Maria Barthélemon (1767–1859), who carried on the family legacy as a versatile performer and composer.⁶⁶¹

In the early 1770s, the Barthélémons were a regular fixture at Marylebone Gardens, where they would have known a young Nancy Storage.⁶⁶² François had recently secured the position of band leader, and they both maintained a busy performance schedule at the King’s Theatre, Drury Lane, and Covent Garden.⁶⁶³ In the 1771–1772 season, the couple traveled to Dublin, where Polly assumed leading roles in a subscription series of twelve burlettas under François’s direction.⁶⁶⁴ Following their successful stint in Dublin, Polly continued to appear in London venues over the next several years until the Barthélemon family set out on a European tour of France, Italia, and the Germanic regions in 1776 and 1777.⁶⁶⁵ During their travels, they cultivated relationships with three rulers from the Habsburg family: In Florence, Polly sang in her husband’s oratorio, *Jefte in Masfa*, requested by the Duke of Tuscany, Leopold I (1747–1792).⁶⁶⁶ In addition, the Barthélemon couple performed in private audiences with Queen Maria Carolina in Naples.⁶⁶⁷ A particularly memorable encounter occurred during their visit to Versailles.⁶⁶⁸ Cecilia Barthelemon recounts in a letter to family friend Joseph Cradock that she had the “honour” of sitting on Queen Marie-Antoinette’s lap while her parents performed.⁶⁶⁹

Polly remained close to her Aunt Cecilia, who had withdrawn from public

⁶⁶⁰ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 285, 327.

⁶⁶¹ Not to be confused with Polly’s Aunt Cecilia. Highfill, 1: 362–363.

⁶⁶² Sands, 80–83.

⁶⁶³ “The London Stage Database, 1660–1800 [Actor: Barthelemon].”

⁶⁶⁴ Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992), 81, 88, 91–92. *A burletta is a short comic opera.

⁶⁶⁵ Jean Gribenski, “François Hippolyte Barthélemon,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), 15: cols. 509–515; and Highfill, 16: 356.

⁶⁶⁶ Cecilia Maria Barthelemon, “Memoir of F. H. Barthélemon: Selections from the Oratorio of Jéfte in Masfa,” in *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, ed. by Richard M. Bacon (London: Hurst and Chance, 1827), 9: 240–241. *This memoir is featured as a preface in François-Hippolyte and Cecilia Maria Barthélemon, *Selections from the Oratorio of Jéfte in Masfa* (London: Clementi, Collard & Collard, 1827).

⁶⁶⁷ Gribenski, “François Hippolyte Barthélemon,” 15: cols. 510.

⁶⁶⁸ (Letter from Cecilia Barthelemon to Joseph Cradock, January 13, 1826) (Reproduced) Joseph Cradock, ed, *Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs*, 4 vols. (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), 4: 132–133.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Biographers reference this anecdote (Highfill, 1: 362; Deborah Hayes, “Cecilia Maria Barthélemon (ca. 1770–after 1840),” in *WCMA*, 3: 213. However, as far as I am aware, this dissertation is the first publication to disclose the location of the letter. Cecilia further elaborates on the account, recalling, “She [Marie-Antoinette] wished us to remain in Paris at least time enough to have a picture of the trio— alas! poor Antoinette! how art thou fallen!”

performances when the two returned to London in 1762 due to poor health.⁶⁷⁰ Cecilia had lived with the Barthélémons since their marriage, although she had not accompanied them on their continental tour.⁶⁷¹ The year after the family's homecoming, Polly and her daughter, Cecilia Maria, played a crucial role in reconciling her aunt and uncle, Cecilia and Thomas Arne, after two decades of estrangement.⁶⁷² The reunited couple lived together for six months before Arne passed away.⁶⁷³ After his death, Aunt Cecilia moved back in with the Barthélémons until her own demise in 1789.⁶⁷⁴

In the 1780s, the Barthélémons' careers declined, and securing engagements became increasingly challenging.⁶⁷⁵ François's tenure as the King's Theatre concertmaster was abruptly terminated after only one year in 1783, and Polly's contract was not renewed in 1784.⁶⁷⁶ In April of the same year, all three Barthélémons performed at the Haymarket in a benefit concert for François.⁶⁷⁷ Yet, Polly wrote a message to the *Morning Post* in November detailing her fruitless attempts to secure work, having been rejected by every opera house, theatre, public and private concert series, and pleasure garden she had approached.⁶⁷⁸ In the letter, she conveyed her bewilderment at the inexplicable rebuffs, begging "to know in what manner she should act in this unfortunate situation, having not the least misconduct or indecorum to charge herself with knowingly!"⁶⁷⁹ Historians have speculated whether this was simply a publicity stunt or stemmed from a sense of hubris emanating from her erstwhile healthy career.⁶⁸⁰ However, Elisabeth Mara sheds light on the challenges performers encountered in their

⁶⁷⁰ Highfill, 1: 120. However, Cecilia made an exception in 1774, coming out of retirement for one night to participate in a benefit concert for Polly and her husband.

⁶⁷¹ Highfill, 1: 120.; and Cradock, *Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs*, 4: 132–133.

⁶⁷² (Cecilia Barthelemon's memorandum) (Quoted) Cummings, 95. Although Cummings mentions that the memorandum is preserved by one of Cecilia Barthelemon's descendants, he does not provide any clues regarding its location.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 95–96.

⁶⁷⁴ Cummings, 102–103.

⁶⁷⁵ Highfill, 1: 365 and 16: 356–357.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁷ Polly sang the lead role in Thomas Arne's *Eliza*, while François and Cecilia contributed to the concert by performing incidental music between Acts. After Act I, Cecilia played a piano concerto accompanied by her father on the viola d'amore, and after Act II, mother and daughter sang an Italian duet. (ayes, "Barthélemon, Maria (1749–1799)," 5: 55; and Cecilia Maria Barthélemon, *Accompanied Keyboard Sonatas...*, ed. and prefaced by Calvert Johnson (Fayetteville, Ark: ClarNan Editions, 1993), viii.

⁶⁷⁸ *The Morning Post* (November 2, 1784) (Quoted) McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 182–183.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ Fuller, *The Pandora Guide to Women Composers*, 48; Highfill cites a passage from the *Memoirs of Mrs. Billington* claiming that the Barthélémons were widely detested. (Highfill, 1: 366 and 16: 357.) However, given my prior discussion regarding the book's dubious authenticity, it would be wise to approach this anecdote with skepticism.

quest for success in London, providing context for Polly's frustration.⁶⁸¹ Ultimately, Polly and François opted to return to Dublin for the 1784–1785 season, albeit with somewhat diminished success compared to their previous engagements there.⁶⁸²

Upon their return to London in 1786, the Barthélémons underwent a notable transformation, shifting their focus from performance to an increasing involvement in Freemasonry.⁶⁸³ Engaging with Swedenborg reading groups, they pursued intellectual and humanitarian interests, while Polly also explored her talents in composition.⁶⁸⁴ Her musical works included the publication of a collection of six harpsichord sonatas with violin accompaniment in 1776, followed by the release of *Six English and Italian Songs* a decade later.⁶⁸⁵ Demonstrating a commitment to philanthropy, Polly composed *The Weaver's Prayer* (1790), which was featured at concerts the couple organized for distressed Spitsfield weavers.⁶⁸⁶ A few years later, she composed *Three Hymns and Three Anthems* (1795) for the Asylum and Magdalen Chapels, dedicating them to the organizations' governors.⁶⁸⁷ Polly also wrote the cantata *An Ode on the Late Providential Preservation of Our Most Gracious Sovereign* (1795) to celebrate King George III's

⁶⁸¹ See p. 216, no. 426. Simon McVeigh examines the challenges encountered by concert musicians striving for success in London during this time, as well. McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 182–205. Highfill, on the other hand, cites a contractual misunderstanding between François Barthélémon, the Vauxhall Gardens, and the Kings' Theatre Opera. Highfill, 1: 365 and 16: 357.

⁶⁸² Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin*, 126–127, 158, 162, 166.

⁶⁸³ François Barthélémon is credited as one of the founders of the French Lodge in London. "The Annalist," in *The Freemasons Quarterly Review*, 2nd series (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1845), 33.

⁶⁸⁴ Highfill, 16: 356–357. This reading group was formed to study the mystical writings of Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). The Swedenborg Society, mentioned in Highfill, 16: 357, established in 1810 with the aim of publishing and translating the works of Emanuel Swedenborg into English, has evolved into a multifaceted institution. It operates as a registered charity, academic publisher, archive, and museum, all dedicated to the preservation and dissemination of Swedenborg's legacy. *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁵ Maria Barthélémon, *Six Sonatas for the harpsichord or Piano Forte: with an Accompaniment for a Violin* (New York: Performers' Facsimiles, 1997). This is a collection of two-movement sonatas; the third sonata, in C major, is republished in Hayes, "Maria Barthelemon," in WCMA 5: 55, 59–58. Maria Barthelemon, *Six English and Italian Songs*, op. 2 (London: Self-published, 1786). The list of subscribers includes Elisabeth Mara, Charles Burney, William T. Parke, and Muzio Clementi.

⁶⁸⁶ David Worrall, *Theatric Revolution: Drama, Censorship, and Romantic Period Subcultures, 1773–1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7. *The Weaver's Prayer* is a Psalm setting with James Merrick's (1720–1769) poetry. The name was later changed to "The Lacemakers' Prayer" for a performance at the Brixworth Music Festival in 2020. See Frances M. Lynch, "Maria Barthélemon (Polly Young): Composer, Singer and Keyboardist," *Minerva Scientifica*, 2024. The Barthélémons were also ardent supporters of charitable causes, such as the "Freemason's Charity School for Female Children." See Worrall, *Theatric Revolution*, 7.

⁶⁸⁷ The list of subscribers includes "Miss Abrams" [possibly Harriett], Charles Burney, Joseph Haydn, Johann Salomon, and pianist and composer Jane Guest Miles (c1762–1846). See Maria Barthelemon, *Three Hymns and Three Anthems*, op. 3 (London: J. Bland, 1795). For a song analysis, see Leslie Ritchie, "Composing Themselves: Music, Morality, and Social Harmony in Women's Writing, 1740–1815" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2000), 85–90.

latest recovery.⁶⁸⁸ While Polly possibly composed additional works, these five compositions are the only ones known to have survived.⁶⁸⁹

Information regarding the Barthélémons' activities during the 1790s remains sparse, save for their friendship with Joseph Haydn during his extended stay in England, during which he frequently visited their residence.⁶⁹⁰ In May 1792, Haydn accompanied Polly for her husband's benefit concert that Johann Salomon organized at the Hanover Square Rooms.⁶⁹¹ Biographical accounts indicate that Polly's final documented concert took place at the coastal retreat of Brighton in 1795, with her death noted in London on September 20, 1799.⁶⁹² However, discrepancies in the historical record offer opportunities for further exploration. McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts* places Polly's last performance at a Haymarket concert in 1800, while Roger Fiske cites her death as occurring in 1808.⁶⁹³ The inconsistency regarding the final concert could stem from confusion between Polly and her daughter Cecilia, although Cecilia reportedly ceased performing following her marriage in 1796.⁶⁹⁴ Fiske's later date of 1808 might be attributable to a typographical error, particularly considering François Barthélémon's remarriage after Polly's demise and his subsequent passing in 1808.⁶⁹⁵ Cummings asserts that Polly's remains were interred in the same vault as her Aunt Cecilia's within the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, with the detail that the two coffins were linked together with a chain.⁶⁹⁶ However, Cummings does not provide a specific citation for this detail, leaving its veracity subject to supplementary inquiry.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁸⁸ Maria Barthelemon, *An Ode on the Late Providential Preservation of Our Most Gracious Sovereign*, op. 5 (London: Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow, 1795). King George III was not only afflicted with bipolar disorder, but in 1785, he survived a mob attack. See Arthur Burns, "The Madness of George III Explored: A Virtual Exhibition. Part 2: 'The King is Himself Again!'" *Georgian Papers Programme*. GEO/ADD/15/8167. For further insights, see Ritchie, "Composing Themselves," 288–293.

⁶⁸⁹ Barbara Garvey Jackson, "*Say Can You Deny Me*": *A Guide to Surviving Music by Women from the 16th through the 18th Centuries*. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 45–46.

⁶⁹⁰ Cradock, 4: 133. In her copy of the *Second Sett of Dr. Haydn's VI Original Canzonettas*, Cecilia Maria Barthelemon (Henslow) inscribed, "I had the great pleasure to hear the famous Doct. Haydn play & sing his beautiful Canzonetts, (in my youth) in my Dear Father's House at Vauxhall. Oh! What a treat it was! The dear good & respected Haydn was often with us — & express'd much pleasure, when my beloved mother took the upper part (with me) of a Duett of Handels (in his fine Opera of Poro) — She had a fine high soprano voice — & had been (when very young) a scholar of the famous Geminiani [Francesco (1687–1762)]." (Quoted) Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 3: 169.

⁶⁹¹ See Landon, *The Symphonies*, 500.

⁶⁹² Fuller, 48; Hayes, "Maria Barthélemon," 5: 55; Highfill, 16: 357.

⁶⁹³ See McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts*; and Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 131.

⁶⁹⁴ See Hayes, "Cecilia Maria Barthélemon," 3: 213–232.

⁶⁹⁵ See Neal Zaslaw, "Barthélemon, François-Hippolyte," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2: 194.

⁶⁹⁶ Cummings, 104.

⁶⁹⁷ The fate of the coffins within the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields took a significant turn in the early 20th century. Many of the coffins were removed, potentially including those of Polly and her Aunt

Mary Polly Barthélémon, known professionally as Polly Young and later as Mrs. Barthélémon, left a notable imprint on the London opera scene, participating in a total of 43 productions under her maiden name and 23 under her married name.⁶⁹⁸ Intriguingly, despite her prolific involvement in opera, she appeared in only seven stand-alone concerts without collaborating with any of the other female musicians examined in this study.⁶⁹⁹ In contrast, her husband, François Barthélémon, boasted an impressive record of 309 concert performances in London, sharing the stage with Harriett Abrams on six occasions, Elizabeth Billington once, Elisabeth Mara twice, and Nancy Storace four times.⁷⁰⁰ Given the intimate musical milieu of London and the close relationship between the Barthélémons, it is plausible that Polly interacted with other female musicians active in the city during this period. Indeed, evidence suggests familiarity between Polly and notable contemporaries such as Elisabeth Mara and Harriett Abrams, as both subscribed to Polly’s musical works, indicating a degree of professional and possibly personal acquaintance.⁷⁰¹

— Merging concert and operatic performers

Harriett Abrams carved out a distinguished career as a concert performer, a field distinct from the opulent theatrics of opera. Nevertheless, as depicted in Figure 2.25, her network encompassed individuals from both worlds, highlighting the interconnectedness of London’s musical community. Abrams is known for her frequent appearances in concert alongside opera luminaries, renowned instrumentalists, and distinguished conductors. There is no evidence that Abrams performed professionally outside London.⁷⁰²

Cecilia. Today, the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields has been repurposed into a vibrant space, housing a café and serving as a venue for musical performances, marking a departure from its original function as a burial site. See Malcolm Johnson, *Crypts of London* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2013), 35–44.

⁶⁹⁸ “The London Stage Database, 1660–1800 [Actor: Young, Polly; and Actor: Barthelemon].”

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid. and McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts*. [Young 2 — <Miss>]; [Young — M <Polly Mary>]; [Barthelemon — M <Mary Polly>].

⁷⁰⁰ See McVeigh, [Barthelemon (François-Hippolyte)]; [Abrams — <Miss>Harriet]; [Billington — <Mrs>Elizabeth]; [Mara — <Mme>Gertrud Elisabeth]; [Storace — <Signora>Nancy [Anna]]; and Holman, “London Performances,” Cross-referencing database.

⁷⁰¹ See p. 253, nos. 279 and 281.

⁷⁰² McVeigh [Abrams — <Miss>Harriet] lists 90 London performances. William T. Parke indicates that, later in life, Abrams may have performed privately for friends. See p. 247.

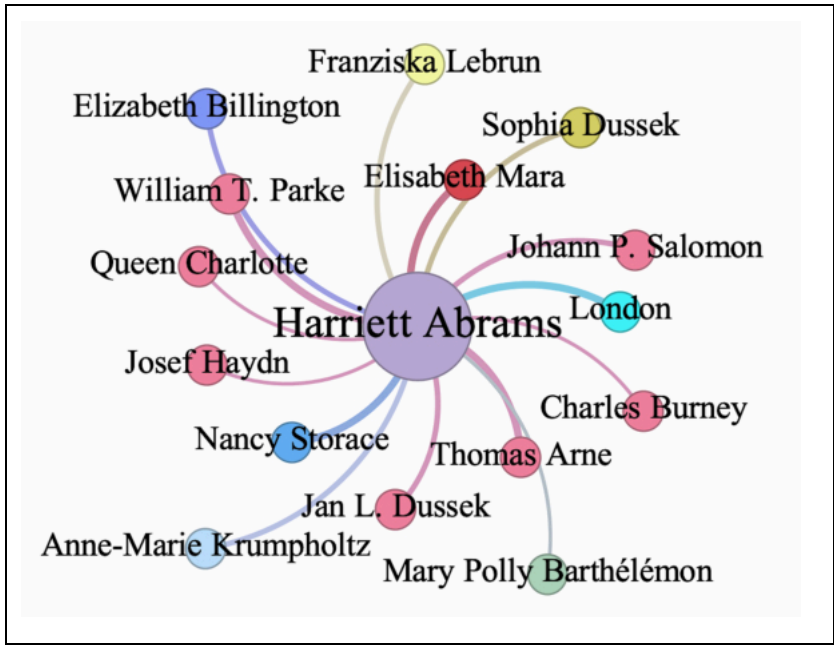


Fig. 2.25. Harriett Abrams network

On the other hand, Mary Polly Barthélémon operated at the intersection of opera and concert performances, and her career encountered challenges in the later stages despite an auspicious beginning.

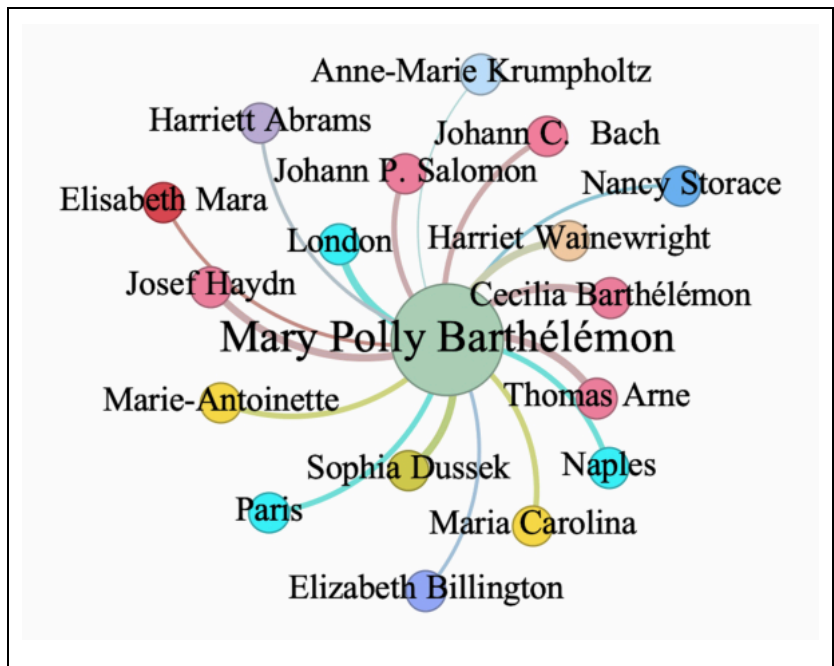


Fig. 2.26. Mary Polly Barthélémon network

Nonetheless, examining her network connections in Figure 2.26 reveals noteworthy associations with influential figures of her era, including composers like Haydn, Salomon, and Arne. Furthermore, Barthélémon garnered recognition beyond the English shores, evidenced by performances for both Maria Carolina and Marie-Antoinette

in Naples and Paris. While her relationships with female musicians within the dataset appear relatively weaker, the significance of Barthélemon's affiliations should not be underestimated.

Despite their ongoing interdependence, Figure 2.27 illustrates a discernible trend toward differentiation between the London and Parisian clusters.

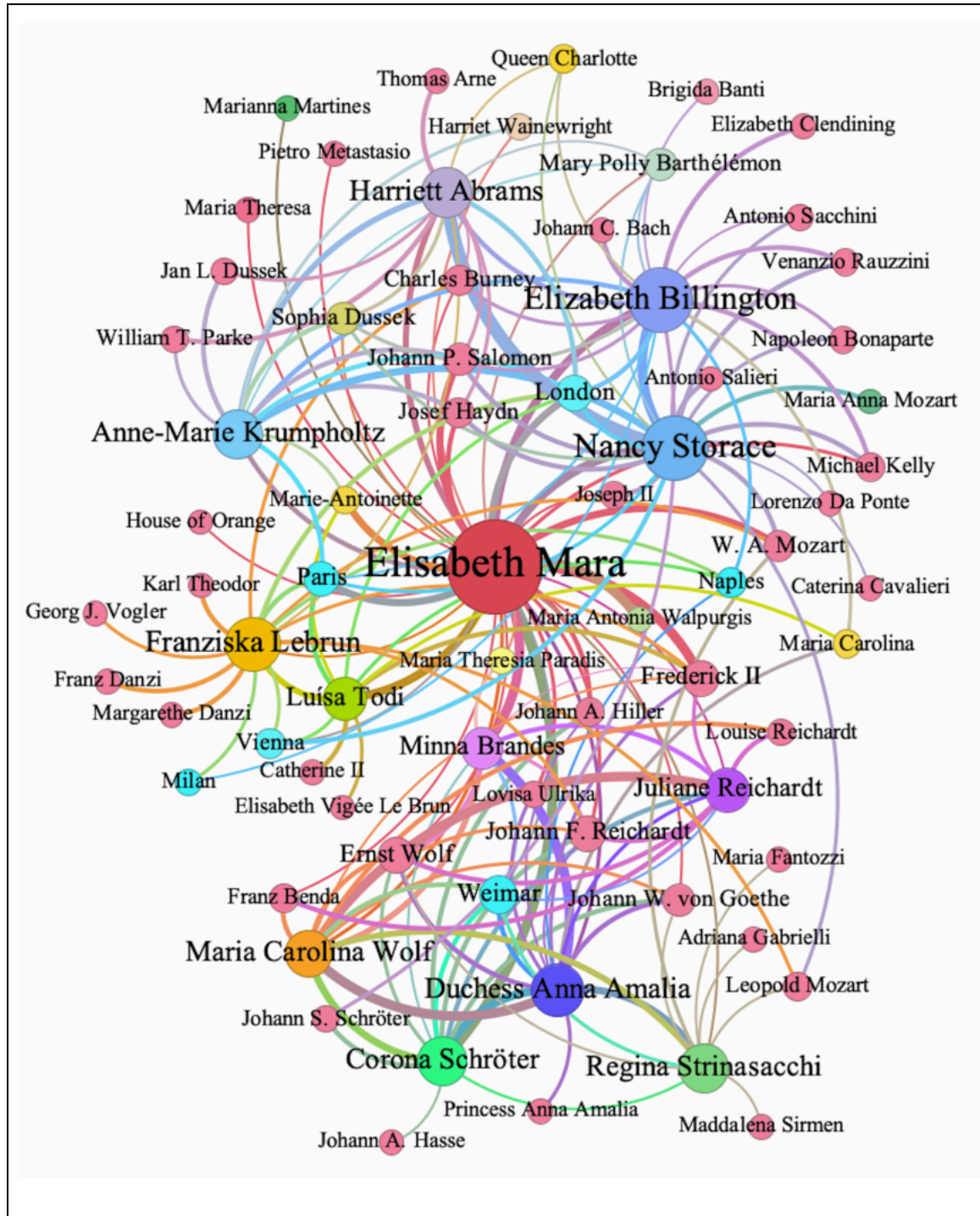


Fig. 2.27. Mara composite network with Harriett Abrams

This shift reflects the network's evolving nature, as specific nodes begin to establish stronger identities within their respective contexts. Specifically, Harriett Abrams's node has migrated toward a more central position within the London network, delineating it as a distinct cluster. This movement highlights Abrams's significance within the London network and marks a clear separation from the less-defined Parisian cluster. Abrams's positioning within this network not only enhances London's centrality but also suggests her role in linking various individuals within this cluster. Her connections reinforce the network's cohesiveness, marking London as a more autonomous hub of interaction than Paris.

Notably, incorporating Harriett Abrams's connections has had minimal impact on the Weimar cluster, which remains largely unaffected by shifts within the London network. This suggests that while the Weimar network maintains connections with other clusters, it retains its distinct identity and relative autonomy. In contrast, the London network exhibits greater prominence, with its principal actors occupying central positions that reflect greater expansiveness, increased mobility, and more frequent exchanges across different circles.

Mary Polly Barthélémon's network in Figure 2.28 further reinforces this contrast. Her extensive travel between London, Paris, and Naples has strengthened the links among these key cultural centers, underscoring the dynamic nature of her network. By moving fluidly between these cities, Barthélémon exemplifies the heightened mobility of musicians during this period, demonstrating how travel facilitated cross-border artistic exchanges. Her ability to forge connections across national boundaries highlights the transnational nature of eighteenth-century musical networks, in which musicians operated within overlapping spheres of influence rather than being confined to singular, isolated communities.

Together, Abrams and Barthélémon illustrate the duality of the musical world during this era. Abrams represents a trend toward insularity, as some networks became more tightly knit, self-contained, and defined by local or national affiliations. In contrast, Barthélémon exemplifies a more fluid and expansive approach, navigating multiple cultural and geographical spheres, bridging gaps between cities, and fostering cross-border exchanges. Their contrasting trajectories highlight the coexistence of both isolationist tendencies and broader European interconnectedness, shaping the musical milieu in complex and dynamic ways.

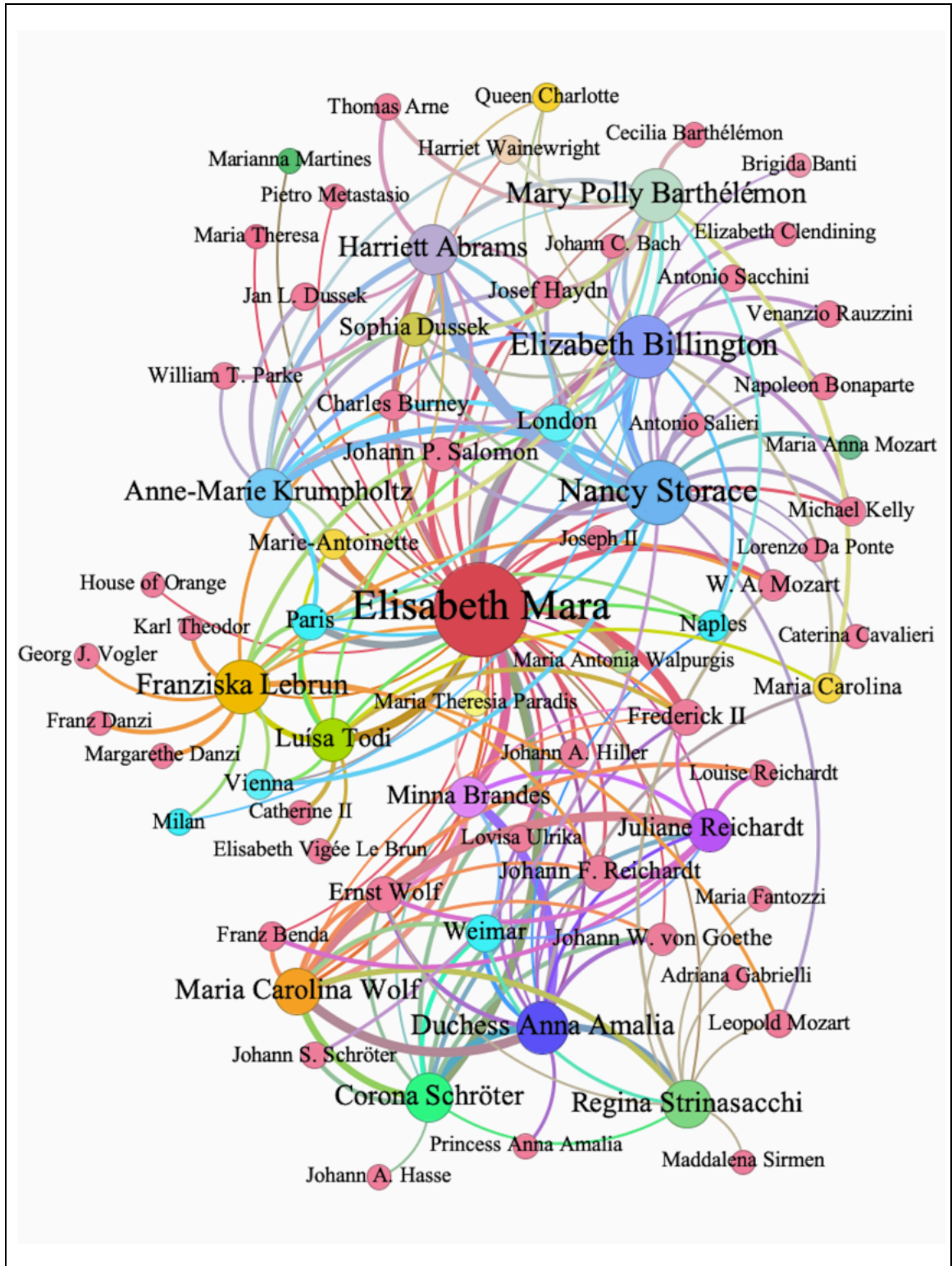


Fig. 2.28. Mara composite network with Mary Polly Barthélémon

The final two musicians in the London network—Sophia Dussek and Harriett Wainewright—further illuminate this spectrum between localized and cosmopolitan engagement. Their profiles reveal how individual circumstances, career trajectories, and

personal choices positioned female musicians along a continuum of mobility and connectivity within London's thriving musical scene.

2.14 Sophia Corri Dussek (1775–1830)

Of Italian descent, Sophia developed into a multifaceted Scottish musician born into the Corri family, a formidable presence in the musical world.⁷⁰³ Her mother, Alice Bacchelli (n.d.–1810), a celebrated singer known professionally as *La Miniatrice*, and her father, Domenico Corri (1746–1825), a composer, impresario, and music publisher, laid the foundation for Sophia's musical upbringing.⁷⁰⁴ Domenico, her first music teacher, was born in Rome and received his training under Nicola Porpora in Naples, alongside close friends Venanzio Rauzzini and Muzio Clementi (1752–1832).⁷⁰⁵ Later, her parents' friendship with Charles Burney while he was in Rome led to an invitation for the newly-wed Corris to undertake a lucrative three-year engagement in Edinburgh in 1771, launching their careers in the United Kingdom and providing the backdrop for Sophia's

⁷⁰³ I refer to Sophia by her given name throughout the dissertation, considering that both her maiden name, Corri, and her married name, Dussek, are frequently used in discussions concerning her musical family. Giovanni (n.d.), Sophia's older brother, managed the family music publishing business in Edinburgh. (Highfill, 4: 527). It appears that Giovanni's name was Anglicized to John. (Highfill, 3: 510; and Sonia Tinagli Baxter, "Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh c. 1720–1800: a Historical and Critical Study" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 1999, 10, 165). Sophia's second-oldest brother, Montague Philip (1784–1849), composed and arranged scores for Astley's, Surrey, and Cobourg theatres and ran the publishing business in London. (John S. Sainsbury, ed., *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time*, 2nd ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1966, 1: 178–179). Philip Anthony (c1784–1832), yet another brother, authored the piano teaching method *L'Anima di Musica* and helped found the London Philharmonic Society and the Royal Academy of Music before moving to America. He was baptized Arthur Clifton in Baltimore, where he became an established composer, teacher, and organist. (Nathan A. Buckner, "Philip Antony Corri/Arthur Clifton: His Life and Piano Works, with a New Edition," DMA diss., University of Maryland, 1996, 1–41). Haydn Joseph (1785–1860), Sophia's youngest brother, was a composer and singer who settled in Ireland and became the organist and choirmaster for St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral. (Mary Regina Deacy, "Continental Organists and Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1860–1960" (M.Litt. thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2005, 10–12). Sophia's uncle, Natale Corri (1765–1822), was an Italian composer, singing teacher, co-owner of the publishing business with his brother Domenico, and an active promoter of Italian opera in Edinburgh. (Catherine Ann Fabian, "Italian Opera and the Domestic in Georgian Britain" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2022, 21). Finally, Fanny Corri-Paltoni (1801–1861), Sophia's much younger cousin and Natale's daughter, was a celebrated British operatic soprano. (Baxter, 281). For an overview of the Corri family's prominence in Edinburgh, see Thomas Hayward Edwards, "'So Much Neglected?' An Investigation and Re-evaluation of Vocal Music in Edinburgh 1750–1800" (PhD diss., The University of Edinburgh, 2015).

⁷⁰⁴ Baxter, "Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh," 140–178; and Edwards, "So Much Neglected," 36, no. 99. Alice Corri is often referred to by her professional title of "La Miniatrice" or Signora (Mrs.) Corri. (Rice, *Venanzio*, 211–213, 238–239). Even her husband, Domenico Corri, refers to her as "La Miniatrice," with the additional information that she was a "celebrated amateur singer, who had been a pupil of mine." See Domenico Corri, "Life of Domenico Corri," in *The Singers Preceptor; or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music*, 2 vols. (London: Silvester, Longman, 1810), 1: unpaginated.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid. Through these connections, Sophia Corri is indirectly linked to other musicians in the database, including Marianna Martines, Nancy Storace, Elizabeth Billington, and H el ene Montgeroult.

birth in Scotland.⁷⁰⁶

Sophia's first documented performance occurred in Edinburgh when she was just four.⁷⁰⁷ This early start is unsurprising, considering the prolific number of concerts the Corri family regularly promoted, even around the time of Sophia's birth.⁷⁰⁸ The Corri family relocated to London in 1788, where Sophia continued her musical education with soprano Luigi Marchesi and composer Giovanni Battista Cimador (1761–1805).⁷⁰⁹ In the summer of 1790, Sophia journeyed back to Edinburgh in the company of the celebrated violinist Giovanni Maria Giornovichi (1747–1804), engaging in at least two joint concerts.⁷¹⁰ However, Susan Burney's journal entry in March 1790 recounts Sophia and her parents performing a "stunning trio" at her sister Esther's home, suggesting that Sophia had already been performing in private settings.⁷¹¹ Nevertheless, it was in April 1791 that Sophia's career truly took flight with her auspicious debut in London at the Salomon Symphonies.⁷¹² A month later, the *Morning Chronicle* reports:

Miss CORRI made her second essay on Friday evening, and again fascinated the audience by the graces and volume of her voice. She sung a Duet with DAVID, and even with all his powers, she maintained her influence on the ear. It is truly pleasant thus to find such an acquisition to our vocal amusement in a country woman, who at the age of sixteen, has the polished manner and execution of the Italian school.⁷¹³

1792 was a busy year for seventeen-year-old Sophia. Not only did she regularly

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Baxter, 146–158. Two additional documented performances by Sophia took place at St. Cecilia's Hall in February and March of 1780. Edwards, "'So Much Neglected?' An Investigation and Re-evaluation of Vocal Music in Edinburgh 1750–1800," 276.

⁷⁰⁹ Domenico Corri provides two reasons for the family's relocation from Edinburgh to London: first, he mentions that his wife's health was "much impaired" by the Scottish climate. Additionally, he cites the "opportunity of cultivating the talents of my daughter, which at the early age of four years, enabled her to play at the Edinburgh concert; and when no more than fifteen, to perform with [Luigi] Marchesi, at the Hanover-Square Rooms, with unexampled success." (Corri, "Life.") However, Scottish music scholar David Johnson suggests that financial difficulties may have been the principal reason for the move. David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 57.

⁷¹⁰ Baxter, 234–235. The violinist's name has many iterations. Ibid., 233, no. 1.

⁷¹¹ Olleson, 243–244. Anne-Marie Krumpholtz was also in attendance.

⁷¹² "The performance of Friday was distinguished by the first appearance of *Miss Corri*, who received the rudiments of her musical education under the skilful tuition of her father, which she has cultivated by studying the style of the best singers who have occasionally visited the Italian stage. Her manner seems to have been formed chiefly on that of the celebrated *Marchesi*. Her voice is pleasing and flexible, and it has considerable compass. Her ear is admirably correct; and in her duet with *David* [Giacomo (1750–1830)], she evinced much skill as a musician. Upon the whole, Miss Corri promises to become a very distinguished ornament of the profession." *Gazetteer*, April 18, 1791. (Quoted) Landon, *The Symphonies*, 451.

⁷¹³ *Morning Chronicle*, May 9, 1791. (Quoted) Landon, *The Symphonies*, 483.

perform in Salomon's concerts, but she also debuted in her first opera, *Comàla*, by Harriet Wainewright, in January, sharing the spotlight with Mary Polly Barthélemon.⁷¹⁴

Miss Wainewright had last night the honour to present to the public a musical entertainment, which will justly entitle her to the fame of a great enterprize successfully accomplished. [...] The principal vocal part was sustained by the fascinating Miss Corri, the young lady whose first efforts it was our lot to announce to the public, and whose science, powers, and taste the exhibition of last night proved, in a way that justifies every promise which we made in her favour. More perfection of ear, and a more mellow and powerful tone, in a young performer of seventeen years, we never witnessed, and she was crowned with applause equal to her merits, by an audience not numerous, but highly scientific; for we saw in the room all the principal amateurs.⁷¹⁵

Subsequently, in February, Sophia joined Josef Haydn and Anne-Marie Krumpholtz in the season's second Salomon concert featuring Haydn's madrigal *The Storm* (Hob. XXIVa:8).⁷¹⁶ Later in September, Sophia married her piano teacher and co-performer, the accomplished pianist and composer Jan Ladislav Dussek, a man fifteen years her senior.⁷¹⁷ Shortly afterward, Venanzio Rauzzini employed the newly married Sophia Dussek as one of the principal singers in Bath for the ensuing season.⁷¹⁸ By November, a *Diary or Woodfall's Register* critic claimed Sophia Dussek was second only to Elisabeth Billington.⁷¹⁹

As an astute businesswoman, Sophia made history in 1791 as the first performer to introduce and successfully implement higher ticket prices commensurate with those of other forms of entertainment in Edinburgh.⁷²⁰ Although initially met with public

⁷¹⁴ Harriet Wainewright Stewart, *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing* (London: George Ellerton, 1836), 9; and James Porter, *Beyond Fingal's Cave: Ossian in the Musical Imagination* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 50.

⁷¹⁵ *Morning Chronicle* (January 27, 1792). (Quoted) Wainewright Stewart, *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing*, 10.

⁷¹⁶ Landon, *The Symphonies*, 476–478.

⁷¹⁷ Howard A. Craw, "A Biography and Thematic Catalog of the Works of J. L. Dussek (1760–1812)" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1964), 67.

⁷¹⁸ Rice, *Venanzio*, 237.

⁷¹⁹ *Diary or Woodfall's Register* (November 21, 1792). (Quoted) Rice, *Venanzio*, 237.

⁷²⁰ "MRS CORRI [*sic*] returns her grateful thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen who honoured her with their company last Thursday at her Concert. At the same time, as she understands some disapprobation has been expressed on account of the tickets being raised to 5 shillings, she takes this opportunity of explaining to the Public, that the produce of her and Mr. Jarnovich's concert last year scarcely defrayed the expenses of the Concert and of their journey from London. She was therefore advised that, as the price of admission to the Assembly and some other places of amusement has lately been raised, the addition of 2 shillings on each ticket for her concert would not have been taken amiss by any part of the Public, who has so often honoured her and her family with their kindest patronage." *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, July 25, 1791 (#111419). (Quoted) Cranmer, 32, 508.

resistance, this bold initiative ultimately prompted event organizers to adopt the subscription system in 1798.⁷²¹ Once married, Sophia and Jan joined her father, Domenico, in the music publishing business he had established in 1779, rebranding it as Corri, Dussek & Co.⁷²² Sophia proved to be an invaluable asset to the company, and she played a crucial role in contributing to and editing the firm's periodical, *Pleyel, Corri, and Dussek's Musical Journal*.⁷²³ Furthermore, Sophia was a passionate advocate for the music of W. A. Mozart, which was not widely appreciated in England at the time, and featured Mozart's compositions in the *Musical Journal* and performed several of his larger works in the late 1790s.⁷²⁴ Mozart's works were included in seven of her concerts in 1800 and notably dominated her benefit concert on April 23rd.⁷²⁵ Sophia's role is often overlooked despite her substantial involvement, yet it highlights the profound impact women had on the musical landscape of cosmopolitan London.⁷²⁶

Due to a lack of business acumen on the part of both her father and husband, however, Corri, Dussek & Co. found itself on the brink of bankruptcy in 1799.⁷²⁷ Despite the association of Lorenzo da Ponte, Mozart's renowned librettist, who not only joined the firm but also extended financial assistance, insolvency was inevitable.⁷²⁸ This

⁷²¹ Ibid., 32–38.

⁷²² Baxter, 243; and Stanislas V. Klíma, "Dussek in England," *Music and Letters* 41, no. 2 (April 1960): 147. The actual date on which the Dusseks joined Domenico Corri in the publishing business is unclear; however, it is generally believed to be 1794. This assumption is based on the fact that Jan Dussek's compositions were published by "Corri & Co." until 1793, with his first publication under "Corri, Dussek and Co." occurring in 1794. (Craw, "A Biography and Thematic Catalog of the Works of J. L. Dussek," 270–271). Alfredo Obertello noted in the introduction to his Italian translation of Domenico Corri's "Life" that the Corri publishing house was, without a doubt, one of the most important in Scotland and England. See Alberto Obertello, "Una famiglia di musicisti italiani in Inghilterra," in *Nuova Antologia Rivista di Lettere, Scienze ed Art*, series 7, vol. 272 (Rome: Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1930), 350: 253, no. 31. Attesting to its relevance, the company of Corri, Dussek & Co. was one of Haydn's primary publishers in London. See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 3: 312.

⁷²³ Katelyn Clark, "The Early Pianoforte School in London's Musical World, 1785–1800: Technology, Market, Gender, and Style" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2019), 150–152. For a comprehensive discussion of the *Musical Journal*, see Clark, 149–181. Per the "Table of Contents," the publication did not surpass ten issues, despite initial plans for thirty-six. Izag Pleyel, Domenico Corri, Sophia Corri Dussek, and Jan Ladislav Dussek, *Pleyel, Corri & Dusseks, Musical Journal*, nos. 1–7 (London: Corri, Dussek & Company, 1797), unpaginated. This is the only digitized example I could locate. Please note that although the citation reads nos. 1–7, the excerpt only covers the two pages of the "Table of Contents" and a portion of the first issue.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 157, 163, 166–167, 178; and McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 127–128.

⁷²⁵ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 128; and McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Dussek — <Mrs>Sophia Giustina], #s 3944, 3946, 3956, 3971, 3974, 3985, and 3995.

⁷²⁶ Clark, "The Early Pianoforte School in London's Musical World," 152, 155–159.

⁷²⁷ Craw, 103–104.

⁷²⁸ "My first mistake was to become entangled with Domenico Corri, a man of good talent in music, but frivolous, visionary, and sometimes a liar. [...] Corri and Dussek both were buried in debts, and it seemed that neither the one nor the other had sufficient sense to conduct their business at a profit." Lorenzo da Ponte, *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, 168.

situation led to Domenico Corri's incarceration and Jan Dussek's hasty departure from the country.⁷²⁹ Yet, marital discord had already afflicted the Dusseks before Jan's exodus, with allegations of Sophia's infidelity arising from an account attributed to the spouse of portraitist Henry Danloux (1753–1809) in her personal diary.⁷³⁰ Madame Danloux sourced her information from the gossip of the French émigré Laurette d'Alpy (n.d.), who was residing with the Dusseks.⁷³¹ However, the veracity of this narrative is dubious due to the absence of corroboration from other sources.⁷³² Nevertheless, despite corresponding, Sophia never saw her husband again.⁷³³

Sophia Dussek was a versatile musician, excelling not only as a vocalist but also as a teacher, pianist, pedal harpist, and composer.⁷³⁴ Her repertoire included frequent joint performances with her husband,⁷³⁵ and she was a pioneering advocate of the pedal harp in Britain during the 1790s, which likely explains her collaboration with Anne-Marie Krumpholtz.⁷³⁶ Starting from 1805, Sophia established herself as a prominent harpist in Edinburgh, frequently performing at Natale Corri's *Professional Concerts* series and in Dublin, where she notably became one of the earliest foreign pedal harpists to perform in Ireland.⁷³⁷ In addition to her performances, Sophia significantly contributed to music education by offering lessons tailored specifically for women in singing, piano, and harp during her time in Dublin.⁷³⁸ She was also a prolific composer, creating an extensive body of work, including sonatas, rondos, variations, and numerous arrangements for

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ For the full account, see Craw, 87–89.

⁷³¹ Ibid., 87. Little is documented about Mademoiselle d'Alpy apart from her status as a French emigrant, who was reportedly adopted, along with her sister, Bonne (n.d.), by Princess de Beauvau-Craon [possibly Louise Desmier d'Archiac (1747–1831)]. See Fanny Burney, *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)*, ed. by Warren Derry, 10 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 10: 489. However, music historian and publisher Ann Griffiths (1934–2020) refers to Laurette d'Alpy as “the French emigrée gossip [who] bitchily intimated that Anne-Marie [Krumpholtz] was something of a courtesan ...” Ann Griffiths, “Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz (1747–1790),” Adlais Music Publishers (October 23, 2010). Therefore, it would be intriguing to discern the veracity of d'Alpy's claims regarding Sophie Dussek and Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, distinguishing between factual accounts and mere gossip-mongering.

⁷³² Ibid., 89.

⁷³³ In a letter dated April 22, 1806, that Jan wrote from Berlin there appears to be no indication of animosity between him and his wife, and notably, they never initiated divorce proceedings. See Klíma, “Dussek in England,” 149.

⁷³⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 183; and Craw, 84–87.

⁷³⁵ Craw, 84–87,

⁷³⁶ John Leonard Cranmer, “Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c.1780–c1830” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991), 308; Landon, *The Symphonies*, 451–495; and McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Dussek — <Mrs>Sophia Giustina] and [Krumpholtz — <Mme>Anne-Marie].

⁷³⁷ Cranmer, “Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh,” 62–67, 169; and Clare McCague, “The Pedal Harp Tradition in Ireland (c.1790–1900): Practitioners, Pedagogy, Trade and Repertoire” (PhD diss., Technological University Dublin, 2021), 41, 208.

⁷³⁸ As noted in the June and August 1805 issues of the *Hibernian Chronicle*. (Referenced) McCague, “The Pedal Harp Tradition in Ireland,” 42–43, 239.

piano and harp.⁷³⁹ One intriguing aspect of Sophia’s compositional style is her preference for instrumental music despite her vocal proficiency.⁷⁴⁰

Around the time Jan Ladislav fled England, Sophia gave birth to Olivia Francisca (c1799–1847), who would later become a well-known pianist, harpist, and composer in her own right.⁷⁴¹ Nevertheless, Olivia likely grew up without her father’s presence, as Jan never returned to London, leaving Sophia to raise their daughter independently until Jan’s death in 1812 in France.⁷⁴² After his death, Sophia married the violist John Alvis Moralt (c1785–c1847), and the family settled in Paddington, where Sophia opened a music school.⁷⁴³ Sophia Corri Dussek Moralt passed away around 1830, although the manner and location of her death remain unknown.⁷⁴⁴ One of the most intriguing puzzles regarding Sophia’s legacy is the scant mention of her in contemporary literature. Notably, the influential *Harmonicon* journal mentions her name only briefly, starkly contrasting with the frequent references to her husband in its volumes. Even in *The Harmonicon’s* “Memoir of Johann Ludwig [*sic*] Dussek,” Sophia is fleetingly mentioned, as “he married the daughter of Signor Domenico Corri.”⁷⁴⁵ Further investigation is warranted to illuminate the life and contributions of this influential yet underrecognized female musician.

As a singer, harpist, and pianist, Sophia Dussek epitomizes the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century ideal of ‘woman as ornament of the profession;’ as a teacher, she fulfills contemporary societal expectations of women in pedagogical roles; and as a composer she gives us music clearly worthy of being revived.⁷⁴⁶

Sophia’s network, music school, and multifaceted career all demand the scholarly attention that her near-erasure from contemporary publications denied her, offering a case for how even well-connected and accomplished female musicians could vanish from historical memory within a generation.

⁷³⁹ For a detailed list of Sophia’s extant works, see Jackson, “*Say Can You Deny Me*,” 137–49. Several of her compositions were mistakenly or intentionally attributed over time to her husband, Jan Ladislav, which scholars have been attempting to redress. Craw, 387–388, 390–392.

⁷⁴⁰ Ursula M. Rempel, “Sophia Dussek (1775–ca. 1830)” in *WCMA* 3: 234.

⁷⁴¹ Ursula M. Rempel, “Olivia Dussek Bulkley (ca. 1799–ca. 1847),” in *WCMA*, 3: 272–293

⁷⁴² Klíma, 149.

⁷⁴³ Rempel, “Sophia Dussek,” 3: 234.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁵ *The Harmonicon* (1825): 7: 165.

⁷⁴⁶ Musicologist Ursula M. Rempel’s opinion in her article, “Sophia Dussek,” 3: 234. Rempel’s primary research focuses on eighteenth and nineteenth-century women.

Throughout the 1790s, Sophia Corri Dussek performed in 39 London concerts along with the prominent musicians of the day.⁷⁴⁷ She held a prominent position as one of the primary vocalists alongside Mary Polly Barthélemon in Harriet Wainewright's opera *Comàla*.⁷⁴⁸ In addition, she participated in the subscription concerts of Johann Salomon, alongside the musical community of opera singers Elizabeth Billington, Elisabeth Mara, and Nancy Storace, the concert singer-composer Harriet Abrams, and the harpist Anne-Marie Krumpholtz.⁷⁴⁹ Noteworthy collaborations include Sophia's shared-stage performances with Elisabeth Mara on two occasions during the first series of Symphonies as Miss Corri, and six other joint concerts as Mrs. Dussek.⁷⁵⁰ While speculation has circulated about a rumored affair between Ann-Marie Krumpholtz and Jan Ladislav Dussek before the latter's marriage to Sophia, such claims lack substantiated evidence, as previously discussed. However, it is irrefutable that both female musicians shared the stage on six occasions during the Salomon Symphonies and at least one additional performance after Sophia's marriage.⁷⁵¹

Like Mary Polly Barthélemon's spouse, Sophia's husband frequently collaborated with several female musicians in the London music scene, underscoring the interconnectedness of this tightly-knit musical community. While Jan Ladislav's appearances alongside Harriett Abrams were limited to once, and with Elizabeth Billington twice, he notably shared the stage with Anne-Marie Krumpholtz on eight occasions, including one performance in which his wife also participated. Additionally, Nancy Storace joined Jan Ladislav in ten performances, and Sophia performed alongside her husband separately in fourteen concerts. Furthermore, Sophia accompanied her husband in three of the thirty concerts in which he performed alongside Elisabeth Mara.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁷ Among other well-known musicians, Sophia performed alongside Giovanni Battista Viotti, linking Sophia to Viotti's confidante Hélène de Montgeroult, who will be discussed in Chapter 4. McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Dussek — <Mrs>Sophia Giustina], #s 3817, 3977.

⁷⁴⁸ Wainewright Stewart, 9.

⁷⁴⁹ Landon, *The Symphonies*, 441–501.

⁷⁵⁰ See Landon, *The Symphonies*, 471, 495, and Holman, "London Performances," Cross-referencing database.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 476–477, 482–483, 488, 495; and *Calendar of London Concerts*, #3576.

⁷⁵² See the Holman, "London Performances," Cross-reference database for the entire paragraph.

Secondary connection

This chapter reveals numerous potential connections, offering deeper insight into the intricate web of relationships within the London music scene. Harriet Wainwright, previously noted only in passing, now emerges as a more significant figure due to her associations with both Sophia Corri Dussek and Mary Polly Barthélemon. While it is likely that Wainwright had additional ties to other female musicians in London, given the milieu's dense interconnectedness, her most direct and documented links are with Dussek and Barthélemon. This positions her as a secondary yet notable conduit within the broader network of musicians in the city, subtly reinforcing the interwoven nature of professional and personal relationships that shaped London's musical landscape.

2.15 Harriet Wainwright Stewart (c1766–1843)

So much for patronage — so much for worldly expectations —
and so much for this voluminous Introduction to my
“Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing.”⁷⁵³

—Mrs. Colonel Stewart

Harriet Wainwright, a figure known for her accomplishments as a singer, composer, writer, and musical entrepreneur, is commonly believed to have familial connections to the Manchester Wainwrights, a family of accomplished composers and musicians.⁷⁵⁴ Her autobiographical preface to her manual, *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing*, published in 1836, offers limited details regarding her early life.⁷⁵⁵ However, some indications suggest she may have been the daughter of John Wainwright (1723–1768), a musician from Stockport who served as the organist of Manchester Cathedral.⁷⁵⁶ Regrettably, Harriet does not provide a precise birth date, instead alluding to having

⁷⁵³ Wainwright Stewart, 18.

⁷⁵⁴ James Duff Brown and Stephen Samuel Stratton, eds., *British Musical Biography* (Birmingham: S. S. Stratton, 1897), 426–427. For further reading on music in Manchester and the Wainwright's involvement, see Michael Busk, “Manchester's 1828 Musical Festival: Provenance, Planning and Performance” (PhD diss., The Open University, 2022).

⁷⁵⁵ Harriet Wainwright Stewart, *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing* (London: George Ellerton, 1836).

⁷⁵⁶ A discrepancy regarding the identity of Harriet Wainwright's father adds an additional layer of ambiguity to her family history. While James Porter, author of the most authoritative biography on Wainwright, asserts that her father “seems to have been” Robert Wainwright (1747–1782) from Liverpool, another account presented in *A Musical Gazetteer* proposes that Robert may have been her brother instead. Porter, *Beyond Fingal's Cave*, 47; and Gerald Norris, *A Musical Gazetteer of Great Britain & Ireland* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1981), 206.

reached the age of “three score years and ten,” hinting at a birth year around 1766.⁷⁵⁷

Nevertheless, *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing* contains a poetic narrative of her development as a singer and composer.⁷⁵⁸

In my childhood I was generally allowed to be what is called a musical genius; my voice possessed compass, sweetness, uncommon flexibility, and great power, when occasion required its being called forth; but unfortunately my lungs were weak, and consequently would not admit of my practicing long at a time [...] The love of harmony, however, displayed itself in me at a very early age [...] That the doctrine of sound and the love of harmony were implanted in me by nature [...] when young (I think I may compute from seven years old), it was a constant practice of mine, whenever I was allowed to go to bed early [...] not for the purpose of sleeping, but to indulge my inventive musical faculties.⁷⁵⁹

The precise date of Wainewright’s relocation to London is not definitively known. However, it is speculated to have occurred around 1780, heralding the onset of three significant associations that profoundly impacted her musical path.⁷⁶⁰ Despite lacking any prior musical training beyond the rudimentary instruction commonly offered at boarding schools, she commenced intensive study under the rigorous tutelage of John Worgan (1724–90), “who laid the groundwork of all the musical knowledge I can boast of.”⁷⁶¹ Then Wainewright found a mentor in Lady Brudenell, a respected amateur vocalist who generously shared her extensive music collection with the aspiring musician.⁷⁶² Under Lady Brudenell’s patronage, Wainewright was introduced to the world of opera, an experience that would irrevocably shape her artistic sensibilities.⁷⁶³ The third consequential association was forged with the legendary Charles Burney, whose acknowledgment of Wainewright’s talent earned her the epithet “exotic,” owing to her

⁷⁵⁷ Wainewright Stewart, *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing*, 5.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 5–18.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁶⁰ Porter provides insight into the potential rationale behind Wainewright’s relocation to London around 1780. James Porter, “An English Composer and Her Opera: Harriet Wainewright’s *Comàla* (1792).” *Journal of Musicological Research* 40, no. 2 (2021): 129, no. 10. A possible descendant, John B. Wainewright, indicates that Harriet relocated to London with her father but does not specify a timeframe. John B. Wainewright, *Notes & Queries*, 10th series, XI (January 16, 1909): 48.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6; “DR. WORGAN was the founder of a sect or school, of which some worthy and eminent pupils yet remain. [...] The Worganian school, however, was probably never numerous for its discipline demanded an intellectual vigour not commonly found; and a finished kind of performance, the delicacy of which few perceived.” “Memoir of the Life and Works of John Worgan,” *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1823), 128.

⁷⁶² Possibly Anne Legge (n.d.–1786), the wife of Baron James Brudenell of Deane (1725–1811). Legge, renowned as an amateur singer, notably received instruction from the famed soprano Regina Mingotti (1722–1808). See Olleson, 134, no. 4; and Wainewright Stewart, 6.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

distinctive Italian-style timbre and singing technique.⁷⁶⁴

In her late twenties, Wainwright's passion for operatic composition was ignited, inspired by James Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian*.⁷⁶⁵ Driven by a fervor of creativity, she immersed herself in her work, laboring day and night for twelve months, culminating in the creation of her first opera, *Comàla*.⁷⁶⁶

The music was universally admired, and by none more than by my revered master, Doctor Worgan, who from that period distinguished me with peculiar affection and parental regard. [...] Doctor Burney was also an admirer of my opera, and warmly expressed his opinion that "in it was combined the sublimity of Handel, with the taste and elegance of the Italian school; and that he considered the composition to be truly original."⁷⁶⁷

The inaugural performance of *Comàla* occurred on January 27, 1792, at Hanover Square to "uncommon applause."⁷⁶⁸

Miss Wainwright had last night the honour to present to the public a musical entertainment, which will justly entitle her to the fame of a great enterprize successfully accomplished. [...] Miss Wainwright, by this happy effort, will clearly be placed in the first rank of musical ladies. The performance was deserving of the warmest praise.⁷⁶⁹

There were, indeed, some wonderful strokes of genius, which would have done honour to the greatest masters. In short, the enthusiastic wildness of the music, unrestrained by the curb of profound science, was perfectly calculated to convey the meaning of the sublime Ossian.⁷⁷⁰

Despite receiving favorable reviews and requests to perform *Comàla* at Drury Lane, Mr. Sheridan, the theatre manager, decided against staging the production because of the prevailing preference for comedic operas over tragic ones at the time.⁷⁷¹ However, Sheridan proposed an alternative course of action: if Wainwright were to create a comedy, he would consider presenting it.⁷⁷² Wainwright embraced the challenge and

⁷⁶⁴ Wainwright's affinity for Italian music was evident in her choice of role models, Gaspare Pacchierotti (1740–1821) and Luigi Marchesi (1754–1829), two preeminent Italian singers revered for their vocal prowess and artistry. *Ibid.* 7.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 7–8; James Macpherson and Hugh Blair, eds., *The Poems of Ossian* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1792).

⁷⁶⁶ Wainwright Stewart, 8.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 10; and *The World* (February 2, 1792). (Quoted) Wainwright Stewart, 11.

⁷⁶⁹ *The Morning Chronicle* (January 27, 1792). (Quoted) Wainwright Stewart, 10.

⁷⁷⁰ *The World* (February 2, 1792). (Quoted) Wainwright Stewart, 11.

⁷⁷¹ Wainwright Stewart, 8.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*

accepted Sheridan's proposal, leading to the creation of her opera *The Adventures of Don Quixote*.⁷⁷³ This work never came to fruition, and the reasons for its non-production remain undisclosed.⁷⁷⁴ Undeterred by the setback, Wainwright persevered, composing songs and church music, some of which have survived, while also undertaking singing engagements.⁷⁷⁵

In 1796, Wainwright's enigmatic decision to relocate to India marked the beginning of a new chapter in her life.⁷⁷⁶ Carrying her compositions with her, she embarked on a journey to a distant land, where she would ultimately earn acclaim as a talented vocalist and composer.⁷⁷⁷ While in India, Wainwright composed a chorus commemorating the British victory at Seringapatam in 1799.⁷⁷⁸ The premiere of this composition, attended by the Governor-General, heralded its significance, and its subsequent publication by William Napier in London in 1805 extended its reach well beyond the confines of India.⁷⁷⁹ Of particular note is Wainwright's recollection of Charles Burney's appraisal of her chorus:

The composition is so ingenious and so new, that it reminds me of no other chorus which I remember to have seen; and great meditation and experience were necessary, to carry on so unwieldy a score without confusion.⁷⁸⁰

Harriet Wainwright wed Colonel John Stewart (n.d.) of the East India Company Bengal Army in 1801.⁷⁸¹ Amid her varied experiences in India, one of the new Mrs.

⁷⁷³ Ibid. Wainwright published the libretto in 1834. Harriet Wainwright Stewart, *Don Quixote, or, The Knight de la Mancha: A Comic Opera, in Three Acts* (London: E. & J. Thomas, 1834).

⁷⁷⁴ Wainwright Stewart, 8.

⁷⁷⁵ Porter, "An English Composer and Her Opera," 131. In a letter to her sister Fanny, Susan Burney describes a pleasurable concert at Esther's home "on 12 March 1796, where Giomovichi played a violin sonata with Hetty, and Mrs. Corri and a Miss Wainwright sang." See Olleson, 45.

⁷⁷⁶ Wainwright Stewart, 12.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 12–15.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 12–13, 16.

⁷⁷⁹ For more information, see Porter, *Beyond Fingal's Cave*, 49, 336, nos. 4, 5, and 337, no. 25. Michael Head offers intriguing perspectives on what he terms "an interpretive dilemma," in his presentation on "Harriet Stewart's *Chorus on Seringapatam* (1799) — Linking Colonial and Women's History" at the Royal Musical Association's 58th Annual Conference at Durham University in 2022.

⁷⁸⁰ Wainwright Stewart, 13. Charles Burney expressed his admiration in a letter to an anonymous friend: "I know of no female contrapuntist ... who could surpass, if equal, the merit of the composition." [The late Dr. Burney's Opinion, expressed in a Letter to a Friend, on Mrs. Stewart's Chorus of *Seringapatam*] inserted in the edition of the *Chorus* manuscript held at the British Library I.345. See Paula Gillett, "Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain: From the 1790s to the Early 1900s," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William E. Weber, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 201–203, and notes 23–24.

⁷⁸¹ The conflicting reports regarding the marriage location of Harriet Wainwright and Stewart—Monghyr [Munger], as stated by *The Edinburgh Magazine* and Bhaughulpore [Bhagalpur], as mentioned in *The Asiatic Annual Register*—highlight the challenges researchers face in uncovering accurate historical

Stewart's most fulfilling achievements was as the titular character in amateur productions of *Comàla*, earning her the moniker "Comàla, the white-handed daughter of Sarno."⁷⁸² Calcutta, the primary British settlement in India, housed a musical expatriate community, and *Comàla* became their favorite theme, securing Stewart's fame.⁷⁸³ The opera was eventually published in 1803, amassed a subscription list of 248 patrons, and was praised by the Governor-General.⁷⁸⁴ Harriet Stewart herself proudly quotes the Governor of India, Marquess Richard Colley Wellesley (1760–1842), in *The Calcutta Post* (April 27, 1804):

We take great pleasure in announcing the reception of the *Comàla*, a musical performance by the accomplished and ingenious Mrs. Stewart, late Miss Wainwright. The subject is happily chosen; the splendid imagery and language of Ossian have acquired a degree of pathos and energy which they (wonderful as they are) never possessed, until they were modulated and chaunted by the inspiring genius of Mrs. Stewart. The Scottish Bard astonishes! We read his lines, and 'tremble as we read;' by the kindred muse of Ossian for our sublime minstrel; and her name, and her musical version of the noblest of Caledonian poets, will exist and be admired, until the most excellent works and productions of human ingenuity shall be consumed by the Vandal torch of expiring Time.⁷⁸⁵

Much later, in 1831, Stewart presented a three-volume copy of *Comàla* to Queen Adelaide (1792–1849) in Brighton.⁷⁸⁶

I have had the honour of laying before the Queen your Opera of *Comàla*, which you have desired may be presented for Her Majesty's acceptance. Her Majesty having heard it highly spoken of by Sir Andrew Barnard, and observing, also, the flattering reception it obtained, not only in London, but also in India, commands me to express to you her most gracious thanks, and to signify that Her Majesty receives it with pleasure into her collection of music.⁷⁸⁷

details. See *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* 17 (June 1801); and Lawrence Dundas Campbell, ed., *The Asiatic Annual Register or View of the History of Hindustan of Asia 1801* (London: Debrett, Piccadilly, and Cadell, 1802), 102 [162]. In addition, in *Beyond Fingal's Cave*, 337, no. 23, Porter quotes "John Stewart, Lieutenant Colonel in the retired Service of the Honorable [*sic*] East India Company, died, aged 59, on February 18, 1820, at Perth (Scotland)." [Quoting the *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Bengal Army*]. However, there seems to be a discrepancy, as "Robert Stewart is listed as the Lieutenant Colonel who died in Perth. See Edward Dodwell and James Samuel Miles, eds., *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Bengal Army* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, and Company, 1838), 236–237.

⁷⁸² Wainwright Stewart, 12.

⁷⁸³ Geoffrey Moorhouse, *Calcutta* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 47; and Wainwright Stewart, 12.

⁷⁸⁴ Porter clarifies the subscription number in *Beyond Fingal's Cave*, 47 and 336, no. 11.

⁷⁸⁵ (Quoted) Wainwright Stewart, 13–14.

⁷⁸⁶ Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, Queen Consort of William IV (1765–1837).

⁷⁸⁷ (Letter from John Barton, Her Majesty's secretary, to Harriet Stewart, November 25, 1831). (Quoted) Wainwright Stewart, 17–18.

During her fifteen-year residence in India, Stewart remained actively engaged in composing, performing, and publishing her musical works.⁷⁸⁸ Upon returning to England in 1811, she released her *Collection of Songs*, published by Francesco Cianchettini (c1760–1833), the brother-in-law of Jan Ladislav and Sophia Dussek.⁷⁸⁹ In her autobiography, Stewart proudly recounts how critics favored her rendition of “Crazy Jane” over Harriet Abrams’s long-popular version.⁷⁹⁰ Additionally, *The Harmonicon* complimented Wainewright’s song “The White Maid of Avenel,” which she wrote in 1829.⁷⁹¹ In 1836, Mrs. Colonel Stewart, formerly Miss Harriet Wainewright, published her *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing*.⁷⁹² Despite her numerous accomplishments, Stewart continued to lament the absence of full-scale productions of her operas, *Comàla* and *Don Quixote*, due to insufficient patronage.⁷⁹³ She recalls a moment when “a certain great and experienced musician” remarked:

Madam, your musical talents are undoubtedly very great; but, to be candid with you, were an angel from heaven to descend, and produce the finest piece of music that could be penned, yet, without royal Patronage, or that of some distinguished person of rank or talent, the piece would be rejected.⁷⁹⁴

Stewart ceased singing upon her return to England in 1811, citing the detrimental impact of the cold English climate on her voice and health compared to the more favorable conditions in India.⁷⁹⁵ The final documented reference of Mrs. Colonel Stewart dates back to May 1840, when she contributed a composition for a charity concert held at Hanover Square.⁷⁹⁶ Her last known residence was 6 Nutford Place, Bryanston Square, and

⁷⁸⁸ Stewart lists them in her autobiography. *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷⁸⁹ Porter, *Beyond Fingal’s Cave*, 47. The collection may be found at Harriet Stewart, *A Collection of Songs* (London: Cianchettini, c1811). Veronika Dussek Cianchettini (1769–1833), Jan Ladislav Dussek’s sister, undoubtedly warrants more comprehensive attention than can be provided within the scope of this study. For a deeper exploration of her life and contributions, readers are encouraged to consult Michaela Freemanová, “České prameny k životu a dílu Jana Ladislava Dusíka a členů jeho rodiny,” in *Zprávy Včelý Čáslavské* (Čáslav: Muzejní a vlastivědný spolek “Včela Čáslavská,” 2015), 7–24.

⁷⁹⁰ Wainewright Stewart, 15. Readers can compare the two versions at Stewart, *A Collection of Songs*, 2–3; and Abrams, “Crazy Jane,” 122–125.

⁷⁹¹ *The Harmonicon* (1829): 7: 165.

⁷⁹² Stewart does not explicitly state that she teaches voice, but she frequently references her students throughout her method, implying that she crafted *Critical Remarks* with them in mind. Wainewright Stewart, 20–21, 25–27, 29, 34–35. A reference to “she” on page 20 suggests that her pupils may have been female.

⁷⁹³ Wainewright Stewart, 17.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14–15.

⁷⁹⁶ “A NOVEL CONCERT is announced to take place at the Hanover-square Rooms tomorrow morning, for the benefit of the Chelsea Benevolent Loan Society, the *whole of the music* to be performed is the composition of Mrs. Colonel Stewart.” *The Musical World: A Magazine of Essays, Critical and*

her Will was formally registered on December 5, 1843, in St. Marylebone, London.⁷⁹⁷ Harriet Wainwright Stewart's valuable autobiography provides a unique perspective on her distinct style and talent. However, numerous unanswered queries persist, presenting several avenues for further research.

Wainwright, Barthélemon, and Corri

On January 27, 1792, Harriet Wainwright's opera *Comàla* debuted, featuring Mary Polly Barthélemon and Sophia Corri as primary performers.⁷⁹⁸ Additionally, Wainwright participated in a performance at Esther Burney's residence alongside a Mrs. Corri, likely Sophia Dussek's mother. However, it is worth noting that Sophia Dussek herself was occasionally misidentified as Mrs. Corri.⁷⁹⁹ In either case, these interactions between Wainwright, Barthélemon, and the Corri family members underscore their connections.

— Final primary and secondary connections in London

An intriguing aspect of Sophia Corri Dussek's social network, as illustrated in Figure 2.29, is her connection to peripheral figures introduced in Chapter 1—most notably Nicola Porpora, who receives only brief mention in this chapter. While many of the individuals in this network occupy prominent positions within the broader London musical community, Muzio Clementi stands as an exception, suggesting a unique or less conventional link within her sphere of influence.

Conversely, the extent of Harriet Wainwright Stewart's direct personal interactions (Figure 2.30) with other female musicians in London remains uncertain. However, given the prominence of these women in the city's vibrant concert performance culture, it is reasonable to assume that she was at least familiar with their work. Additionally, her close friendship with Charles Burney provides further evidence of her deep engagement with London's musical milieu, positioning her as an informed observer, if not an active participant, in its artistic and intellectual circles.

Practical, and Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence, no. 217 – New Series, no. 124 (May 14, 1840): 311.

⁷⁹⁷ Wainwright, *Notes & Queries*, (January 16, 1909): 48; and Porter, *Beyond Fingal's Cave*, 49. Porter does not provide a citation for the location of Harriet Stewart's Will.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁹⁹ See p. 262, no. 716.

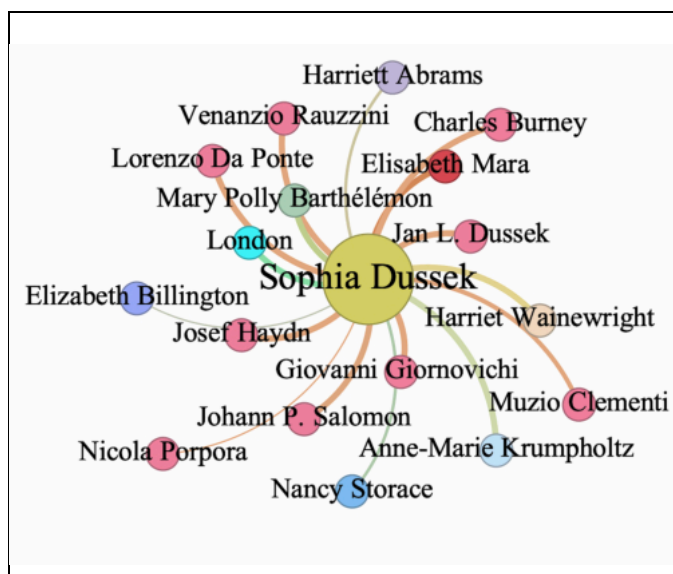


Fig. 2.29. Sophia Dussek network

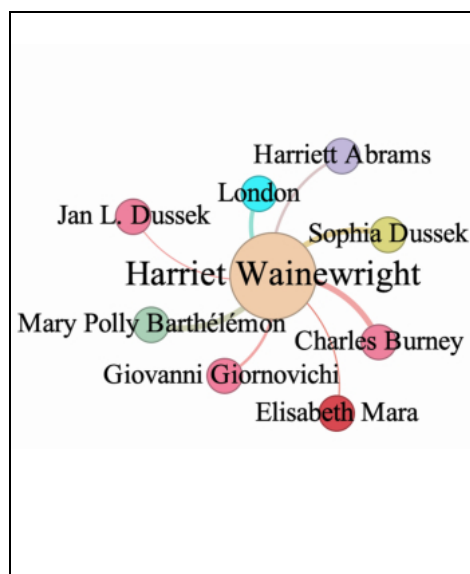


Fig. 2.30. Harriet Wainwright network

The London cluster in Figure 2.31 demonstrates a progressive increase in connectivity density, highlighting the expanding web of relationships within the city’s musical landscape. While opera singers maintain the most extensive networks, concert performers also share numerous links with many of the same key figures. For instance, the previously established connections between Storace, Haydn, and London are further reinforced by Sophia Corri Dussek’s affiliations, particularly with the subsequent inclusion of Lorenzo da Ponte. This addition enriches the network analysis by underscoring the interplay between composers, performers, and librettists in shaping London’s musical environment.

In contrast, the Parisian grouping continues to appear less concentrated than those of Weimar and London, suggesting a different structural organization within its musical networks. This chapter focuses explicitly on performances at the Concert Spirituel in Paris, a significant venue for public concerts. However, other performance spaces—such as the popular salons and the Court of Versailles—also played a crucial role in shaping Parisian musical culture. These venues may have functioned as more exclusive or fragmented social spheres, resulting in lower interconnectivity within the network. I explore these alternative performance spaces and their implications for musical sociability in Chapter 4.

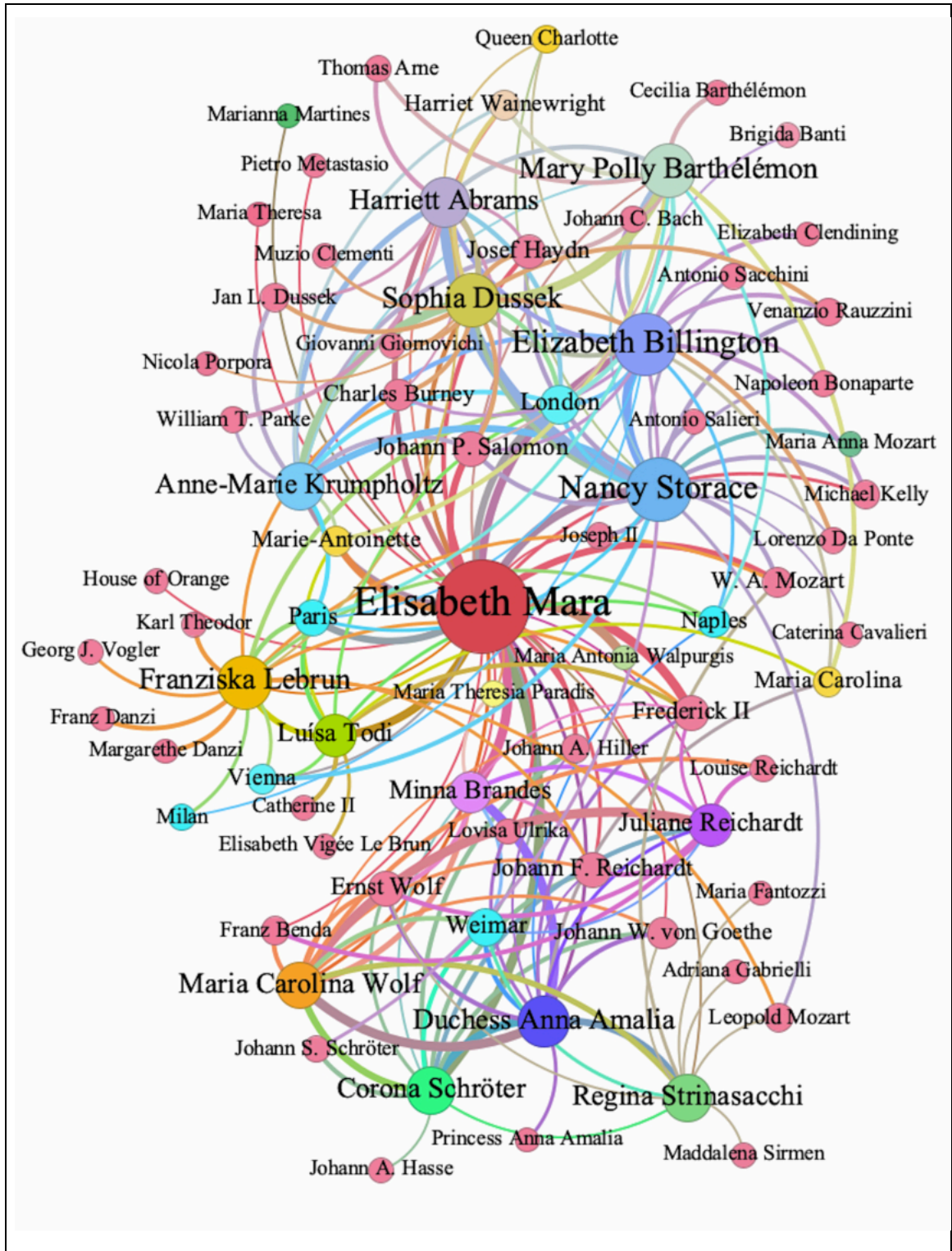


Fig. 2.31. Mara composite network with Sophia Dussek

While Wainewright's inclusion may not significantly alter the network analysis in Figure 2.32, it reinforces the established connections of Sophia Corri Dussek and Mary Polly Barthélemon. Moreover, her inclusion suggests secondary affiliations with Elisabeth Mara and other female musicians active in London's musical scene during this

period. As a result, Wainewright emerges as an integral component of the London cluster, her presence contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the network's structure. Her inclusion is therefore essential for capturing the full scope of interconnected relationships that shaped the city's musical milieu.

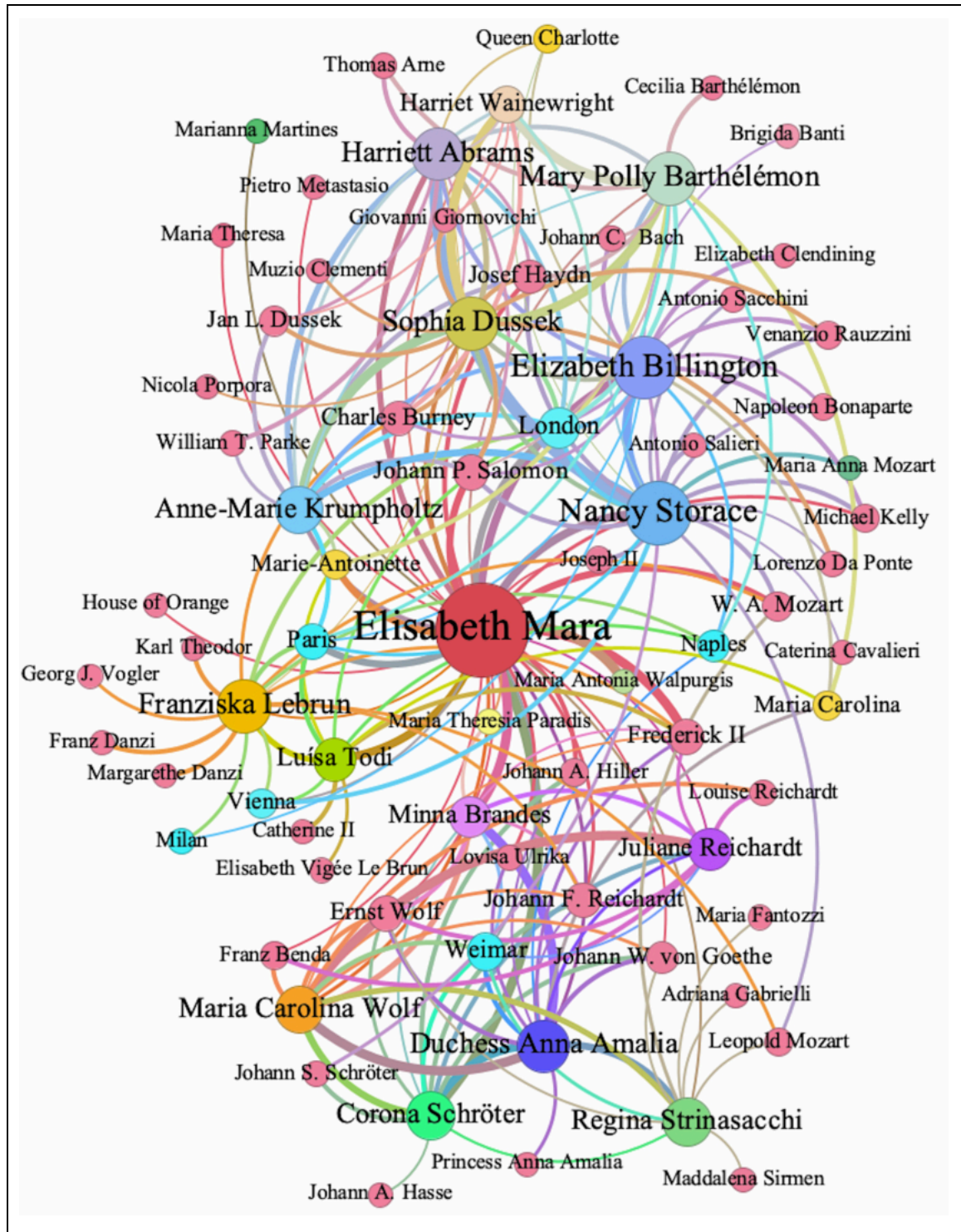


Fig. 2.32. Mara composite network with Harriet Wainewright

Figure 2.33 presents a refined analysis of Gertrud Elisabeth Mara's professional connections, enhancing clarity by excluding nodes with fewer than two links and concentrating on major cultural centers such as Weimar, London, and Paris.

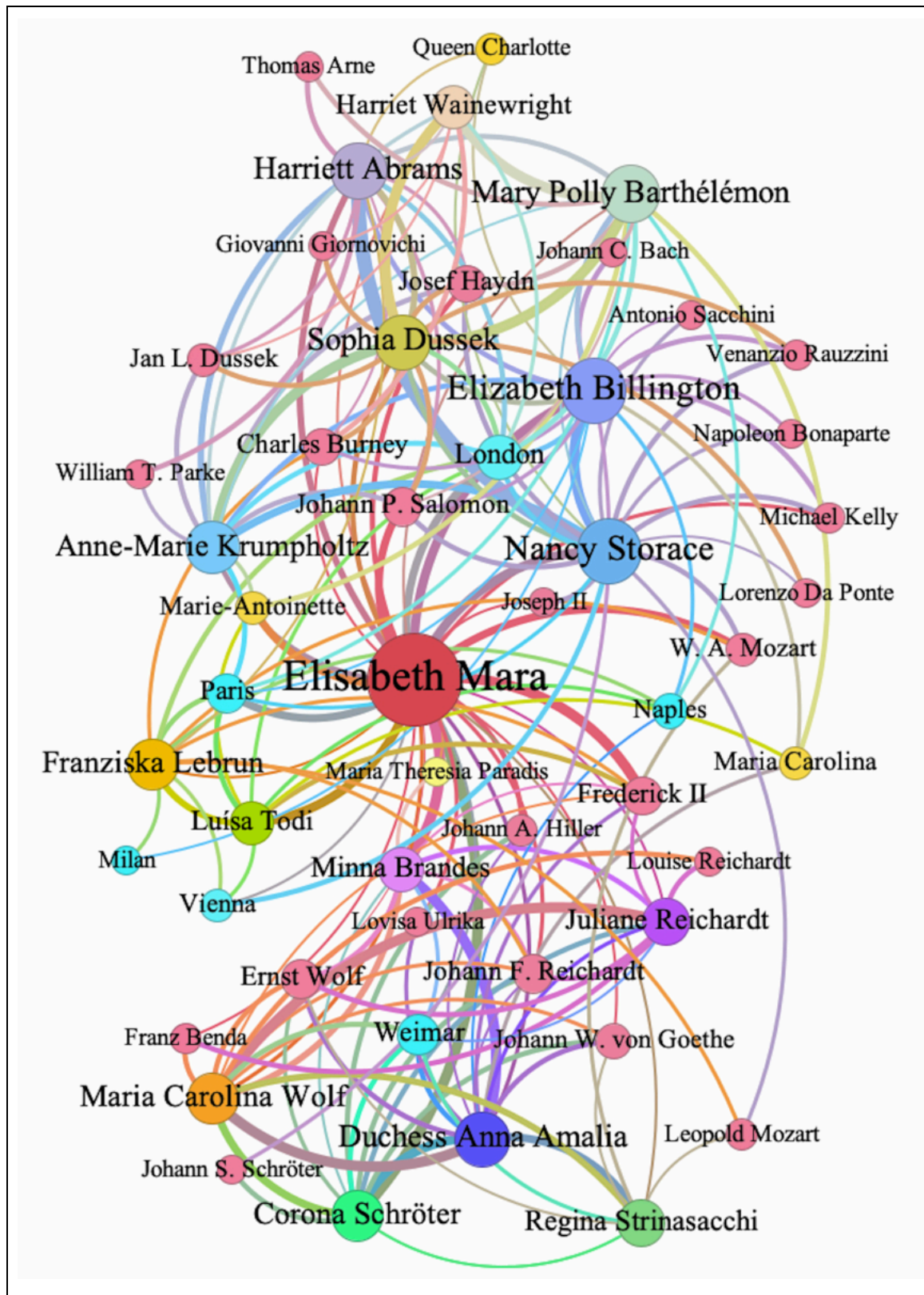


Fig. 2.33. Elisabeth Mara composite network, complete

Notably, Marianna Martines, the central figure of Chapter 1, emerges as an isolate in the network following Wainwright's addition and is conspicuously absent from Mara's revised map. This absence suggests that, while the female musicians discussed in this chapter may have performed in Vienna, there is insufficient evidence to assert that they interacted directly with Martines.

One of the most revealing aspects of this network is its ability to illuminate the intricate interconnections among female musicians, even when scholarly documentation is limited. Maria Carolina Benda Wolf exemplifies this dynamic; despite the relative scarcity of research on her career, her node is comparable in size to, and in some cases larger than, those of several musicians who have received greater academic attention. The prominence of her position within the network underscores the importance of uncovering and acknowledging the contributions of lesser-known individuals, challenging traditional historiographical narratives.

Moreover, the network visualization highlights the contrasting degrees of mobility among musicians in different cultural centers. While performers in London and Paris frequently traveled and maintained transnational connections, musicians associated with Weimar appear more geographically static, reinforcing the distinct structural differences between these musical environments. Additionally, although male relationships are evident within the broader network, the map accentuates the tightly interwoven connections among female musicians, emphasizing the crucial role of women's networks in shaping the musical landscape of the period.

— Comparative analysis and merging composite maps

Mara's composite network (Figure 2.33) displays thicker edges, denser clustering, and more prominent nodes, indicating stronger interconnections among individuals within her circle. This density suggests that Mara occupied a central position within a tightly integrated network, characterized by intensive professional and personal relationships.

In contrast, Martines's network (Figure 2.34) exhibits greater geographical dispersion and includes a more diverse range of musicians across broader European territories.⁸⁰⁰ This structure reflects Martines's position within a more expansive,

⁸⁰⁰ Figure 2.34 reproduces the complete Martines composite network from Chapter 1 (Fig. 1.29) to facilitate direct comparison with the Mara network presented below. The Martines and Mara networks reveal distinct structural characteristics.

decentralized network centered in Vienna but extending through correspondence and musical exchange across the continent. While Mara's influence operated through concentrated, face-to-face interactions in key urban centers, Martines's connections functioned through a more diffuse web of relationships spanning multiple courts and musical establishments. Aside from Elisabeth Mara, only two women—musician Maria Theresia Paradis and patron Queen Maria Carolina—appear in both maps, which draws attention to their unique roles in facilitating cross-network interactions.

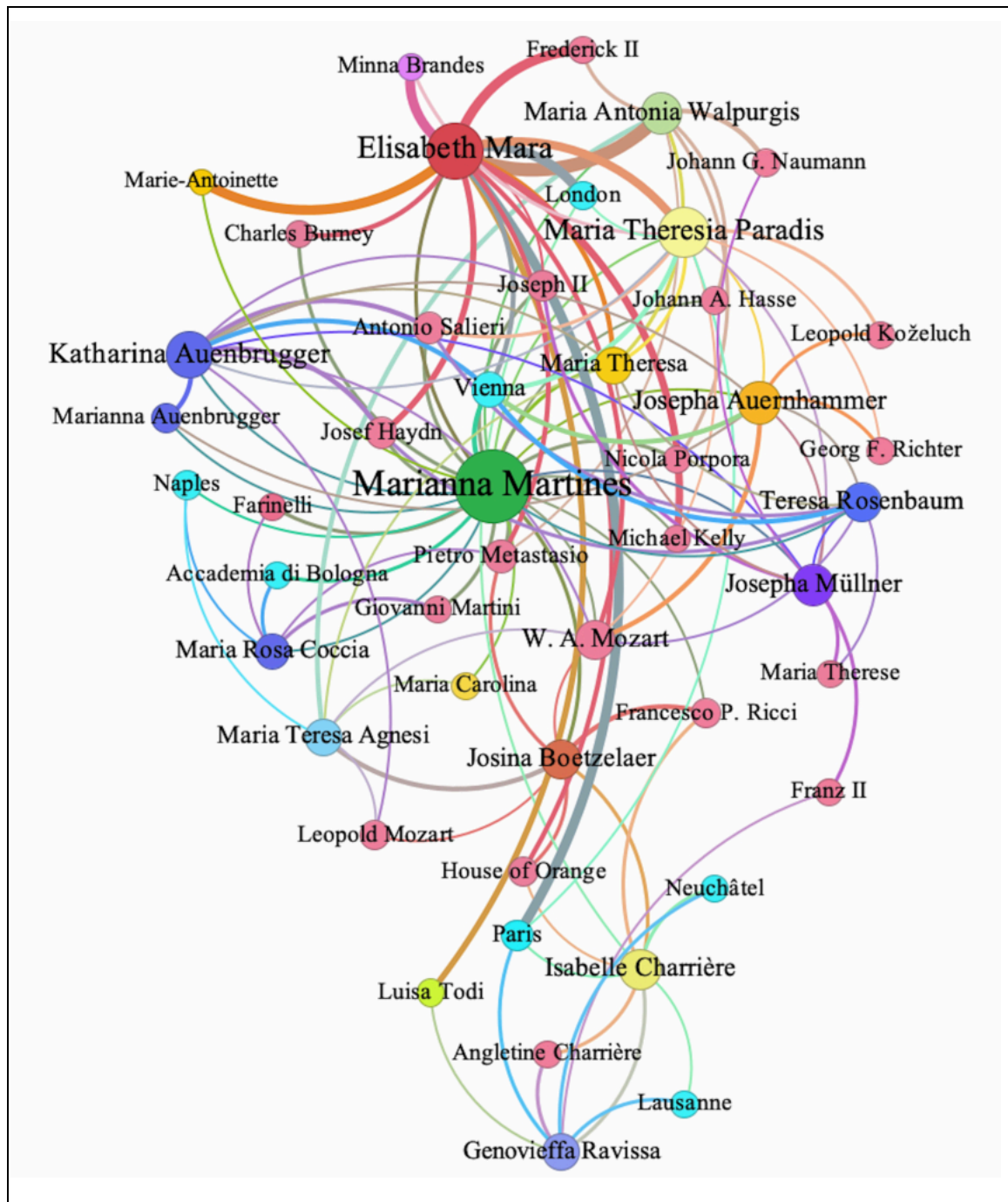


Fig. 2.34. Martines composite network (see Fig. 1.30)

Another salient observation is the central role of Vienna in the Martines network, in contrast to London's prominence in the Mara network, closely followed by Weimar. Additionally, celebrated male figures of the era, such as the Mozarts, Haydn, and Michael Kelly, appear in both maps, further emphasizing the interconnected nature of the musical milieu and the gendered intersections of professional and patronage networks. This overlap of key figures illustrates the extent to which these women were embedded in the same social, musical, and intellectual circles, despite the geographical and professional divides that distinguish their individual networks.

The merging of the two networks in Figure 2.35 offers a more comprehensive view of the interconnectedness among female musicians across Weimar, London, Vienna, Paris, and Naples. While the distinct clusters of professional female musicians in Weimar and London remain discernible, they now appear more widely dispersed due to the integration of amateur connections. This broader distribution reflects the increasing inclusion of peripheral figures—both male and female—whose relationships with central figures were less direct but nonetheless significant. As a result, the map features numerous thin edges, highlighting secondary and potential relationships that weave the entire network together.

With the amalgamation of the two maps, the Paris and Naples nodes have expanded considerably, demonstrating the growing prominence of these cultural centers within the broader network. Additionally, identifying figures such as Ravissa and Charrière as secondary links further underscores the intricate nature of these connections. Though these individuals did not occupy central positions, their roles as intermediaries were crucial in bridging otherwise disparate groups. Their inclusion highlights the significance of secondary relationships in shaping the broader network structure, revealing how even peripheral figures contributed to the diffusion of musical influence across Europe.

The integration of these networks also underscores the extent to which mobility—whether through travel, correspondence, or the circulation of artistic reputation—shaped women's musical trajectories in the eighteenth century. The visibility of cities such as Paris, London, and Vienna reflects not only their status as cultural capitals but also the pathways by which musicians, patrons, and impresarios transmitted artistic ideas across Europe. The presence of itinerant performers, diplomatic intermediaries, and cosmopolitan salon participants introduces further layers of connectivity that often exceed the boundaries of formal employment or documented collaboration. These diffused yet

meaningful ties reveal a network ecology in which influence flowed through both prominent figures and lesser-known mediators, allowing female musicians to partake in a shared transregional landscape of musical exchange. As more individuals with mixed or irregular affiliations are incorporated into the dataset, it becomes increasingly evident that the European female musical network was neither strictly hierarchical nor rigidly compartmentalized, but instead sustained by fluid, overlapping circuits of artistic and social interaction.

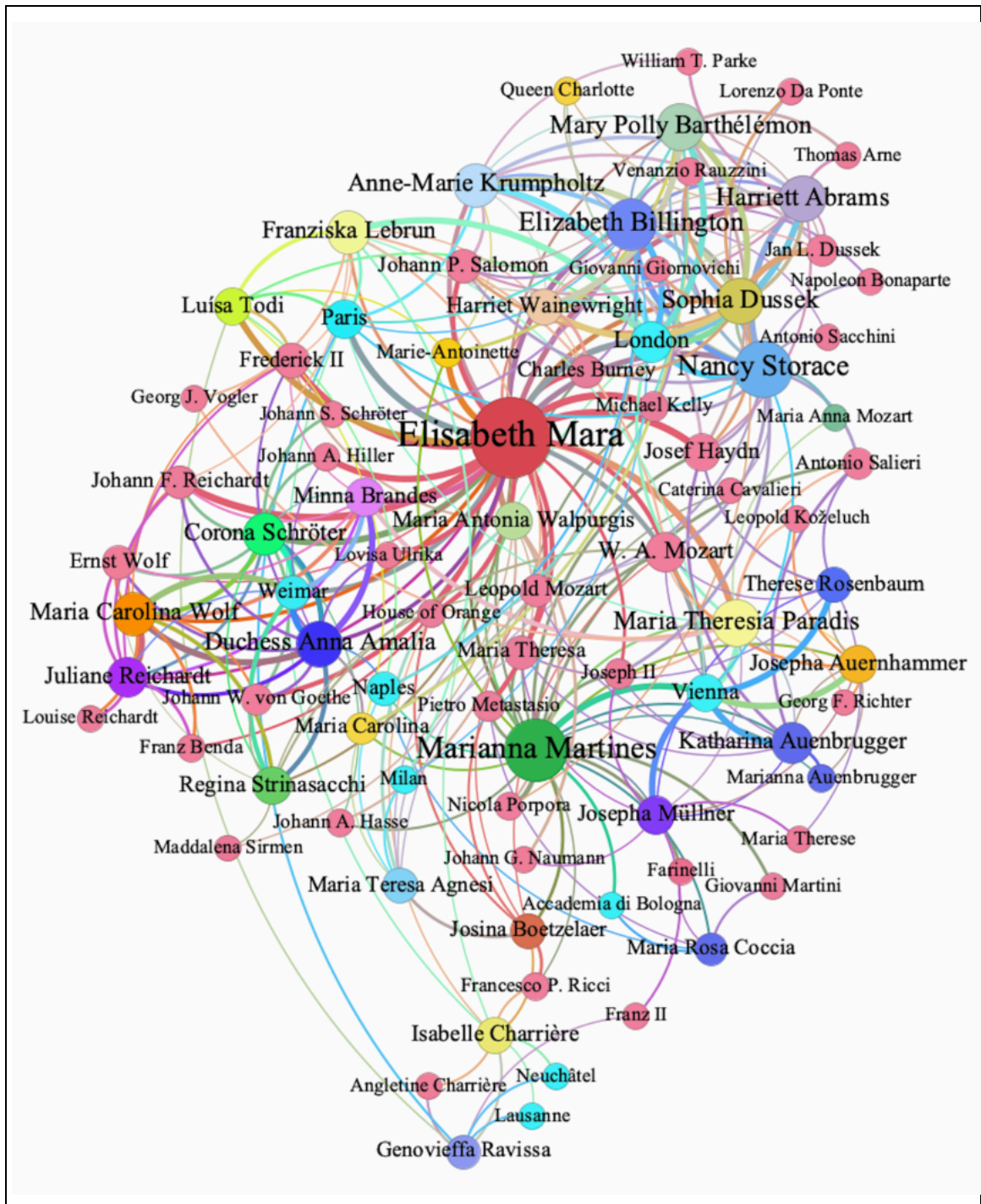


Fig. 2.35. Martines and Mara composite networks, merged

— Summary and conclusions

The first chapter of this dissertation introduced the world of amateurs, while this chapter shifts the focus to the realm of professional musicians. Elisabeth Mara's extensive network, spanning France, England, Italy, and the Germanic regions, reflects the considerable quantity and quality of her connections. Despite admirers' and news reports' efforts to cultivate rivalry between Mara and fellow female artists such as Corona Schröter, Nancy Storace, and Luísa Todi, Mara and her colleagues often collaborated and cooperated, particularly in London and Weimar. Nevertheless, it is necessary to acknowledge that the discourse surrounding these alleged rivalries undoubtedly contributed to the musicians' visibility and fame.

The research conducted in this dissertation has shown that several female musicians significantly influenced the musical landscape between 1750–1800. One such example is Duchess Anna Amalia, who played a vital role in nurturing and influencing her performers. Her dedicated efforts fostered a supportive environment that honed their skills and engendered a strong sense of loyalty. Another noteworthy figure is Sophia Corri Dussek, a female musician and businesswoman who championed the work of W. A. Mozart in London despite his initial lack of recognition.⁸⁰¹ Of particular interest is the incident where Harriet Wainwright Stewart's interpretation of "Crazy Jane" was favorably compared to that of Harriett Abrams, representing a rare instance of compositional competition. Yet this did not seem to create discord, indicating an overall harmonious atmosphere.

The findings regarding the promotion of male composers' works by female musicians—and the independence these women displayed in seeking inspiration, instruction, and professional advancement—deserve further attention. Their active role in elevating men's compositional reputations, while simultaneously cultivating their own artistic identities, raises productive questions about the gendered expectations embedded in contemporary musical culture. Future research might profitably explore whether implicit biases shaped the reception of women's advocacy or limited how their contributions were recorded, interpreted, or remembered.

Finally, it is pertinent to note that the female musicians in this milieu displayed

⁸⁰¹ The findings regarding the promotion of a male composer's work by a female musician and the independence of these women in seeking inspiration and instruction are of particular interest. It would be valuable to investigate whether any implicit biases are present in relation to these observations.

remarkable autonomy in their creativity and agency, not relying solely on men for inspiration and instruction.

The forthcoming chapter delves into Sweden, where the demarcation between amateur and professional musical spheres blurs, offering a distinctive and nuanced perspective. Within this framework, a unique understanding emerges of the convergence of these two domains and their significant impact on one another. By investigating the lively musical landscape and the interactive dynamics between amateurs and professionals, a complex network emerges that significantly influenced Gustavian Sweden's cultural landscape.

Chapter 3

Networking Gustavian Sweden

The Gustavian Swedish network illustrates a distinctive, well-documented model of collaboration in which female musicians, both amateur and professional, achieved unprecedented institutional visibility and recognition. Evidence from royal correspondence, concert programs, and the membership records of the *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien* reveals a deliberate effort to integrate women into formal musical life. Figures such as Elisabeth Olin and Marianne Ehrenström were not merely performers but active contributors to the cultural fabric of Gustavian Sweden, collaborating with male composers and court musicians on equal artistic footing. This chapter demonstrates their central role in shaping Swedish musical life by leveraging powerful institutional ties and fostering a genuinely cooperative artistic environment. While future research may extend this picture through additional archival discoveries, the current evidence clearly indicates that women were successfully incorporated into a robust, locally anchored musical community.

The analysis of this network is structured around three layers of connection. Documented collaborations within institutions such as the *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien* or through direct royal patronage define primary connections. Secondary connections represent the “friends of a friend” links that show how influence and knowledge circulated indirectly through shared salons, teachers, and mutual colleagues. Potential connections are inferred when two women were active in the same city or academy without direct documentary evidence of contact. These categories, when visualized through Gephi, reveal both the density and permeability of female networks in eighteenth-century Sweden, where institutional collaboration and social proximity often overlapped.

The foundation of this collaborative network was laid by Queen Lovisa Ulrika of Sweden (b. 1729, Berlin). As a Prussian princess and sister of Frederick II, she served as a vital conduit among female musicians across Germanic territories, France, Italy, and the Scandinavian Peninsula.¹ Her influence is attested by Elisabeth Mara, who recalled performing for Lovisa Ulrika in Berlin—an encounter that effectively linked

¹ Duchess Anna Amalia’s mother, Philippine Charlotte (1716–1801), was Lovisa Ulrika’s sister.

Scandinavian and Germanic female musical networks.² Upon her marriage to Sweden's royal heir, Adolf Fredrick (1710–1771), in 1744, Lovisa Ulrika inherited a cultural sphere that lacked the opulence of other European courts.³ The Age of Liberty (1718–1772) had diminished royal authority, yet she strategically redirected her limited influence toward the arts.⁴ Inspired by her brother's flourishing opera culture in Berlin, she initiated a broad cultural transformation by importing French and Italian music and theatre.⁵ This project not only redefined Sweden's musical landscape but also created professional opportunities for women in both court and public performance settings.⁶

Opera singers stood at the forefront of this Swedish network. Although opera was a relatively new phenomenon in Scandinavia, with only sporadic performances until the mid-1750s, the genre rapidly became a site of female artistic agency.⁷ Foreign models such as *opéra-comique* and *singspiel* initially dominated, but under Lovisa Ulrika's patronage and later Gustav III's cultural policies, Swedish-language opera emerged as a national art form.⁸ The mother and son together fostered an environment in which women

² *AMZ* 35: 548; and Merit Laine, "Lovisa Ulrika, drottning," tr. by Alexia Grosjean, *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon* (published online March 8, 2018).

³ Sweden's cultural scene was largely defined by native poets, playwrights, and musicians. See Alan Swanson, "Plays and Politics in Eighteenth Century Sweden," *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 24, no. 2 (2003): 161–173. A fervent proponent of Enlightenment ideals, she engaged with contemporary intellectuals like Voltaire (1694–1778), founded the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters in 1753 to advance arts and sciences, and commissioned the construction of the Drottningholm Theatre in 1766. See respectively, Marc Serge Rivière, "'Divine Ulrique': Voltaire and Louisa Ulrica, Princess of Prussia and Queen of Sweden (1751–1771)," *Irish Journal of French Studies*, no. 3 (2003): 4–62; See the Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien and Drottningholms Slottsteater websites for further information. Before her arrival, Sweden had lost its great-power status following the Great Northern War (1700–1721), ceding Baltic territories to Russia. See Liana Miate, "Great Northern War," *World History Encyclopedia* (November 2, 2023).

⁴ Jean François Berdah, "Sweden between constitutionalism and absolutism. From Frihetstiden to Gustav III (1718–1772)." *Revue d'histoire nordique*, no. 30 (2024): 124–139.

⁵ Greger Andersson, "Opera in Sweden," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 422.

⁶ This influx of foreign artists led to the decline the popularity of Swedish-language theatre. See Nils Edvard Personne, *Svenska teatern: några anteckninga*, 7 vols. (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1913), 1: 71. It is worth noting that Lovisa Ulrika was not alone in her predilection for French culture, as both the Danish and Swedish courts actively sought the patronage of French troupes to elevate their cultural standing. See Felicia H. Londré, *The History of World Theater: From the English Restoration to the Present* (New York: Continuum, 1999), 119.

⁷ Charlotta Wolff, "Opéra-Comique, Cultural Politics and Identity in Scandinavia 1760–1800," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, no. 43 (3): 388.

⁸ At the outset, foreign influences inspired the genre, with *opéra-comique* and *singspiel* proving particularly influential as Sweden and Denmark endeavored to establish their own "national" operas.⁸ These forms were preferred partly due to their lower musical and financial requirements than the more elaborate Italian opera seria. Both Stockholm and Copenhagen courts recruited French actors with singing abilities to perform. Such as Elisabeth Olin's mother, Elisabeth Söderman-Lillström (1717–1791). Swedish diplomats based in Paris were particularly enamored with the French operatic stage from the late 1730s onwards. However, Count Gustav Philip Creutz (1731–1785)—who served as the ambassador in Paris from 1766 to 1783—actively championed the promotion of opera in Sweden. His efforts played a crucial role in supporting the early career of one of the most renowned composers of the time, André-Ernest-Modeste

such as Elisabeth Olin, Marie Louise Marcadet, and Lovisa Augusti could pursue public careers and participate in court-sponsored productions.⁹ Their visibility within both institutional and private musical spheres underscores the integrative, collaborative ethos that characterized the Gustavian network.¹⁰

This chapter, therefore, explores the careers of native and foreign female musicians active in Stockholm and Gothenburg, and their primary, potential, and secondary connections to Denmark. By examining their interactions across professional and amateur boundaries, it reconstructs a uniquely inclusive model of eighteenth-century musical collaboration. In doing so, it situates the Swedish case within a broader European context—demonstrating how women’s participation in structured artistic networks both reflected and advanced Enlightenment ideals of sociability, education, and shared cultural enterprise.

A. Swedish professionals—Olin, Eckerman, Marcadet—primary

Given the regionalized nature of this network, our investigation begins with professional opera singers Elisabeth Olin, Charlotta Eckerman, Carolina Müller, Lovisa Augusti, Sophia Karsten, and Franziska Stading in Stockholm. As the epicenter of Gustavian Sweden, this bustling metropolis offers a crucial lens through which to analyze the era’s dynamics, even though only two of the six performers were native to Sweden.

3.1 Elisabeth Lillström Olin (1740–1828)

Elisabeth Lillström, recognized as the first Swedish opera prima donna, was born in Stockholm and was the eldest of eight siblings in a family deeply rooted in music and theatre.¹¹ Her mother, Elisabeth Söderman-Lillström (1717–1791), was among the earliest professional actresses in Sweden, while her father, Petter Lillström (1714–1776),

Grétry (1741–1813). Grétry subsequently became the most widely performed opera composer in Scandinavia until 1800. *Ibid.*, 388–391. *Ibid.* In addition to Queen Lovisa Ulrika’s contributions, Gustav III played a significant role in shaping Sweden’s cultural setting. He established two prominent Swedish institutions, the Kungliga Operan [Royal Swedish Opera] and the Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien [Royal Academy of Music], both of which are central to this network.

⁹ The musical language of Sweden remained heavily influenced by Germanic, French, and Italian styles throughout the reign of Lovisa Ulrika. Although Gustav III, later transitioned the musical vernacular to Swedish, the enduring connections his mother established provided a collaborative foundation for female musicians. See Andersson, “Opera in Sweden,” 422–425.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Johan Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin och Carl Stenborg...* (Stockholm: Fröleen, 1903), 2–6, 39–40.

served as the parish organist and later became a member and conductor of the Bollhuset theatre orchestra.¹² Given her familial ties to the arts, Elisabeth likely received her musical training predominantly within her household.¹³ However, she also benefited from formal education under the tutelage of Ferdinand Zellbell the Younger (1719–1780), the organist at Storkyrkan Cathedral, as well as from Giovanni Croce (1723–1764), an Italian tenor employed at the Swedish court.¹⁴ Elisabeth began performing alongside her mother in the singspiel *Syrinx*, already gaining recognition for her beautiful voice at the age of six.¹⁵

In 1760, Elizabeth married court secretary and amateur violinist Gabriel Olin (1728–1794), twelve years her senior.¹⁶ Due to Gabriel’s physical limitations, being described as quite unattractive, speculation arose regarding Elizabeth’s motives behind the union.¹⁷ Some conjectured that she sought to secure her own pleasures under the guise of marriage, potentially making infidelity acceptable or at least more forgivable.¹⁸ Nevertheless, she adopted her husband’s name, and the couple had six children.¹⁹ Her daughter, Elisabeth (Elise) Olin (1761–1816), followed in her mother’s footsteps, becoming an opera singer in her own right.²⁰

The new Mrs. Olin made her formal singing debut at a concert organized by Zellbell the Younger in 1761.²¹ Aside from her vocal pursuits, Olin also tried her hand at composition.²² In 1768, she contributed her only known composition, “Af Herr Håf Secreterareni,” to Erik Skjöldebrand’s (1722–1814) *Gustaviade, Hjälte-dikt i tolf*

¹² Eva Helen Ulvros, “Elisabeth Olin,” tr. by Margaret Myers, *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon* (published online March 2, 2020). Following the 1753–54 season, the Swedish theatre faced a setback when Queen Louisa Ulrika hired the French Du Londel theatre troupe, thereby revoking permission for the Swedish theatre to use the Royal Bollhuset theatre building. See Andersson, “Opera in Sweden,” 422. Consequently, the Swedish-language theatre split into two traveling companies. One, known as the “Stenborg Troupe” led by Petter Stenborg (1719–1781), performed in smaller venues, touring Stockholm and even venturing into Finland. The other company under Peter Lindahl (1712–1792), toured the countryside. See Tryggve Byström, *Svenska komedien, 1737–1754. En studie i Stockholmsteaterns historia* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1981). Elisabeth’s parents subsequently joined the Stenborg Troupe, continuing their theatrical endeavors on the road. See Swanson, “Plays and Politics in Eighteenth Century Sweden,” 167.

¹³ Ulvros, “Elisabeth Olin,” par. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; and Byström, *Svenska komedien*, 6–7.

¹⁵ Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin och Carl Stenborg*, 2–6.

¹⁶ Ulvros, “Elisabeth Olin,” par. 3.

¹⁷ Carl Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman och hennes samtida...* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1911), 73.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹⁹ Ulvros, “Elisabeth Olin,” par. 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, and Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 73. Elise is first mentioned in a 1770 review when she was 9 years old. Leif Jonsson and Anna Ivarsdotter, *Musiken i Sverige 2: Frihetstid och gustaviansk tid 1720–1810* (Stockholm: Fischer, 1993), 2: 88.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 82.

²² *Ibid.*, 2: 373.

sånger.²³ Olin's name began to appear regularly in 1769, when she sang at a benefit concert for her father at the Riddarhuset Palace under the baton of the Italian composer Francesco Antonio Uttini (1723–1795), the conductor of the Swedish court.²⁴ Throughout the season, she participated in amateur “kavaljerskonserterna” [cavalier concerts] led by Ferdinand Zellbell the Younger and sponsored by Baron Patrick Alströmer (1733–1804).²⁵

That same year, Gustav III appointed Olin as a court singer.²⁶ This decision sparked controversy, given the prevailing societal norms that deemed it morally reprehensible for a woman, particularly one of her social standing and status as the wife of a government official, to perform on stage.²⁷ In response, the King established the Royal Swedish Opera and formally integrated its personnel into the royal household, providing female employees with higher salaries than their male counterparts.²⁸ Moreover, Olin was conferred with the title of “Hovsångerska,” thereby legitimizing her position within the royal court.²⁹

In 1773, Elisabeth enraptured a full house with her interpretation of the female protagonist at the Royal Opera's debut production of Uttini's opera, *Thetis och Pelée*, at the Bollhuset.³⁰ Poet Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna (1750–1818) was among those who admired Olin's performance, pondering whether her allure stemmed from her beauty or

²³ [Gustaviade, Hero Poem in Twelve Songs] A facsimile may be accessed at Elisabeth Olin, “Af Herr Håf Secreteraren” in *Gustaviade, Hjärte-dikt i tolf sånger*, ed. by Eric Skjöldebrand (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1768), 198.

²⁴ Carl Wilhelm Forsstrand, “Riddarhuset som politisk och kulturell brännpunkt under 1700-talet,” in *Sveriges Riddarhus: Ridderskapet och adeln och dess riddarhus*, ed. by Carl Hallendorff (Stockholm: Aktiebolaget Historiska Förlaget, 1926), 395. Uttini was a student of Padre Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–1784), who was instrumental in Marianna Martines and Maria Rosa Coccia's membership into the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna, of which Uttini was also a member. *Nordisk familjebok: Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, ed. by G. Lagerheim, et al. (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlagsaktiebolag, 1921), 31: 177–178. Olin often collaborated with Francesco Uttini, appearing in his funeral cantata for King Adolf Fredrik (1710–1771) and his festive cantata for the coronation of Gustav III in 1772. Ulvros, “Elisabeth Olin,” par. 5.

²⁵ Ulvros, “Elisabeth Olin,” par. 5. Patrick Alströmer later helped found the Royal Academy of Music in 1771 and is thus linked to all of the Sweden female musicians in this chapter. Erik Naumann, “Patrick Alströmer,” *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (online edition).

²⁶ Personne, *Svenska teatern: några anteckningar*, 92.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Georg Nordensvan, *Svensk teater och svenska skådespelare från Gustav III till våra dagar* (Stockholm: A. Bonnier, 1917–1918), 1: 7–15.

²⁹ Gustav III instituted the honorary title of “Hovsångerska” [court singer], which Swedish monarchs still award to singers today. See “Hovsångerska,” *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon*.

³⁰ Personne, 93; and Johan Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin och Carl Stenborg...* (Stockholm: Fröleen, 1903), 44–64, 92–93. This event marked the historic occasion of the first performance of an opera featuring Swedish text in Sweden. A database of operas performed in Sweden may be accessed at Operan. “Repertoire Archive.”

her divine voice.³¹ Olin's "primo amoroso," Carl Stenborg (1752–1813), played opposite her as "Pelée," and her daughter, Elise, took on the role of "Eros, the Goddess of Love."³² The opera achieved resounding success, necessitating box reservations to be made several weeks in advance due to overwhelming demand.³³ Recognizing her worth, Elisabeth effectively negotiated a salary increase two years later by threatening to resign.³⁴ Furthermore, in 1780, she demanded and successfully secured a pension equivalent to her full salary upon retirement.³⁵

In the 1770s and early 1780s, Elisabeth Olin and her colleague Carl Stenborg were involved in a long-standing romantic relationship.³⁶ As the foremost female and male opera stars of the Royal Swedish Opera, they frequently assumed leading roles and portrayed lovers on stage; the fact that their onstage romance mirrored their real-life liaison drew considerable attention and scrutiny from critics.³⁷ Throughout this period, Olin gained renown for her stellar performances in numerous operas staged primarily at the Royal Swedish Opera.³⁸ She was celebrated for her striking beauty, elegant figure, captivating gaze, and intense, noble, dramatic talent, earning her the moniker "The Swedish Mara" in homage to Gertrud Elisabeth Mara.³⁹

In 1782, at forty-two, Olin formally announced her retirement from her position at the Opera.⁴⁰ Concurrently, she was inducted as the 85th member of the Royal Academy of Music, marking a significant milestone as the first woman elected to the institution.⁴¹ As Olin bid farewell to her career at the Opera, she ended her romantic involvement with Carl Stenborg when he proposed to her daughter, Elise, in the same year.⁴² Furious with

³¹ "Jag var i dag på kavaljerskonserten, så kallad emedan han endast uppföres af musikälskare och ej af någon af kapellet. Fru Olin sjöng därvid. Jag tror knappt, att Italien har någon ljufligare röst. Oviss, om man skall älska henne för hennes fägring eller för hennes gudaröst, vinner hon på en gång kärlek och förundran." (Quoted) Personne, 107–108.

³² Nordensvan, *Svensk teater*, 5–7; Ulvros, "Elisabeth Olin," par. 7, 9; and Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 74. Elise was twelve years old at the time.

³³ *Ibid.*, 107.

³⁴ Personne, 129.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin och Carl Stenborg*, 77–78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 87–136.

³⁸ Personne, 102–163. According to the *Operan* database, Elisabeth's repertoire comprised eleven works. Similar to the female musicians associated with Duchess Anna Amalia's court in Weimar, it appears that Elisabeth Olin had relatively few travel engagements and primarily performed in Stockholm.

³⁹ Nordensvan, 17.

⁴⁰ Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin*, 149–150.

⁴¹ Elisabeth's husband, Gabriel, became a member of the Royal Academy of Music in 1771. See Gustaf Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter," taken from *Kungl. Musikaliska akademien. Matrikel 1771–1971* (Stockholm: Nordiska musikförlaget, 1971).

⁴² Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin*, 167–170. Given the 12-year age gap between Stenborg and Olin, it seems inevitable that he would eventually gravitate toward her daughter.

the engagement of her former lover and her daughter, Olin's reaction led to an estrangement between mother and daughter, delaying the couple's marriage until 1793, after an extended eleven-year engagement.⁴³ Olin's last operatic performance was in 1783 in Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, once again opposite Stenborg.⁴⁴

Elisabeth Olin was widowed in 1794 following the death of her husband, Gabriel.⁴⁵ Three years later, Gustav III summoned her out of retirement to perform at the wedding of his son, Gustav IV Adolf (1778–1837), and Frederica of Baden (1781–1826).⁴⁶ In a rather unexpected turn of events, Olin made her final public appearance in 1808 for Carl Stenborg's benefit concert.⁴⁷ Shortly before her death, Olin gave a private performance for the celebrated opera singer Angelica Catalani (1780–1849), who was particularly impressed by Olin's voice, which retained a beautiful timbre even at 88.⁴⁸ On March 26, 1828, Elisabeth Olin, considered the matriarch of Swedish opera,⁴⁹ passed away in Stockholm and was interred in the vaults of St. Gertrud's church, where Carl Stenborg had been laid to rest over a decade earlier.⁵⁰ Diarist, artist, and amateur musician Marianne Ehrenström provides us a glimpse of Olin in her contemporary book on literature and the fine arts:

Mrs. Olin, born Lillström, had undoubtedly one of the most beautiful voices in Sweden, remarkable especially for its strength and for the elegant execution of the allegro. There was never a party at court without this amiable singer. Gustav III had great difficulty in engaging her for the opera. As she was very well married and the wife of an established man, she feared prejudice and only yielded to the King's requests with difficulty and the promise of a pension which she still enjoys. Now in her eighties, she hums her little song, and it is said that her character still retains that sweet harmony that once distinguished her singing.⁵¹

⁴³ Ibid.; and Lennart Hedwall, "Carl Stenborg," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, par. 16.

⁴⁴ See Operan. "Repertoire Archive."

⁴⁵ Gabriel Olin was reputedly an honest man, a supportive friend, and a skilled musician. He took pride in his wife's accomplishments, choosing to overlook her affair, and ensured the family's financial stability, leaving them in good standing upon his passing. Ibid., 171.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 173–174.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 184. The resolution of the estrangement between Olin, Elise, and Stenborg is unclear. Flodmark's account indicates that Olin caused a scene at the wedding in 1783. However, she attended her granddaughter's baptism in 1794. Ibid., 170.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 219–220.

⁴⁹ Nordensvan, 17.

⁵⁰ Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin*, 196–197.

⁵¹ "M^{me} Olin, née *Lillström*, avait sans doute une des plus belles voix de la Suède, remarquable surtout pour sa force et pour l'exécution élégante de l'allegro. Aucune fête ne se donnait à la cour sans que cette aimable chanteuse n'y fut admise. *Gustave III* eut beaucoup de peine à l'engager pour l'opéra. Comme elle était très bien mariée et femme d'un homme en place, elle craignait les préjugés et ne céda aux instances du roi qu'avec difficulté et la promesse d'une pension dont elle jouit encore. Aujourd'hui

Olin and her professional rivals

The rivalry among Elisabeth Olin and her contemporaries—Charlotta Eckerman, Carolina Müller, Lovisa Augusti, Sophia Karsten, and Franziska Stading—in late 1700s Sweden was characterized by genuine jealousy and competitiveness, contrasting with the more amicable rivalry among the operatic singers discussed in Chapter 2.⁵² Olin’s purported resentment toward her rivals, especially when Augusti supplanted her due to illness or childbirth, underscores the intensity of the competition.⁵³ Complicating matters was Olin’s romantic involvement with Carl Stenborg, who was also embroiled in the rivalry, and who showed reluctance to share the stage with Eckerman and play her lover in Olin’s absence until he was compelled to do so by royal decree.⁵⁴ Despite these tensions, the rivalry remained primarily professional, with the singers frequently setting aside their differences to collaborate onstage.⁵⁵

3.2 Beata Charlotta Eckerman (1758–1790)

Beata Charlotta Eckerman’s background differed from that of many of her female musician counterparts in this study, as she was born into a politically influential family rather than one with a musical legacy.⁵⁶ Her father, Bengt Edvard Eckerman (1728–1785), served as Ryttmästare of the Royal Scanian Hussars.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, her mother, Catharina Ahlgren (1734–c1800), was a multifaceted figure, recognized as a pioneering

octogénaire, elle fredonne sa petite chanson et on dit que son caractère conserve cette douce harmonie, qui jadis distinguait son chant.” Marianne Ehrenström, “Theatre et Musique,” in *Notices Sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suède* (Stockholm: Ecksteinska Boktryckeriet, 1826), [212] Section 2: 30. Marianne Ehrenström, among the amateur musicians featured in this Swedish chapter, offers valuable insights into the lives of other female musicians and the prevailing dynamics of the era. Her perspectives enrich our understanding of the milieu and the relationships among performers. * Translations are my own unless noted otherwise.

⁵² Nordensvan, 18.

⁵³ Personne, 121, 132.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 121–123.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 132–138.

⁵⁶ Charlotta’s family background was deeply rooted in politics and governance. Her grandfather, Anders Ahlgren (n.d.), held the position of governor of Östergötland. See Margareta Björkman, “Catharina Ahlgren,” in *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon* (published online August 3, 2018). Furthermore, her family connections extended to her father’s cousin, Carl Fredrik Ekerman (1743–1792), a prominent and influential official within the country, as well as her uncle, Otto Fredrik Ekerman (1731–1800), who served as the magistrate and justice mayor of Norrköping. See Bengt Hildebrand, “Ekerman(n), släkt,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*. Additionally, Charlotta was related by marriage to Johan Gustaf Halldin (1737–1825), an advocate for freedom of the press. See Stig Boberg, “Johan Gustaf Halldin,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

⁵⁷ A Ryttmästare is an Equestrian Master. Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 140–141; and Bengt Hildebrand, “Beata Charlotte Ekerman,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

feminist poet, journalist, and publisher, and even served as a lady's maid to Queen Louisa Ulrika.⁵⁸ Eckerman herself carved out a unique path, gaining recognition as a well-known opera singer, courtesan, and spy during the Gustavian era (1772–1809).⁵⁹

Eckerman's family faced upheaval when her parents' marriage dissolved in 1768 due to her father's infidelity, precipitating a decline in their fortunes.⁶⁰ Following the separation, both parents remarried, but Eckerman and her sister, Catharina Juliana (Julie) (1765–1800), struggled to accept their stepmother, who was only eight years their senior.⁶¹ Consequently, the two sisters left home during their early teens.⁶² Shortly thereafter, Eckerman secured an engagement at the nascent Royal Swedish Opera in 1774 at the age of sixteen.⁶³ While initially earmarked for the Royal Ballet, her lack of aptitude for dance led to her being transferred to the choir despite her modest vocal prowess.⁶⁴ However, she was admired for her unusual beauty and vivacity and was recognized for her theatrical acumen.⁶⁵ Fortuitously, Gustav III arranged for Eckerman to receive voice lessons with Marianne Aurora Uggla (1747–1826), well-known among the court circle for her exceptional skills as a company actress.⁶⁶

Eckerman made her solo operatic debut in December 1774 as the character "Mechtild" in Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg's (1731–1808) *Birger Jarl*, a role prized by Elisabeth Olin.⁶⁷ Despite her vocal limitations, Eckerman impressed the audience with her sensitivity and intelligence, successfully navigating the challenging role.⁶⁸ Her official appointment as a permanent member of the Royal Opera in 1776 marked the

⁵⁸ Björkman, "Catharina Ahlgren."

⁵⁹ Leif Wallentinsson, "Charlotta Ekerman," *Historiska personer*. Charlotta was the official royal mistress of Gustav III's younger brother, Duke Karl XIII (1748–1818), while her younger sister, Julie, had a long-standing relationship with Carl Sparre (1723–1791), Karl XIII's confidant. Tilda Maria Forselius, "Catharina Juliana (Julie) Ekerman," in *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexicon*, tr. by Alexia Grosjean (published online March 8, 2018), par. 5.

⁶⁰ Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 140.

⁶¹ Wallentinsson, "Charlotta Ekerman," par. 5.

⁶² Forselius, "Catharina Juliana (Julie) Ekerman," par. 5.

⁶³ Hildebrand, "Beata Charlotte Ekerman."

⁶⁴ Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin*, 103.

⁶⁵ "Kort sagt flickan är ett ystert stycke, kördes bort af Gallodier [Louis (c1734–1803) såsom oduglig danseuse, och stannade i choeren som en ganska mediocre sångerska; men varandes stark i affecter och gester har hon befunnits skicklig till aktris." (DT) (Letter from Carl Christoffer Gjørwell Sr. to Patrick Alströmer) The letter, dated December 12, 1774, is quoted in Eugène Lewenhaupt, *Bref rörande teatern under Gustaf III* (Uppsala: Akademiska boktryckeriet, 1892), 301.

⁶⁶ Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 143.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 145. Därefter började prins Carl att ropa: 'Fröken Uggla, fröken Uggla!', hvilket genast vann anklång och upprepades af den applåderande publiken, då det var allmänt bekant, att det var hon, som inöfvat mamsell Eckerman i Mechtilds roll. Såväl skalden Gyllenborg som den välborne damen mottogo i sina resp. loger allmänhetens hyllning." *Ibid.*, 145–146.

beginning of her career as a versatile performer, which endured until 1781.⁶⁹

Acknowledged for her adaptability, she not only excelled in musical performances but also in dramatic pieces, particularly in speaking roles during the Opera's intermittent non-musical productions.⁷⁰ Her flexibility contributed to her standing as one of the Opera's most respected performers.⁷¹

In 1779, Eckerman caught the eye of Duke Karl XIII.⁷² Knowing her worth, Eckerman initially rebuffed the Duke's advances due to his disrespectful treatment of her.⁷³ She appealed to King Gustav for protection from what she characterized as the "insolent behaviour of His Royal Highness," threatening to cease her stage performances.⁷⁴ Consequently, Karl altered his approach and successfully won Eckerman as his mistress.⁷⁵ However, this liaison ignited a scandal, as public sentiment favored Karl's popular wife, Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta (1759–1818).⁷⁶ Rumors surfaced a year later hinting at the imminent end of the affair, attributing it to the scandal and Karl's contempt for his wife.⁷⁷ Yet, as Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd (1746–1783) recounted in his memoirs, the real reason for the relationship's dissolution was Karl's becoming Grand Master of the Freemasons, which motivated him to lead a more exemplary life.⁷⁸ This

⁶⁹ Ibid., 146.

⁷⁰ Personne, 123. The Royal Opera held straight theatrical plays until the Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern [Royal Dramatic Theatre] was established in 1788.

⁷¹ Ibid. Writer and royal librarian Adolf Fredrik Ristell (1744–1829) asserts that Eckerman was "charged with the principal part in every play of his Majesty's composition." Adolf Fredrik Ristell, *Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden*, 2 vols. (London: Elizabeth Harlow, 1790), 1: 164.

⁷² Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 146–147.

⁷³ "As she was also a very handsome figure, she could not fail attracting the attention of the Duke, who thought very little ceremony necessary with a woman in that station." Ristell, *Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden*, 1: 165.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 150–151. According to biographers, Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta exhibited a degree of equanimity toward her husband's habitual womanizing, yet she appeared to harbor a specific aversion toward his involvement with Charlotta Eckerman. Margareta Björkman, "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien: Beata Charlotta Ekermans brev till Carl Sparre 1784–1785," *1700-tal Nordic Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, no. 2 (2005): 95. Paradoxically, the Queen herself purportedly displayed indifference toward her spouse's extramarital liaisons, perceiving them as affording her greater personal freedom. In fact, she expressed her frustration in her diary that her husband had fewer lovers after Eckerman, which caused him to direct his attention more intensely toward her, thereby subjecting her to heightened scrutiny, suspicion, and accusations. Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok*, ed. and tr. by Carl Carlsson Bonde, 3 vols. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1903), 1: 284.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 151; and Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, ed., *Dagboksanteckningar förda vid Gustaf III:s hof*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1877), 2: 116.

⁷⁸ "Den Mars 22, Onsdag [1780]. Sedan hertig Carl genom så många nya viktiga förbindelsers ingående trott sin skyldighet vara att föra en mera exemplarisk vandel än hitintills skett, trodde han att nförsta profvet här af skulle vara att afskeda sin älskade mätress m:lle Eckerman, som hos alla uppväckt så mycken skandal. Han hade på flera veckor icke sett henne, föregifvit sig vara sjuk, än af feber än af hon började märka, att någon rupture förestod, hon skref till hertigen de ömmaste bref, hon fick åter stundom kalla, stundom inga svar. I dag skulle denna stora sak slutas. Hertigen skrifver henne till ett ganska

rationale proved unlikely, though, as Karl continued to engage in extramarital affairs.⁷⁹ Following a brief reconciliation three months after their initial separation, Karl and Eckerman ultimately severed ties in 1781, with the Duke agreeing to provide her with an annual stipend.⁸⁰ That same year, Eckerman bore a daughter who died shortly after birth.⁸¹

In the absence of Karl's protection, Eckerman encountered difficulties following accusations by King Gustav of defaming Queen Sophia Magdalena (1746–1813) and the alleged murder of the child she was believed to have had with Karl.⁸² Despite maintaining her innocence, she faced grave repercussions.⁸³ Providentially, Carl Sparre, her sister Julie's paramour, interceded on her behalf, leveraging his influence to persuade the King to banish Eckerman rather than incarcerate her.⁸⁴ Consequently, she fled to Paris, where she resided for two years.⁸⁵ During her sojourn in France, Eckerman adopted the alias Charlotte d'Ahlgrén and entertained influential gentlemen, but other specifics of her stay remain largely unknown.⁸⁶

On June 6, 1784, Eckerman reconciled with Gustav III, leading the latter to commission the artist Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller (1751–1811) to paint her portrait.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, he did not sanction her return to Sweden for at least another year.⁸⁸ Thus, she wrote to Sparre the very next day, divulging her decision to undertake a journey

uppbyggligt och teologiskt bref, för en aktris vid operan en ovanlig lektyr. Detsamma underrättade om bägges skyldigheter, som voro bekräftade med de heligaste försäkringar å hans sida att undfly en lefnad, som både i Guds och människors ögon vore förhatlig; han bjöd farväl af henne och förklarade, att all den liaison, som hitintills emellan dem varit skulle upphöra." (DT) Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ristell, 2: 67–71; and Rebecka Lennartsson, *Mamsell Bohmans fall: Natllöperskor i 1700-talets Stockholm* (Stockholm), 194.

⁸⁰ Wallentinsson, par. 6.

⁸¹ Ibid.; and Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 157.

⁸² Apparently, Eckerman once echoed the prevailing belief that the stable master, Adolf Fredrik Munck (1749–1831), was the true father of the royal heir, Gustav IV Adolf (1778–1837), instead of Gustav III himself, given the nine-year gap before the royal marriage was consummated. (Wallentinsson, par. 7). However, it is worth noting that Queen Lovisa Ulrika herself perpetuated this story. See Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta, *Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok*, 1: 103–104.

⁸³ Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 156–159.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Margareta Björkman, "Aktrisers böcker: Beata Charlotta Ekermans bibliotek 1790," *1700-tal Nordic Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, no. 8 (October 2011): 117–119.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 118; Björkman, "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien," 104; and Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 162.

⁸⁷ Ruger Fredrik Hochschild, *Memoarer*, ed. by Henrik Schück, 3 vols. (Stockholm: H. Geber, 1908–1909), 1: 95; and Ernst E. Areen, "Vem Hon Var: Ett Wertmüllerporträtts Historia," *Ord Och Bild: Illustrerad Månadsskrift* (1919): 197–200. A depiction of the portrait may be found at Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller "Porträtt föreställande Beata Charlotte Eckerman — bröstbild," *Klassiska & Asiatiska* 430 (November 23, 2022): 22–23.

⁸⁸ Björkman, "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien," 95–96, 102.

through Italy.⁸⁹ In her letter, she revealed her intention to become the mistress of Duke Coscia (n.d.) in Naples, citing the need for financial support after the promised pension from Karl failed to materialize.⁹⁰ The correspondence between Eckerman and Sparre over the following year offers a compelling and poignant narrative.⁹¹ It unfolds the tale of an exiled actress traveling alone across Europe, forging connections within the Vatican and the Neapolitan court while living in constant fear that her true identity as a Swedish actress without letters of recommendation would be exposed.⁹² Although no indication suggests she continued her operatic career, her theatrical abilities proved advantageous as she assumed new personas throughout her tour, helping her command respect.⁹³ Even Queen Maria Carolina was swayed to meet the Swedish lady despite the absence of a formal letter of introduction.⁹⁴

Little information is available about Eckerman's activities following her return to Stockholm in 1786, aside from the fact that the King covertly employed her as a courtesan to gather intelligence on his ministers.⁹⁵ Historians have noted that she underwent magnetism therapy administered by her friend Professor Anders Sparrman (1748–1820), a proponent of the contentious therapeutic method.⁹⁶ Eckerman's health had been a concern since her sojourn to Italy, during which she grappled with repeated bouts of "maladie de poitrine" [angina] and pneumonia.⁹⁷ However, the specific ailment for which she was being treated remains unclear, and it is uncertain whether the magnetism therapy contributed to her death.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, Charlotta Eckerman passed

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Björkman, "Aktrisens böker," 117–118. In her letters to Sparre, Eckerman repeatedly laments the failure to receive the pension that Karl promised her. See Björkman, "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien," 127, no. 83.

⁹¹ Margareta Björkman provides an account of Eckerman's journey, elucidating her experiences, observations, and challenges during her travels to Italy in "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien," 102–121.

⁹² Jeremy Black emphasizes the essential role of recommendation letters for travelers in the eighteenth century. It is apparent that for a female traveler such as Charlotta Eckerman, the significance of these letters exceeded that of their male counterparts. Eckerman found herself in a particularly delicate situation, traveling without a male companion, which heightened the need for such documentation. Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour*. Routledge Revivals (London: Croom Helm, 2010), 114–115. Nevertheless, Eckerman adeptly navigated her journey and received hospitality from the French cardinal and ambassador to the papal see, François Joachim de Bernis (1715–1794), in Rome, as well as Queen Maria Carolina in Naples. See Björkman, "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien," 109, 116–117.

⁹³ Ibid., 109.

⁹⁴ Björkman, "Ett svenskt fruntimmers resa till Italien," 117 and 128, no. 102.

⁹⁵ Hochschild, *Memoarer*, 1: 95–96; Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 164.

⁹⁶ Forsstrand, 164–165.

⁹⁷ Björkman, "Aktrisens böker," 118–119.

⁹⁸ Ibid. Franz Anton Mesmer employed his magnetism treatment on Maria Theresia Paradis a few years earlier in 1777. However, the endeavor did not yield a successful outcome, although it did not appear to cause any lasting harm. See Chapter 1.

away on January 29, 1790, at age thirty-one, and was laid to rest in Klara cemetery.⁹⁹ At the time of her death, she was the mistress of the Dutch ambassador in Stockholm, Baron Jan Carel van der Borch (1734–1797), known for his lively and extravagant lifestyle.¹⁰⁰

Despite leading a tumultuous and adventurous life, Beata Charlotta Eckerman demonstrated a keen intellectual curiosity.¹⁰¹ This is evident from her estate record, which lists a library comprising English works in history and drama, as well as French literature encompassing theatre history, drama, and biography.¹⁰² Eckerman, a renowned singer, actress, and courtesan, has more recently become the subject of the novel *Kurtisanen* by Anna Laestadius Larsson.¹⁰³

Eckerman and Olin

In his quest for new talent, King Gustav III recognized Beata Charlotta Eckerman’s great dramatic potential.¹⁰⁴ Her debut role as “Mechtild” in *Birger Jarl* immediately sparked a rivalry with Elisabeth Olin.¹⁰⁵ Even though she had initially rejected the opportunity, Olin was infuriated at being deprived of one of her most coveted roles.¹⁰⁶ Despite her efforts, she found herself powerless to influence the King’s decision.¹⁰⁷ In a show of solidarity with Olin, her co-star and romantic partner, Carl Stenborg, exhibited reluctance in assuming the role of the on-stage lover of Eckerman, an insignificant debutant.¹⁰⁸ He grimaced and feigned ignorance of the part, although he had previously enacted it opposite Olin.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Stenborg reluctantly participated in the production at the King’s explicit command, endeavoring to outshine Eckerman throughout the performance.¹¹⁰

⁹⁹ Wallentinsson, par. 12–13.

¹⁰⁰ Hochschild, *Memoarer*, 2: 79; Renger E. de Bruin, “The Commanders’ Spouses. The Marriages of the Utrecht Teutonic Knights, 1640–1940,” *Ordines Militares*, XXVIII (2023); and J. H. van Mosselveld. “Het Landgoed Valkenberg bij Gilze,” in *Jaarboek De Oranjeboom* 13 (1960), 166.

¹⁰¹ Hildebrand, “Beata Charlotte Ekerman.”

¹⁰² Margareta Björkman provides a comprehensive analysis of Eckerman’s book collection, detailing the breadth and diversity of the works it contained. See Björkman, “Aktrisens böker,” 116–138.

¹⁰³ *Kurtisanen*, Anna Laestadius Larsson. (Stockholm: Piratförlaget, 2019).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 117–118.

¹⁰⁵ Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 143–144.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹⁰⁷ *Personne*, 122.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 121–123.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; and Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 143–144.

— Networking Swedish opera stars

In Figure 3.1, Elisabeth Olin’s network is clearly weighted toward the key actors discussed in this chapter. The individuals closest to the center are those with whom she had the most frequent interactions. The connections between professional performers are emphasized with slightly thicker edges, indicating their direct competition. Additionally, the actors laced along the outer edges are linked through the Royal Academy of Music, suggesting their shared involvement in the same musical circles. Like Marianna Martines, Elisabeth Olin never appears to have ventured out of her home city.

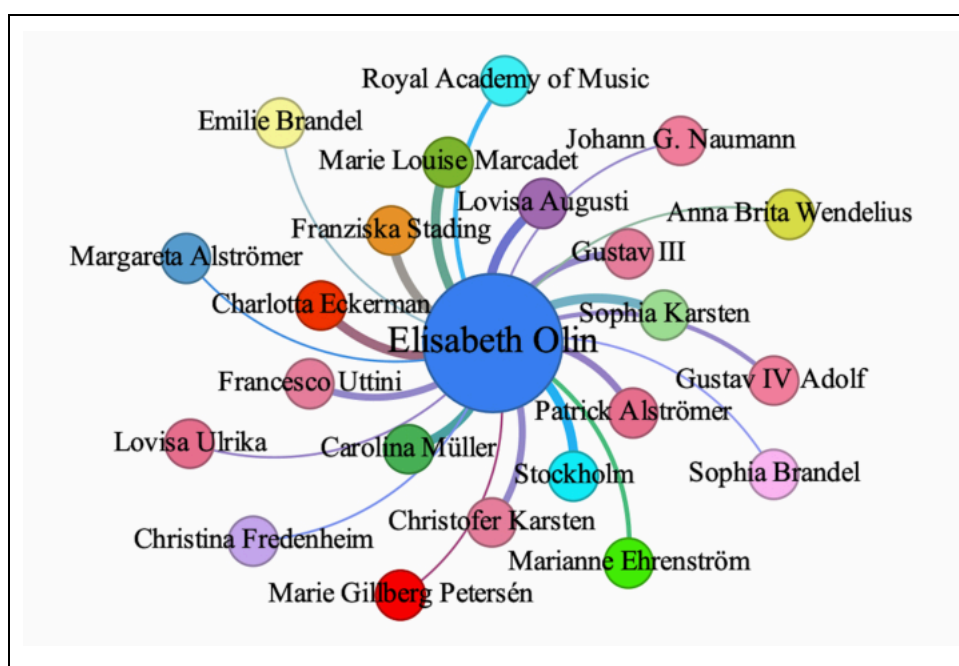


Fig. 3.1. Elisabeth Olin network

Charlotta Eckerman’s network in Figure 3.2, on the other hand, displays her strong association with Stockholm and the royal family. It also references her travels abroad to Paris and Naples. The thin edges indicate that she collaborated with the other professional female musicians during her tenure at the Royal Swedish Opera, albeit to a much lesser extent than Olin. Yet both women’s networks remained anchored to Stockholm and the Royal Swedish Opera, suggesting that even mobile performers maintained institutional affiliations that structured their professional relationships and opportunities.

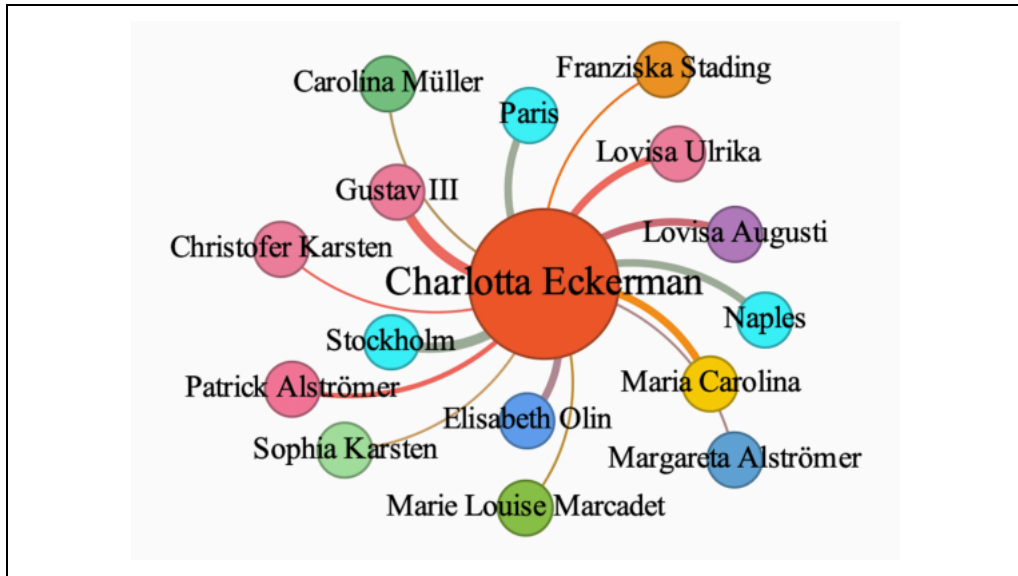


Fig. 3.2. Charlotta Eckerman network

Figure 3.3 illustrates the network connecting Elisabeth Olin and Charlotta Eckerman with other professional female musicians in Stockholm.

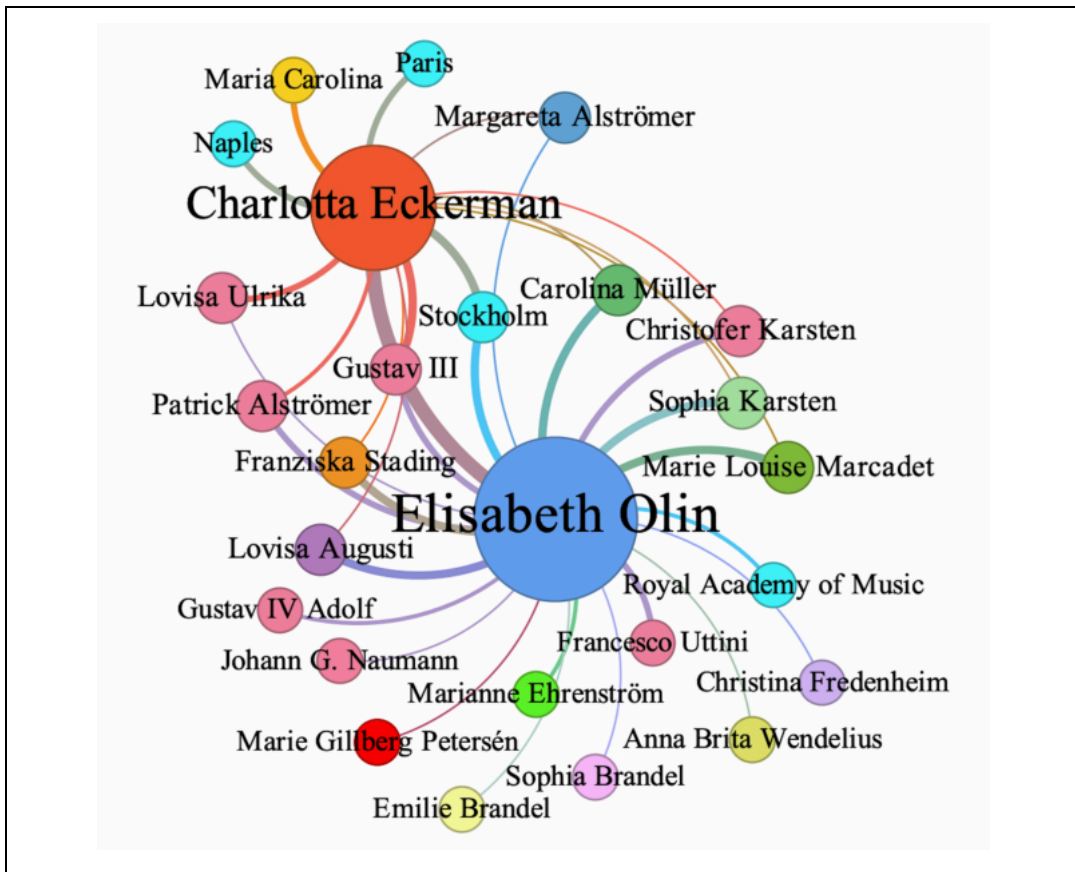


Fig. 3.3. Swedish composite network with Elisabeth Olin and Charlotta Eckerman

The two singers are linked by a thick edge, highlighting both their artistic collaborations and well-documented rivalry. The amateur musicians positioned along the

lower section of the map are exclusively connected to Olin through the Royal Academy of Music, as Eckerman was never admitted—a consequence not only of institutional exclusion but also of the social constraints associated with her status as a courtesan, which restricted her interactions with women of higher social standing.

Additionally, the figure highlights a key distinction between Olin and Eckerman: while Olin's career was largely centered in Stockholm, Eckerman's mobility across different regions suggests a more transient professional trajectory shaped by travel. A possible indirect connection between Eckerman and Margareta Alströmer emerges through her father, Patrick Alströmer, whose involvement in the theatre created overlapping circles of influence.

One other opera singer, Marie Louise Marcadet, was born in Stockholm, but with a unique twist. We will explore Marcadet's primary connections to Elisabeth Olin and Charlotta Eckerman before moving on to discuss two Danish opera singers, Caroline Müller and Catharine Frydendahl, who provide primary and secondary links.

3.3 Marie Louise Baptiste Marcadet (1758–1822)

Marie Louise Baptiste, another opera singer, was also born in Stockholm but identified as French due to her parentage.¹¹¹ Her parents, Jacques Anselme Baptiste (1733–n.d.) and Marie Louise Baptiste (1733–n.d.), were French nationals and actors in Du Londel's Sällskapet.¹¹² Her mother, Marie, was the prima donna of the troupe, while her father, Jacques, was a well-known actor and cellist.¹¹³ Limited information is available about Baptiste's early upbringing; however, she likely developed her acting proficiency under her parents' guidance.¹¹⁴ Following Gustav III's dissolution of the French Theatre in 1771, the Baptiste family departed Sweden and embarked on a largely unsuccessful European tour.¹¹⁵ They eventually returned to Stockholm in 1776 and resumed their daily performances.¹¹⁶ Two years later, Marie Louise made her Royal

¹¹¹ Eva Helen Ulvros, "Marie Louise Baptiste," *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon* (published online March 1, 2020).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, par. 2. Du Londel's Sällskapet was the French Theatre troupe under the patronage of Queen Lovisa Ulrika. See p. 285, no. 12.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, par. 1–2; and Personne, 139.

¹¹⁴ Kerstin Derkert, "Marie Louise Marcadet," *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, par. 6.

¹¹⁵ Ulvros, "Marie Louise Baptiste," par. 7. Gustav III dissolved the French Theatre in order to establish a Swedish-language national theatre. Oscar Levertin, *Teater och drama under Gustaf III* (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1889), 4.

¹¹⁶ Nils Erdmann, *Vid hovet och på adelsgodsen i 1700-talets Sverige: En tidskrönika* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Wedstrand, 1926), 173.

Swedish Opera debut in Grétry's comedic production, *De bägge girige*.¹¹⁷ Shortly afterward, Swedish poet Johan Henrik Kellgren (1751–1795) praised Baptiste's performance in the same author's *Lucile*, describing her as divine in both operas.¹¹⁸

Her simultaneous employment distinguished Marie Louise Baptiste at all three of the royal theatres: the Royal Opera (1778–1795) as an opera singer, and at both the Franska Teater (1781–1792) and the Swedish-language Dramaten (1788–1795) as an actor.¹¹⁹ Baptiste specialized in portraying the roles of wives and mothers in dramatic productions.¹²⁰ At the same time, in comedies, she typically embodied characters such as young ladies of society, chambermaids of higher significance, and peasant mothers.¹²¹ Despite her reputedly moderate singing voice, Baptiste garnered particular acclaim for her exceptional talent as a tragedienne.¹²² Regrettably, her physical appearance frequently attracted negative commentary, with many individuals openly labeling her as “ugly.”¹²³ A notable instance of such criticism can be traced back to 1778 when Carl Christopher Gjörwell Sr. (1731–1811) disparages her appearance in his journal:

She [Mamselle Leclair (n.d.)] is already getting on in years, but a very young Frenchwoman, Miss Baptiste, Mrs. Baptiste's daughter, is now also an accepted and established actress on our Swedish stage. She is fiery with determination, not so brave as Mrs. Augusti,¹²⁴ but ugly, and covers the surface with make-up; her whole soul is created for the theatre, but still breaks something in French.¹²⁵

The biographer Nils Edward Personne (1850–1928) also documents Baptiste's lack of physical beauty while commending her exceptional talent that ultimately led to

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ “I går såg jag Lucile. M:elle Baptiste agerar där som I de förra, Gudomligt.” (DT) (Excerpt, letter from Kellgren to fellow poet and director of the Royal theatres, Abraham Niclas Clewberg (1754–1821), June 20, 1778). Johan Henrik Kellgren, *Johan Henrik Kellgrens bref till Abraham Niclas Clewberg*, ed. by Henrik Schück, and Abraham Niclas Edelcrantz (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1894), 59. (Translated) DeepL, June 1, 2024.

¹¹⁹ Derkert, “Marie Louise Marcadet,” par. 2. The Franska Teater was Gustav III's newly reformed French Theatre. Nordensvan, 14–22.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Derkert, par. 7.

¹²² Nordensvan, 27, 44.

¹²³ Derkert, par. 2

¹²⁴ Lovisa Sofia Augusti (c1751–1790).

¹²⁵ “Hon är redan till åren, men en helt ung fransyska Mamsell *Baptiste*, Fru Baptistes doter, är nu ock antagen och etablerad actrice på vår sv. skådeplats. Hon är eldig med besked, ej så tågelig som Fru Augusti, men ful, höljer ytan med smink, hela själen är skapad för theatern, bryter dock ännu något på fransyska.” (DT) Carl Christoffer Gjörwell, *En stockholmskrönika ur C. C/Gjörwells brev, 1757–1778*, ed. by Otto Sylwan (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1920), 247. (Translated) DeepL, May 29, 2024.

her fame:

In the same year, during Mrs. Olin's renewed interesting unseemliness,¹²⁶ a new artist appeared, Miss Marie Louise Baptiste, who, in spite of her notorious ugliness, won the public's admiration by a brilliant talent and soon, like Mrs. Marcadet, acquired much fame. [...] "Although not born Swedish, her declamation revealed no foreign accent,¹²⁷ but the somewhat harsh accent with which she pronounced the language, the unusual clarity and firmness it thus acquired in her mouth, gave her speech an energy, which was nevertheless mitigated by the sensitivity she knew how to insert into her play where such was needed."¹²⁸

In the same year, the intense focus on Baptiste's physical appearance resulted in a distressing turn of events and a scandal that reverberated through the Swedish opera community.¹²⁹ At the age of nineteen, Baptiste's engagement to leading Swedish opera singer Christofer Christian Karsten (1756–1827) was unceremoniously called off.¹³⁰ Allegedly, Karsten found her too unattractive for someone as handsome as he believed himself to be, and he conveyed these sentiments to her directly.¹³¹ The incident polarized the court, with some displaying empathy toward Baptiste while others, swayed by the prevailing norms of the time, were inclined to justify Karsten's actions.¹³² Nils Erdmann recounts an anecdote that encapsulates Baptiste's humiliation and heartbreak, imbuing her ordeal with a sense of immediacy and authenticity beyond mere historical documentation:

One evening, when *Iphigénie* was being given, Prince Carl noticed that Miss Baptiste, upset by her dispute with Karsten, was playing worse than usual. He immediately ordered Zibet, the second director of the theatre and the King's secretary, to lecture her, to tell her to play better, and to forget for the evening her dispute with Karsten. By the beginning of the third act, she had disappeared. After a lengthy search, she was found in tears. She

¹²⁶ Whenever Elisabeth Olin was ill, indisposed, or expecting one of her six children, another singer had to step in to take her place. See Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin*.

¹²⁷ This could be attributed to the fact that she was born in Sweden and spent all but four years of her childhood in the country.

¹²⁸ "Samma år, under fru Olins ånyo inträffade intressanta opasslighet, uppenbarade sig en ny konstnärinna, mamsell Marie Louise Baptiste, hvilken, trots sin omtalade fulhet, genom en lysande talang tillvann sig publikens bevågenhet och snart såsom fru Marcadet förvärfvade sig mycken berömmelse.¹²⁸ [...] "Ehuru icke född svenska røjde hennes declamation ingen främmande brytning, men den något hårda accent, hvarmed hon uttalade språket, den ovanliga tydlighet och bestämdhet det härigenom i hennes mun erhö, gaf åt hennes föredrag en energi, som likväl mildrades af den känslighet hon visste inlägga i sitt spel där sådant behöfdes." (DT) (Quoted) Personne, 139–140. (Translated) DeepL, May 29, 2024.

¹²⁹ Erdmann, *Vid hovet och på adelsgodsen*, 272.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ "Karsten fann henne för ful för en så vacker karl som han, och brytningen lär ha försiggått under hands "mauvais compliments." Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

could hardly speak. But she had to obey. “She completed her role as best she could.”¹³³

Following the natural course of events, Baptiste’s emotional distress gradually subsided, allowing her to maintain a professional relationship with Karsten even after he ended their engagement.¹³⁴

The scene was all the more piquant for the spectators because the engagement between Karsten and Miss Baptiste had just been broken after Karsten had told his fiancée outright that she was far too ugly for him.¹³⁵ However, Miss Baptiste seems to have soon consoled herself over the volatility of her betrothed, for already on February 1, 1780, she married the prominent prima dancer Marcadet. The following year Karsten also married a beautiful Polish woman, Mariana Teresia Stebnowska [Sophia], who had come here in the company of the English minister.¹³⁶

Indeed, the following year saw the birth of her son, François-Rémi Marcadet (c1781–1820), who eventually established himself as a vocal music instructor in Pontlevoy, France.¹³⁷

Marie Louise Marcadet, much like Elisabeth Olin, demonstrated a noteworthy business acumen. For instance, upon her marriage in 1780, she produced the opera *Zémire och Azor* and, in 1789, adeptly secured a five-year contract extension with Gustav III.¹³⁸ When the King was assassinated in 1792, his French Theatre was disbanded.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, Marcadet continued her tenure

¹³³ En kväll, då man gav *Iphigénie*, märkte prins Carl att Mlle Baptiste, upprörd av tvisten med Karsten, spelade sämre än vanligt. Genast befallde han Zibet, andre direktör vid teatern och kungens handsekreterare, att läxa upp henne, tillsäga henne att spela bättre och att för aftonen glömma sitt mellanhavande med Karsten. Vid tredje aktens början var hon försvunnen. Efter långt sökande fann man henne upplöst i tårar. Hon orkade knappast tala. Men hon var tvungen att lyda. “Elle acheva pour tout son rôle tant bien que mal.” (DT) Ibid., 272–273. (Translated) DeepL, May 29, 2024.

¹³⁴ *La Belle Arsène* (1780), *Attis* (1784), *Gustaf Wasa* (1786), *Armide* (1787), *Folke Birgersson till Ringstad* (1793), and *Alcides Inträde I Världen* (1793). See Operan. “Repertoire Archive.”

¹³⁵ The quote references Act III, Scene VIII: the breakup between Arsène [Baptiste] and her lover [Karsten].

¹³⁶ “Scenen var för åskådarna så mycket pikantare, som den mellan Karsten och mamsell Baptiste ingångna förlofningen nyss förut blifvit bruten, sedan Karsten rent ut sagt sin fästmö att hon var alldeles för ful för honom. Mamsell Baptiste tycks dock ganska snart ha tröstat sig öfver sin trolofvades flyktighet, ty redan den 1 februari 1780 gifte hon sig med den framstående premiärdansören Marcadet. Följande år ingick äfven Karsten äktenskap med en skön polska, Mariana Teresia Stebnowska, hvilken kommit hit i engelska ministerns följe.” (DT) Personne, 144. (Translated) DeepL, May 29, 2024.

¹³⁷ The information on François-Rémi is found in his death certificate. Archives départementales de Loir & Cher, “François-Rémi Marcadet,” [Registre d’état civil] 1814–Septembre 1829, no. 11, image 225/597.

¹³⁸ Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar förda vid Gustaf III:s hof*, 77–78; and Laurence Senelick, *National Theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe: 1746–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 78.

¹³⁹ Nordensvan, 36.

at the Royal Opera and Dramaten for an additional three years.¹⁴⁰ In the autumn of 1795, for reasons unknown, Marcadet found herself at odds with the management at the Dramaten, leading to her withdrawal from both the Dramaten and the Opera.¹⁴¹ Coincidentally, this was the same year she was inducted into the Royal Academy of Music.¹⁴² Her final performance took place at the Stenborg Theatre on November 14, 1795, during which she expressed her gratitude, acknowledging the encouragement she had received from the public throughout her career.¹⁴³

She left our stage while she was still at the height of her powers. Her place in the great drama was found difficult to fill.¹⁴⁴

The Marcadets relocated from Sweden to Paris shortly after that. According to theatre historian Johan Flodmark (1837–1927), Marie Louise Marcadet never returned to the stage and passed away in Paris in 1804.¹⁴⁵ However, my research revealed Marcadet’s death certificate, which confirms her demise in Colligis, France, in 1822.¹⁴⁶

For a final word on Marie Louise Marcadet, considered to be one of the most significant forces on the Gustavian scene,¹⁴⁷ we turn once again to Marianne Ehrenström:

One remembers with enthusiasm Mrs. Marcadet’s beautiful talent in tragedy. Everything about her announced a mastery of the great dramatic art. What passionate expression, what precise and delicate declamation!¹⁴⁸

Marcadet, Olin, and Eckerman

As a member of the Royal Opera Company, Marie Louise Marcadet frequently collaborated with Elisabeth Olin and the other female singers within the ensemble.¹⁴⁹ An

¹⁴⁰ Flodmark, *Stenborgska skådebanorna: Bidrag till Stockholms teaterhistoria* (Stockholm: PA Norstedt, 1893), 443.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 444.

¹⁴² Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

¹⁴³ “få emottaga den vördade allmänhetens uppmuntran, den hon under sin tjänstetid så lyckligt åtnjutit.” (Quoted) Flodmark, *Stenborgska skådebanorna*, 445.

¹⁴⁴ “Hon lämnade vår scen, medan hon ännu stod på sin höjdpunkt. Hennes plats i det stora dramat befanns svår att fylla.” Nordensvan, 44. (Translated) DeepL, June 1, 2024.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Archives départementales de l’Aisne, Colligis, “Marie Louise Marcadet” [Death certificate] 5Mi0343 – an XIII 1830, image 116/195.

¹⁴⁷ Nordensvan, 44.

¹⁴⁸ “On se rappelle avec enthousiasme le beau talent de M^{me} *Marcadet* dans la tragédie. Tout en elle annonçait la connaissance du grand art dramatique. Quelle expression passionnée, quelle déclamation juste et délicate!” Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [209] Section 2: 27.

¹⁴⁹ Marie Louise Marcadet also performed alongside Lovisa Augusti, Carolina Müller, and Franziska Stading. See Operan. “Repertoire Archive;” and Susan M. Holman “Operan Cross-reference.” In 1795, Marcadet even participated in a concert at the Riddarhuset [House of the Nobility] Chapel with her

iconic performance took place when Marcadet assumed the lead role in *La belle Arsène* by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729–1817), translated into Swedish in 1779 for Queen Sophia’s name day, alongside Elisabeth Olin and Christofer Karsten.¹⁵⁰ Charlotta Eckerman’s performances and tenure as a Royal Opera singer from 1776 until her expulsion in 1781 suggest a potential and likely connection with Marcadet. Despite the absence of specific records, the overlap in their careers at the Royal Opera indicates that they may have collaborated or at least interacted professionally during this period.¹⁵¹

— Weaving Marcadet into the network

Marie Louise Marcadet’s network in Figure 3.4 exhibits similarities to Elisabeth Olin’s network in Figure 3.1, as they share a considerable number of common connections.

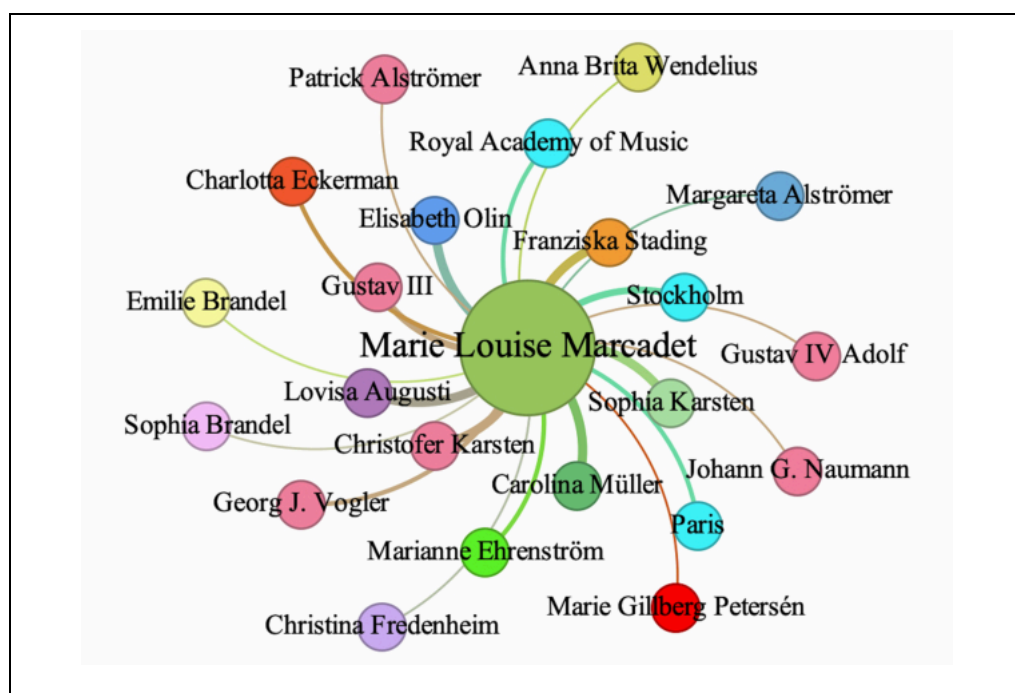


Fig. 3.4. Marie Louise Marcadet network

ex-fiancé, Christofer Karsten, and his wife, Sophia Stebnowska. The trio performed both individually and together. (Jonsson, *Musiken i Sverige*, 2: 431). These professional opera singers are explored further in this chapter.

¹⁵⁰ Personne, 144. Johan Flodmark provides a detailed description of the opera, including the costumes and other elements, and discusses Pehr Hilleström’s painting that illustrates the scene. See Johan Flodmark, “Minnen från Svenska Operan I Bollhuset,” *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 23, Årg. 34 (June 4, 1898).

¹⁵¹ The lack of documentation concerning Charlotta Eckerman’s performances despite her status as a highly regarded member of the Royal Opera performers (see Forsstrand, *Sophie Hagman*, 146), raises questions about whether the stigma associated with her position as a courtesan influenced the historical record.

The significance of these connections lies in their strength and proximity to the central node. The professional musicians who frequently collaborated are typically positioned closer to the central actor, indicating strong, recurrent partnerships. On the contrary, amateur musicians exhibit weaker edges and are situated farther from the core, reflecting less frequent or less substantial interactions. It is imperative to note that the connections' thickness and the nodes' centrality are subject to change as additional information is revealed, potentially influencing the dynamics within these networks.

Two of the most striking distinctions between the composite map in Figure 3.5 and the preceding network analyses manifest in the limited number of male peripheral actors and the nearly equivalent node sizes representing the female musicians discussed in the chapter thus far. The network now includes Georg Joseph Vogler, who will be key in linking the Swedish network with those of Marianna Martines and Elisabeth Mara. Furthermore, the influence of the Royal Academy of Music on its members is apparent, as evidenced by Charlotte Eckerman's minimal connections with the amateurs. Marie Louise Marcadet and Eckerman share a Paris connection, although Stockholm remains a pivotal point for all three performers.

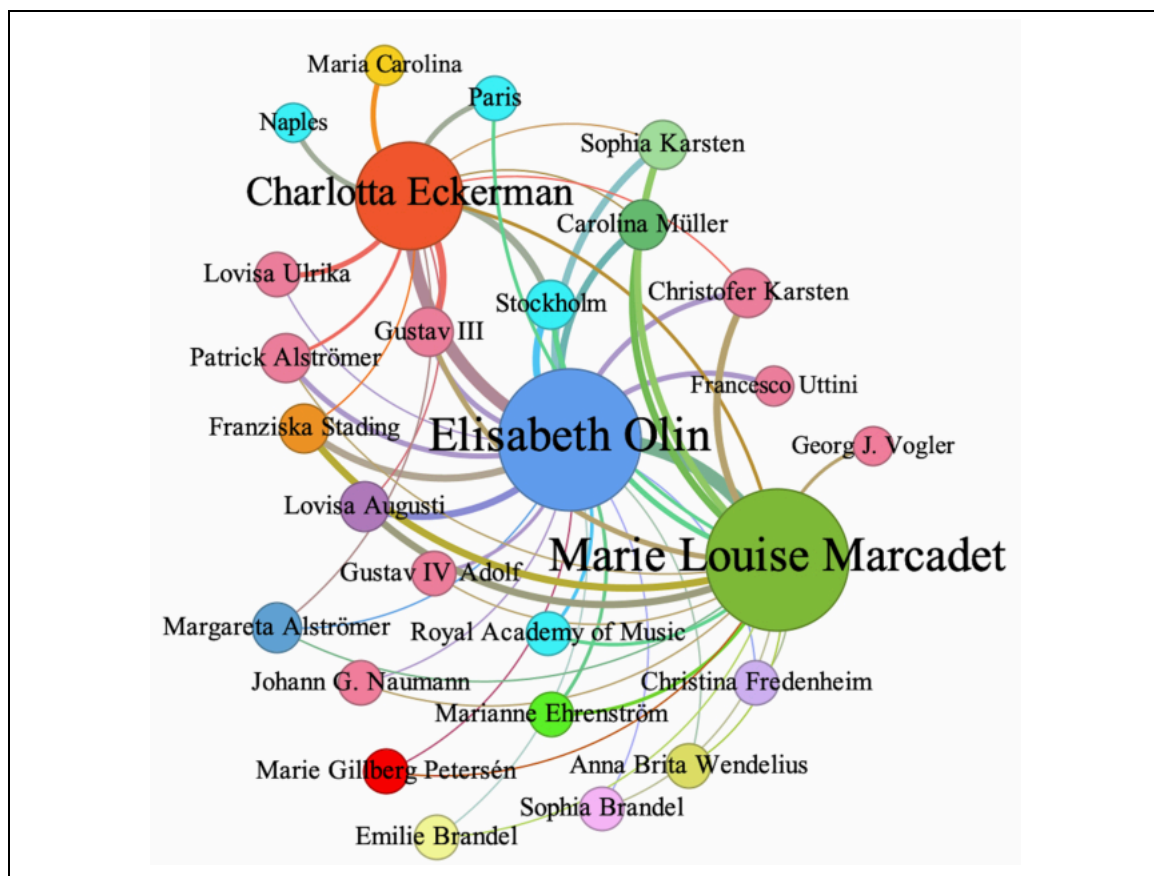


Fig. 3.5. Swedish composite network with Marie Louise Marcadet

B. Denmark—Müller, Frydendahl—primary, secondary

Leaving Sweden briefly, we cross *The Sound*—the strait that forms the natural border between Sweden and Denmark, two nations with deep historical and cultural ties. Known as *Øresund* in Danish and *Öresund* in Swedish, this vital waterway has long facilitated artistic and cultural exchanges. Two key figures emerge within this network: Caroline Müller and Catharine Frydendahl, whose careers link the female musicians of Stockholm and Copenhagen. Their connections create both primary and secondary ties between the two cities' musical communities, further enriching the region's broader network of female musicians.

3.4 Carolina Halle Walter Müller (1755–1826)

Dual citizenship, dual careers, dual biographies: Carolina Frederikke Müller is a prominent figure who serves as a primary conduit to the Swedish network and a bridge to a secondary connection, Catharine Frydendahl. Originally named Caroline Halle, she adopted the name Caroline Walter (or Walther) from 1774 to 1780 during her first marriage to the Danish composer Thomas Christian Walter (1749–1788).¹⁵² Following her divorce, relocation to Sweden, and subsequent marriage to the celebrated violinist and composer Christian Friedrich Müller (1752–1827), she assumed the name Carolina Müller.¹⁵³ To this day, both countries distinguish between the two appellations, rendering research into her life an engaging scholarly pursuit.

Danish career

Born in Copenhagen and raised in poverty, Caroline Halle was the illegitimate daughter of Johanne Christine Hansdotter (c1730–n.d.) and Ensign Christian Fredrik Halle (c1730–n.d.), although her parentage has never been officially confirmed.¹⁵⁴ Her stepfather, Thomas Jespersen (n.d.), a machinist at Komediehuset, the Royal Theatre's oldest stage, enrolled her as a student at the Royal Danish Ballet when she was six.¹⁵⁵ In the absence of a formalized institution, she received tutoring from playwright Charlotta

¹⁵² Sten Høgel, "Caroline Walter (1756–1826)," *Dansk Kvindehistorie: Dansk kvindebiografisk leksikon*, last modified April 22, 2023.

¹⁵³ Carl-Gunnar Åhlen, "Carolina Frederikke Müller," tr. by Alexia Grosjean, *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexicon* (published online January 15, 2021).

¹⁵⁴ Arthur Aumont, "Walter, Caroline Frederikke," *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, ed. by Carl Frederik Bricka, 19 vols. (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1887–1905), 18:231.

¹⁵⁵ Åhlen, "Carolina Frederikke Müller," par. 2.

Dorothea Biehl (1731–1788) in declamation and acting instruction from Lisbeth Cathrine Amalie Rose (1738–1793).¹⁵⁶ Making her debut in 1762, Caroline quickly rose from an uncompensated ballet trainee to a modestly-compensated dancer, securing increasingly substantial children’s roles.¹⁵⁷

Caroline made her foray into acting when she starred as “Pernille” in Ludvig Holberg’s (1685–1754) *Den Stundesløse* during the theatrical season of 1769.¹⁵⁸ This successful performance propelled her to prominence as the Royal Theatre’s principal soubrette actress.¹⁵⁹ Despite being a lyrical soprano, in 1771, she took on the formidable role of a mistress in Giuseppe Sarti’s *Tronfølgen i Sidon*, necessitating her to perform demanding soprano passages.¹⁶⁰ Playwright Peder Rosenstand Goiske (1752–1803) observed that while her vocal capabilities may not have possessed the utmost perfection and strength, she skillfully used them to elicit the desired effect on her listeners, effectively conveying the emotion and intent of both the poet and the composer.¹⁶¹

In 1773, Halle left home and a turbulent relationship with her mother to pursue vocal training with Italian singing instructor Michel Angelo Potenze (1723–1800) at the Danish Syngeskole, the first Danish singing school.¹⁶² During her tenure there, her vocal abilities flourished, enabling her to effectively meet the rigorous demands of opéra-comique performances and court concerts.¹⁶³ At the Syngeskole, she crossed paths with Thomas Christian Walther (1749–1788), the artistic director of the Det Kongelige Teater.¹⁶⁴ The two married in 1774, but their union was far from happy; consequently,

¹⁵⁶ Peder Rosenstand Goiske, *Peder Rosenstand Goiske’s Kritiske efterretninger om dem kongelige danske skueplads* (Kjøbenhavn: Boghandler C. A. Reibels Forlag, 1839), 74.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Knud Lyne Rahbek, *Lommebog for skuespilyndere* (Kjøbenhavn: Johan Frederik Schultz, 1788), 255–256.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 256–257. A soubrette voice is light and bright, with minimal coloratura, and is often used to portray stock characters. This type of voice is characterized by its clarity and agility, making it ideal for comedic roles. It is also capable of conveying a wide range of emotions, from joy to sorrow, making it a versatile tool for any actor.

¹⁶⁰ Goiske, *Peder Rosenstand Goiske’s Kritiske efterretninger*, 75.

¹⁶¹ “Frue Walther, som vor berømte Evald med Føie kalder “Thalias Caroline,” hvis Sang saa tidt har fortryllet Alle, som hørte den, er endnu altid den, som Publicum giver fortryllet Plads blandt syngende Skuespillerinder; og der ville vel ei findes mange Stemmer, der vilde negte hende samme; eller negte hende den Fortieneste, hun har, lige saameget ved den fortræffelige og naturlige Smag, hvori hun synger; og ved den ypperlige Action, hvormed hun ledsager og besjæler sin Sang: som ved hendes Stemme, hvilken vel ikke skal være af højeste Fuldkommenhed og Styrke; men som hun veed at bøie saaledes, at hun aldrig forfeiler at gjøre det sande Indtryk paa Tilskuerne — eller det, som Digteren og Componisten har villet have, at der skulde frembringes ved Sangen.” (DT) Ibid., 122–123.

¹⁶² [The Royal Theatre] Klaus Neiiendam, “Caroline Walter,” Dansk Biografisk Leksikon (digital edition), par. 2 (updated 2011).

¹⁶³ Høgel, “Caroline Walter,” par. 2–3.

¹⁶⁴ Åhlen, “Carolina Frederikke Müller,” par. 4.

Walther moved to Stockholm a year later, leaving his wife behind.¹⁶⁵ Although the marriage was not formally dissolved until 1780, she was thereafter known as Caroline Walter in Denmark and is still remembered by that name today.¹⁶⁶

During her successful Danish career, Caroline Walter performed over 124 roles, ranging from soubrettes to female operatic leads and heroines in dramatic tragedies.¹⁶⁷ Peder Rosenstand Goiske proclaimed her the best actress in Danish theatre, praising her clever, witty face, lively eyes, beautiful figure, and graceful movements.¹⁶⁸ However, he emphasized that her most important attribute was the fire and emotion with which she brought her roles to life.¹⁶⁹

Walter and Frydendahl

Caroline Walter instantly became a fan favorite, adored by all.¹⁷⁰ Her primary competitor at the Det Kongelige Teater was the seventeen-year-old singing sensation Catharine Elisabeth Frydendahl (1760–1831), who possessed a rare and powerful voice that Walter could not rival, although Frydendahl could not match Walter’s acting abilities.¹⁷¹ In 1777, General Hans Henrik von Eickstedt (1715–1801) became director of the theatre and favored his young mistress, Frydendahl, by assigning her the most coveted roles, much to Walter’s infuriation.¹⁷² The power struggle between them raged on for two years until Walter fell in love with the German violinist Christian Friedrich Müller (1752–1827) upon his arrival in Copenhagen in 1779.¹⁷³ Seizing the opportunity to rid herself of her rival, Frydendahl orchestrated a series of intrigues to oust Walter from the theatre and even from Denmark.¹⁷⁴ She persuaded Eickstedt to terminate Müller’s employment in the orchestra after his initial two performances, instigate his exile, and prolong Walter’s divorce proceedings.¹⁷⁵ As a result, Müller was forced to flee to Sweden.¹⁷⁶ Shortly after her divorce was finally granted in April 1780, Walter, disguised

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Goiske, 74.

¹⁶⁷ For a complete list of Walter’s roles in Denmark, see Anette Vogel, “‘Lif och eld’: Carolina Müller, som fenomen på Kungliga teatern” (MA thesis, Stockholm University, 2022), 102–107.

¹⁶⁸ Goiske, 96–97.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 74–76.

¹⁷¹ Sten Høgel, “Catharine Frydendahl (1760–1831),” *Dansk kvindebiografisk leksikon*, par. 1, last modified April 22, 2023.

¹⁷² Klaus Neiiendam, “Caroline Walter,” par. 2.

¹⁷³ Åhlen, “Carolina Frederikke Müller,” par. 5–6

¹⁷⁴ Goiske, 76–77.

¹⁷⁵ Høgel, “Caroline Walter,” par. 3; and Åhlen, par. 6.

¹⁷⁶ Åhlen, par. 6; and Klaus Neiiendam, par. 2.

as a man, followed Müller, effectively ending her Danish career and launching her Swedish one.¹⁷⁷

Swedish career

In May 1780, Carolina and Christian were married in Gothenburg, where they met Patrick Alströmer, the founder of the Royal Academy of Music.¹⁷⁸ Alströmer advised Gustav III to employ Carolina as the new dramatic soprano and her husband as the second concertmaster in the royal orchestra.¹⁷⁹ After arriving in Stockholm a month later, Carolina delivered a private concert at the Royal Palace for the King, his family, and the court to gauge her musical abilities.¹⁸⁰ Two weeks later, she replicated the performance at the Bollhuset for the general public, garnered widespread acclaim, and secured the Müllers' formal appointment at the Royal Opera in July.¹⁸¹

In February of the following year, Carolina Müller debuted in the titular role of Gluck's *Alceste* at the Bollhuset, where her performance was met with acclamation that subsequently elevated the opera to one of the theatre's most celebrated works.¹⁸² Gustav III was duly impressed and engaged her in a forty-five-minute conversation, giving her a gold watch, a charm, and a chain, while his brother, Karl, presented her with a diamond ring.¹⁸³ The impact of Müller's performance also resonated with poet Johan Kellgren, who declared that Sweden had not previously witnessed an actress of similar caliber.¹⁸⁴ Kellgren observed that the audience was visibly moved, openly sobbing, and hiding their eyes behind feathered fans.¹⁸⁵

In July, Müller participated in Niccolò Piccinni's (1728–1800) three-act opera, *Roland*, at the Royal Palace to commemorate Queen Sophia's name day, followed by a performance of the same opera at the Bollhuset in December.¹⁸⁶ However, before Müller's scheduled performance for the inauguration of the new Royal Swedish Opera

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Åhlen, par. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Flodmark, *Elisabeth Olin*, 141.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 141–142.

¹⁸² Personne, 152–155.

¹⁸³ Vogel, "'Lif och eld': Carolina Müller, som fenomen på Kungliga teatern," 16.

¹⁸⁴ "I går gret jag i 2 timmar på Operan, då Alceste för första gången spelades. Fru Müller debuterade. Man kan säga att man förut hvarken sett något spektakel eller någon Aktris i Sverige." (DT) (Excerpt, letter from Kellgren to Clewberg, March 2, 1781) Kellgren, *Johan Henrik Kellgrens bref till Abraham Niclas Clewberg*, 69.

¹⁸⁵ "Hela parterren snyftade och alla vackra ögon voro gömda bakom solfjädrar." Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Personne, 156.

building in 1782, she and her husband abruptly left Sweden, relocating to Hamburg and later London.¹⁸⁷ Discrepancies arise between the Swedish and Danish accounts of this situation: in Swedish narratives, the couple was believed to be evading creditors, whereas in Danish accounts, they were said to be escaping mistreatment at the hands of Gustav III.¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, in London, Müller made history as the first Scandinavian opera singer to perform outside the Nordic territories, albeit with limited success.¹⁸⁹

In 1783, Gustav III enticed the Müllers to return to Sweden by offering them a favorable contract to assist in salvaging his latest opera, *Aeneas i Carthago*.¹⁹⁰ Their agreement settled the Müller's financial obligations and appointed Carolina as the leading soprano at the Kungliga Teater, accompanied by a substantial salary.¹⁹¹ In addition, Christian was appointed chief concertmaster of the Royal Orchestra, a position he held for thirty-four years.¹⁹² During her tenure in Sweden, Carolina performed in eighteen productions written by French, German, Italian, and Swedish composers, but most notably in two Gustav III-inspired national operas, *Gustaf Wasa* (1786) and *Gustaf Adolph and Ebba Brahe* (1788).¹⁹³ Carolina and her husband were inducted into the Royal Academy of Music in 1788.¹⁹⁴

While residing in Sweden, Carolina briefly visited her homeland of Denmark in 1791, during which she was anticipating the birth of her child.¹⁹⁵ To celebrate her return, her friends organized a party at the shooting range, followed by a benefit performance in honor of her mentor and acting coach, Lisbeth Cathrine Rose (1738–1793).¹⁹⁶ During this visit, renowned artist Jens Juel captured her likeness in a portrait regarded as one of his

¹⁸⁷ Åhlen, par. 8.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Flodmark, 146–147; Høgel, “Caroline Walter,” par. 4; and Neiiendam, par. 3, respectively.

¹⁸⁹ Neiiendam, par. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Åhlen, par. 9; and Klaus Neiiendam, par. 3. Kellgren informed Clewberg that the opera failed due to Mrs. Müller's escape. (Kellgren, 71). However, there was more to it, as the staging was massive and the mechanics highly technical. See Ture Rangström, “A Gustavian Monster-Opera: A Backdrop to the Stage Mechanics of ‘Æneas i Carthago,’” in *Gustavian Opera: Swedish Opera, Dance, and Theatre 1771–1809*, ed. by Inger Mattsson (Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1991), 351–362.

¹⁹¹ Åhlen, par. 9.

¹⁹² Veslemaoy Heintz, “Christian Friedrich Müller (1752–1827),” tr. by Thalia Thunander, *Swedish Musical Heritage*, 2016.

¹⁹³ For additional information on Gustav III's use of his national operas, see Birgitta Schyberg, “‘Gustaf Wasa’ as Theatre Propaganda” in *Gustavian Opera: Swedish Opera, Dance, and Theatre 1771–1809*, ed. by Inger Mattsson (Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1991), 293–322. For a complete list of Müller's roles in Sweden, see Vogel, 108–109.

¹⁹⁴ Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

¹⁹⁵ Høgel, “Caroline Walter,” par. 3; Klaus Neiiendam, par. 3. Although Danish biographies assert Carolina Müller went to Denmark in 1791 in order to give birth, I have been unable to locate any other mention of the child.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

finest, for its ability to encapsulate Müller’s elegance, charm, and resolute spirit.¹⁹⁷

Carolina Müller swore she remained Danish in her soul despite her many years in Sweden.¹⁹⁸

Before his assassination in 1792, Gustav III granted the Müllers two residences: one on Djurgården, an island district east of Stockholm, and a summer home within the castle garden of Drottningholm.¹⁹⁹ Müller’s final stage performance took place in 1810, during which she reprised her role of Christina Gyllenstjerna in *Gustaf Wasa* at a commemorative event held for the heir apparent, Carl Johan Bernadotte [Charles XIV John] (1763–1844).²⁰⁰ Between 1812 and 1817, Müller taught declamation and stage presence at the Kungliga Teatern and served as the principal of the Royal Dramatic Training Academy.²⁰¹

Carolina Walter Müller, widely regarded as one of the century’s most talented Scandinavian female performers, passed away in Djurgården in 1826.²⁰²

[Müller] is the first performing artist in the Nordic countries whose entire life story is available to posterity. Her life included three dramatic departures, each of which went against the social norms of the time. Her mother, a secret prime minister, and an absolute monarch were almost unassailable institutions. It was her firm character and steely mind that allowed her to defy them, and it was her great stage and musical skills that made it possible. From belonging to the low class of actors who relegated female actors to prostitution, she ended up being hailed as a God-given artist. With her fate, she helped break new ground for social respect for the performers of the performing arts.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Klaus Neiiendam, par. 3. To view a facsimile of the portrait, see Jens Juel, *Caroline Walter*, National Museum, NM 1620.

¹⁹⁸ “Hælse alle mine lamsmæn saam ære saa god og paaminder sig Carolina; bed dem tro at uaget ieg ær i Sværrie, ær og bliver min hele siæl daag dansk. Jeg har dæn ære at faarblive til døden dæres telgivne lamsmanende og thiænnerende.” (DT) [Excerpt, letter from Carolina Müller to Knud Lyne Rahbek (1760–1830), January 17, 1822] (Quoted) Robert Neiiendam, *Breve fra danske skuespillere og skuespillerinder* (København: J.L. Lybeckers Forlag, 1911) 1: 31–32.

¹⁹⁹ Klaus Neiiendam, par. 3

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Åhlen, par. 11.

²⁰² Høgel, “Caroline Walter,” par. 1.

²⁰³ “W. er den første scenekunstner i Norden hvis hele livsforløb eftertiden kan danne sig et indtryk af. Hendes liv rummede tre dramatiske opbrud der hver gang gik imod datidens sociale normer. Moderen, en gehejmestatsminister og en enevældig monark var nærmest uangribelige institutioner. Det var hendes faste karakter og stejle sind der bød hende at byde dem trods, og det var hendes store sceniske og musikalske evner der gjorde det muligt. Fra at tilhøre den usle skuespillerstand der henviste de kvindelige skuespillere til prostitution endte hun med at blive hyldet som den gudbenådede kunstner. Hun var med sin skæbne med til at bryde nye veje for den sociale respekt for udøverne af scenekunsten.” (DT) [Klaus Neiiendam’s view of Carolina Müller] Klaus Neiiendam, par. 4. (Translated) DeepL, June 6, 2024. Neiiendam is a theatre historian, senior lecturer at the Department of Art History, Dance and Theatre

Marianne Ehrenström leaves this eulogy:

Could we ever forget you, charming Müller, in *Alceste* — *Christine Gyllenstjerna* and *Armide*? What sensitivity, what a lovely voice, what charms united in one person! What naturalness in your acting, and what expression in your beautiful face! The day you left the stage, where your husband left his violin, this violin whose adagio was the prelude of the gods, that day was a day of mourning that continues year after year. Mrs. Müller, born in Copenhagen, retired from the theatre about fifteen years ago and is nursing her husband in his old age, a brave and gallant man. She is still amiable and witty.²⁰⁴

 **Müller, Olin, Eckerman, and Marcadet** 

Carolina Müller is often regarded as Elisabeth Olin’s primary professional rival, with her succession to the role of prima donna of the Royal Swedish Opera following Olin’s retirement in 1784.²⁰⁵ Müller further collaborated with Marie Louise Marcadet in the performance of *Gustaf Wasa* during the winter of 1786.²⁰⁶ Charlotta Eckerman was exiled in 1781, shortly following Müller’s debut at the Royal Opera. Müller and Eckerman were likely acquainted, yet their opportunities for joint stage performances were limited.

The potential interactions between Carolina Müller and the female musicians under study during her time in London pose an intriguing avenue for exploration. Harriett Abrams, Mary Polly Barthélémon, and Elizabeth Billington were present in London during Müller’s visit in 1783, raising the possibility of encounters between Müller and these prominent musicians. While no documentary evidence confirms such meetings, the overlapping presence of these performers in London’s concentrated musical geography makes casual acquaintance—if not professional collaboration—created fleeting opportunities for cross-pollination between otherwise distinct national networks.

Studies at the University of Copenhagen, and a member of the board of the Holberg Foundation Tersløsegaard.

²⁰⁴ “Pourrait-on jamais vous oublier, charmante Müller, dans *Alceste* — *Christine Gyllenstjerna* et *Armide*? Quelle sensibilité, quelle jolie voix, que d’agrémens réunis dans votre seule personne! Quel naturel dans votre jeu, et quelle expression dans votre belle figure. Le jour où vous quittates la scène, où votre mari quitta son violon, ce violon dont l’adagio était le prélude des dieux, ce jour fut un jour de deuil qui se prolonge d’année en année. M^{me} Müller, née à Copenhague, s’est retirée du théâtre il y a une quinzaine d’années, et soigne la vieillesse de son mari, un brave et galant homme. Elle est encore aimable et pleine d’esprit.” (DT) Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [212] Section 2: 30.

²⁰⁵ Nordensvan, 18, and Levertin, 18.

²⁰⁶ *Gustaf Wasa* appears in each of the opera singers’ profiles from Marcadet onward, as it was one of the most important operas of the age and included all the Royal Opera members in residence.

3.5 Catharine Møller Frydendahl (1760–1831)

Catharine Elisabeth Frydendahl, a Danish opera singer, holds a secondary position within the Swedish network. Frydendahl was the daughter of Kirstine Matthiesen (c1727–1801) and Hans Jacob Møller (c1721–1780), a tanner and glove maker.²⁰⁷ Details regarding her early life are scarce; nevertheless, her vocal talent emerged upon her enrollment in the singing school of Det Kongelige Teater (Danish Royal Theatre) in 1776 at the age of 16.²⁰⁸ Her debut at the Royal Theatre in 1777, portraying the character “Marine” in Grétry’s lyrical one-act comedy *Skovbyggeren*, swiftly established her as one of the most exceptional talents in the Danish opera milieu.²⁰⁹ This rapid rise to fame is particularly noteworthy, as experts believed her vocal abilities had substantial “untapped” potential.²¹⁰

Frydendahl’s lack of a quality education was a recurring theme in her career.²¹¹ Despite the presence of the Italian singing master Michel Angelo Potenza (1723–1800) at the Opera, Catharine was instead consigned to the Danish violinist Johan Anton Peter Poul Darbes (1750–1815).²¹² This discrepancy became a focal point during the 1780 dispute between Frydendahl and Carolina Müller, with Hans von Eickstedt arguing that Frydendahl did not receive the superior training her talent warranted.²¹³ Moreover, playwright Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (1779–1850) observed that Frydendahl had one of the most beautiful singing voices he had ever heard but noted she was insufficiently trained.²¹⁴ Frydendahl echoed this sentiment herself and sought to study with Johann Gottlieb Naumann while in Dresden in 1793, aiming to enhance her skills.²¹⁵

Now my humble prayer to your Excellency is that you yourself would give me permission, and arrange with His Majesty the King that I may stay away for a year, then I assure your Excellency that I would bring it so far

²⁰⁷ Robert Neiiendam, “Catharine Frydendahl,” Dansk Biografisk Leksikon (digital edition), par. 4.

²⁰⁸ Høgel, “Catharine Frydendahl,” par. 1–2.

²⁰⁹ Goiske, 123. Theatre historian Thomas Overskou (1798–1873) references Frydendahl extensively in *Den danske skueplads, i dens historie*, 5 vols. (Kjøbenhavn: Samfundet til den danske Litteraturs Fremme, 1862), vol. 4.

²¹⁰ Goiske, 123.

²¹¹ Høgel, “Catharine Frydendahl,”

²¹² Sten Høgel, “Om syngeskunsten i Danmark 1779–80,” *Musik & Forskning*, no. 6 (1980): 113.

²¹³ Overskou, *Den danske skueplads*, 3: 119–120. Eickstedt underscored the absurdity of assigning Frydendahl to a non-singing violinist like Darbes instead of the more qualified Potenza. Høgel, “Catharine Frydendahl,” par. 1–2. The argument is somewhat peculiar, as Potenza was not considered a competent pedagogue. See Høgel, “Om syngeskunsten i Danmark 1779–80,” 113.

²¹⁴ “Seine Frau [Frydendahl] hatte von Natur eine der schönsten Stimmen, die ich gehört habe; aber sie war nicht genügend durch die Kunst ausgebildet.” Adam von Oehlenschläger, *Meine Lebens-Erinnerungen: ein Nachlaß*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Lorck, 1850), 1:125.

²¹⁵ Høgel, “Catharine Frydendahl,” par. 2.

that you, and the Court, and the public would be pleased with it when I came home and would not regret the permission you had given me. I would first stay here for some time with the good Kapellmeister Nauman and study as long as he had the leisure and would teach me and then I would go straight to Italy. I live in the happy hope that, if it is possible, your Excellency will not refuse my request. I await with much hope and longing your Excellency's answer in Leipzig before we leave in a fortnight when perhaps Kapellmeister Nauman will go to the bath which is near here to refresh himself after his illness, I cannot tell your Excellency what a well-thinking good man he is, I am unspeakably glad that I have learned to know him, and he me, as soon as your Excellency gives me permission to stay away, we will leave Leipzig at once and return here before my whole time will be spent in study.²¹⁶

Between 1778 and 1821, Frydendahl ascended to the heights of operatic fame, performing in over 160 productions, including notable works such as Grétry's *Zémire et Azor* and Naumann's *Orpheus and Eurydice*.²¹⁷ Never attaining perfect artistry, her strength lay in her extraordinary innate talent: an angelic soprano endowed with a voice of such depth and intensity that it could overpower both chorus and orchestra without sacrificing its richness.²¹⁸ Despite his aversion to the Danish language, composer Hardenack Otto Conrad Zinck (1746–1832) even conceded that when Frydendahl sang in Danish, it acquired an articulate clarity that, despite any imperfections, proved favorable for singing.²¹⁹ When portraying characters consumed by passion, she could move and excite her audience, her voice likened to pure fire and emotion.²²⁰

Catharine married her first husband, court violinist Jørgen Berthelsen (1757–

²¹⁶ “Nu er min Underdanige bøn til Deres Excellence at De selv vilde give mig tilladelse, og udvirke hos Hans Maistæd Kongen at jeg maatte blive borte paa et Aar, da forsikker ieg Deres Excellence at ieg skulde bringe det saa vidt at De, og Hoffet, og Publicum vist vilde være glade ved det naar jeg kom hem og ikke skulde fortryde den tilladelse som Di havde givet mig. Jeg vilde først blive her nogen tid hos den gode Capelmæster Nauman og studere saa længe han havde leylighed og vilde lære mig og siden vilde ieg Reyse lige til Italien. Jeg lever i det glade Haab at i fal det er mueligt saa nægter Deres Excellence ikke denne min Bøn. Jeg venter med megen Haab og længsel Deres Excellences Svar i Leipszey vorhen vi tager om en 14 Dage da maaskee Capelmæster Nauman tager til badet som liger her nær ved for at forfriske sig efter sin Sygdom, ieg kan ikke nogsom sige Deres Excellence vor det er for en veltænkende god Mand ieg er usigelig glad at ieg Rædt har lærdt at kiende ham, og han mig, saa snart som Deres Excellence giver mig tilladelse at blive borte saa tager vi paa øyebliket fra Leipszey og her til igien vor min hele Tid skal blive anvent paa at studere.” (DT) (Excerpt, letter from Frydendahl to the theatre director, Count Ferdinand Ahlefeldt (1747–1815), August 5, 1793) (Quoted) Robert Neiiendam, *Breve fra danske skuespillere og skuespillerinder*, 1: 72–73. (Translation) DeepL, June 7, 2024.

²¹⁷ For a complete list of her performances, see Niels Jensen, “Roller på Det Kongelige Teater.” Dansk Forfatterleksikon. Hämtad, 2021.

²¹⁸ Vilhelm Carl Ravn, Angul Hammerich, and Musikforeningen, *Festskrift i anledning af Musikforeningens halvhundredaarsdag* (Kjøbenhavn: Udgivet af Musikforeningen, 1886), 1: 151.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

1797), in 1789.²²¹ Following Berthelsen's death in 1797, she wed actor Peter Jørgen Frydendahl (1766–1830), a prolific comedic stage actor.²²² Their lives took an unexpected turn in 1800, when the Frydendahls were briefly confined in the Blåtårn for a breach of contract with the theatre.²²³ On December 6, Peter Frydendahl penned a letter to the theatrical director, presenting their defense and asserting their innocence, claiming they had not knowingly flouted any directives or committed acts of insubordination.²²⁴ Despite his efforts, a subsequent communication on December 21 sent to Crown Prince Frederik VI (1768–1839) from within the confines of the Blåtårn suggests that their argument was not accepted.²²⁵ However, their incarceration must have been brief, as records indicate that Peter Frydendahl had resumed his theatrical duties by December 27, performing in Vogler's *Hermann von Unna*.²²⁶

Despite her artistic achievements, Frydendahl's legacy is marred by accounts of her being a troublesome and conniving diva, known for her disputes with theatre management and for maligning her fellow performers, particularly Danish singer Carolina Walter Müller.²²⁷ Nonetheless, Frydendahl played a pivotal role alongside tenor Michael Rosing (1756–1818) in facilitating the performance of opera seria at the Royal Opera Theatre using Danish vocalists rather than relying solely on foreign artists.²²⁸ Additionally, Frydendahl stands among the first Danish opera singers to perform in independent concerts.²²⁹ Following her role of "Marcelline" in *Figaros Bryllup* [The Marriage of Figaro] in 1821, Frydendahl resigned from the Opera, securing her full pension, but continued to grace concert stages until 1823 at the age of sixty-three.²³⁰ Catharine Frydendahl's illustrious career spanned an impressive forty-six years,

²²¹ Høgel, "Catharine Frydendahl," statistics.

²²² Ibid. From these two unions, Catharine had four children: Hans Jørgen (1790), Frederik Wilhelm (1791), Hans Wilhelm (1798), and August Caroline Henriette (1799). Apparently, Catharine never used her first husband's last name, Berthelsen, as a stage name, as the literature refers to her either as Møller or Frydendahl.

²²³ Ibid., par. 2. The Blåtårn, or Blue Tower, is a tower within the grounds of the Danish Royal Family's palace, primarily used as a prison.

²²⁴ Robert Neiiendam, *Breve fra danske*, 1: 77–78. The dispute appears to have been ongoing for a considerable duration, as evidenced by Frydendahl's letter addressed to the director on June 21, 1799. Ibid., 76–77.

²²⁵ Ibid., 1: 78–79.

²²⁶ Jensen, "Roller på Det Kongelige Teater."

²²⁷ Frydendahl's diva reputation stems from her documented correspondence, where she expresses dissatisfaction with financial disputes, secondary roles, and wardrobe issues. See Neiiendam, *Breve fra danske*, 1: 69–74; and Høgel, "Catharine Frydendahl," par. 3.

²²⁸ Høgel, "Catharine Frydendahl," par. 1.

²²⁹ Ibid., par. 4.

²³⁰ Robert Neiiendam, "Catharine Frydendahl," par. 3; Overskou, 4: 645–646; and Høgel, "Catharine Frydendahl," par. 4.

concluding with her passing on November 30, 1831.²³¹

Frydendahl and Müller

Notably, the Blåtårn event occurred in 1780, the same year as the intrigue involving Catharine Frydendahl and Charlotta Walter Müller, raising the possibility that more than professional rivalry was at play. Indeed, according to Danish musicologist Henrik Engelbrecht, the theatre was already under severe strain by the 1790s, with performers working under conditions that pushed many to the brink of exhaustion or nervous collapse.²³² This evidence suggests that the conflict between Frydendahl and Müller, culminating in Müller's expulsion, may have been symptomatic of broader structural tensions within the institution rather than an isolated interpersonal dispute. It is also striking that the Danish Film and Theatre Database includes entries for Catharine and Peter Frydendahl but lacks an entry for Carolina Walter (Müller), despite her documented participation in at least 124 performances during her years in Denmark. This omission points to the complex dynamics of recognition, authority, and institutional memory within the theatre community of the period.

Such asymmetries in documentation underscore how professional visibility within eighteenth-century theatrical networks was shaped not only by artistic output but also by institutional positioning, social alliances, and mechanisms of exclusion. Müller's effective erasure from later archival systems, despite her extensive stage activity, suggests that conflicts within the theatre could have long-term consequences for how careers were recorded—or obscured—by posterity. From a network perspective, her expulsion represents not merely the severing of professional ties but a rupture that affected the transmission of reputation, memory, and connectivity within the broader musical community. These dynamics reinforce the need to read surviving sources critically, recognizing that absence from institutional records may reflect historical power structures rather than a lack of artistic significance.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² For more information on the conditions actors faced at the theatre, including the Frydendahls, see Henrik Engelbrecht, *Opera i guldalderens København* (København: Gyldendal, 2017): 23–44.

— Incorporating Danish opera stars

Carolina Walter Müller’s network in Figure 3.6 demonstrates her shared connections with other female musicians in this study, emphasizes her extensive travel experiences, and introduces a secondary connection with Catharine Frydendahl. This analysis of Müller’s network reveals her extensive professional interactions and geographic mobility, which likely facilitated her connections with a broader array of musicians.

In contrast, Figure 3.7 indicates that Frydendahl has the fewest number of connections in the dataset. However, her association with Johann Naumann provides her with secondary links to Maria Antonia Walpurgis and Josepha Müllner.²³³ Frydendahl’s limited direct connections underscore her more localized influence within the Danish opera scene. Nonetheless, her relationship with Naumann enriches her network, linking her indirectly to other prominent figures in the European opera landscape, thereby augmenting her professional significance despite her fewer direct connections.

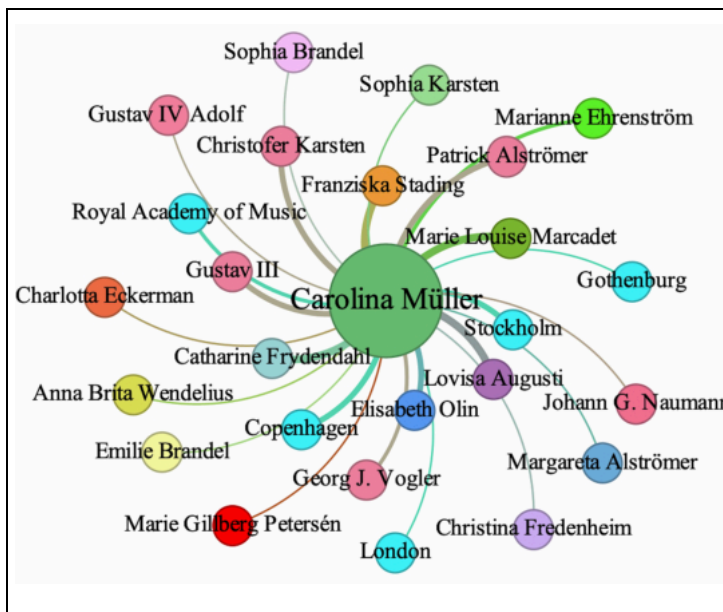


Fig. 3.6. Carolina Müller network

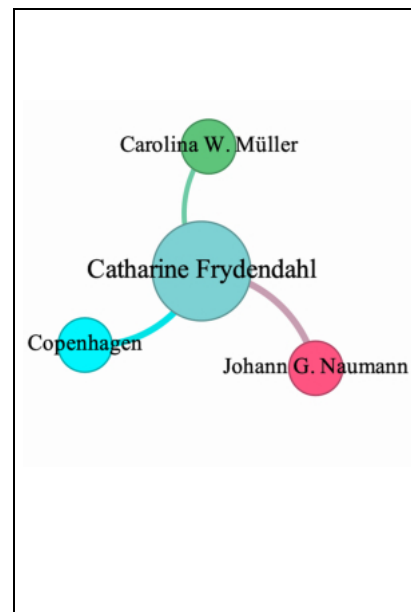


Fig. 3.7. Catharine Frydendahl network

The pattern of equal-sized nodes persists in the network after Müller is added in Figure 3.8. Müller’s node is slightly larger, emphasizing her extensive travels and dual careers. With the introduction of Copenhagen, Gothenburg, and London into the network,

²³³ The secondary link between Frydendahl, Walpurgis, and Müllner will be apparent when the Swedish map is incorporated into the comprehensive network.

we observe an expansion similar to the previous additions of Naples and Paris on Charlotte Eckerman's map. These cities highlight the broader geographic and professional impact of the individuals involved.

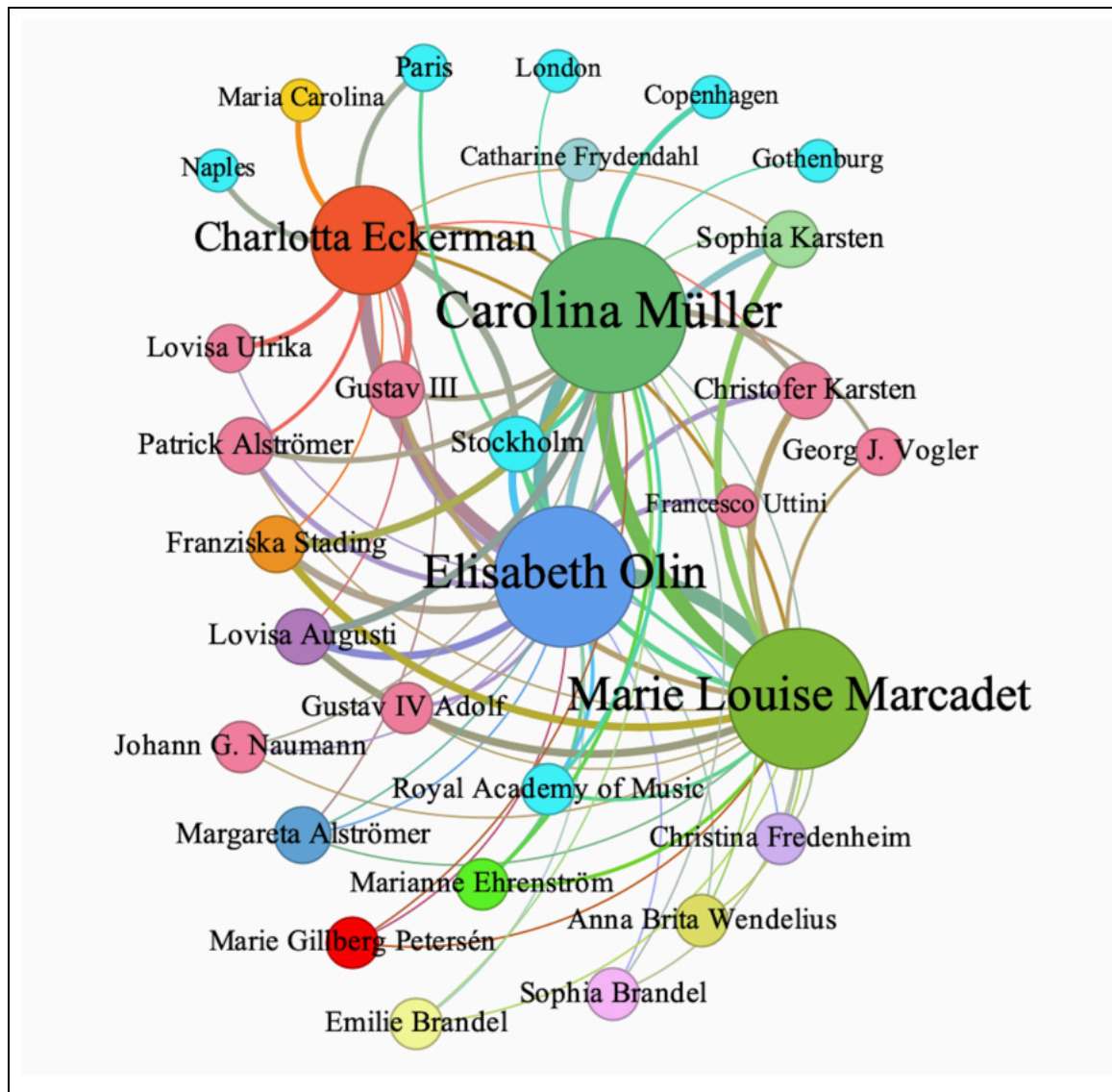


Fig. 3.8. Swedish composite network with Carolina Müller

As illustrated in Figure 3.9, Frydendahl's inclusion in the network has a minimal overall impact. However, her relationship with Johann Naumann and his connections with other figures in Germanic and Scandinavian centers enhance her position as a secondary connection. This secondary linkage underscores Frydendahl's significance within the broader network, despite her relatively fewer direct connections, by reinforcing the interconnectedness of the European opera scene.

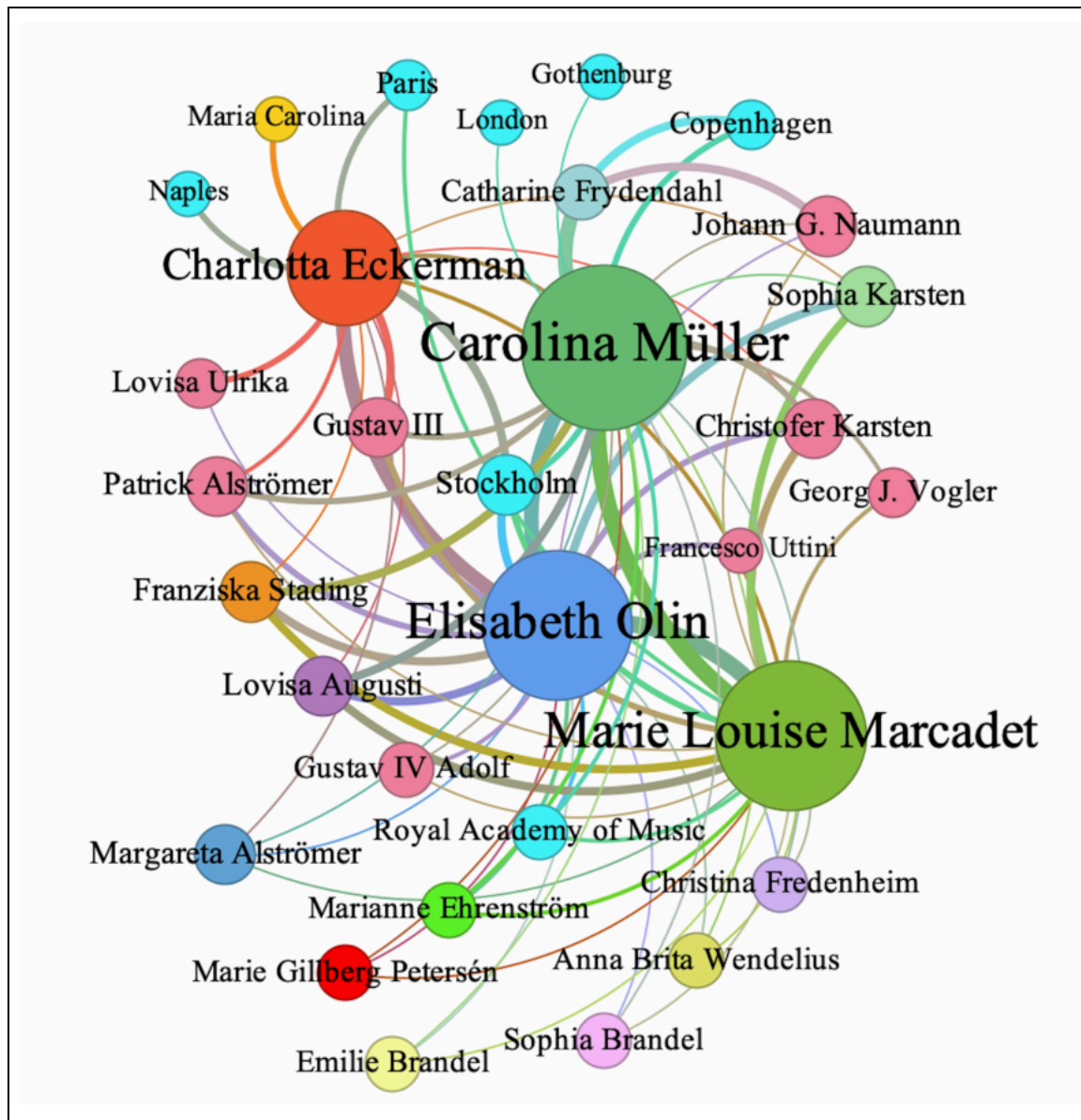


Fig. 3.9. Swedish composite network with Catharine Frydendahl

C. Swedish and foreign amateurs—Ehrenström, Petersén, Alströmer, Fredenheim, Brandel, Wendelius—*primary, potential*

In my research, Sweden has emerged as a distinctive case study in which the demarcation between amateur and professional musicians, as well as between Swedish- and foreign-born amateurs, lacks clear boundaries compared to previous networks. Marianne Ehrenström’s role exemplifies a dynamic collaboration within this milieu. Her published works, such as *Notices Sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suède*, contain glowing eulogies for Elisabeth Olin, Marie Louise Marcadet, and Caroline Müller. Additionally, her writings offer insight into her relationships with renowned musicians

such as Franziska Stading, Christofer Karsten, and Georg Vogler, further highlighting the interconnectedness and fluidity within the Swedish musical scene.²³⁴

3.6 Marianne Pollett Ehrenström (1773–1867)

Marianne Ehrenström is still so captivating with her personal amiability, her unusual ingenuity, her indisputable eye for everything related to art and literature, her rich store of memories from a long and varied life, her fine wit, and her exquisitely pleasant companionable tone, that an hour spent in her home may well provide soul food for many days.²³⁵

Marianne Pollett Ehrenström (1773–1867) was an accomplished woman renowned for her multifaceted talents in various artistic domains, including vocal and piano proficiency, literary composition, and visual arts.²³⁶ Her skills secured her a prominent position in the society of her era, and her memoirs remain a significant documentation of the contemporary cultural milieu.²³⁷ Of distinguished parentage—her father, Johan Frans Pollett (1729–1801), was a military figure who rose to the rank of Swedish Lieutenant General, and her mother, Johanna Helena von Pachelbel (1750–1797), was an accomplished pastelist—Marianne was exposed to a rich cultural environment, shaped by both German and Swedish influences.²³⁸ Ehrenström’s writings offer valuable insights into the societal norms and cultural ethos of her time, making them an indispensable resource for studying contemporary history and culture.²³⁹

²³⁴ Franziska Stading’s profile is toward the end of this chapter.

²³⁵ “Marianne Ehrenström är ännu så fångslande genom sin personliga älskvärdhet, sitt ovanliga snille, sin säkra blick öfver allt hvad till konst och litteratur hörer, sitt rika förråd af minnen från en lång och brokig lefnad, sitt fina vett och sin utsökt behagliga sällskapston, att en timma, tillbringad i hennes boning, väl kan gifva själsföda för många dagar.” (DT) Per Gustav Berg and Wilhelmina Stålberg, eds., *Anteckningar om svenska Qvinnor* (Stockholm: P. G. Berg, 1864), 122. *In all cases, autography follows Diplomatic Translation (DT). The Swedish translations going forward are provided by DeepL, June 10, 2024.

²³⁶ Most of the bibliographic material on Marianne Ehrenström is gleaned from her autobiography in Arvid Wolfgang Nathanael Ahnfelt, “Ur Marianne Ehrenströms hågkomster,” in *Ur svenska hofvets och aristokratiens lif* (Stockholm: O.L. Lamm, 1880), 121–184.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ehrenström’s birth in German Zweibrücken and subsequent upbringing in Stralsund, located in Swedish Pomerania, contributed to her rich cultural upbringing. Her father boasted an extensive military career, having served as an officer in France and Germany before attaining the title of Swedish Lieutenant General and nobility. Meanwhile, her mother, the daughter of a German diplomat, likely fostered Marianne’s exposure to the arts. Ibid.; and Neil Jeffares, *Pastels & pastellists* (Sussex: Unicorn Publishing, 2006).

²³⁹ H. Schüek and S. Walin, “Mariana (Marianne) Maximiliana Christiana Carolina Lovisa Ehrenström née Pollet,” *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

In her memoirs, Ehrenström reflects on her childhood, acknowledging, “A good star watched over my upbringing.”²⁴⁰ She received a well-rounded education in history, geography, and arithmetic, and also helped her youngest brother with his Latin studies.²⁴¹ At thirteen, a serendipitous opportunity arose for Marianne to receive instruction from Jacques-Marie de Monvel (1745–1812), a celebrated French actor and playwright recruited by Gustav III in 1781.²⁴² This encounter occurred during a 1786 visit to Stralsund, when Monvel fell ill and was cared for by the Pollett family.²⁴³ During his convalescence, Monvel regaled the Polletts with recitations of soliloquies from classical French tragedies, leaving a lasting impression on the young Marianne.²⁴⁴ Stirred by her enthusiasm, Monvel organized a small theatrical performance in the Polletts’ drawing room and invited Marianne to participate, outfitting her in a Turkish costume.²⁴⁵ The performance was a success, igniting a deep-seated passion for acting within Marianne that would endure for years to come.²⁴⁶

I shed bitter tears, and for a long time I had no desire to do anything, but rehearsed my roles with a sense of despair.²⁴⁷

After Gustav III’s assassination in 1792, nineteen-year-old Marianne Pollett assumed the position of lady-in-waiting to Queen Sophia, the widowed monarch.²⁴⁸ Pollett entered the Swedish court as a relative outsider, lacking solid connections there.²⁴⁹ Bereft of familial support, she found herself navigating a milieu unfamiliar to her.²⁵⁰ Notwithstanding her initial sense of isolation, she was met with gracious hospitality by the Queen and her inner circle, which included Hedvig Ulrika De la Gardie (1761–1832), Maria Aurora Uggla Ehrengranat (1747–1826), and Virginia Charlotte Duwall

²⁴⁰ “En god stjerna vakade öfver min uppfostran.” Ahnfelt, 125.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Monvel asked, “Jag tror att min deklamation intresserar er, min fröken?” To which Marianne replied, “Ack, jag är i sjunde himmeln deröfver! Jag tänker derpå om dagen och drömmer derom om natten.” Ibid., 125–126.

²⁴⁵ “Den vänlige beskyddaren af den trettonårig uppmanande mig att inbjuda några vänner såsom åskådare; uti en salong anordnade han med tillhjälp af min fars kammartjenare en liten teater, iklädde sig en kostym som han letade rätt på i sina kappsäckar, och hvad mig beträffar gjorde jag, under hans ledning, så godt jag kunde i ordning en turkisk drägt.” Ibid., 126.

²⁴⁶ “Allt gick bra; mina föräldrar betygade Monvel hela sin tacksamhet för hans vänliga besvär, och jag kände mig lycklig öfver all beskrifning.” Ibid.

²⁴⁷ “Jag fälde bittra tårar och under lång tid hade jag icke lust till något, utan repeterade mina roller med en rörelse af svärmod.” Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ahnfelt, 128–129.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 129.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

Manderström (1748–1816).²⁵¹ Not long after her arrival, Pollett attended a lavish feast at Drottningholm Castle, hosted by the newly crowned King Gustav IV Adolph, alongside the Queen and the rest of the court.²⁵² This event left an indelible impression on the young musician, becoming a momentous experience that would significantly influence her artistic path.²⁵³

In the course of the afternoon, the Regent turned to my brother with the request that he should urge me to sing, as H. K. H. [His Royal Highness] had been told that I had talent. My brother spoke to me about it; but singing before so many people, not one of whom I knew, so to speak, gave me a mortal fright. However, I could not escape this request, repeated on all sides. The Regent took me by the hand and led me to the piano. I begged the kindness and indulgence of those present, and tremblingly tried the beautiful and touching romance: “Pauvre Jacques quand tu es près de moi, je ne sens pas ma misère extrême.” This romance, which recalled the misfortunes of Louis XVI and his family, won general success and was requested three times da capo [from the beginning]. After that day, I was once and for all the author of all the parties, spectacles, tableaux vivants, etc., given at the court.²⁵⁴

In 1795, Marianne Pollett fell madly in love with Chevalier de Souza (n.d.–1823), the Portuguese minister to the Swedish court.²⁵⁵ Regrettably, their love was obstructed by religious differences, which precluded the possibility of marriage.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Pollett and Chevalier remained devoted to each other, corresponding regularly for the next twenty-six years until his passing in Paris, even after he had married another.²⁵⁷ In an effort to mitigate her sorrow over their separation, Pollett immersed herself in various intellectual and artistic pursuits, devoting all her leisure time to music, drawing, literary

²⁵¹ Note that Maria Aurora Uggla Ehrengranat is the same actress that instructed the young Charlotta Eckerman eighteen years earlier in 1774. See p. 291.

²⁵² Ahnfelt, 129.

²⁵³ Ibid., 129–30.

²⁵⁴ “Under eftermiddagens lopp vände sig regenten till min bror med begäran att han skulle uppmana mig att sjunga, emedan man berättat H. K. H att jag hade talang. Min bror talade med mig derom; men att sjunga inför så många menniskor, af hvilka jag så att säga icke kände en enda, förorsakade mig en dödlig förskräckelse. Emellertid kund jag icke slippa ifrån denna från alla håll upprepade begäran. Regenten fattade mig vid handen och förde mig till pianot. Jag anhöll om de närvarandes godhet och öfverseende och försökte darrande den vackra och rörande romansen: ”Pauvre Jacques quand tu es près de moi, je ne sens pas ma misère extrême.” Denna romans, som påminte om Ludvig XVI och hans familjs olyckor, vann allmän framgång och begärdes *tre* gånger dacapo. Efter den dagen var jag en gång för alla sjelfskrifven vid alla fester, spektakler, tableaux vivants etc. som gåfvos vid hofvet.” (DT) Ibid. H. K. H. is the abbreviation of Hans Kunliga Höghet, His Royal Highness.

²⁵⁵ Ahnfelt, 134–137.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

endeavors, and learning English.²⁵⁸ She even took piano lessons from the German composer Georg Joseph Vogler.²⁵⁹

I accepted this high-minded offer with delight, and three times a week, I came to “my good father Vogler” for lessons. He let me study the basso continuo (of which I already had some idea) and let me sing and perform small piano pieces by Haydn, Mozart, and my own composition. [...] After a few preludes, I began to sing Vogler’s heavenly Hallelujah, a piece which has always been my delight. I put into it my whole soul, my whole religious feeling, and — I had the joy of succeeding. “Bravo! Bravo!” cried the composer, and as he wrapped me in his arms he said, “Now you, dear child, have sung like an angel.”²⁶⁰

Under Vogler’s guidance, Pollett composed three *Romances*, one of which Christofer Karsten performed at a public concert.²⁶¹ Following her performance in a benefit concert at the Riddarhussalen (Knight’s Hall) in support of the fire-ravaged town of Karlskrona, Marianne Pollett was elected to both the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal Academy of Arts in the year 1800.²⁶²

In a seemingly pragmatic decision, Pollett did not marry until she was thirty, in 1803, when she wed Colonel Nils Fredrik Ehrenström (1756–1816), seventeen years her

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 138.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 138–139 Vogler taught other notable students such as Franziska Lebrun (see no. 361), Maria Theresia Paradis (see p. 108), and Aloysia Weber Lange. See Paul Corneilson, “Vogler’s Method of Singing,” *The Journal of Musicology* 16, no. 1 (1998): 94, 107–109.

²⁶⁰ “Jag antog med förtjusning detta högsinta anbud och tre gånger i veckan kom jag till “*min gode pappa Vogler*” för att erhålla undervisning. Han lät mig studera generalbas (hvarom jag redan hade något begrepp), lät mig sjunga och utföra små pianostycken af Haydn, Mozart och egen komposition. [...] Efter några preludier började jag sjunga Voglers himmelska Halleluja, ett stycke som alltid utgjort min förtjusning. Jag inlade deri hela min själ, hela min religiösa känsla och — jag hade den glädjen att lyckas. ”Bravo! Bravo!” ropade kompositören och yttrade i det han slöt mig i sina armar: ‘Nun hast du liebes Kind, wie ein Engel gesungen.’” Ahnfelt, 138–139.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 139. Regrettably, these *Romances* have yet to be discovered.

²⁶² In her memoirs, Ehrenström reports the burned city was Karlskrona. (Ahnfelt, 139). However, Carl-Gabriel Stellan Mörner (1915–1977) identifies the city as Enköping. See C.-G. Mörner, “Ett musikkbrev 1799 från Genserik Brandel till Bernhard Crusell,” *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* (1967): 170. Both cities were prone to fires, with Enköping suffering a devastating fire in 1799. See Jan Helmer Gustafsson, *Enköping: Medeltidsstaden 12* (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens historiska museum, 1979), 38–39. Yet, Karlskrona frequently experiencing fire damage, the most disastrous occurring in 1790. The most disastrous was in 1790, however, it is plausible that a fire could have destroyed Karlskrona a decade later as well. See Erik Wegraeus, *Application for Inclusion on the World Heritage List: The Naval City of Karlskrona*. Nomination no. 871 (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1998), 60. This discrepancy might be attributed to Ehrenström writing her memoirs later in life, potentially as late as the 1850s or 1860s, which could have affected the accuracy of her recollections. Lars Hultman, “I skuggan av Karl August: Nya perspektiv på Fersenska upploppet 1810” (PhD diss., Lunds Universitet, 2024), 76. Nonetheless, Marianne Pollett Ehrenström was indeed inducted into the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal Academy of Arts in 1800. Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter,” and Kungl. Akademien för de fria konsterna, “Lista över ledamöter av Konstakademien.”

senior.²⁶³ Shortly afterward, Nils was stationed in Gothenburg, where Marianne became a celebrated member of society.²⁶⁴ The couple had no children, and in 1812, Nils faced bankruptcy and lost his position.²⁶⁵ Subsequently, the two separated, and Marianne returned to Stockholm, where she supported herself by managing a girls' school until it closed in 1831.²⁶⁶

For 16 years, I continued with my task as a teacher, and I can say that this period was the sweetest and happiest of my life.²⁶⁷

Although initially drawn to music, acting, and painting, Ehrenström later redirected her talents to literary pursuits.²⁶⁸ In 1826, she published *Notices Sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suède*, a comprehensive work exploring contemporary writers, theatre, music, painting, and sculpture.²⁶⁹ Despite harsh criticism from Swedish reviewers, the work found a more favorable reception internationally.²⁷⁰ Seeking an impartial evaluation of her work, Ehrenström sent a copy to Johann Goethe, although it remains unconfirmed whether he responded.²⁷¹ However, an entry in Goethe's diary dated December 29, 1826, references Ehrenström's book, and the finely bound copy can still be viewed in Goethe's library.²⁷² Despite critical appraisals, Ehrenström's *Notices* never went unnoticed or faded into obscurity.²⁷³ In 1830, she published a second book, a

²⁶³ Ahnfelt, 154–157.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 158–173. For information on the Fersen riots of 1810 in Gothenburg, including Marianne Ehrenström's anecdotes of the time, see Hultman, "I skuggan av Karl August."

²⁶⁵ Ahnfelt, 174–176.

²⁶⁶ "Allt detta lyckades mig utmärkt. Från all hall skickade mödrarna mig sina döttrar, hvilka efter några månaders förlopp kommo I procession för att bedja mig tillåta dem att kalla mig "Maman" och "Mutterchen." Denna begäran glädde mitt hjerta och jag kysste med tårar i ögonen mina 14 'barn.'" Ibid., 175.

²⁶⁷ "Under 16 års tid fortsatte jag med min uppgift såsom lärarinna, och jag kan säga att denna period var den ljuvfaste och lyckligaste i mitt lif." Ibid., 175–176.

²⁶⁸ Yvonne Ehlers, "Marianne Ehrenström och hennes konsthistoria," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 40: 1–4 (1971): 11–12.

²⁶⁹ Ehrenström's thoughts and observations from this work are highlighted throughout this chapter.

²⁷⁰ Ehlers, "Marianne Ehrenström och hennes konsthistoria," 18–20, 21–23.

²⁷¹ "Ich habe im allgemeinen wenig getadelt und den Schleier des Schweigens über manche Blößen geworfen. Die Sprache der Kritik wird so gerne giftig und verwundet ohne Heilung. Ich habe gesucht so viel als möglich war. Jedem das gebührende Lob zu geben, und wie die Biene aus jeder Blume den edlen Saft zu ziehen; da hab' ich mir aber die neue Schule der Phosphoristen zum Feinde gemacht, weil ich diese weder loben noch mit Stillschweigen übergehen konnte. Nun blitz und donnert es von allen Seiten dieser Secte einher und Hammarskjöld hat geschworen — ob beim Stix oder Lehte — dass er meiner in den deutschen Zeitschriften nicht schonen werde ... Wahrheit führt doch endlich ans Ziel und es liegt etwas grosses in dem Gedanken, das vielleicht Göthe diesem Büchlein einige Augenblicke schenkt und die Vervasserin mit gütiger Nachsicht beurteilt, ..." (DT) (Quoted) Ehlers, "Marianne Ehrenström och hennes konsthistoria," 21.

²⁷² Hans Gerhard Gräf, *Sverige i Goethes liv och skrifter: En studie* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1921), 69, 82.

²⁷³ Ehlers, 23–25.

biographical homage to her dear friend, the author and poet Gustaf Carl Leopold (1756–1829).²⁷⁴

The quote that opens this profile was published when Marianne Pollett Ehrenström was already in her nineties; she passed away in Stockholm at the age of ninety-four in 1867.²⁷⁵ A pencil portrait of Ehrenström, sketched by Maria Christina Röhl in 1833, is in the Royal Library in Stockholm.²⁷⁶ However, the discovery of Ehrenström's friendship book, *Album amicorum*, from her youth in Stralsund (1785–1792) is an exquisite find.²⁷⁷ This collection contains notes from family and friends, predominantly from the Swedish and northern German aristocracy.²⁷⁸ The book also includes intricate drawings and portrait silhouettes, offering a glimpse into the artistic talents of Ehrenström and her social circle.²⁷⁹ Marianne's writings and personal effects present a captivating lens through which to observe her life and the cultural ambiance of her time.

Mrs. Ehrenström's friends were numerous and growing in number; she gathered around her a brilliant circle of wise people, a circle in which she herself constituted the soul and in which there was no other annoyance than that the hours passed too quickly so that the intimate circle soon had to disperse and everyone must leave.

In her younger years, she was an excellent musician, perhaps even to a somewhat unusual degree for that time. Her beautiful singing voice rang out as often as not in the court halls, and she gave more than one concert, whether for the benefit of individuals or fire-damaged towns, etc.²⁸⁰

Marianne Pollett connecting with professionals

In her memoir, Marianne recalls an unexpected encounter with opera singers Carolina Müller and Franziska Stading, who visited her residence en route to Berlin,

²⁷⁴ Marianne Ehrenström, *Notice biographique sur Monsieur de Leopold, Secrétaire d'État* (Stockholm: Eckstein, 1830).

²⁷⁵ Berg and Stålberg, *Anteckningar om svenska Qvinnor*, 122.

²⁷⁶ Maria Röhl, *Överstinnan Ehrenström*, 1833. Kungliga Biblioteket. Kb-17258404.

²⁷⁷ Marianne Ehrenström, *Album amicorum* (Stralsund, 1785–1792).

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* For more information, see Christina Sjöblad, "The Family Circle and the Temple of Friendship," tr. by Gaye Kynoch, *The History of Nordic Women's Literature* (July 27, 2011).

²⁸⁰ "Fru Ehrenströms vänner voro talrika och blefvo allt flera; hon samlade omkring sig en lysande krets af vittra personer, en krets, deri hon sjelf utgjorde själen och der man erfor ingen annan förtret, än den, att timmarne ilade alltför fort, så att den förtroliga cirkeln snart måste skingras och en hvar begifva sig derifrån. / Hon var i sina yngre år utmärkt musikalisk, kanske till och med i en något ovanlig grad för den tiden. Hennes sköna sångröst klingade som oftast inom hofvets salar och hon gaf mer än en konsert, än till enskilda personers förmån, än till förmån för brandskadade städer o. s. v." Berg and Stålberg, 122.

Stading's hometown.²⁸¹ She relates that Müller was accompanying Stading to Berlin to avoid entering into a new contract with Gustav III and the Royal Opera.²⁸² However, the King ordered Marianne's father, Johan Frans, to detain Müller in Stralsund and prevent her from traveling.²⁸³ Therefore, while Marianne's father facilitated contractual negotiations, Müller and Stading lavished attention on Marianne and allowed her to perform alongside them.²⁸⁴

During the six weeks required to satisfy both parties, the two ladies spent all their time with us, and taking me under their kind protection, the beautiful and gentle little Stading turned me into a *Cora*, an *Iphigenie*, an *Antigone*. Mrs. Müller transformed me instead into a *Clytemnestra*, an *Armida*, and a *Kristina Gyllenstjerna*.²⁸⁵ Thus I practiced both arts, and my taste for music grew daily.²⁸⁶

During this period, Marianne also enthusiastically recounts her introduction to opera singer Christofer Karsten and the subsequent singing lessons she received from him.²⁸⁷ Ehrenström cherished the friendships she formed during her adolescence in Stralsund, relationships that endured throughout her life.²⁸⁸ In one particular anecdote, she nostalgically reminisces about her close connections with Müller and Karsten, relishing musical evenings and casual coffee breakfasts at their homes.²⁸⁹

²⁸¹ Ahnfelt, 127.

²⁸² Ibid. This poses an intriguing conundrum as Ehrenström does not specify a particular date for the anecdote, although her subsequent one is dated 1783. It is known that the Müllers fled Sweden and settled in Hamburg and then London in 1782. Therefore, if this journey had occurred during that period, Ehrenström would have been nine years old. However, it is important to mention that Ehrenström does not make any reference to Müller's husband in her narrative. Furthermore, Stralsund is situated approximately 270 kilometers northeast of Hamburg, indicating that there could have been a more direct route to Berlin. Considering these inconsistencies, it is conceivable that this anecdote pertains to a different event at a later time.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. The six-week duration of Müller and Stading's stay with the Pollett family, during which the contract negotiations transpired, also suggests that this event occurred at a later date. Historical records corroborate this notion, indicating that Müller did not return to Stockholm from London until 1783.

²⁸⁵ *Alonso e Cora*, composed in 1786 by Francesco Bianchi (1752–1810), is an opera seria presented in three acts. The eponymous character of "Iphigénie" originates from Gluck's 1779 four-act opera, *Iphigénie en Tauride*. *Antigona*, an Italian opera comprising three acts, was composed by Tommaso Traetta (1727–1779). "Clytemnestra" is the role of the mother in Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*. *Armida* is possibly a reference to Antonio Salieri's 1771 operatic drama per musica. "Kristina Gyllenstjerna" was Caroline Müller's iconic role in *Gustaf Wasa*.

²⁸⁶ "Under de sex veckor, som erfordrades för att ställa båda parterna tillfreds, tillbragte de båda damerna all sin tid hos oss, och tagande mig under sitt vänliga beskydd gjorde den sköna och milda lilla Stading mig till en *Cora*, en *Iphigenie*, en *Antigone*. Fru Müller ombildade mig i stället till en *Clytemnestra*, en *Armida* och till en *Kristina Gyllenstjerna*. Sålunda öfvade jag mig i båda konstslagen och min smak för musik tilltog dag från dag." Ahnfelt, 127.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 127–128.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 142.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

Pollett, amateurs, and professionals

Pollett, no stranger to the stage, often performed alongside other amateur musicians.²⁹⁰ At the turn of the nineteenth century, correspondence between diplomat Genseric Brandel (1782–1833) and composer and clarinetist Bernhard Crusell (1775–1838) details musical events in Stockholm.²⁹¹ Among the events described was a grand charity concert featuring a blend of amateur and professional musicians, including amateurs Marianna Pollett, Margareta Hedvig Alströmer, Christina Fredenheim, and the Brandel sisters, Sophia and Emilie.²⁹² Moreover, they shared the stage with the professional musicians Carolina Müller, Christofer Karsten, and Carl Stenborg, underscoring the amateur musicians’ ability to hold their own alongside the best in the business.²⁹³

3.7 Marie Antoinette Crux Gillberg Petersén (1772–after 1822)

Her association with Marianne Ehrenström piqued my interest in Marie Antoinette Crux. Marie presents an intriguing subject, not only due to her prowess as a singer and violinist but also because of the academic challenges involved in reconstructing her life history.²⁹⁴ An initial online inquiry yielded limited information; however, it placed her in Gothenburg, Sweden, with ambiguous references to a possible birth in Mannheim, Germany. Nonetheless, investigations into the London connections previously discussed in this chapter led me to identify a Mrs. Gillberg who performed in the city in 1795. Moreover, while perusing some of Mozart’s correspondence, imagine my astonishment when I stumbled upon a Marianna Crux who accompanied Wolfgang to Prague. As far as I am aware, this is the first instance of these three identities being linked to a single individual. It would be an enriching avenue of inquiry to explore whether additional evidence of Marie’s life can be unearthed to provide further depth to her biography.

I explored Marie’s life in reverse chronological order to align with my investigative trajectory, starting with her residency in Sweden, progressing to her

²⁹⁰ See Mörner, “Ett musikbrev 1799 från Genseric Brandel till Bernhard Crusell,” 171–173.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 174–175. This benefit concert is a recurring theme in the upcoming profile sketches of these amateur musicians.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ She is referenced as “Marie” throughout the profile sketch to minimize confusion created by her multiple surnames. Additionally, her first name has appeared in various forms, including Marie, Maria, and Marianne, while her middle name, when mentioned, has been given as either Antoinette or Antonia.

engagements in London, and culminating with her formative years in Germanic cities.

Fru Gillberg Petersén in Sweden

The primary source of information regarding Marie Antoinette Gillberg Petersén is derived from the writings of Arvid David Hummel (1778–1836), specifically in a letter addressed to Carl Christoffer Gjørwell Sr., detailing her life and accomplishments while in Sweden:

Mrs. Gillberg was born in Germany; I am not aware of in Mannheim. She speaks and writes French, German, Italian, English, and Swedish, the latter to unusual perfection. She plays the violin divinely and the pianoforte quite well. She does not have a beautiful voice, but she has the highest degree of musical knowledge and a lot of method. She draws and possesses all the talents of a woman to perfection, including dancing. The captain and portrait painter Gillberg, an impostor and vulture in every sense of the word, is said to have married this excellent girl during his travels abroad, and left her here, after a year and a half's stay, with her aunt and a baby daughter. Captain Gillberg has previously stolen from and then lied to his innocent wife. A few concerts here, a small pension [boarding house], and two trips to Copenhagen have enabled Mrs. Gillberg to do without her husband, from whom she hopes to be divorced by the King's grace. Mrs. Gillberg is completely incorruptible and spends time as a friend in the most distinguished houses here in the city.²⁹⁵

Marie married the miniaturist Jacob Axel Gillberg (1769–1845) and moved to Gothenburg, although the exact date is uncertain, possibly 1794 or early 1795.²⁹⁶ However, Gillberg abandoned Marie just eighteen months later.²⁹⁷ By at least 1801, she had divorced him and reverted to her maiden name, as indicated in another letter written by Hummel to Gjørwell in September of that year:

²⁹⁵ “Fru *Gillberg* är född i Tyskland, jag vet om icke i Mannheim. Hon talar och skrifer fransyska, tyska, italienska, engelska och svenska, detta senare till ovanlig perfection. Hon spelar gudomligt violin och ganska väl pianoforte. Hon har ej en skön röst, men hon eger musikens kändedom i högsta grad och mycken methode. Hon ritlar och eger all fruntimmerstalanger till fullkomlighet, äfven den att dansa. Kapitenen och porträttmålaren *Gillberg*, som är en bedragare och vautrien i alla ordets bemärkelser, lärer under sina utländska resor gift sig med denna förträffliga flicka, och lemnade henne här, efter 1½ års vistelse, med sin tant och en späd dotter. Kapten Gillberg har förut bestulit och sedan beljugit sin oskyldiga hustru. Några konserter här, en liten pensionsinrättning och tvenne resor till Köpenhamn ha satt fru Gillberg i stånd att umbära sin man, från hvilken hon genom konungens nåd hoppas blifva skild. Fru Gillberg är alldeles oförvitlig och umgås som vän i de förnämsta hus här i staden.” (Excerpt, letter from Hummel to Gjørwell, April 4, 1801) (Quoted) Wilhelm Berg, *Anteckningar om Göteborgs äldre teatrar*, 2 vols. (Göteborg: Wald. Zachrissons, 1896, 1898), 2: 144, no. 2.

²⁹⁶ It should be noted that in Jacob Gillberg's biography, no mention is made of his marriage or life in Gothenburg. Lagerheim, et al., *Nordisk Familjebok*, 9: 1163–1164.

²⁹⁷ According to Hummel's letter in no. 297.

At the Masonic concert, given after this speech, the cantata was sung, and Mrs. M. Ant. Crux (formerly Mrs. Gillberg, but now to her honor legally separated from her husband) let herself be heard in several, excellent pieces on the violin. Of the song pieces, the trio was first sung by Mrs. Crux, Mrs. Lamberg, and the wife of the broker S. F. Kindberg, née Vigoreux. The first aria was then sung by Mrs. Kindberg and the aria to the Queen with recitative by Mrs. Crux. The spectacle was attended by Their Majesties on the 17th.²⁹⁸

I surmise that Marie married the affluent merchant Johan Andreas Petersén (1771–1808) shortly after the Masonic concert in 1801, as evidenced by her induction as the 205th member of the Royal Music Academy in the same year under the name Marie Antoinette Petersén.²⁹⁹ Johan’s father, Lorentz Petersén (1729–1800), was recognized as one of Gothenburg’s wealthiest men at the close of the eighteenth century.³⁰⁰ Upon his passing in 1800, Johan and his sister, Johanna Sophia (1746–1826), inherited the family estate, now called “Lorensberg,” which was equally divided.³⁰¹ The couple bore two daughters who, like their mother, were known for their vocal talents.³⁰²

Petersén and Ehrenström

Marie Antoinette Petersén enjoyed a close friendship with Marianne Ehrenström, who affectionately recalls Petersén in her memoirs.

Mrs. Petersen, a German married to a wealthy merchant, attracted me not only as my countrywoman but as a person of delightful character, exhibiting goodness, gentleness, and kindness. She was a virtuoso in the fullest sense of the word and a pupil of the celebrated Cramer. She played expertly and had made a name for herself in London, where she gave several concerts and won complete success. She also had a beautiful voice, which she used with expression and taste. We formed a sincere friendship, and as she lived with her family in a beautiful villa in the immediate neighborhood of Gothenburg, I often spent several days in succession there.

²⁹⁸ “På Frimurarekonserten, gifven efter detta tal, afsjöngs kantaten, och fru *M. Ant. Crux* (fordom fru Gillberg, men nu till hennes heder lagligen skild från sin man) lät höra sig uti åtskilliga, förträffliga stycken på violin. Af sångstyckena blef trio först sjungen af fruarne *Crux, Lamberg* och mäklare *S. F. Kindbergs* fru, född *Vigoreux*. Den första arian sjöngs sedan af fru Kindberg och arian till drottningen med recitativ af fru *Crux*.” (DT) (Hummel letter to Gjörwell, September 19, 1801) (Quoted) Berg, 2: 152.

²⁹⁹ See Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien, “Protokoll 1801: October 21, 1801,” 377 [5]; and Berg, *Anteckningar om Göteborgs äldre teatrar*, 2:144, no. 2. Marie’s husband, Johann, was inducted the same year. Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

³⁰⁰ Det Gamla Göteborg: Göteborgs historia. “Lorensberg.”

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [256] Section 2: 77.

** Mr. Peterson and Mr. Wohlfart were both excellent violinists and arranged delightful amateur concerts in which they had the thoughtfulness to admit me as a practicing dilettante.³⁰³

Mrs. Gillberg in London

Previously, I posited that Marie married Jacob Gillberg in 1794 or early 1795, as she appeared as Mrs. Guilberg in Haydn's third Salomon Symphony on February 23, 1795, at the King's Theatre, New Room.³⁰⁴

A Lady of the name of GUILBERG [*sic*], a native, as we are informed of Germany, played a Concerto on the Violin. Her youth and beauty, added to a delicate, though rather feeble tone, a brilliant shake, and great neatness of execution, interested her hearers, who expressed their approbation with repeated plaudits. The Adagio in particular (composed by Viotti, much to his honour) she played in a chaste and charming style.³⁰⁵

Madame GUILBERG, who made her first appearance in this country as a Violin Performer, is really a musical wonder. Her tone, taste and feeling deserve great commendation. There was a remarkable neatness and precision in her execution, and she gave the *Double Stop* with considerable skill. She is by birth [*sic*] a Swede. Her person and manner are very interesting.³⁰⁶

The next mention of Mrs. Gillberg is in Haydn's sixth concert, which took place on April 13, 1795.

Madame GUILBERG played a violin concerto; and, after anticipating the general favour, by her youth and beauty, secured it by the delicacy of her performance.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ "Fru Peterson [*sic*], tyska och gift med en rik köpman, drog mig till sig icke blott såsom min landsmaninna men såsom en qvinna af en förtjusande karakter, full af godhet, mildhet och vänlighet. Hon var virtuos i detta ords hela utsträckning, och elev till den ryktbare Cramer spelade hon på ett fulländadt sätt viol och hade gjort sig ett namn i London, der hon gifvit flere konserter och vunnit en fullständig framgång. Hon hade äfvenledes en vacker röst, som hon använde med uttryck och smak. Vi knöto en uppriktig vänskap, och som hon med sin familj bebodde en vacker villa i Göteborgs omedelbara grannskap, tillbragte jag der ofta flere dagar i rad. **Herr Peterson lika som herr Wohlfart voro båda utmärkta violspelare och arrangerade förtjusande amatörkonserter i hvilka de hade uppmärksamheten att upptaga mig såsom utöfvande dilettant." Ahnfelt, 158.

³⁰⁴ See Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 3: 293; and McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Gillberg — <Mrs>], #3705.

³⁰⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, February 24, 1795. (Quoted) Thomas B. Milligan, *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI Research Press, 1983), 139.

³⁰⁶ *Sun*, February 24, 1795. (Quoted) Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 3: 293.

³⁰⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, April 15, 1795. (Quoted) Landon, *The Symphonies*, 543.

Marie's third public appearance occurred at the New Musical Fund concert held at the King Theatre on April 20, 1795, with the proceeds donated to support retired musicians, widows, and orphans.³⁰⁸ Three days later, she made her final appearance in London at the New Rooms concert, "For the Benefit of Mrs. Gillberg."³⁰⁹ The only personal detail from her London period is a notice in the *Morning Herald* stating that "Tickets were to be had at Mad. Gillberg's, 10 Duke-street, Portland Place, etc."³¹⁰

Marianne Ehrenström declared that Madame Pêtersen, known as Madame Gillberg, overshadowed the celebrated violinist Giarnowiki (n.d.), who was in London at the same time.³¹¹

It is impossible to put more soul into the adagio, more vivacity and precision into the allegro. It was a meeting of talents and personal graces. Never has the bow been driven by a more beautiful arm, and never has the art of music been treated with more modesty.³¹²

Gillberg and Storage

Marie Gillberg performed alongside Giovanni Battista Viotti in three of her four London concerts and Joseph Haydn in all four.³¹³ More importantly, she shared the stage with Nancy Storage in the New Musical Fund concert, establishing a previously unknown connection between London and Sweden.³¹⁴ This newfound link also hints at potential associations with other prominent musicians, including Harriett Abrams, Sophia Corri Dussek, Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, Elisabeth Mara, and Harriet Wainewright, all of whom were active in the London music scene at that time.³¹⁵ Figure 3.10 illustrates these possible interactions.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 543–544.

³⁰⁹ *Morning Herald*, April 20, 1795. (Quoted) Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 3: 304.

³¹⁰ Ibid. It is worth noting that Duke Street in Portland Place in the Marylebone district (now known as Hallam Street), should not be confused with Duke Street, St. James's. See London Ancestor, "Map of Marylebone."

³¹¹ Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [256] Section 2: 77. While Giarnowiki may have been a celebrity of his time, there is limited information available about him. One of the few references to him can be found in the autobiographical novel by Alexandre Dumas, *La femme au collier de velours*, nouvelle édition (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1873), 79.

³¹² "Il n'est pas possible de metre plus d'âme dans l'adagio, plus de vivacité et de précision dans l'allégro. C'était une réunion de talens et de grâces personnelles. Jamais l'archet n'a été conduit par un plus beau bras, et jamais l'art de la musique n'a été traité avec plus de modestie." Ehrenström, [256] Section 2: 77.

³¹³ See McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Gillberg — <Mrs>].

³¹⁴ Ibid., #3742.

³¹⁵ See Susan M. Holman, "Timelines," Cross-referencing database.

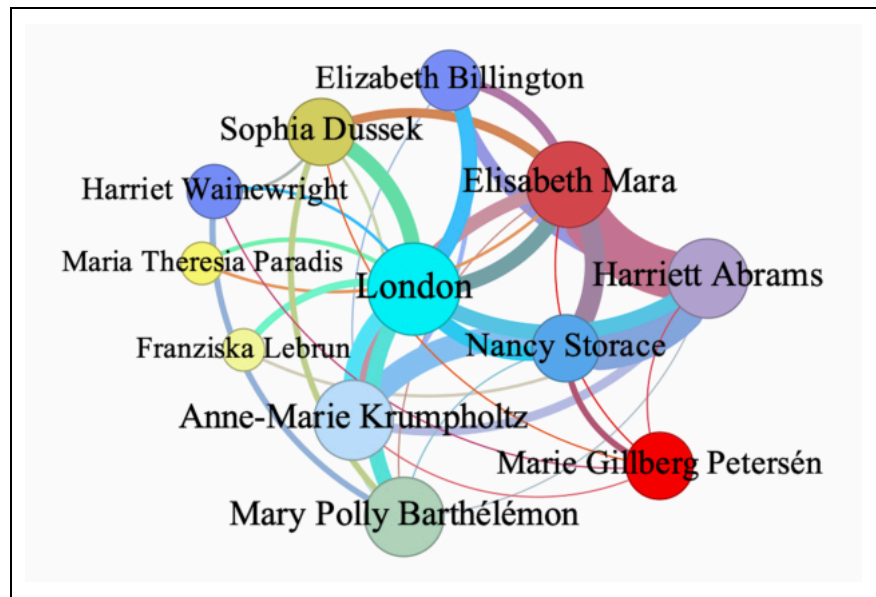


Fig. 3.10. London performance connections with Marie Gillberg

*Demoiselle Crux in Berlin*³¹⁶

Marie, or Marianne, Crux came from a family of performers; her mother and father, Johanna Antonia née Habert (n.d.–1774) and Peter Antoine Crux (1750/1756–1823), were ballerinas, as was Peter’s sister, Marie Cathérine (n.d.), while his brother, Dionys Antoine (n.d.), was an actor.³¹⁷ Initially based in Mannheim, the family moved to Munich in 1778 when Elector Carl Theodor relocated his court and appointed Peter the royal Bavarian court ballet master.³¹⁸

Marianne’s mother passed away when she was just a toddler, but her father made sure to prioritize her education.³¹⁹ He believed in a unique principle for her upbringing — that she was to be raised as a man in the morning and as a woman in the afternoon.³²⁰ Marianne demonstrated linguistic proficiency in German, French, English, and Italian, further complemented by her extensive readings in cultural and scientific subjects.³²¹ Moreover, she exhibited prowess in the arts, receiving instruction in singing from Dorothea Wendling (1731–1811), piano from a tutor known as Strizl (n.d.), and the

³¹⁶ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Demoiselle Crux,” in *Musikalische Monatsschrift*, 1–2, ed. by Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (Berlin: Berlinische Musiklandlung, 1793), 14.

³¹⁷ Pia Mlakar and Pino Mlakar, *Unsterblicher Theatertanz: 300 Jahre Ballettgeschichte der Oper in München*, 2 vols. (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, Heinrichshofen-Bücher, 1996), 1: 123; and Karl Maria Pisarowitz, “Parerga zur Cruxiade,” *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 15, no. 3–4 (1967): 11–13.

³¹⁸ Carl Maria von Weber: Gesamtausgabe, “Crux, Peter Anton;” and Kurpfälzer Meile der Innovationen, “1743–1778 Die Mannheimer Schule.”

³¹⁹ Lipowsky, 61.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

Mannheim violin technique from Kapellmeister Ignaz Fränzl (1736–1811).³²² Continuing her musical education in Munich, Marianne furthered her violin studies under Johann Friedrich Eck (1767–1838), later performing his solo concertos in her first and last London concerts.³²³

Crux and Mozart

Johann Reichardt claimed that Marianne’s violin playing had brought her fame from the age of ten.³²⁴ Consequently, like Mozart, she began her career as a traveling virtuoso at an early age.³²⁵ Furthermore, she was acquainted with the Mozart family; in August 1786, Leopold Mozart informed his daughter, Maria Anna, that Peter Crux was taking his daughter to Augsburg to witness a manned balloon flight.³²⁶ Marianne’s travels and rising fame linked her not only to Reichardt and the Mozarts but also to the Habsburg court in Vienna.³²⁷ Three months later, in November, Leopold wrote to Maria Anna again, apprising her that Marianne and her father were traveling to Vienna.³²⁸ In January 1787, Marianne Crux journeyed to Prague with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and her maternal aunt, Elisabeth Barbara Quallenberg (n.d.).³²⁹ During this visit, Marianne gave a concert on January 22 in the Palazzo Teatro of the Counts of Thun, either alongside or in collaboration with Mozart.³³⁰ Later that year, in June 1787, she gave a concert in Göttingen as a “chamber virtuoso of the Palatinate.”³³¹

According to musicologist Gustav Schilling (1805–1880), Marianne also performed in Hamburg and the National Theatre in Berlin in 1792.³³² These concerts

³²² Fétis, 3: 225. In a letter to his daughter, Maria Anna, Leopold Mozart mentioned that Marianne Crux learned from Herr Fränzl in Mannheim at a cost of 1600 florins. (Letter from Leopold Mozart to Maria Anna Mozart, August 25, 1786) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 981 (Vol. 3, pp. 377–379).

³²³ Fétis, 3: 225; McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Gillberg — <Mrs>] #s 3704, 3743.

³²⁴ Reichardt, *Musikalische Monatsschrift*, 14.

³²⁵ Schilling, 3: 615–616; Fétis, 3: 225; Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches*, 1: 315; Choron, *Dictionnaire historiques des musiciens*, 1: 166.

³²⁶ (Letter from Leopold to Maria Anna, August 25, 1786) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 981.

³²⁷ Volker Timmerman, “Crux, Marianne,” *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Freia Hoffmann, 2007.

³²⁸ (Letter from Leopold to Maria Anna, November 9, 1786) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 999.

³²⁹ Elisabeth Barbara née Harbert was the wife of the virtuoso clarinetist Johann Michael Quallenberg (1726–1786), a member of the Electoral Palatine court orchestra (Letter from Wolfgang to Gottfried von Jacquin, January, 15, 1787), 2, no. 24, “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 1022; and Lipowsky, 261.

³³⁰ Timmerman, “Crux, Marianne.”

³³¹ Abraham Gotthelf Kästner, *Gesammelte Poetische und Prosaische Schönwissenschaftliche Werke*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Enslin, 1841), 4: 91.

³³² Schilling, 3: 616.

likely refer to a second stay in the city.³³³ In 1787, Marianne Crux performed in Vienna before Emperor Joseph II, demonstrating her singing and skills on the violin and piano.³³⁴ She then reportedly embarked on a tour of Berlin and Hamburg.³³⁵

However, the timeline presents logistical challenges. If the Crux family traveled the 400 kilometers to Vienna in mid-November, it is conceivable they could return to Munich to join Wolfgang on his trip to Prague. Nevertheless, retracing their steps southward from Prague to Vienna (a distance of 335 kilometers) before commencing a tour heading northward 650 kilometers to Berlin seems inefficient, especially given Prague's geographic centrality between Vienna and Berlin. This consideration makes a second visit to Vienna in 1792 a more plausible scenario. Johann Reichardt notes that she traveled to Berlin with her father, a renowned ballet master and exceptional dancer, who the King had invited to the court festivities.³³⁶ Reichardt further states that she had already performed twice at court as a violinist and singer to the greatest acclaim.³³⁷ Various cities Marianne Crux visited during her concert tours included Frankfurt am Main, Mainz, and Mannheim, significantly expanding her network.³³⁸

One of the most interesting phenomena in the musical world is Dem. Crux from Munich. [...] now, in her seventeenth year, [as a violinist] she has achieved a virtuosity that one would expect as little from her age as from her sex. As delicate and nobly feminine as her performance is in touching and pleasant pieces, as powerful, confident, and accomplished is her performance in lively movements. [...] On the vocal side, Madem Crux promises to be one of the most interesting singers. She has a beautiful, bright sounding voice, of immense flexibility, and performs with a warmth, delicacy, and precision that does as much honor to her heart and taste as to her singing master.³³⁹

³³³ Fétis, 3: 225.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Leopold's letter to Maria Anna, August 25, 1786.

³³⁶ Reichardt, *Musikalische Monathsschrift*, 14.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Lipowsky, 61.

³³⁹ "Eine der interessantesten Erscheinungen in der musikalischen Welt ist die Dem. Crux aus München. [...] gemacht, igt in ihrem siebzehnten Jahre hat sie es zu einer Virtuosität gebracht, die man eben so wenig von ihren Jahren als von ihrem Geschlechte zu erwarten pflegt. So ganz zart und edel weiblich ihr Vortrag in rührenden und angenehmen Stücken ist, so kräftig, sicher und vollendet ist ihr Vortrag, in lebhaften Sätzen. [...] Von Seiten des Gesanges verspricht Madem. Crux eine der interessantesten Sängern. Sie hat eine schöne helle klingende Stimme, von ungemeiner Biagsamkeit, und trägt mit einer Wärme, Feinheit und Genauigkeit vor, die ihrem Herzen und Geschmack eben so viel Ehre macht als ihrer Singemeisterinn." (DT) Ibid. (Translation) DeepL, June 18, 2024.

Identifying Biographical Discrepancies

The discrepancies and errors mentioned in this dissertation's Introduction entered the Germanic section of Marie's narrative.³⁴⁰ In his lexicon (1811), archivist Felix Lipowsky (1764–1842) claims that, upon the counsel of her aunt, Elisabeth Quallenberg, Marianne rejected an employment offer as a court singer in Munich that her father had arranged.³⁴¹ Similarly, Schilling alleges that Marianne continued her career as a traveling artist even after marrying a Mr. Hollmann in 1794, achieving great success under the name Madame Hollmann in various Germanic cities.³⁴² Schilling further suggests that Mr. Hollmann was a nobleman from Holstein who eventually took her to his estates, leading her to abandon her musical career entirely.³⁴³ However, the provenance of this information is unclear and remains suspect.

Despite extensive investigation, no primary sources have been identified to validate an offer of employment, nor has any evidence surfaced to confirm the existence of a "Marianne Hollmann" or her purported performances on Germanic stages. Eduard Bernsdorf (1825–1901) echoes Schilling's account of a spouse named Hollmann and claims her return to Hamburg in 1807, although this assertion remains unverified, as well.³⁴⁴ Alternative biographical narratives, such as those by Lipowsky (1811) and Fétis (1837), make no reference to a figure named "Hollmann."³⁴⁵ Instead, they suggest that Marianne married a Swedish military officer referred to as "Gilbert" or "Gelbert" — names closely resembling the actual "Gillberg."³⁴⁶

The story of Marianne Crux in the Germanic territories ends at this point, with musicologist Volker Timmerman (2007) noting a lack of information regarding Marianne's life after 1807.³⁴⁷ Nevertheless, I am pleased to present a few final details. Marianne Ehrenström confirms that Marie ceased performing, and though dates are omitted, her narrative implies that this decision was made contemporaneously.³⁴⁸

It is with real sorrow that I learn that Mme Pétersson has totally renounced her instrument and her lovely voice. What a sacrilege! What an irreparable

³⁴⁰ See p. 16.

³⁴¹ Lipowsky, 61.

³⁴² Schilling, 3: 616.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Eduard Bernsdorf, ed., *Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, 3 vols. (Dresden: Schäfer, 1856), 1: 637.

³⁴⁵ Lipowsky, 61 (Gilbert); Fétis, 3: 225 (Gelbert).

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Volker Timmerman, "Crux, Marianne."

³⁴⁸ Ehrenström, [256] Section 2: 77.

Given that Ehrenström's *Notices* was published in 1826, we may infer that Marie was still living at this time. Furthermore, Ehrenström mentions that Marie's eldest daughter performed in musical soirées at the residence of Edmond Passy (1789–1870), who organized a series of such events in Stockholm in 1820, 1826, 1827, and 1835.³⁵⁰ Given the publication date of *Notices*, the event likely occurred in either 1820 or 1826, before publication, with 1820 the more probable option. Finally, Marie Antoinette Petersén and her children sold their half of the Lorensberg estate to W. J. Valentin in 1822.³⁵¹

The revelation that Mrs. Gillberg in London was, in fact, the same person as Fru Gillberg in Sweden and Marianne Crux in Munich and Berlin—who was known to the Mozarts and Johann Friedrich Reichardt—has unveiled a fascinating tripartite network linking Sweden, London, and the Germanic territories. This discovery not only bridges these three geographical regions but also deepens our understanding of Marie's narrative, highlighting the fluidity with which female musicians navigated cultural and professional landscapes in eighteenth-century Europe.

Delineating Marie's activities after her departure from the Germanic regions and merging her three identities into a cohesive narrative has been illuminating. Though surviving details remain fragmentary, they provide crucial insights into her later years and the enduring influence of her musical legacy, particularly through her daughter. These findings challenge prior assumptions about her obscurity and underscore the importance of reconstructing historical networks to reveal the hidden contributions of women in music. I hope that future scholars will build upon this foundation, uncovering further details that will continue to enrich our understanding of Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén and her impact on the cultural and artistic spheres of her time.

The case of Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén powerfully demonstrates how the fragmentation of women's identities across marriages, geographies, and national historiographies has systematically obscured their transnational careers and influence. By reuniting these scattered biographical fragments, I have not only recovered one woman's

³⁴⁹ “C’est avec un véritable chagrin que j’apprends que Mme *Péterson* a totalement renoncé à son instrument et à sa jolie voix. Quel sacrilège! Quelle perte irréparable!” Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.; and Martin Edin, “Edmond Passy (1789–1870),” tr. by Jill Ann Johnson, Swedish Musical Heritage: Levande Musikarv, 2015. Online version.

³⁵¹ S. A. Wilhelmsson, “Lorensberg.” *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* (July 6, 1963): 8

remarkable trajectory but also revealed a methodological imperative: comprehensive network analysis requires vigilance against the long-held assumptions.

— Integrating German-born Swedish amateur musicians

Marianne Pollett Ehrenström’s Gephi map in Figure 3.11 contrasts sharply with that of Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén’s in Figure 3.12. Ehrenström’s connections are predominantly clustered around her, with thick edges indicating primary linkages. In fact, only four of the amateur female musicians are positioned outside the cluster with thin edges, signifying potential associations or fleeting acquaintances. This dense network configuration underscores Ehrenström’s strong social bonds and frequent interactions within a close-knit community.

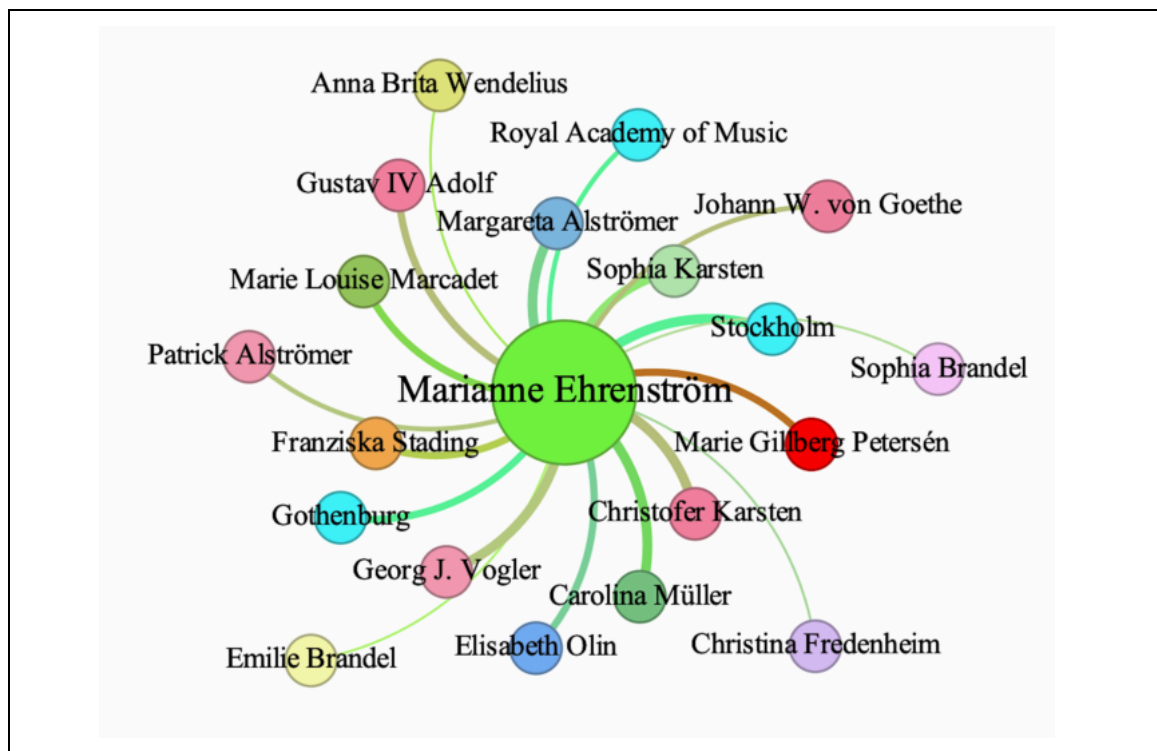


Fig. 3.11. Marianne Ehrenström network

Conversely, Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén’s map reveals a higher number of potential connections yet fewer intimate relationships. This observation implies that Petersén cultivated a broader, more diverse network owing to her extensive travels and varied engagements across different regions. Notably, those closest to Petersén include some of the most renowned names of the age. The contrast between the two maps reflects each woman’s unique social and professional strategies.

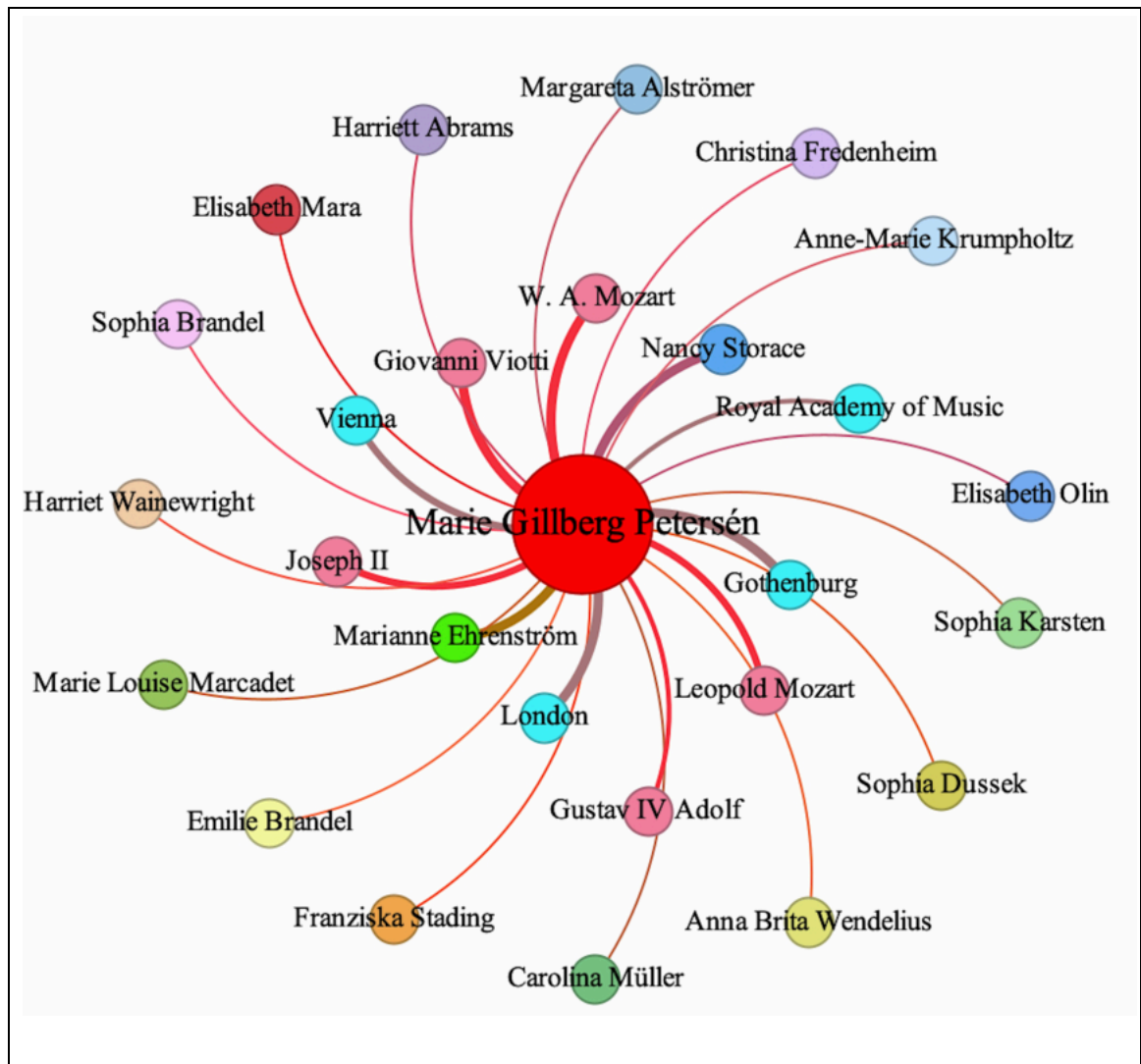


Fig. 3.12. Marie Gillberg Petersén network

One striking aspect of Marianne Ehrenström’s integration into the Swedish map in Figure 3.13 is the size of her node. In previous chapters, the networks revolved around singular central figures like Marianna Martines or Elisabeth Mara. However, in this visualization, no single dominant actor emerges. Instead, all the nodes representing the musicians discussed thus far appear nearly equal in size, including that of the amateur Marianne Ehrenström. This equality suggests a more egalitarian distribution of influence within the network, where each individual contributes significantly to the cultural and musical landscape regardless of professional status. Moreover, the edges connecting Ehrenström to the professional musicians indicate the strength of their relationships.

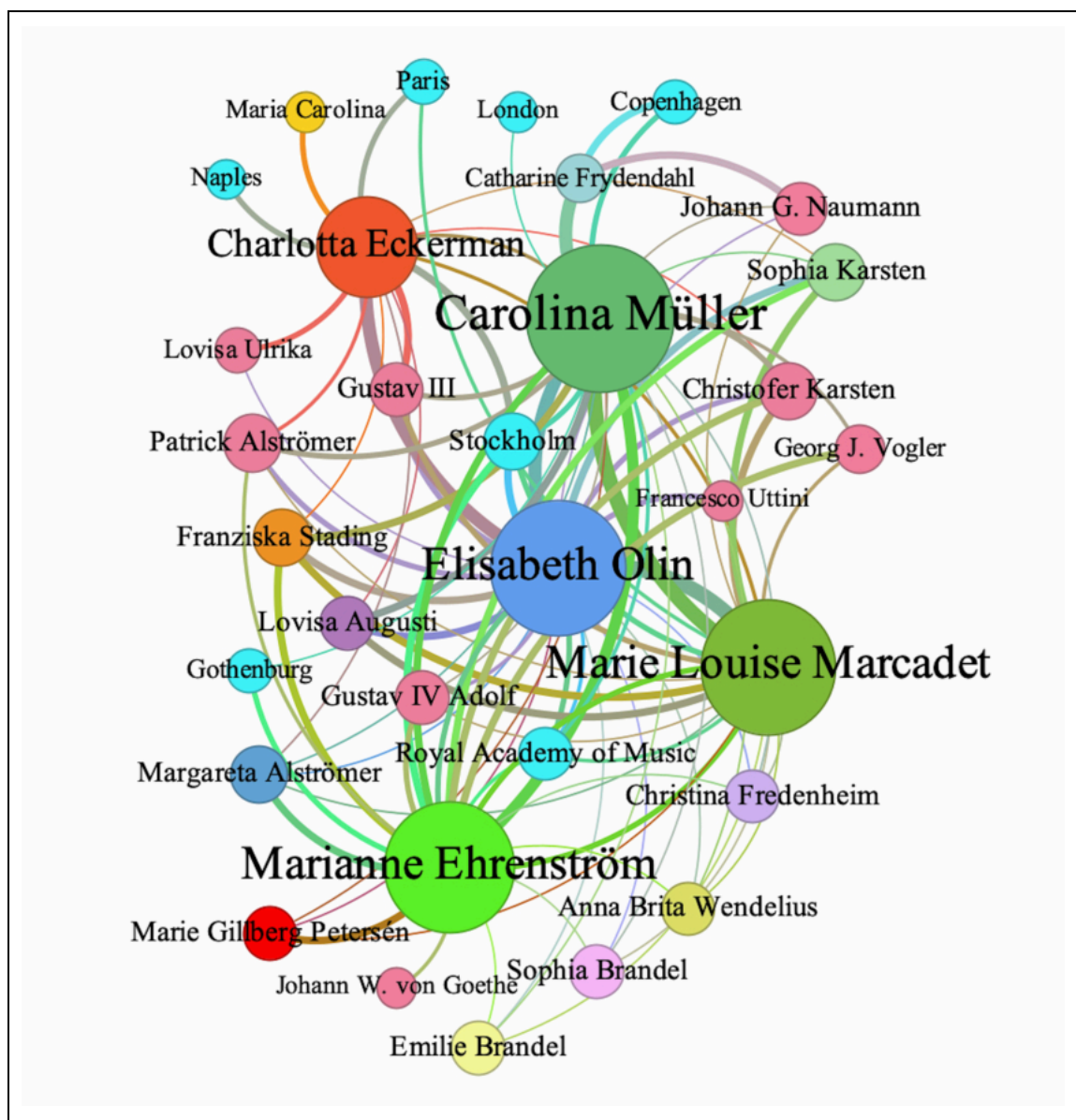


Fig. 3.13. Swedish composite network with Marianne Ehrenström

Figure 3.14 depicts Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén’s network before discovering her connections in London and the Germanic regions. Despite the limited information available—her presence in Swedish primary sources being restricted to just three mentions—her node is of a respectable size. Her strongest connections in this preliminary map are aligned with Gothenburg and Marianne Ehrenström, emphasizing her ties to the Swedish cultural and musical milieu.

This initial Swedish-centered visualization, however, represents only a fraction of Petersén’s true network reach. As the subsequent integration of her London and Germanic identities will reveal, her node size dramatically understates the transnational scope of her

career—a limitation that underscores how nationally bounded archival research can systematically underrepresent mobile women’s actual influence and connections.

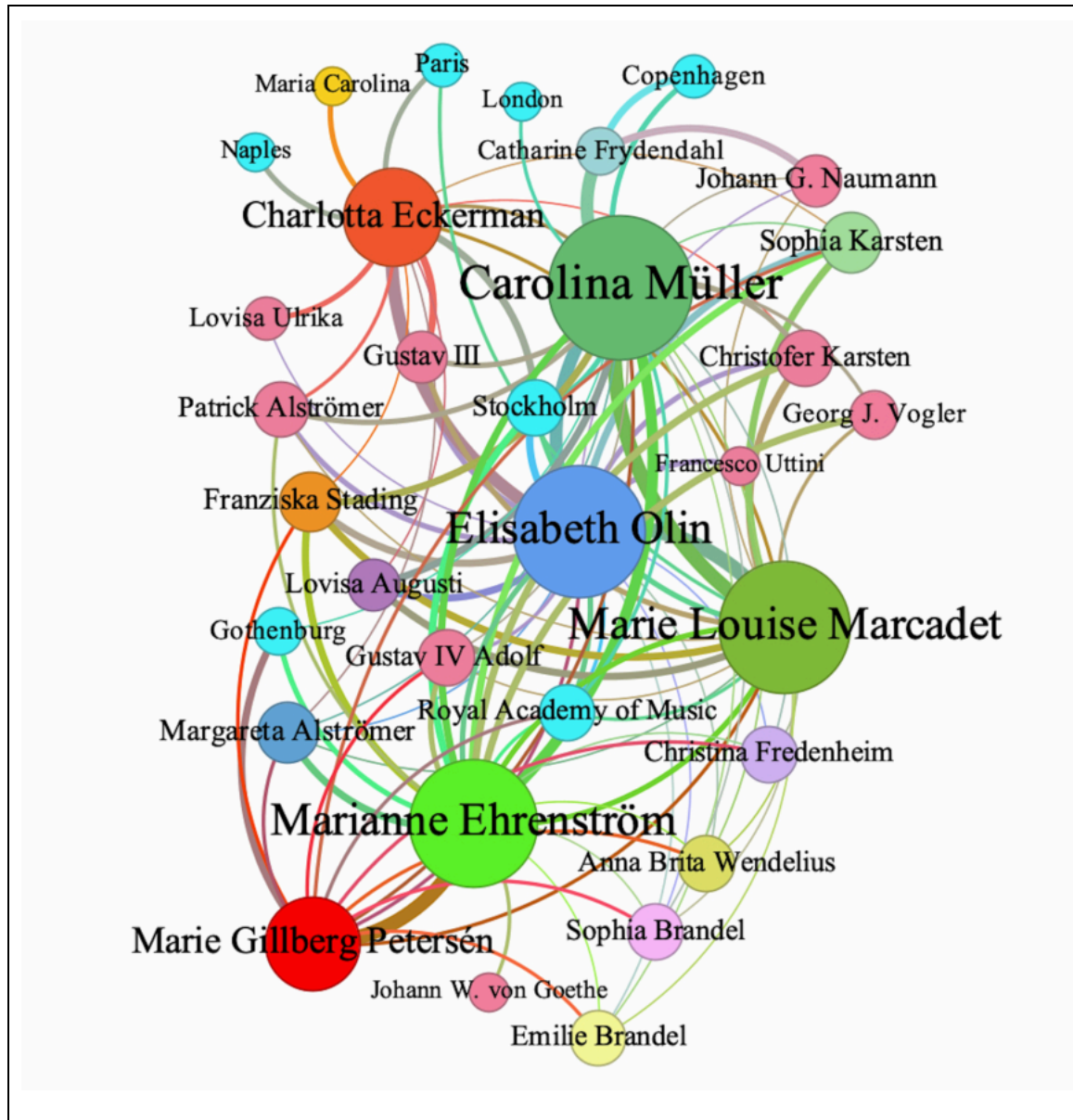


Fig. 3.14. Marie Gillberg Petersén network prior to discovery of tripartite identity

In Figure 3.15, on the other hand, we see the transformative impact of discovering and visually representing new information in historical network analysis. Marie’s profile showcases her connections in Sweden, London, and various Germanic cities. The updated map, however, illustrates the dramatic expansion of her network with this newfound information. By including her contacts in London and Germanic cities, Marie’s node surpasses that of her peers in size, and her links to the wider world expand the network exponentially.

This extended network opens up a plethora of possibilities for relationship research. The diagram accentuates the interconnectedness of the European musical milieu in the late eighteenth century and highlights the importance of comprehensive research in uncovering obscured dimensions of historical figures' lives.

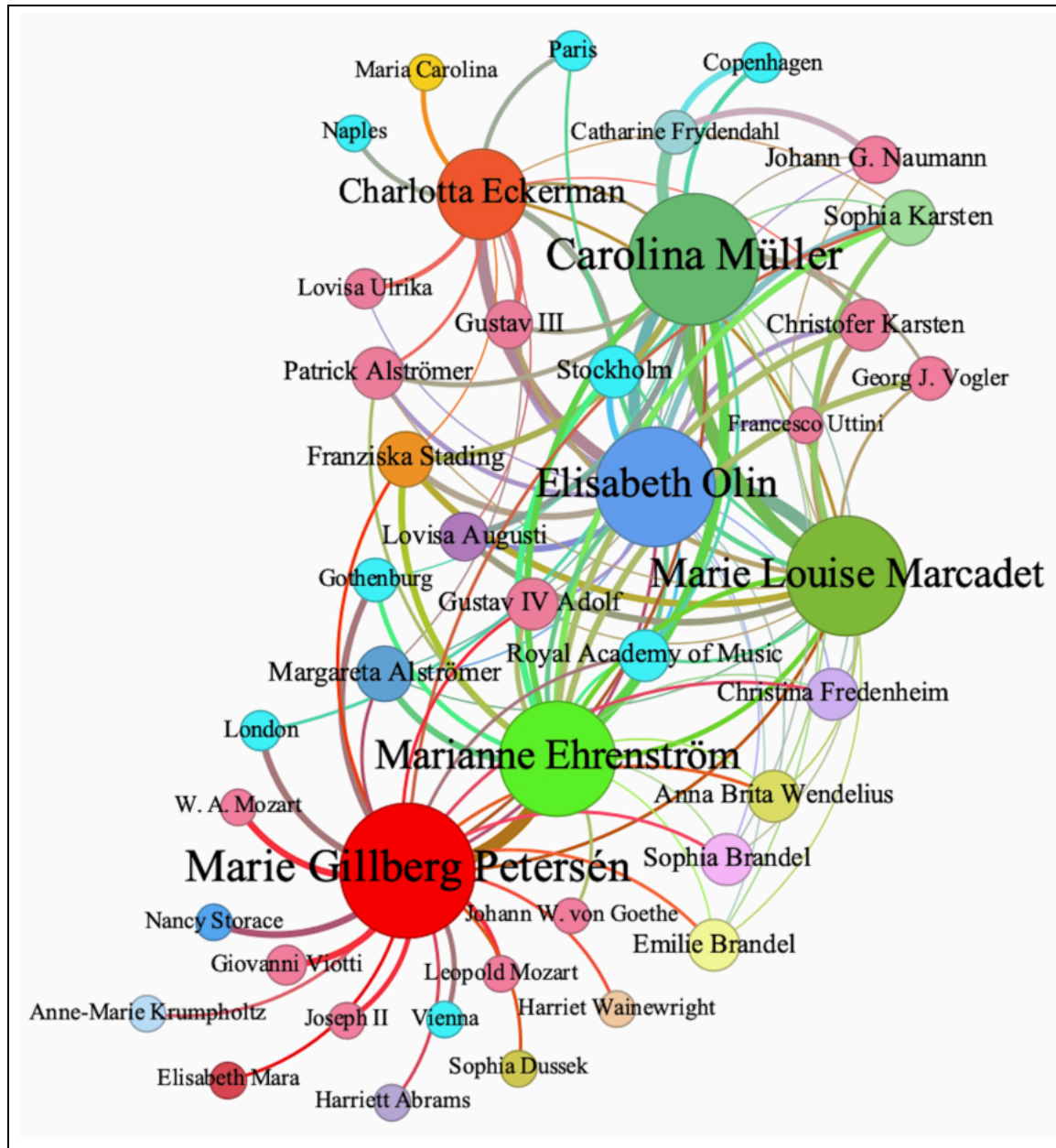


Fig. 3.15. Swedish composite network with tripartite identity of Marie Gillberg Petersén

As our exploration progresses, it is worth noting that while Ehrenström and Petersén were of Germanic descent, the next two amateur female musicians were Swedish aristocrats. Margareta Hedvig Alströmer was born into nobility, and Christina Hebbe Fredenheim entered the aristocracy through marriage. This distinction highlights the

diverse social backgrounds of these musicians and underlines the convergence of cultural and social hierarchies within the musical milieu of Sweden.

3.8 Margareta Hedvig Alströmer Cronstedt (1763–1816)

Margareta Alströmer, a Swedish countess, singer, and artist, was born into a prestigious Alingsås family approximately 50 kilometers from Gothenburg.³⁵² Her lineage featured illustrious figures such as her grandfather, Jonas Alströmer (1685–1761), who co-founded the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1739.³⁵³ Her father, a key figure in Swedish cultural circles, established the Royal Academy of Music in 1771.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, her uncle, Claes Alströmer (1736–1794), and her father were the driving force behind Gothenburg’s music and theatre scene.³⁵⁵ The Alströmer brothers and an influential circle of friends constructed the first public theatre in Gothenburg, the *Comediehuset*, in 1779.³⁵⁶ In addition, the family regularly hosted concerts and theatre performances at their home, exposing Margareta to a culturally rich environment.³⁵⁷

Her mother, Christina Maria Ollonberg (1739–1764), passed away when Margareta was just one year old.³⁵⁸ Her father, however, did not remarry until 1786, when he wed noblewoman Christina Maria Silfverschiöld (1751–1823).³⁵⁹ Consequently, Margareta and her sisters, Christina Maria (1762–1840) and Anna Helena (1764–1792), were brought up and educated under the care of a French governess named Madame Liaison.³⁶⁰ The children were introduced to music and theatre at a young age and actively participated in family performances.³⁶¹ Together with their governess, they presented their talents to a distinguished audience of society members and cultural elites.³⁶²

³⁵² Eva Helen Ulvros, “Margareta Hedvig Alströmer,” tr. by Alexia Grosjean, *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexicon* (published online March 2, 2020).

³⁵³ See “Akademiens historia,” Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien.

³⁵⁴ Berg, *Anteckningar om Göteborgs äldre teatrar*, 1: 108.

³⁵⁵ Berg, 1: 107–114.

³⁵⁶ Det Gamla Göteborg: Göteborgs historia. “Det Comediehuset.”

³⁵⁷ Berg, 1: 120–127.

³⁵⁸ Ulvros, “Margareta Hedvig Alströmer,” par. 3.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Berg, 1: 124. Notably, Madame Liaison had previously taught two of Queen Sophia Magdalena’s “Three Graces,” thus effectively connecting Margareta to the court. The Three Graces of the Gustavian age were the Queen’s three ladies-in-waiting: Christina August Löwenhielm (1754–1846) and her sister Ulrika Eleonora Höpken (1749–1810), both of whom were taught by Madame Liaison, and Lovisa Augusta Meijerfeldt (1745–1817). These ladies were immortalized in Johan Henric Kellgren’s poem *Gracernas döpelse* [The Baptism of the Graces]. For more information, see Carl Wilhelm Forsstrand, *De tre gracerna: Minnen och anteckningar från Gustaf III: s Stockholm*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: H. Gebers förlag, 1912).

³⁶¹ Berg, 1: 120–121.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 1: 120–127; and Personne, 128.

Margareta's theatrical debut took place in *Celinde*, an afterplay to *L'Honnête Criminel*, performed on December 18, 1775, at the residence of John Hall, a close family friend.³⁶³ The following month, she took on the lead role of "Adelaide" in *Gustaf af Piron* at Claes Alströmer's residence.³⁶⁴ Her performance inspired a tribute poem in the *Gothenburg Allehanda* and was lauded by critics, garnering her acclaim in the press.³⁶⁵

Adelaide should certainly be mentioned first in all respects as the one which caused everyone to marvel.

Miss *Alströmer* [Margareta], although only 12 years old, played this part incomparably. This is all the more remarkable as she had to learn it in a rather short time. In all cases she observed her character very closely, and during the action itself so much taste and finesse was revealed that the greatest connoisseurs could not fully praise it. A proof of this was seen in Act III, Scene 6 when Adelaide recognized Gustave and exclaimed:

'Ah! I recognize him: I embrace my husband.' — — — all the spectators were deeply moved [...] In a word, Miss Alströmer was incomparable."³⁶⁶

In 1776, Patrick Alströmer relocated his family to Gothenburg.³⁶⁷ Instilling an appreciation for music among his children, he frequently arranged for their performances at social gatherings in Gothenburg and Stockholm.³⁶⁸ Margareta later performed primarily as a concert singer, even after marrying in 1781.³⁶⁹ Her union with Count Nils August Cronstedt resulted in the birth of two sons, Patrik (1783–1784) and Claes August (1785–1860).³⁷⁰ The family faced upheaval in 1788, though, as Nils faced charges of treason stemming from insubordination, resulting in a sentence of arquebusing [firing squad].³⁷¹

³⁶³ Berg, 1: 120–122.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 126

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; and "Wår tids Adelaide med aldra bästa hjerta / Hwart hjerta får och rör: / Den forna väckt en Hjertes smårta, / Och denna flera fångne gör!" (DT) *Götheborgs Allehanda* (January 26, 1776): 3.

³⁶⁶ "Adelaide bör wisst i alla afseenden först nämnas såsom den, hvilken ådrog sig allas förundran. Fröken *Alströmer*, ehuru blott 12 år gammal, spelade denna Role på et makalöst sätt. Detta är så mycket mera undransvärdt, som hon på en ganska kort tid måste lära sig densamma. Wid alla tilfällen iakttog hon sin personage på det nogaste, och under sjelfwa actionen rögdtes så mycken smak och finesse, at de største kännare ej fyllest kunde berömma densamma. Et bevis däruppå var det, at då Adelaide i Tredje Acten. Sjette Scenen igenkände Gustave och utropade: 'Ah! Je le reconnoise; J'embrasse mon epoux' — — — blefwo alla Åskådarne på det ömaste rörde [...] Med et ord: Fröken Alströmer var makalös." (DT) (Quoted) Berg, 1: 126. (Translation) DeepL, June 19, 2024.

³⁶⁷ Ulvros, "Margareta Hedvig Alströmer," par. 4.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Patrik died a year after his birth, which left Margareta devastated. See Thorbjörn Moren, *Minne af fru grefvinnan Margareta Hedvig Cronstedt, född friherrinna Ahlströmer* (Stockholm: Tryckt hos Olof Grahn, 1816), 11. Claes August became a Rear Admiral of the Swedish navy. *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ Gusaf Elgenstierna, ed., *Den introcerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, 9 vols. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1925–1936), 2: 115.

However, Gustav III intervened, commuting the punishment to a twenty-year imprisonment, with eventual clemency granted by Duke Karl XIII in 1792.³⁷² Margareta stood by her husband throughout this challenging time, providing unwavering support.³⁷³ The account of Margareta's sister, Anna Helena, is conspicuously absent from her brief biographies.³⁷⁴ Confronting her mortality during childbirth, Anna Helena entrusted her newborn daughter, Anna Hedvig Lewenhaupt (1792–1833), to Margareta in 1792.³⁷⁵ Margareta raised Anna Hedvig as her own, and the young girl grew up to become the singer and composer known as Hedda Wrangel.³⁷⁶

Margareta was a multi-talented woman who excelled in various fields.³⁷⁷ Apart from her famous vocal and piano skills, she was also a talented painter.³⁷⁸ Her artistic prowess was widely recognized, and she was described as a clever dilettante in painting.³⁷⁹ Her works continue to be celebrated today, with two drawings, *Bygata* and *Läsande äldre kvinna*, displayed at the National Museum in Stockholm.³⁸⁰ Alströmer's artistic achievements did not go unnoticed, and in 1795, she was inducted into the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts.³⁸¹ Her success paved the way for other women, and five years later, Marianne Ehrenström followed in her footsteps.³⁸² Margareta Hedvig Alströmer Cronstedt died on February 19, 1816, at the age of 52.³⁸³

She possessed the rare and precious art of finding in the most different men a string that sounds alike; and her mere presence would have been sufficient to protect, among the rudest, the sacred and the fitting. She possessed a great and unusual education. With every fine art she was intimate.³⁸⁴

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Moren, *Minne af fru grefvinnan Margareta Hedvig Cronstedt*, 12–13; and Jan Ling, “Apollo Gothenburgensis: Patrik Alströmer och Göteborgs musikliv vid 1700-talets slut,” *Svenska tidskrift för musikforskning*, no. 81(1999): 83.

³⁷⁴ In an interesting twist, Margareta's sisters Christina Maria and Anna Helena married the brothers Charles Emil Lewenhaupt (1751–1832) in 1781 and Gustaf Julius Lewenhaupt (1753–1820) in 1784, respectively. Elgenstierna, *Den introcerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, 2: 614–615, 617–618.

³⁷⁵ Moren, 14.

³⁷⁶ Ibid. Anna Hedvig Lewenhaupt later became known as the composer Hedda Wrangel. See Eva Öhrström, “Hedda Wrangel (1792–1833),” tr. by Jill Ann Johnson, *Swedish Musical Heritage: Levande Musikarv*, 2016.

³⁷⁷ Moren, 15.

³⁷⁸ Ulvros, “Margareta Hedvig Alströmer,” par. 5.

³⁷⁹ Berg and Stålberg, 11.

³⁸⁰ Margareta Hedvig Alströmer, *Läsande äldre kvinna* (NMH 120/1919:22) and *Bygata* (NMH 120/1919:21), in National Museum Collections.

³⁸¹ See Kungl. Akademien för de fria konsterna, “Lista över ledamöter av Konstakademien.”

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Moren, 22.

³⁸⁴ “Hon ägde den sällsynta dyrbara konst, att hos de mest olika menniskor finna en sträng som ljuder lika; och hennes blotta närvaro skulle hafva varit tillräcklig att, bland de råaste, skydda det heliga och det passande. Hon ägde en stor och ovanlig bildning. Med varje skön konst var hon förtrolig.” Ibid., 15.

Alströmer and Ehrenström

In 1795, Margareta Alströmer was elected into the Royal Academy of Music, marking a significant milestone as one of the first amateur female musicians to receive such recognition and linking her to the other women in this chapter.³⁸⁵ Despite the limited scholarly focus on Margareta, Genseric Brandel’s letter to Bernhard Crusell confirms her performing on the clavichord in the 1799 concert along with Marianne (Pollet) Ehrenström, Caroline Müller, and Christofer Karsten, as previously discussed.³⁸⁶ This makes it all the more surprising that Marianne Ehrenström only mentions Margareta, together with a M^{lle} Åkerland, in passing as “pianists distinguées, d’une touche brillante, soutenue par le gout et la precision.” [distinguished pianists, with a brilliant touch, sustained by taste and precision].³⁸⁷

3.9 Christina Elisabet Hebbe Fredenheim (1762–1841)

Christina Hebbe’s story embodies the classic tale of an impoverished aristocrat, Carl Fredrik Mennander Fredenheim (1748–1803), uniting with a family of affluence and social standing.³⁸⁸ Christina’s father, Simon Bernhard Hebbe (1726–1803), was a successful merchant, while her mother, Maria Ulrika von Bippen (1741–1808), was of noble birth.³⁸⁹ Christina herself was part of a group of amateur musicians associated with the Academy of Music, and she secured her own membership in 1795.³⁹⁰ Details about Christina’s early life are scarce, a common occurrence for amateur female musicians of that era. However, publicist Carl Wilhelm Forsstrand (1854–1928) reports that Carl Fredrik quickly won the young heiress’s heart.³⁹¹ In defiance of prevailing societal

³⁸⁵ Margareta Alströmer, Christina Fredenheim, and Anna Brita Wendelius were the first female amateur inductees in 1795. Elisabeth Olin was the first professional female musician in 1782. Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

³⁸⁶ See p. 325; and Mörner, 174–175.

³⁸⁷ Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [256] Section 2: 74. Ehrenström does share an anecdote concerting Margareta’s famously influential father, Patrick Alströmer, however. *Ibid.*, [245–249] 2: 63–67.

³⁸⁸ For information on the highly influential Hebbe family, see Carl Wilhelm Forsstrand, *Skeppsbroadeln: Minnen och anteckningar från Gustaf III: s Stockholm*. (Stockholm: H. Gebers förlag, 1916), 19–63.

³⁸⁹ The fathers of Margareta Alströmer and Christina Fredenheim were both directors of the Swedish East India Company: Patrick Alströmer (1777–1786, 1786–1804) and Simon Bernhard Hebbe (1799–1803). See Det Gamla Göteborg: Göteborgs historia, “Direktörer i Ostindiska kompaniet.”

³⁹⁰ Cari Johansson, “Carl Fredric Fredenheim and His Collection of Eighteenth-Century Music.” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 13, no. 1 (1966): 47; Jonsson and Ivarsdotter, *Musiken i Sverige*, 2: 402; and Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

³⁹¹ Carl Fredenheim was a prominent figure in Swedish cultural and artistic circles, particularly as the first director of the Royal Museum, which eventually evolved into the National Museum. (*Ibid.*, 46–47).

conventions that promote a protracted courtship, the couple announced their engagement within a few weeks of their initial encounter, drawing considerable public attention.³⁹² Carl's status further complicated the situation as a financially-strapped aristocrat marrying into a wealthy mercantile family.³⁹³ Nevertheless, Christina and Carl's relationship endured, and they were married in 1779 when Christina was seventeen.³⁹⁴ Notwithstanding the challenges they faced, the couple appeared content.³⁹⁵

Carl's career rose quickly, and he became the master of court ceremonies in 1780.³⁹⁶ The newly married couple, however, continued to receive scorn from the aristocracy, as Gustaf Ehrensvärd writes in his journal shortly after Carl's appointment.³⁹⁷

In the evening, the court was as usual; Countess Lefebure and Mrs. Fredenheim were presented. The Court is filled with such persons. Lefebure had been a merchant, had been ennobled, and through his marriage to Miss Lillienberg had in those days acquired the character of a mountain councilor.³⁹⁸ Mrs. Fredenheim, wife of the new failed master of ceremonies, is the daughter of the merchant Hebbe, richer in money than in beauty and courtesy. No councilors of the realm were present at this court, and the stools for them would have been completely empty, had not Countess Carl Fersen and Countess Pontus De la Gardie³⁹⁹ occupied two according to their patents of honor. Those who have a happy court memory claim that for many years such a thing has not happened.⁴⁰⁰

His travel journals are held at the Nationalmuseum, "Carl Fredrik Fredenheims resedagbok." In addition to his administrative accomplishments, Fredenheim was also a skilled harpsichordist, earning induction into the Royal Academy of Music in 1794, where he served as president from 1798–1799. (Johansson, 47). Carl paid tribute to his wife's influence in inspiring and maintaining his interest in music, and during his journeys, he would purchase music for Christina and send it home. (Ibid., 47–48).

³⁹² Forsstrand, *Skeppsbroadeln: Minnen och anteckningar från Gustaf III: s Stockholm*, 32.

³⁹³ Ibid., 32–33.

³⁹⁴ Elgenstierna, 2: 821.

³⁹⁵ Forsstrand, *Skeppsbroadeln*, 38–41. The bridegroom writes, "Vi började vår sammanlefnad under den Högstes åkallande, och Hans Beskydd har icke heller vikit ifrån oss. Wi röne dagligen, att ett gott äktenskap är den högsta jordiska sällhet, och jag vann där en lycka, med hvilken all annan kan vara mig umbärlig. Mina svärföräldrars författningar om vår framtid göra dem mycken heder och fordrar all tacksamhet af oss." (Quoted) Forsstrand, 41.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 41–42.

³⁹⁷ Ehrensvärd, 2:84.

³⁹⁸ Jean le Febure (1736–1805) and Margareta Charlotta Lillienberg le Febure (1753–1829)

³⁹⁹ Charlotta "Lotta" Fredrika Sparre (1719–1795), was the mother of Ulrika Eleonora Höpken and Christina August Löwenhielm (two of the "Three Graces"). See p. 340, n. 358; and Hedvig Ulrika De la Gardie, who was so kind to Marianne Pollett when she first arrived at court. See p. 320.

⁴⁰⁰ "Om aftonen var cour efter vanligheten; grefvinnan Lefebure och fru Fredenheim blefvo presenterade. Hofvet uppfylles af sådana personer. Lefebure har varit köpman, blifvit adlad och genom sitt gifte med fröken Lillienberg i dessa dagar fått bergsråds karaktär. Fru Fredenheim, hustru till den nye misslyckade ceremonimästaren, är köpman Hebbes dotter, rikare på penningar än fägring och artighet. Inga riksrådinnor voro vid denna cour uppe, och hade taburetterna för dem varit alldeles tomma, om icke grefvinnan Carl Fersen och grefvinnan Pontus De la Gardie ockuperat tvänne enligt sina brevets d'honneur. De som hafva ett lyckligt hofminne påstå, att på många år sådant icke tilldragit sig." (DT) Ehrensvärd, 2:84.

According to the Swedish national historiographer Gustaf Abraham Silverstolpe (1772–1824), Christina Fredenheim possessed a stunning soprano voice that aroused jealousy among professional singers.⁴⁰¹ However, owing to her societal status, she rarely performed publicly, reserving her appearances solely for charitable concerts.⁴⁰² An exceptional instance occurred in 1790 when she participated in a concert organized by Hedwig Elisabeth Charlotte Södermanland (1759–1818) in honor of Countess Catharina Charlotta Ribbing (1720–1787).⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, Christina remained uneasy within courtly circles.⁴⁰⁴ She also appeared in the first performance of Haydn’s *Creation* in Stockholm in 1800, where she took on the roles of “Eve” and “Gabriel.”⁴⁰⁵ Then, the following year, she appeared in a private performance of Mozart’s *Requiem* at the residence of a diplomat named P. Moréno from the Spanish embassy in Stockholm.⁴⁰⁶

In addition to her vocal prowess, Christina displayed exceptional skill on the harpsichord, as attested by Royal librarian Adolf Fredrik Ristell.⁴⁰⁷

To return to the ladies who are more known in the world [...] The lady of the Master of Ceremonies, Fredenheim, is of an agreeable figure, and great acquired accomplishments. She is the daughter of an eminent merchant, Mr. Hebbe, who will leave her one of the largest fortunes in the country; she is a distinguished performer on the harpsichord, and the only compared to the young Baroness Wrangel.⁴⁰⁸

The Fredenheims were parents to two sons: Gustaf Carl Henrik (1781–1841), who attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and Bernt Henrik (1782–1839), who pursued a career as a conductor at the Royal Museum.⁴⁰⁹ Following the passing of Christina’s father, Simon, on February 26, 1803, Christina inherited Östanå Castle as part of his substantial legacy.⁴¹⁰ However, her husband, Carl, could not benefit from this inheritance,

⁴⁰¹ Mörner, 175, no. 15; and C. G. Stellan Mörner, *Johan Wikmanson und die Brüder Silverstolpe* (Stockholm: Hæggstrom, 1952), 368. Silverstolpe further highlights, however, that while her vocal timbre mesmerized audiences, her lack of formal training occasionally resulted in noticeable errors during her performances. *Ibid.*, 377.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 370.

⁴⁰³ Forsstrand, *Skeppsbroadeln*, 44.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ Mörner, 175, no. 15.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 169, 172–174.

⁴⁰⁷ Ristell, *Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden*, 2: 152.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Elgenstierna, 2: 821.

⁴¹⁰ Carl Fredrik Lindahl, “Kommerserådet Simon Bernhard Hebbe,” in *Svenska millionärer*, ed. by Carl Fredrik Lindahl (Stockholm: PA Huldbergs bokförlags-aktielbolag, 1897–1905), 1: 176–179. The castle’s history may be found at Fideikommiss, “Östanå;” and Östanå Slott, “Slottet: Historik.” To see the extent of the family’s wealth, see Forsstrand, *Skeppsbroadeln*, 48–51.

as he also passed away shortly after his father-in-law on March 6.⁴¹¹ Limited information is available about Christina Hebbe Fredenheim after this period, until she died in Stockholm on January 6, 1841.⁴¹² She bequeathed the estate to her son Gustav Carl, but he also succumbed soon after his mother on February 12 at Östanå.⁴¹³

Once again, Marianne Ehrenström offers insightful perspectives on one of her contemporaries.

Among the amateurs who have distinguished themselves, Mrs. de *Fredenheim*, née Hebbé, deserves a superior place. Her superb voice, fresh and beautiful, was responsible for the first performance of Haydn's creation given at the Salle des Nobles in 1800, where she sang the part of the *angel Gabriel* and that of *Eve* with admirable taste and precision. She has since been replaced by Mrs. *Liedbeck*, née Munck de Rosenskjöld,⁴¹⁴ whose astonishing talent is often compared to Mrs. Catalani's for its scope and strength. She knows how to overcome the greatest difficulties without sacrificing the expression of the song for the sole glory of the execution. These two ladies have often had the kindness to sing for the poor or the deaf they have seen around them,⁴¹⁵ the blessings of relieved misfortune join the unanimous votes of admiration.⁴¹⁶

Fredenheim and her contemporaries

In 1795, Christina Fredenheim was admitted to the Royal Academy of Music alongside Margareta Alströmer and Anna Brita Wendelius.⁴¹⁷ Fredenheim was frequently selected from the Academy membership to participate in charitable concerts.⁴¹⁸ She was slated to perform in the benefit concert for the victims of the Enköping attack, an event

⁴¹¹ Roskildes Historie, "Fredenheim, Boström, Mennander, Læstadius."

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Brita Catharina Lidbeck (1788–1864), a next generation female musician inducted into the Royal Academy of Music in 1827. See Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter."

⁴¹⁵ Christina had a personal interest in helping the disabled, as her brother Philip Bernhard Hebbe (1764–1834) was deaf. See Forsstrand, 32.

⁴¹⁶ "Parmi les amateurs, qui se sont distingués, M^{me} de *Fredenheim*, née Hebbé, mérite une place supérieure. C'est à sa superbe voix, fraîche et belle, qu'on a dû la première exécution de la création de Haydn, donnée à la salle des nobles en 1800, où elle chanta avec un goût et une précision admirable, la partie de l'*ange Gabriel* et celle d'*Eve*. Depuis elle a été remplacée par M^{me} *Liedbeck*, née Munck de Rosenskjöld, dont le talent étonnant est souvent comparé, pour son étendue et sa force, à celui de M^{me} Catalani. Elle sait vaincre les plus grandes difficultés, sans sacrifier l'expression du chant à la seule gloire de l'exécution. Ces deux dames ont souvent eu la bonté de chanter ou pour les pauvres ou pour les sourds-muets, elles ont vu autour d'elles, les bénédictions du malheur soulagé se réunir aux suffrages unanimes de l'admiration." Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [253] Section 2: 71.

⁴¹⁷ Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter." Anna Brita Wendelius's life is explored later in this chapter.

⁴¹⁸ Mörner, 175.

previously mentioned, alongside amateur musicians Alströmer and Marianne Pollet, and professional artists Caroline Müller and Christofer Karsten.⁴¹⁹ Friction arose between Müller and Fredenheim, ultimately leading Fredenheim to withdraw from the event.⁴²⁰

— Incorporating Swedish amateur aristocrats

Figure 3.16 illustrates Margareta Alströmer’s network, encompassing primary and potential links that vary in nature and intensity. Central to this network is the Royal Academy of Music, which serves as a vital conduit, connecting Alströmer to both amateur and professional individuals within the Swedish music scene. Genseric Brandel’s correspondence further confirms Alströmer’s active engagement within this network, detailing her performances alongside several of these individuals on at least one occasion.

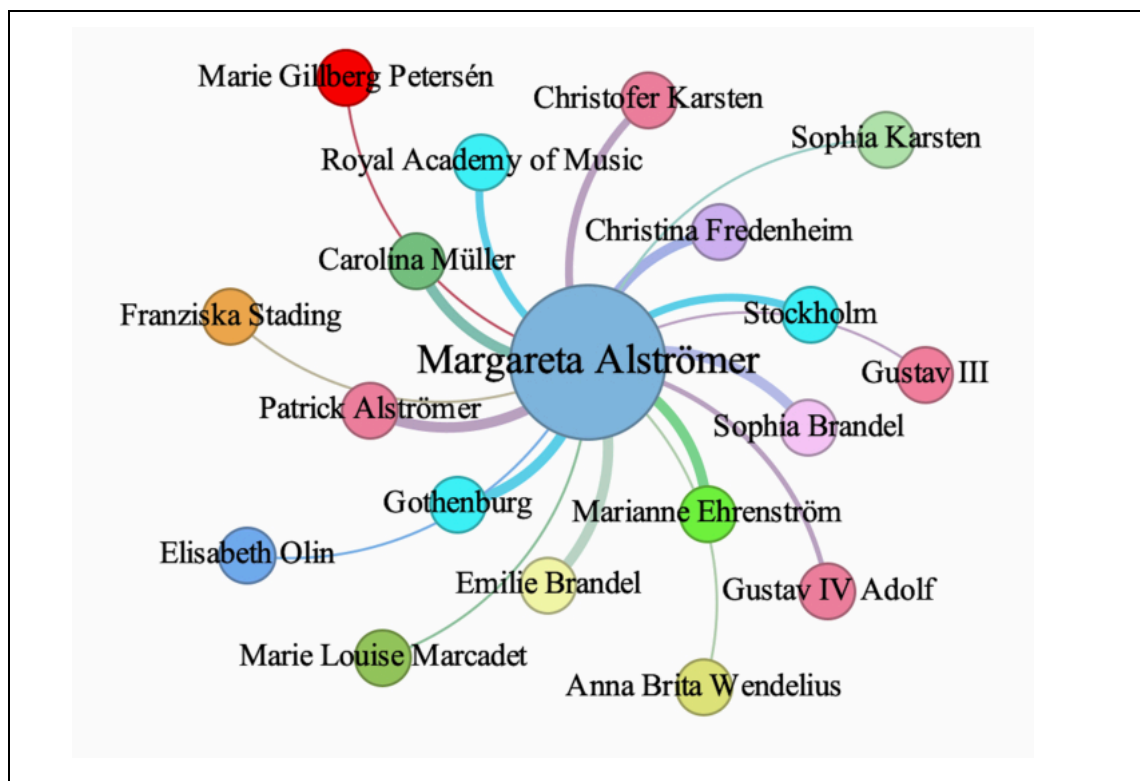


Fig. 3.16. Margareta Alströmer network

⁴¹⁹ See p. 325; and Mörner, 174–175.

⁴²⁰ “Du vet väl at ifrån begynnelsen var det ärnat at fru Fredenheim och Fröken Pollett skulle siunga Acerbis nya Duett. Skjöldebrand har äfven som du väl också vet componerat en Cantate som äfven skall exequeras på denna Concert, til denna Cantates afsiungande har han skaffat sig fru Müller, jämte Karsten och Stenborg (utom Choeurerne som äro Musicaliska Academiens Elever). När fru Müller fått höra at äfven fru Fredenheim skulle siunga, har hon, vare sig af Jalousie eller af Gud vet hvad för slag, yttrat sig *mindre skickligt* derom, hvilket fru Fredenheim fått veta och blifvit deraf stött, samt förklarar at hon aldeles icke ville dela fru Müllers ära, det vill säga at hon ej ville siunga. vid detta beslut har hon blifvit ständandes oagadt alla underhandlingar och tentativer [!] (Excerpt, letter from Genseric Brandel to Bernhard Crusell, December 27–30, 1779). (Quoted) Mörner, 171–172.

The documentation also indicates that members of the Music Academy sang in the Cantata choir, opening the possibility of interaction with the musicians inducted before 1799, including amateur Anna Brita Wendelius and professionals Elisabeth Olin, Marie Louise Marcadet, Lovisa Augusti, and Franziska Stading.⁴²¹ Therefore, the strength of these connections is likely to increase as more information is uncovered.

Examining female musicians' networks is a fascinating and essential area of research, particularly when using digital tools such as Gephi to uncover and visualize their connections. Network analysis not only enhances the visibility of historically underrepresented figures but also provides valuable insights into their roles within broader musical and social landscapes. By mapping these relationships, researchers can identify key intermediaries, trace collaboration patterns, and highlight the influence of peripheral figures who might otherwise remain overlooked.

An example of this phenomenon is Christina Fredenheim. Despite the limited documentation of her life and achievements, her network in Figure 3.17 reveals ties to both professional and amateur musicians.

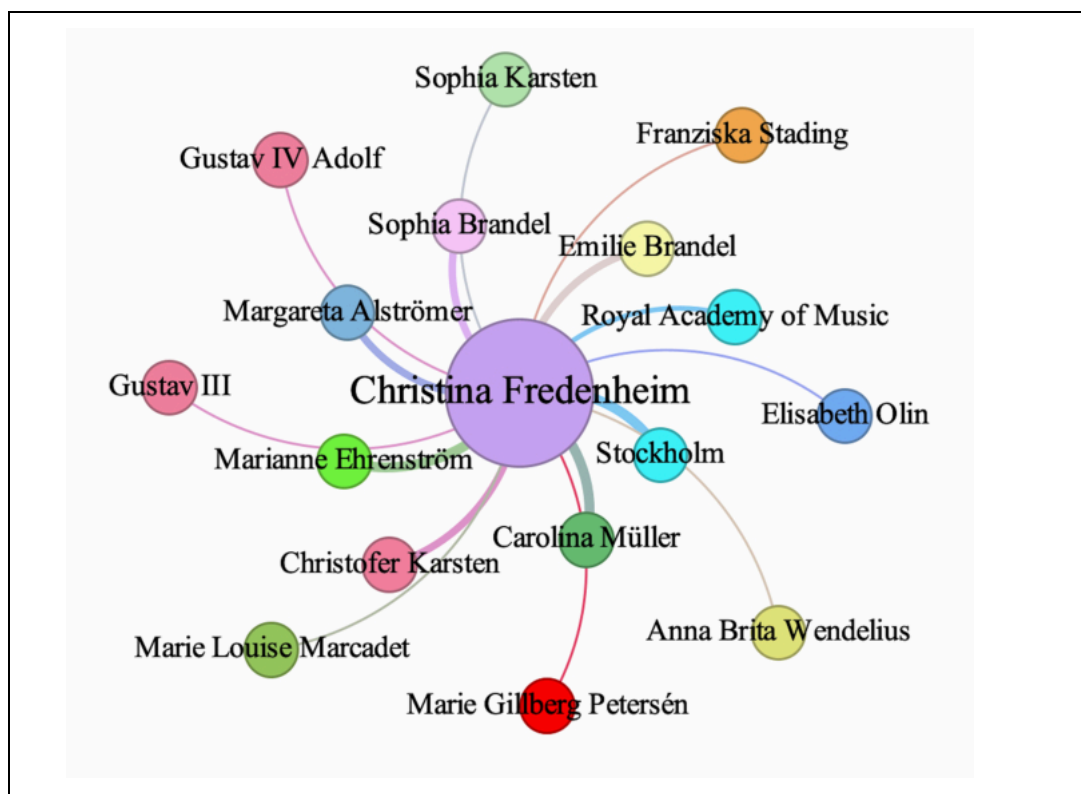


Fig. 3.17. Christina Fredenheim network

⁴²¹ Ibid., 174; and Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.” The profile sketches of Wendelius, Augusti, and Stading are forthcoming.

While her affiliation with the Royal Academy of Music suggests a link to formalized musical institutions, performance-based relationships further connect her with both established professionals and independent amateurs. These overlapping connections challenge rigid classifications and demonstrate the fluidity of musical engagement in eighteenth-century Sweden.

The Swedish composite network in Figure 3.18 continues to evolve with the inclusion of Alströmer’s connections.

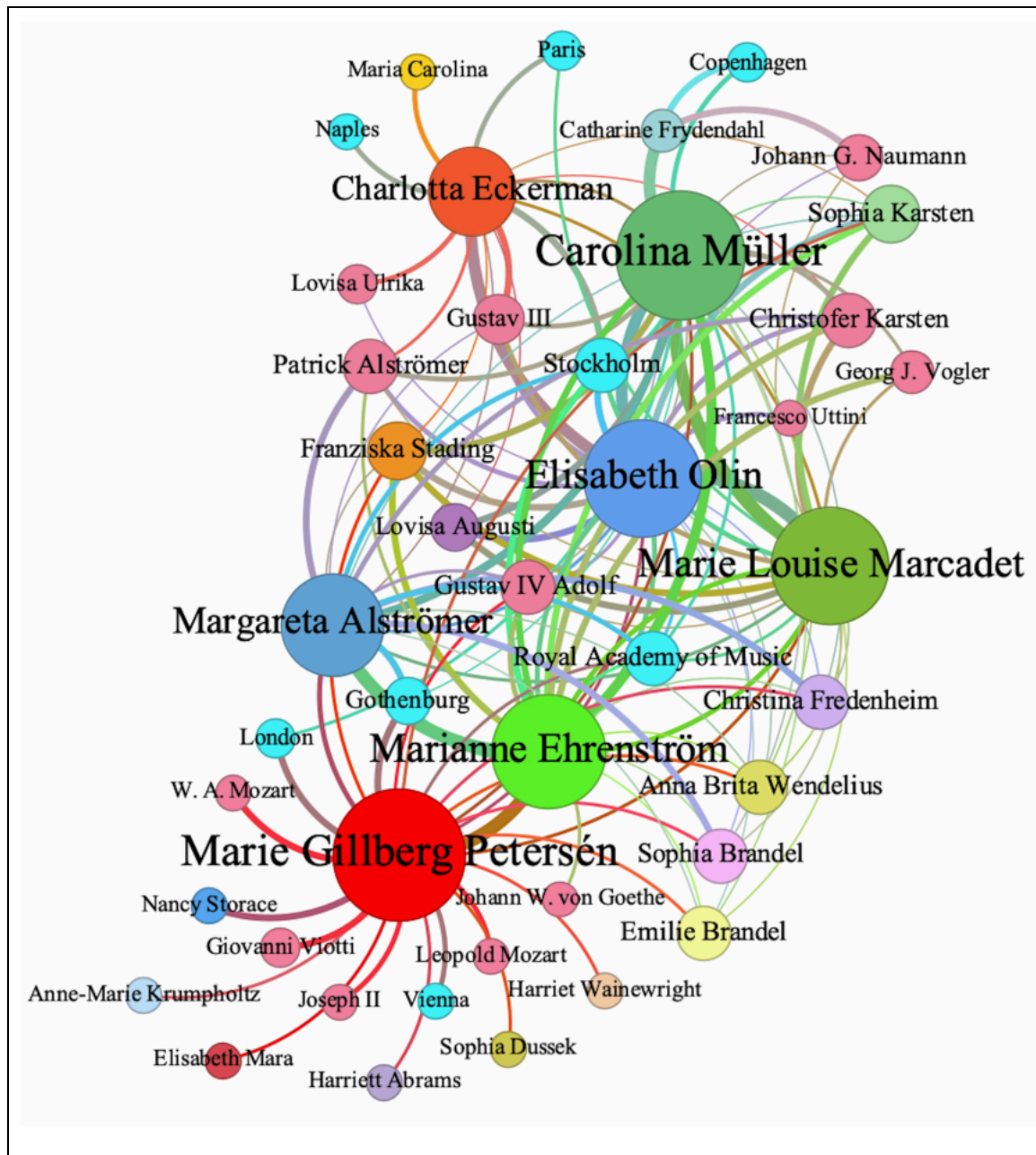


Fig. 3.18. Swedish composite network with Margareta Alströmer

Notably, this network forms a single, significant cluster, suggesting that individuals primarily maintained ties within Stockholm despite evidence of travel. Notwithstanding this centralization, Charlotta Eckerman and Marie Gillberg Petersén lead two distinct peripheral groups. However, even though Eckerman and Petersén have numerous connections outside the principal cluster, they remain integral parts of this unified network. Moreover, the nodes associated with previously discussed figures are relatively similar in size, with Ehrenström's and Alströmer's nodes nearly matching those of the professionals. In contrast, Petersén's node is considerably larger due to her extensive travels and connections. The width of the edges further suggests a close-knit community. While maintaining at least one prominent link to a more central actor, these two have several weaker or potential connections.

Beyond illustrating the interconnectedness within the Royal Academy of Music, this network reveals intricate layers of collaboration and influence among its members. Primary links denote strong, direct associations, highlighting how figures such as Caroline Müller, Marianne Ehrenström, and Margareta Alströmer bridged the gap between amateurs and professionals in musical performance. These connections enriched their time's cultural landscape and provide fertile ground for further exploration into their artistic collaborations and contributions to Swedish music history.

Analysis of Figure 3.19 reveals a discernible pattern: professionals tend to cluster on one side of the map, while amateurs occupy the other. However, despite this spatial distinction, the groups are not isolated. Direct links exist between them, often mediated by key peripheral figures such as Patrick Alströmer, Christofer Karsten, and Georg Vogler. These individuals are crucial bridges, facilitating interaction and knowledge exchange between musical spheres. As the network expands, the edges connecting the nodes become increasingly prominent, ultimately forming a densely interwoven cluster.

This visualization underscores the significance of social networks in shaping musical careers, particularly for women whose contributions have been historically marginalized. By reconstructing these intricate relationships, we gain a more comprehensive understanding of the collaborative and interconnected nature of eighteenth-century Swedish musical culture.

Documentation about the last three Swedish amateurs is notably sparse. The Brandel sisters, Emilie and Sophia, have been previously referenced in the context of their brother's correspondence and the 1799 concert. Our concluding amateur musician,

Anna Brita Wendelius, offers a new dimension for further investigation, specifically regarding the Utile Dulci Society of musicians and composers.

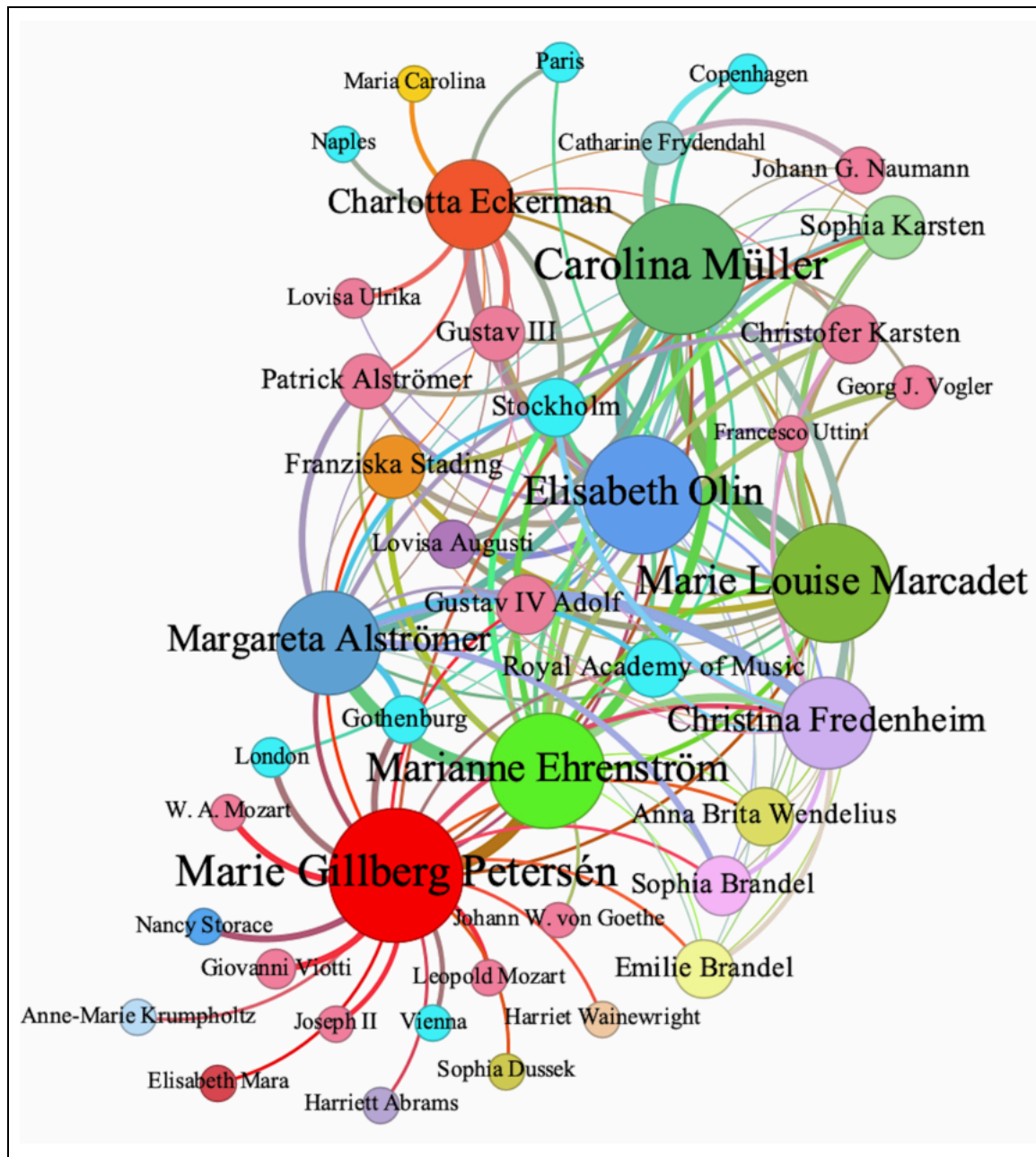


Fig. 3.19. Swedish composite network with Christina Fredenheim

3.10 Sophia and Emilie Brandel (1773–1858, 1780–1863)

Sophia and Emilie Brandel were known for their exceptional vocal abilities.⁴²² They were born to Henrik Gottfrid Brandel (1739–1838), a diplomat and amateur musician, and Maria Margaret Wolters (1748–1791).⁴²³ The family resided in Algiers,

⁴²² Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [255] Section 2: 73.

⁴²³ Jonsson and Ivarsdotter, 2: 229, 373, 402.

where Henrik served as the Swedish Consular Secretary in 1764 and later as Consul General.⁴²⁴ Although born in Algiers, along with their brothers, violinists Gustaf (1776–1820) and Genseric (1782–1833), the family eventually relocated to Sweden following their mother’s demise in 1791.⁴²⁵ Another sister, Lovisa (1769–1796), was married to the Danish Consul in Algiers, Johan Wilhelm Rehbinder (1748–1820).⁴²⁶

Interestingly, Sophia and Emilie performed with other musicians in this chapter and were apparently exceptionally talented. However, little is known about their lives and contributions, accentuating a gap in historical records that warrants further scholarly attention. Despite this, their involvement in performances with well-known musicians signifies they were held in high regard within the musical community.

The Brandels, amateurs, and professionals

In 1801, Sophia, Emilie, and their brothers were all welcomed into the Royal Academy of Music following their father’s admission in 1795.⁴²⁷ Marianne Ehrenström praises the talents of the Brandel sisters, who participated in the 1799 amateur concert, as noted previously.⁴²⁸

Misses Brandel will allow me to mention them as excellent singers, whose Italian method has given the greatest pleasure to all who have had the advantage of hearing them.⁴²⁹

This concert explicitly demonstrates the interconnectivity of the Swedish network.⁴³⁰ Moreover, the collaboration between the Brandels, Christina Fredenheim, and Christofer Karsten in presenting a private performance of Mozart’s Requiem at P. Moréno’s residence in 1802 emphasizes the fusion of amateur and professional talents.⁴³¹ These concerts illuminate the interwoven relationships among these musicians and the synergistic dynamics prevalent in this musical milieu.

⁴²⁴ Knut Lundmark, “Henric Gottfrid Brandel” *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; and Mörner, 168.

⁴²⁵ Before relocating to Sweden, the Brandels lived in Livorno, Italy, for a year in 1792 when Algiers declared war on Sweden. *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ C. M. V Rehbinder, *Ätten Rehbinder genom åtta sekler* (Stockholm: Nye Nordiske Forlag, 1925), 291.

⁴²⁷ Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien, “Protokoll 1801: October 21, 1801,” 377 [5]; and “Protokoll 1795: April 8 1795,” 7.8 [2].

⁴²⁸ Ehrenström, [255] 2: 73.

⁴²⁹ “M^lles *Brandel* voudront permettre que je les cite comme d’excellentes chanteuses, dont la méthode italienne a fait le plus grand plaisir á tous ceux qui ont eu l’avantage de les entendre.” *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ Mörner, 169–171.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 169, 172–174.

3.11 Anna Brita Ramklou Wendelius (1741-1804)

Anna Brita Ramklou Wendelius, the final musician discussed in this section on Swedish amateurs, belonged to an older generation of female musicians than most of her contemporaries, except for Elisabeth Olin. Therefore, she was likely familiar with the foreign influences on music in Sweden and the burgeoning trend of musical nationalism discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Anna Brita Ramklou was born on May 9, 1741, but grew up without her parents.⁴³² Her father, Johan Ramklou (n.d.-1741), a Finnish clergyman, passed away shortly after her birth, reportedly amid allegations of political misconduct on October 25 of the same year.⁴³³ Anna's mother, Inga Brita Bromell (1712-1748), also passed away when Anna was just seven, leaving her potentially in the care of her mother's family.⁴³⁴ Regrettably, limited information is available regarding her activities until her union with the affluent merchant Anders Wendelius (n.d.-1793) in 1761.⁴³⁵ Additional references to her include her affiliation with the Royal Academy of Music and her distinction as one of only three known women to be members of the prestigious *Utile Dulci*, a society of musicians and composers.⁴³⁶

Aside from her musical pursuits, Anna Wendelius demonstrated writing proficiency, a skill recognized by poet and playwright Johan Henrik Kellgren.⁴³⁷ In a correspondence, Kellgren informs Abraham Niclas Clewberg that he will request Wendelius's verses for the "President," Axel Peter Gabriel Leijonhufvud (1717-1789), the first member and president of the Royal Academy of Music.⁴³⁸ The President's specific solicitation of her work indicates the high esteem in which Wendelius was held

⁴³² Birger Schöldström, "En kvinnlig medlem af *Utile Dulci*," *Idun: Praktisk veckotidning för kvinnan och hemmet* 51 (Julnummer, 1896): 428.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*; and Matthias Akiander, "Fredrikshamns svenska stadsförsamling." In *Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk*, multiple vols. (Helsinki: Finska Litteratur-sällskapets tryckeri, 1868), 13: 135.

⁴³⁴ Elgenstierna, 1: 623; and Schöldström, "En kvinnlig medlem af *Utile Dulci*," 428.

⁴³⁵ Schöldström, 428.

⁴³⁶ Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter;" and Otto Sylwan, "Till *Utile Dulcis* historia," *Samlaren*, no. 131 (2010): 38–85. The *Utile Dulci*, a prominent society in Swedish culture, served as the precursor to both the Swedish Academy and the Royal Academy of Music. This esteemed organization boasted a large symphony orchestra and mixed choir featuring the most talented musicians of the time. The society held public concerts and competitions, among other events, and played a crucial role in shaping the country's musical landscape. Lagerheim, et al., *Nordisk Familjebok*, 31: 105–108.

⁴³⁷ Kellgren, 48.

⁴³⁸ "Item på Fru Wendelias verser, hvarom Præsidenten isynnerhet anmodat mig." (Excerpt, letter from Kellgren to Clewberg, April 12, 1776) *Ibid.*

for her writing abilities.⁴³⁹ Moreover, she was one of only five female members of the Apollini Sacra community, a literary offshoot of the Utile Dulci.⁴⁴⁰

In addition to her aptitude for writing, Wendelius revealed talent as a composer and singer and was known to perform in public.⁴⁴¹ The Gothenburg newspaper, *Hwad Nytt? Hwad Nytt?* reported one of her performances in 1777.⁴⁴²

Stockholm, May 9th. Last Wednesday, in the community of Utile Dulci, the Abbot Michelessi, who was highly regarded for his great genius and fine many worthy qualities, was presented. [...] Both before and after the ceremony, a rather beautiful and moving music was performed, when Mrs. Wendelius, so highly praised for her pleasant voice, sang an aria written by herself.⁴⁴³

According to the Utile Dulci protocols, Anna Wendelius continued to write verses and music, demonstrating her active involvement in the artistic community.⁴⁴⁴ She also contributed to decorating the order's premises, enhancing the organization's illustrious reputation.⁴⁴⁵ Her dedication was duly recognized in 1783, and she was elevated to the highest echelon of membership within the Utile Dulci.⁴⁴⁶ The subsequent year witnessed another display of her talents as she composed and performed a recitative and an aria during her husband's investiture as an honorary member of the Utile Dulci, earning admiration from her contemporaries.⁴⁴⁷

The existing biographical information on Anna Brita Wendelius ends here. However, after a comprehensive examination of the Stockholm parish archives, I have unearthed further insights into the Wendelius family. Anna Brita Ramklou married

⁴³⁹ Cultural historian Birger Schöldström (1840–1910) quotes a recitative Wendelius wrote in 1775 for Gustav III's birthday celebration. See Schöldström, 428.

⁴⁴⁰ See Ann Öhrberg, "Fasa för all flärd, konstlan och förställning': Den ideala retor[n] inom 1700-talets nya offentlighet," *Samlaren*, no.131 (2010): 59–61.

⁴⁴¹ Öhrberg, "Fasa för all flärd, konstlan och förställning," 60.

⁴⁴² Anna Rosén, *Hwad Nytt? Hwad Nytt?* (May 21, 1777): 85–86.

⁴⁴³ "Stockholm, d. 9 Maji. Sistlidna Onsdag parenterades, uti Samhället Utile Dulci, öfwer den för sitt stora snille och fine många wärdige egenskaper öfwer alt ansedde Abbé Michelessi. [...] Både före och efter parentationen upfördes en ganska wacker och rörande Musique, då den för sin behageliga röst så högt berömda, Fru Wendelius afsöng en af hånne sjelf författad Aria." (DT) Ibid. (Translation) DeepL, June 28, 2024.

⁴⁴⁴ Öhrberg, 60.

⁴⁴⁵ "Det är hennes nit som väckt dess Bröder. At förskaffa Orden ett prydligare anseende." "Protokoll Tillhörigt Musikaliske Areopagen af Sällskapet Utile Dulci ... den 20 April 1784," vol. 43, KB, s. 15. (Quoted) Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ "Då syster Wendelia gjordt så mycket för Areopagen, så är jag viss att syskonen bemöter detta med erkänsla." (DT) "Protokoll Tillhörigt Musikaliske Areopagen af Sällskapet Utile Dulci ... den 20 April 1784," vol. 43, KB, s. 15. (Quoted) Ibid.

Anders Wendelius, a handelsman [shopkeeper], on November 12, 1761.⁴⁴⁸ The union bore offspring: Anna Catharina (December 9, 1762–n.d.), Catharina Beata (May 13, 1764–December 16, 1766), Johan Gustav (December 21, 1765–June 2, 1767), and Catharina Beata (June 7, 1767–July 18, 1767).⁴⁴⁹ The premature deaths of her three youngest children occurred within a span of seven months, potentially as a consequence of a widespread smallpox epidemic.⁴⁵⁰

Anders Wendelius, a prominent Stockholm merchant renowned for his wealth and influence, was appointed as one of the godfathers to Crown Prince Gustav IV Adolf in 1778, indicating his respected position within society.⁴⁵¹ A year prior, in 1777, Wendelius acquired a farm approximately 20 kilometers outside Stockholm, which he christened “Anneberg” in tribute to his wife.⁴⁵² The Wendelius family retained ownership of Anneberg from 1776 to 1805, during which time they oversaw the construction of the present-day mansion.⁴⁵³

In 1788, Wendelius built a new manor house with a tin roof, containing 5 rooms and a kitchen on the lower floor and 5 rooms on the upper floor. Opposite was built in 1789 a farmhouse with a broken wooden roof on two floors with 8 rooms, kitchen and bakery.⁴⁵⁴

A beautifully inscribed memorial plaque in the courtyard states that Duchess Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta visited Anneberg on May 14, 1790, and was received in a “partially unfinished building” with little salvaged furniture. Fires had ravaged both buildings on the estate in 1778 and 1790, but the gallery connecting them was undamaged and was visited by the princess. The gallery between the houses is said to have been demolished in the early 19th century. The gazebo in Långsundaviken is also thought to date from this time.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁴⁸ Anna Brita Ramklou Wendelius, Stockholm Parish records. Riddarholm Parish [Marriage records]: 324.

⁴⁴⁹ Wendelius, Nicolai Parish [Birth and Baptism records]: 463; and Nicolai Parish [Death records]: 233.

⁴⁵⁰ Peter Skold, “From Inoculation to Vaccination: Smallpox in Sweden in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Population Studies* 50, no. 2 (1996): 247–262.

⁴⁵¹ Öhrberg, 59; *Götheborgs Allehanda* (November 18, 1778): 2; and Johan Snack, “Borgarståndets faddrar vid Gustav IV Adolfs dop den 10 November 1778.”

⁴⁵² Annebergs Historia, par. 2.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ A broken wooden, or mansard, roof is a unique roofing style that features two slopes on each side, with the lower slope being significantly steeper than the upper. This design was created to enhance the functionality of the attic space by providing better lighting and head room.

⁴⁵⁵ “Wendelius uppförde 1788 ny mangårdsbyggnad med plåttak, innehållande 5 rum och kök i nedre och 5 rum i övre våningen. Mitt emot byggdes 1789 ett boningshus med brutet trätak i två våningar med 8 rum, kök och bagarstuga. / En vackert textad minnestavla, som finns på gården, talar om att hertiginnan Hedvig Elisabeth Charlotta besökte Anneberg den 14 maj 1790, hon mottogs i en ”delvis ofullbordad byggnad” med få räddade möbler. Eldsvådor hade härjat gårdens båda byggnader 1778 och

Today, the preserved and operational farm offers a window into the Wendelius family's lifestyle, albeit under new ownership.⁴⁵⁶ It is worth noting that Anna Brita Wendelius was left in a comfortable financial position after her husband's passing.⁴⁵⁷ She departed on October 10, 1804, at the age of 63.⁴⁵⁸

Her husband died in 1793, and it would appear as if she withdrew from Stockholm and the Stockholm life. Gustaf III's son had also gone out. *Utile Dulci* was also just a memory and the former social circle and the former friends dispersed.⁴⁵⁹

Wendelius and the Royal Academy of Music

In 1795, Anna Brita Wendelius achieved distinction as the first non-noble female amateur musician to be admitted into the Royal Academy of Music, becoming its 168th member.⁴⁶⁰ Her induction alongside aristocratic amateurs Margareta Alströmer and Christina Fredenheim underscores her talent and standing within the musical community.⁴⁶¹ Anna's unique position in elite societies like *Utile Dulci* and *Apollini Sacra* highlights her significant yet largely undocumented contributions to Swedish musical heritage. Given her prominent standing within both the social and musical circles, it is reasonable to speculate that Anna Wendelius would have been familiar with other notable amateur and professional female musicians of her time. However, the extent of her interactions and collaborations with these individuals remains uncertain due to the lack of conclusive evidence.

Wendelius's admission to the Royal Academy of Music also signals a moment of institutional permeability, in which exceptional musical ability could, at least temporarily, outweigh rigid distinctions of rank and birth. Her case illustrates how amateur status did not preclude meaningful participation in elite musical networks, particularly for women whose access to professional careers was structurally constrained.

1790, medan det galleri som förband dem var oskadat och besågs av prinsessan. Galleriet mellan husen lär ha rivits redan i början av 1800-talet. Lusthuset i Långsundaviken tros också härstamma från den här tiden." See Annebergs Historia, par. 3–4. (Translated) DeepL, June 27, 2024.

⁴⁵⁶ See Anneberg: Anno 1795.

⁴⁵⁷ Annebergs Historia, par. 6.

⁴⁵⁸ Schöldström, 428.

⁴⁵⁹ "Hennes make afled 1793, och det vill synas, som om hon därefter dragit sig undan Stockholm och stockholmslifvet. Gustaf III:s sol hade ju dessutom slocknat. *Utile Dulci* var också blott ett minne och den forna umgängeskretsen och de forna vännerna skingrade." Ibid. (Translated) DeepL, June 27, 2024.

⁴⁶⁰ Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter."

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. Alströmer and Fredenheim were inducted into the Academy in 1795, as well, along with Henrik Brandel.

— Assimilating the final Swedish amateur musicians

Sophia and Emilie Brandel remain enigmatic figures with negligible documentation about their lives and musicianship. Fortunately, insights from their brother's correspondence provide some context, allowing us to place them within the Royal Academy of Music network. Through this correspondence, we can trace their connections to other musicians in the network, such as Marianne Ehrenström, Margareta Alströmer, Christina Fredenheim, Carolina Müller, and Christofer Karsten, as illustrated in Figure 3.20. The Brandel sisters are linked to the other musicians through the Academy, suggesting potential joint performances yet to be uncovered.

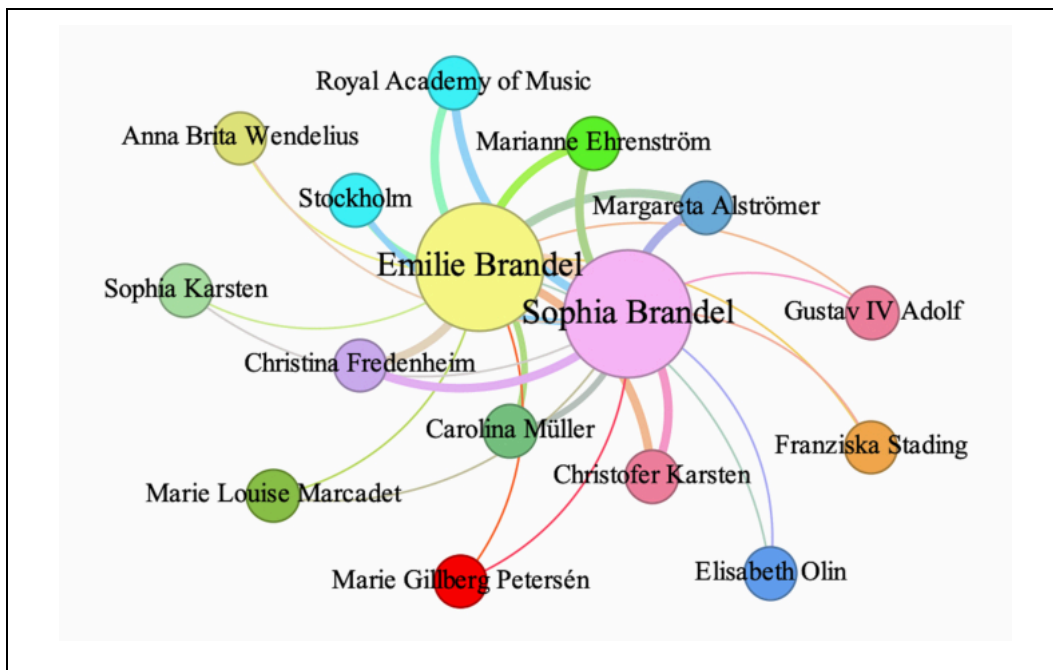


Fig. 3.20. Emilie and Sophia Brandel network

Anna Brita Wendelius's network in Figure 3.21, much like that of Marie Gillberg Petersén's in Figure 3.14, reveals a vast circle of potential connections within Stockholm's musical community. As a member of two of the city's most distinguished music societies, the Royal Academy of Music and Utile Dulci, in addition to the prestigious literary Apollini Sacra, one would anticipate numerous primary links. Nevertheless, the limited number of such associations can be attributed to inadequate historical records. The disparity between Wendelius's documented institutional affiliations and the thinness of her documented personal connections illustrates a persistent archival challenge: membership rosters survive where correspondence and diaries do not.

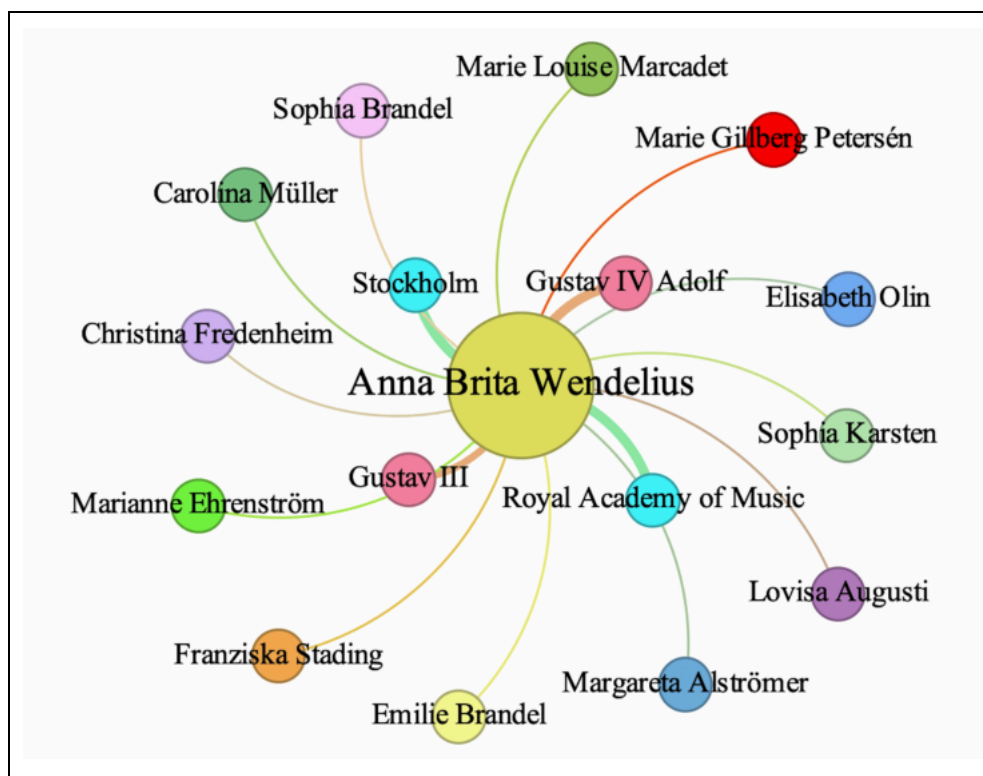


Fig. 3.21. Anna Brita Wendelius network

No new actors have been added to the network depicted in Figures 3.22 and 3.23. The network structure has evolved toward greater demarcation, though it still manifests clear distinctions between amateur and professional musicians. However, there is one exception—Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén. She not only transcended national boundaries but also blurred the lines between amateur musicianship in Sweden and professional musicianship in London and Germanic cities. Despite this exception, the community remains tightly connected, with numerous weaker links contributing to the network's overall density. The thicker edges within this cluster signify strong ties among the actors, delineating a boundary line between professional musicians above the edge, connecting Alströmer and Fredenheim, and amateur musicians below.

In the Martines and Mara networks, male actors held significant sway over the links between professionals and amateurs. However, interactions and shared performances among female musicians in Sweden have led to more direct, intertwined relationships, relegating male influences to the periphery. Furthermore, a salient observation is the relatively balanced representation of amateur musicians within the network. However, the attention and documentation directed toward Marianne Ehrenström and Margareta Alströmer have resulted in denser connections and larger network nodes for these two.

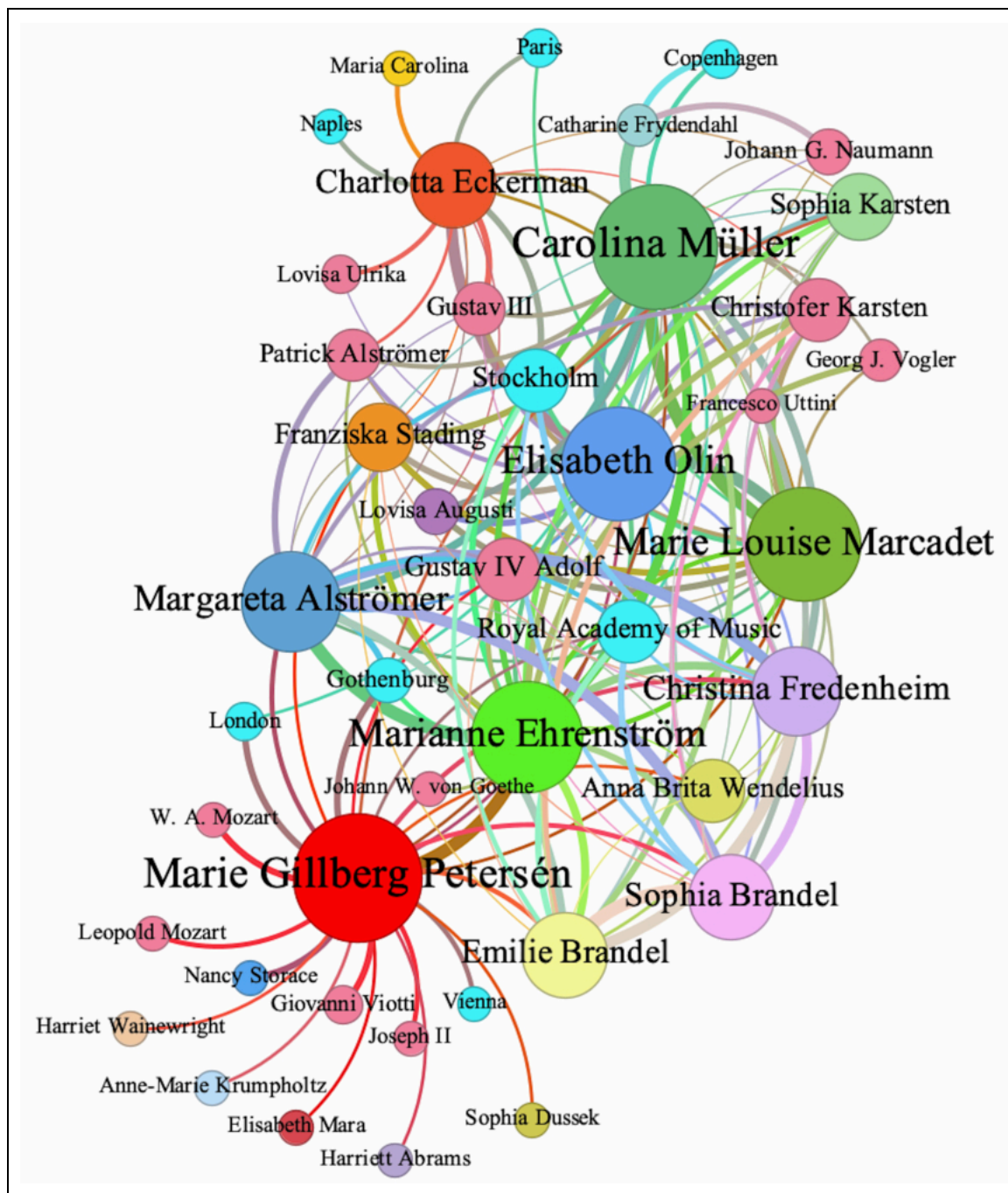


Fig. 3.22. Swedish composite network with Emilie and Sophia Brandel

Notably, my recent revelations concerning Petersén and the consolidation of her three personas into a singular entity have substantially expanded the dimension of her node, underscoring her international travels before arriving in Sweden. The Brandel sisters and Anna Brita Wendelius enhance the networks' dynamics, and an unmistakable circular cluster is beginning to form. It will be compelling to observe if any novel patterns arise as we transition from amateur musicians residing in Sweden to foreign-born professionals.

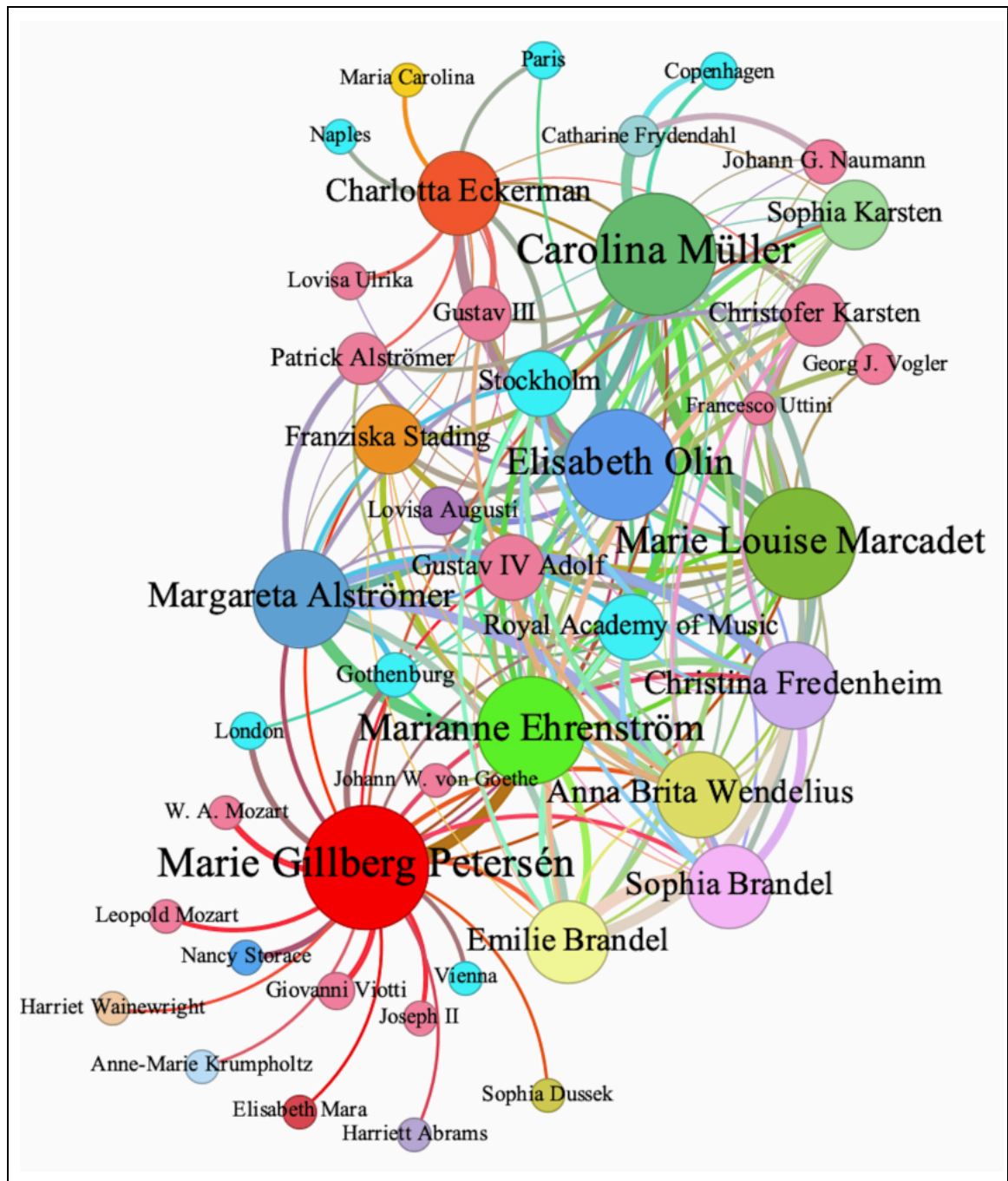


Fig. 3.23. Swedish composite network with Anna Brita Wendelius

***D. Foreign-born professionals—Augusti, Karsten, Stading—
primary, potential***

Acknowledging the invaluable contributions of three additional foreign-born professionals in establishing the Royal Swedish Opera is essential. Without their expertise and skills, it is doubtful that the theatre would have come to fruition.

Is it impossible to engage Mr. Berg and Miss Schoultz? — Otherwise, I do not see how the theatre can avoid engaging half-grown foreigners. Gustav

III's Swedish national theatre began with the *Danish* Mrs. Müller, the *French* Mrs. Marcadet, the *German* Miss Stading, the *German* Mrs. Augusti, and the *Polish* Mrs. Karsten. These ladies occupied our stage and maintained it from the establishment of the Grand Opera and the simultaneous departure of Mrs. Olin in the early 1780s until 1800, when Mrs. Desguillon's school had time to proclaim Miss Wässelia with the others. During its 25 years, Inga Åberg was the only Swedish singer who left a memory, for Miss Liljegren etc. were somewhat worse than our present choristers.⁴⁶²

3.12 Lovisa Sofia Salomon Augusti (1756–1790)—Germanic

Lovisa Augusti, originally named Ester Salomon, was the offspring of Israël Salomon (n.d.), an itinerant Jewish musician from Germany.⁴⁶³ In 1766, Ester, aged ten, along with her father and her brother Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Salomoni (c. 1752–1812), arrived in Varberg, Sweden.⁴⁶⁴ Supported by local musicians, the family held two successful concerts at the residence of Varberg's mayor, Johan Pyhlson (1696–1774),⁴⁶⁵ where Ester sang Italian arias, Carl played the violin, and their father performed on various musical instruments.⁴⁶⁶ The concerts were well-received, prompting Ester and her family to proceed to Gothenburg.⁴⁶⁷

In January 1767, an advertisement in the *Götheborgske Spionen* announced that a Jewish girl was performing an aria at a concert hosted by the cellist Anton Uriot (n.d.—

⁴⁶² “Är det omöjligt att engagera herr Berg och fröken Schoultz? — Annars ser jag icke huru Tit. skall kunna undgå att engagera halvvuxna utlänningar. Gustav III:s *svenska* nationalteater begyntes med den *danska* fru Müller, den *franska* fru Marcadet, den *tyska* m:ll Stading, den *tyska* Fru Augusti och den *polska* fru Karsten. Dessa damer ockuperade vår scen och uppehöll den ifrån Stora operans instiktelse och fru Olins liktidiga avgång i början av 1780-talet till år 1800, då fru Desguillons skola hann utkläcka m:ll Wässelia *cum ceteris*. Under dess 25 år var Inga Åberg den enda svenska sångerska, som lämnat ett minne, ty mamseller Liljegren etc. voro något sämre än våra närvarande korister.” (DT) [Letter Gustaf Carl Fredrik Löwenhielm (1771–1856), director of the Royal Swedish Opera and the Royal Dramatic Theatre 1812–1818, to Bernhard von Beskow (1796–1868), the director 1828–1832] (Quoted Nordensvan, 254. (Translation) DeepL, June 28, 2024. The musicians mentioned in the quote, aside from those highlighted in this chapter, include Isak Albert Berg (1803–1886), Johanna von Schoultz (1813–1863), Anne Marie Milan Desguillons (1753–1829), Maria Johann (Marie Jeanette) Wässelius (1784–1853), Inga Åberg (1773–1837), Sofia Ulrika Liljegren (1765–1795).

⁴⁶³ Eva Helen Ulvros, “Lovisa Sofia Augusti,” tr. by Alexia Grosjean (published online, 2020). Lovisa's mother is unknown.

⁴⁶⁴ Birger Schöldström, “Förbiskymtande skuggor ur förra seklets kvinnovärld,” *Idun: Praktisk veckotidning för kvinnan och hemmet* (Oct. 9, 1891): 325. Varberg is approximately 80 kilometers south of Gothenburg.

⁴⁶⁵ Viktor Millqvist, ed., *Svenska riksdagens borgarstånd, 1719–1866* (Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet; P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1911), 83.

⁴⁶⁶ Schöldström, “Förbiskymtande skuggor ur förra seklets kvinnovärld,” 235.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

1785), Duke Carl’s concertmaster from 1773–1785.⁴⁶⁸ A month later, she held a solo concert under the pseudonym Mamsell Salomoni, having previously been known as Judinna [Jewess].⁴⁶⁹ In March of that same year, Ester Salomoni converted to Lutheranism in compliance with the Church Act of 1786, which mandated that everyone in Sweden adhere to the Lutheran faith.⁴⁷⁰ On St. Mary’s Day in 1767, she was baptized in Gothenburg Cathedral and christened “Lovisa Sophia.”⁴⁷¹ Her godparents were the cream of Gothenburg society, including Lord Mayor Bousck, Count Sparre, and several prominent merchants and their wives.⁴⁷² Lovisa’s brother, Carl, also converted to Christianity, although the date is unknown.⁴⁷³ The siblings became two of the most distinguished performers of Gustav III’s musical milieu.⁴⁷⁴

In 1773, at the age of 17, Lovisa married the violinist Friedrich Benedict Augusti (c1741–1790) at the court chapel in Stockholm.⁴⁷⁵ She debuted at the Bollhuset, singing the prologue to Gluck’s opera *Orpheus and Eurydice* on November 25th of the same year.⁴⁷⁶

The opera’s third novelty “*Orpheus and Eurydice*” was preceded by a prologue on the occasion of Duke Karl’s engagement, in which a new star in the Swedish theatre sky appeared for the first time in the form of Apollo. It was the seventeen-year-old Mrs. Sofia Augusti, whose beautiful voice and pleasant appearance immediately took the audience by storm. “You thought you saw a Venus,” it was said, “but as soon as she opened her mouth, you thought you heard an Apollo.” “She can justifiably—says another contemporary—be considered one of our first and best singers.”⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁶⁸ *Göteborgske Spionen* 1 (January 3, 1767): 8; and Patrik Vretblad, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1918), 295.

⁴⁶⁹ *Göteborgske Spionen* 8 (February 21, 1767): 64.

⁴⁷⁰ Immigrants observing foreign religions were placed under intense restrictions. See Jonas Alwall, “Religious Liberty in Sweden: An Overview,” *Journal of Church and State* 42, no. 1 (Winter, 2000): 149.

⁴⁷¹ Schöldström, “Förbiskymtande,” 235.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.* “Mayor Bousck” is probably Anders Hansson Busck (1694–1782) and “Count Sparre” would potentially be Gustaf Adolf Sparre (1746–1794).

⁴⁷³ Ulvros, “Lovisa Sofia Augusti,” par. 1.

⁴⁷⁴ Schöldström, 235.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Friedrich Augusti may have come from Germany. For additional information, see Ulvros, par. 2.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷ “Operans tredje nyhet “*Orpheus och Eurydice*” föregicks af en prolog med anledning af hertig Karls förlofning, där i Apollos gestalt en ny stjärna på den svenska teaterhimmelen för första gången uppenbarade sig. Det var den sjuttonåriga fru Sofia Augusti, som genom sin vackra röst och behagliga apparition med ens tog publiken med storm. “Man trodde sig se en Venus,” hette det, “men så snart hon öppnade sin mun, tyckte man sig höra en Apollo.” “Hon kan med skäl — säger en annan samtida — anses för en af våra första och bästa sångerskor.”” (DT) Personne, 114–115. (Translation) DeepL, June 29, 2024.

Following her appointment in 1773, she swiftly ascended to a tenured position.⁴⁷⁸ Alongside a salary commensurate with that of her husband, a court chamber musician, she was awarded a lifetime contract and granted exclusive access to the court's carriages and other perks.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, she had the authority to dictate her own terms, including the stipulation that her performances be conducted under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Music.⁴⁸⁰ Unlike the other musical couples examined in this study, the Augustis never performed together.⁴⁸¹ It appears that Lovisa's marriage was anything but happy.⁴⁸² In 1775, she and her husband shared a home with her brother, Carl, and by 1780, the couple had separated and were living on opposite sides of the Storkyrkan church.⁴⁸³ In 1788, Friedrich Augusti fled to Norway with cellist Bror Carl Höke (n.d.) to evade his creditors.⁴⁸⁴

Lovisa Augusti was described as a petite, pretty, and charming musician renowned for her beautiful voice that delighted audiences.⁴⁸⁵ From 1774 to 1786, she performed in over thirty operas and concerts.⁴⁸⁶ One particularly memorable performance was as "Sällheten" [Bliss] in the prologue to Naumann's *Amphion*, which inspired a poetic admirer to compose the following verse in homage:

What gentleness, tenderness, and grace
In your clear voice is revealed!
Whose tone is raised with the rules of art
And defies the light of Orphei.
Olympus is pleased at thy sight
And is brought to silence
By the sound of thy breath.⁴⁸⁷

Lovisa Augusti's last solo performance was at a charity concert for the Seraphim

⁴⁷⁸ Schöldström, "Förbiskymtande," 235. Lovisa's brother, Carl, was employed as a violinist in the court orchestra. Ulvros, "Lovisa Sofia Augusti," par. 3.

⁴⁷⁹ Ulvros, "Lovisa Sofia Augusti," par. 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., par. 4.

⁴⁸² Ibid., par. 5.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ For more information on Augusti's escape, see Ulvros, par. 6.

⁴⁸⁵ Levertin, 14.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.; In the Operan database, Lovisa is listed as "S. Augusti," using her middle name, Sophia. See Operan. "Repertoire Archive." Vretblad, *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet*, 180–237.

⁴⁸⁷ "Hvad mildhet, ömhet och behag, / Uti din klara stämma röjes! / Hvar ton med konstens reglor höjes / Och trotsar Orphei luteslag. / Olympen vid din blick förnöjes / Och till en tystnad nederböjes / Vid ljudet af ditt andedrag." (Quoted) Fredrik August Dahlgren, *Förteckning öfver svenska skådespel uppförda på Stockholms theatrar 1737–1863...* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1866), 432. (Translation) DeepL, June 29, 2024.

Hospital on March 7, 1790, just three months before her untimely death on June 25th.⁴⁸⁸ It is believed that she was only 34 years old at the time of her passing.⁴⁸⁹ Her estate inventory reveals that she was childless, and her husband's whereabouts were unknown.⁴⁹⁰ Her only identified relative was her brother, Carl Salomoni, the first violinist in the court chapel.⁴⁹¹ Interestingly, Marianne Ehrenström says nothing about Lovisa Augusti, and there is no known portrait of this prominent singer other than a silhouette.⁴⁹²

Augusti and her professional colleagues

In February 1788, Lovisa Augusti was elected as a member of the Royal Academy of Music alongside her colleagues Caroline Müller and Franziska Stading.⁴⁹³ At the Opera, Augusti often served as an understudy to Elisabeth Olin when Olin was unable to perform due to illness or maternity leave for her six children.⁴⁹⁴ While there were no significant conflicts between the two, Olin was displeased when Augusti received comparable acclaim.⁴⁹⁵ Notable tensions surfaced after Augusti assumed the prima donna's roles for a year while Olin was ill; upon Olin's return and demand for a higher salary, Augusti expressed her displeasure by making "åtskilliga sura miner" [several sour faces].⁴⁹⁶ Though there were no explicit repercussions, her reaction was duly noted.⁴⁹⁷ When Elisabeth Olin retired in 1784, she was not succeeded by her understudy, Lovisa Augusti, but by the Danish mezzo-soprano Carolina Müller.⁴⁹⁸ Augusti primarily assumed secondary roles with Olin, Müller, Franziska Stading, Marie Louise Marcadet, Sophia Karsten, and Charlotte Eckerman.⁴⁹⁹

3.13 **Mariane Sophia Stebnowska Karsten (1753–1848)**—Polish

Sophia Stebnowska Karsten, a Polish opera singer who thrived in Sweden, is a compelling example of the challenges inherent in researching the lives of historical

⁴⁸⁸ Ulvros, "Lovisa Sofia Augusti," par. 7.

⁴⁸⁹ Lovisa Augusti's birthdate is alternately listed as 1751 and 1756, but it has never been definitively confirmed. Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Schöldström, "Förbiskymtande," 235.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² The silhouette was owned by the provost of the German parish of Lüdecke, a collector who privately owned the most extensive single portrait collection in Sweden. Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter."

⁴⁹⁴ Ulvros, par. 4.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 120.

⁴⁹⁶ Gjörwell, *En stockholmskrönika ur C. C/Gjörwells brev*, 143.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Nordensvan, 18, and Levertin, 18.

⁴⁹⁹ Dahlgren, 65; Nordensvan, 16; Personne, 121, 132; and Vretblad, 180–237.

women. Despite her status as a prominent talent at the Royal Swedish Opera in Stockholm for over two decades, existing literature only briefly mentions her achievements.⁵⁰⁰ Consequently, a significant portion of the existing information about Sophia is derived from her spouse, Christofer Karsten, reputedly one of the greatest opera singers in Swedish history.⁵⁰¹

Sophia arrived in Sweden from Paris as a companion of the British ambassador, Sir Thomas Wroughton (n.d.–1787), during his deployment in 1778.⁵⁰² In 1781, Sophia's marriage to Karsten elicited disappointment from Wroughton, who was rumored to have been romantically involved with her.⁵⁰³ As a wedding present, Gustav III gave the Karsten couple the Kanton Villa I on the grounds of Drottningholm Castle, where the family lived until 1870.⁵⁰⁴ The Karstens had two daughters, Sophie Hedvig Karsten (1783–1862) and Elisabeth Charlotta Karsten (1789–1856), both talented ballerinas and artists.⁵⁰⁵ Sophia later became the grandmother to Marie Taglioni, Comtesse de Voisins (1804–1884), one of the most celebrated ballerinas of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰⁶ Mariane Sophia Stebnowska Karsten died at the age of ninety-five in 1848, having witnessed the successes of her daughters and granddaughter.⁵⁰⁷

Sophia, a highly skilled harpist and vocalist, was engaged at the Royal Opera in 1782 and granted a lifetime contract in 1790.⁵⁰⁸ Despite actor-turned-musicologist Nils Edvard Personne (1850–1928) claiming that Sophia's voice was insignificant, she

⁵⁰⁰ Jonsson and Ivarsdotter, 2: 431. To avoid confusion, she is referenced as Sophia throughout her profile.

⁵⁰¹ Vjera Katalinić, "Models of Performances of Travelling Virtuosi in the Period of Classicism: Giornovichi in Stockholm," in *Music in Society: The Collection of Papers*, ed. by Amra Bosnić and Naida Hukić (Sarajevo: Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo, 2016), 328, no. 28.

⁵⁰² Ehrensvärd, 2: 478, 1: 252; and "Sir Thomas Wroughton, K. B. Charles Keen 1778–1789," *Camden Third Series*, no. 39 (1928): 234–260.

⁵⁰³ "Karsten var gift med den såsom sångerska och utmärkt harpospelerska bekanta Mariane Sophie Stebnowska (af polsk nationalitet samt anställd som första aktris och sångerska vid k. Operan från i december 1782 till 1803), som afled på Kanton vid 95 års ålder den 16 februari 1848. Ehrensvärd berättar i sina Dagboksanteckningar, att mademoiselle Stebnowska hade kommit till Stockholm från Paris med engelske ministern sir Thomas Wroughton, som »spelade mycket väl på Davids harpa. Acteuren Karsten gjorde henne då sin cour och friade till henne, och hon blef äfven gift med honom, och som Wroughton intet gärna ville samtycka till att skiljas vid hennes sällskap, lærer det gifvit anledning till harpans förändrade ljud.» Forsstrand, *Sophia Hagman*, 58.

⁵⁰⁴ See Kanton i Drottningholms slottsområde [The National Property Board of Sweden]: par. 15.

⁵⁰⁵ Arvid Ahnfelt and Henrik Bernhard Palmær, eds., *Europas konstnärer* (Norrköping: MW Wallberg & Comp., 1887), 255.

⁵⁰⁶ Nordensvan, 18; Dahlgren, 517–518; Berg and Stålberg, 369–370; Vretblad, 75; Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (1881): 43: 17–23, [Taglioni]; and Katalinić, "Models of Performances of Travelling Virtuosi in the Period of Classicism," 329, no. 29. For more information on Marie Taglioni, see Vannina Olivesi, "Entre plaisir et censure, Marie Taglioni chorégraphe du Second Empire," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire* 46 (2017): 43–64.

⁵⁰⁷ Forsstrand, *Sophia Hagman*, 58.

⁵⁰⁸ Dahlgren, 438; Ehrensvärd, 2: 478; Personne, 144; and Nordensvan, 108.

remained employed by the Opera for an impressive twenty-four years.⁵⁰⁹ Therefore, I posit that Sophia was a talented yet unassuming individual who did not actively seek constant recognition or acclaim. Indeed, Marianne Ehrenström respectfully called Sophia Karsten a “sköna, snälla fru” [beautiful, kind wife].⁵¹⁰ Furthermore, Swedish historian Magnus Jacob Crusenstolpe (1795–1865) describes Sophia as uniquely designed for the court.⁵¹¹

No word, no inflection of voice, no movement of any limb that was not pleasing. Commitment in every expression, every gesture; delicacy and ease in every conversation; choice of topics for those she invited to participate, without neglecting or worrying anyone; present at the first moment, even to the stranger, and equally polite to all, without attaching herself to anyone in particular; without showing coldness to anyone, she was a living summary of the courtly tone of King Gustaf III’s time.⁵¹²

Intriguingly, Sophia Karsten was not granted the honor of being inducted into the Royal Academy of Music despite her husband’s appointment in 1787.⁵¹³ Even if her vocal abilities may have been inferior to her peers, as Personne claims, her exceptional harp skills were widely recognized.⁵¹⁴

Karsten and her contemporaries

While the available documentation on Sophia Karsten’s artistic endeavors is limited, there is a brief mention of her as a rival to Elisabeth Olin.

She [Olin] had not long been left alone as a prima donna. Rivals grew up, first little Mrs. Augusti, then Miss Baptiste [Marcadet], Miss Stading, Mrs. Müller, and even Mrs. Karsten, who was the least dangerous.⁵¹⁵

⁵⁰⁹ Personne, 144; and Nordensvan, 108.

⁵¹⁰ Ahnfelt, “Ur Marianne Ehrenströms hågkomster,” 142.

⁵¹¹ Berg and Stålberg, *Anteckningar om svenska Qvinnor*, 354.

⁵¹² “Intet ord, ingen röstens böjning, ingen rörelse af någon lem, som ej var behag. Förbindlighet i hvarje uttryck, hvarje åtbörd; finhet och ledighet i hvarje samtal; val af ämnen för dem, som inbjöd att deltaga, utan att förstumma eller oroa någon; förekommande i första ögonblicket, äfven mot främlingen, och lika artig mot alla, utan att fästa sig vid någon med förkärlek, utan att visa köld mot någon, var hon ett lefvande sammandrag af hoftonen i konung Gustaf III:s tid.” (DT) (Quoted) Ibid. (Translation) DeepL, June 30, 2024.

⁵¹³ Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

⁵¹⁴ Forsstrand, 58.

⁵¹⁵ “Hon [Olin] hade ej länge fått vara ensam primadonna. Rivaler växte upp, först den lilla fru Augusti, därefter m:ll Baptiste, m:ll Stading, fru Müller och även fru Karsten, som var den minst farliga.” Nordensvan, 18.

Sophia took over Lovisa Augusti's roles after the latter died in 1790.⁵¹⁶ A skilled harpist, she also participated in concerts organized by her husband, including a notable performance in March 1795 at the Bollhuset.⁵¹⁷ During this event, she played the pedal harp accompaniment for duets by Karsten and fellow musician Marie Louise Marcadet, who had previously been engaged to Karsten.⁵¹⁸ Sophia's contract ended either in 1803 or potentially with the closure of the Opera in 1806, when she and her husband were dismissed along with the rest of the staff.⁵¹⁹

Although Marianne Ehrenström shares a few anecdotes about Sophia, it is apparent that they had a warm, cordial relationship.

Our evenings were spent in the most pleasant way in the world by reading, performing travestied tragedies at the home of the Müller friends or musical events at Karsten's house, whose beautiful, kind wife accompanied her husband's singing on the harp.⁵²⁰

Mr. Karsten was my former teacher and has been a friend to me for thirty-six years. What pleasant moments I have spent with his kind family! My heart eagerly seizes this opportunity to offer Mr. and Mrs. Karsten the tribute of this recognition.⁵²¹

Karsten, Dussek, and Wainwright

In 1803, Giovanni Giordani arrived in Stockholm, where he was welcomed by Christofer Karsten, who supported him by arranging dinner parties and facilitating his introduction to influential individuals.⁵²² It could be assumed that Sophia Karsten, as the lady of the house, was responsible for orchestrating these gatherings, and she also participated in one of Giordani's concerts.⁵²³ These encounters establish a secondary connection among Sophia Stebnowska Karsten, Sophia Corri Dussek, and, potentially,

⁵¹⁶ [Letter from Kellgren to Clewberg, August 20, 1790] Kellgren, 119.

⁵¹⁷ Jonsson and Ivarsdotter, 2: 431.

⁵¹⁸ The trio performed both individually and together. Ibid. See Marie Louise Marcadet's profile sketch.

⁵¹⁹ *Personne*, 144; and *Nordensvan*, 108.

⁵²⁰ "Våra aftnar tillbragtes på det angenämaste sätt i verlden genom läsning, uppförande af travesterade tragedier hos vännerna Müller eller Musikaliska tillställningar hos Karsten, hvars sköna, snälla fru ackompanjerade på harpa sin mans sång." (DT) Ahnfelt, 142.

⁵²¹ "M^r Karsten fut mon ancien maître et il est pour moi un ami de trente six ans. Que de momens agréables n'ai-je pas passés dans son aimable famille! Mon cœur saisit avec empressement cette occasion d'offrir à M^r et M^{me} Karsten l'hommage de sa reconnaissance." Ehrenström, [217] 2: 35.

⁵²² Carl-Gabriel Stellan Mörner, "Operakabaler — anno 1803: Ett opublicerat brev från C. G. Nordforss till A. N. Edelcrantz," *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* (1972): 100; and Katalinić, 328–329.

⁵²³ Katalinić, 326.

Harriet Wainewright Stewart, as discussed in the preceding chapter.⁵²⁴

— Incorporating foreign-born professionals

Figure 3.24 reveals a significant difference in Lovisa Augusti's network compared to the other professional musicians, primarily due to its limited potential links.

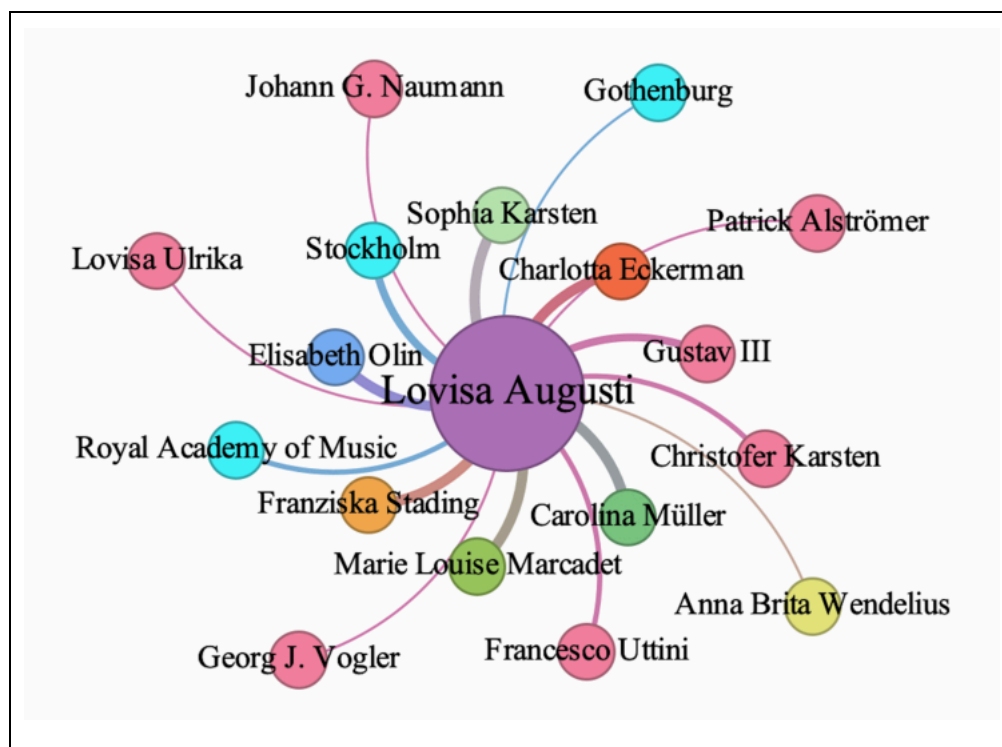


Fig. 3.24. Lovisa Augusti network

It is worth noting that younger amateurs such as Marianne Ehrenström and Marie Gillberg Petersén may not have been familiar with Lovisa Augusti, as her career ended with her untimely death in 1790, before these amateurs emerged in the music society. On the other hand, Anna Brita Wendelius would have been Augusti's contemporary and could have been a conceivable connection. Nonetheless, it is evident that Lovisa Augusti closely collaborated with other professional musicians throughout her career.

The available information concerning Sophia Karsten is severely limited; however, her professional associations and potential collaborations can be deduced from her network, as illustrated in Figure 3.25. She was a prominent figure in the Opera and concert scenes and was noted for her expertise on the pedal harp. Despite not being a member of the Royal Academy of Music, her skills and reputation likely made her sought after among local amateur musicians and fellow professionals alike. Further exploration

⁵²⁴ See Chapter 2: 261, no. 706; and 2: 270, no. 770.

could uncover additional details about her career, interactions with other musicians, and broader impact on her era's musical and cultural landscape. This ongoing inquiry is vital to enrich our understanding of historical female musicians and to ensure their contributions are acknowledged and celebrated.

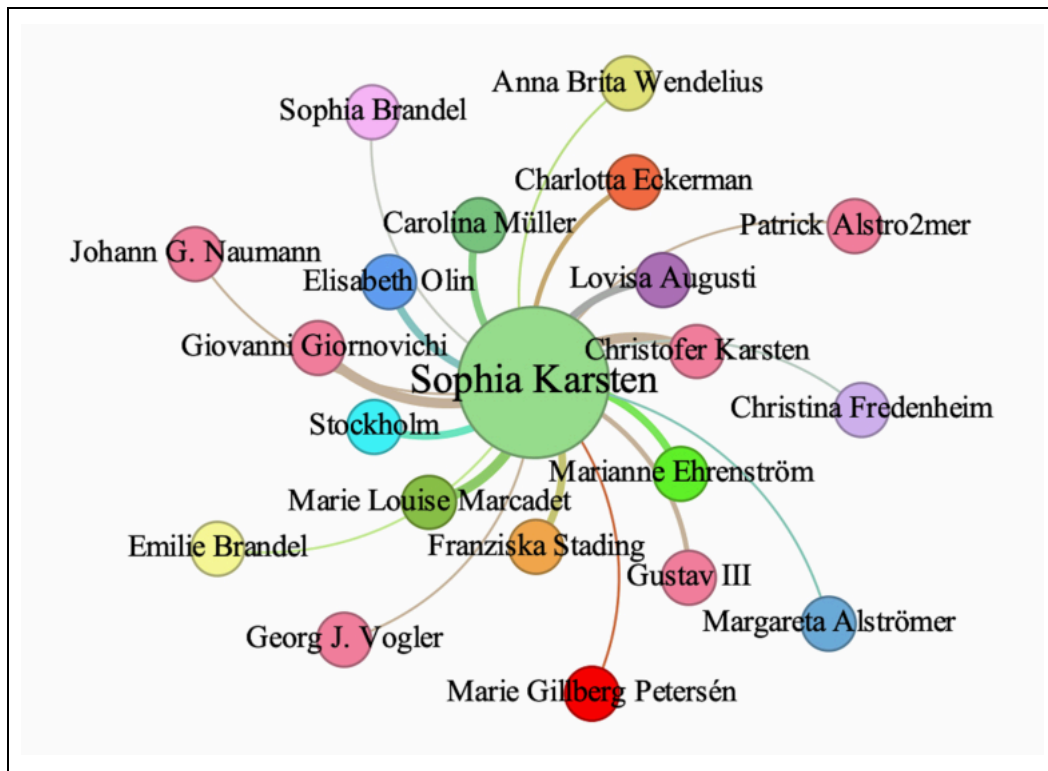


Fig. 3.25. Sophia Karsten network

Including Lovisa Augusti and Sophia Karsten in the network depicted in Figures 3.26 and 3.27 does not significantly alter the map's structural layout. Nonetheless, their nodes appear larger, adding complexity while compacting the overall map, and their integration further increases the network's intricacy and density. Their nodes appear larger, adding complexity while compacting the overall map. This network densification poses a challenge in identifying and tracing individual connections, reflecting the interplay between professional musicians, amateurs, and the broader cultural milieu.

The increasingly compact visualization paradoxically makes individual relationships harder to discern even as it more accurately represents the actual density of Stockholm's musical community. This visual challenge mirrors a methodological reality: as I integrate more musicians into the network, the web of connections becomes so intricate that traditional node-and-edge mapping reaches its limits as an analytical tool, suggesting the need for complementary approaches to illuminate specific relationship clusters within this tightly woven ecosystem.

As Figure 3.26 demonstrates, Augusti's integration immediately thickens the professional performance cluster, strengthening connections among opera singers and instrumentalists who shared the Royal Swedish Opera stage.

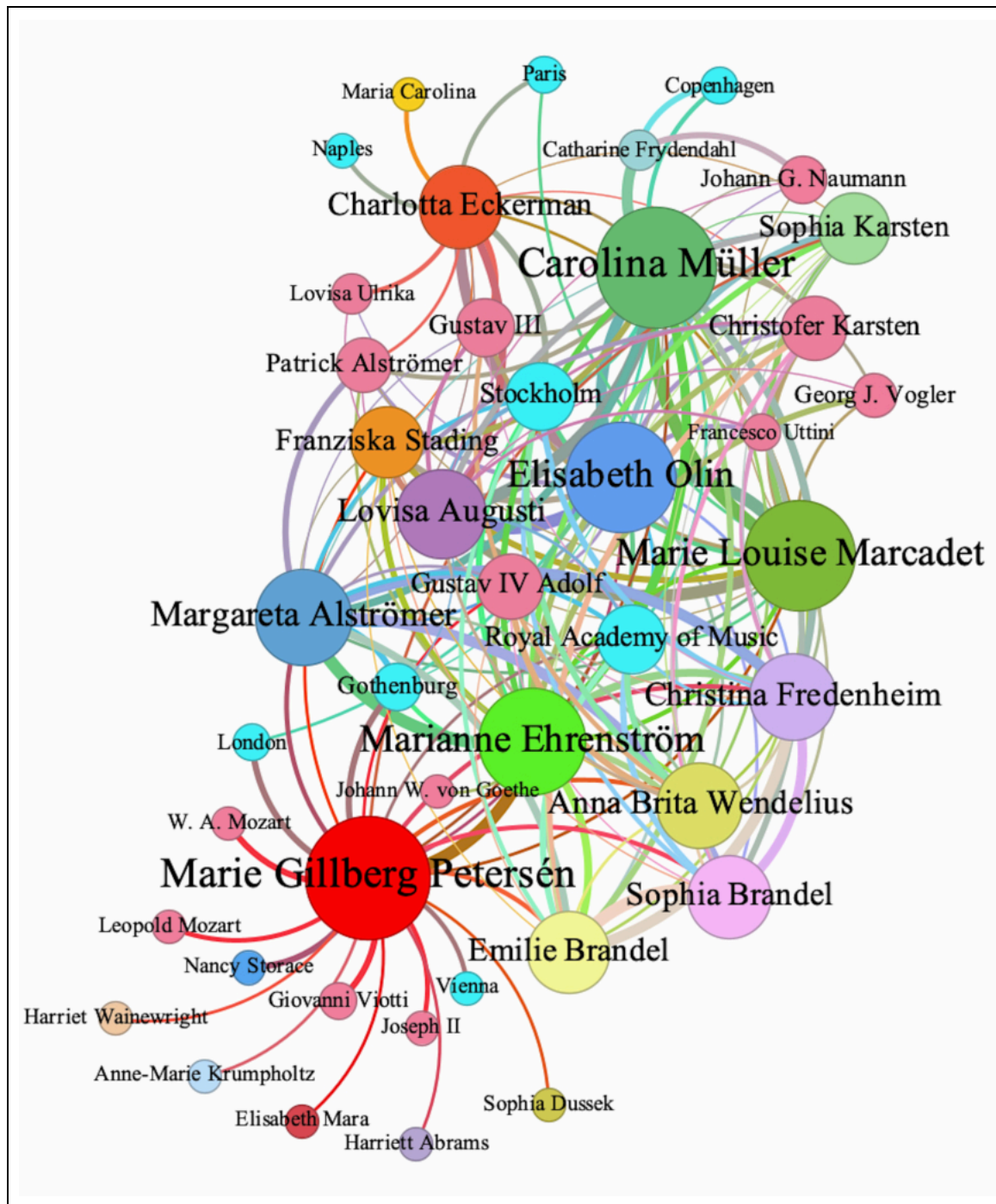


Fig. 3.26. Swedish composite network with Lovisa Augusti

The addition of Karsten in Figure 3.27 further compacts this cluster while simultaneously extending new potential links to amateur musicians who likely encountered her performances or sought her expertise on the pedal harp.

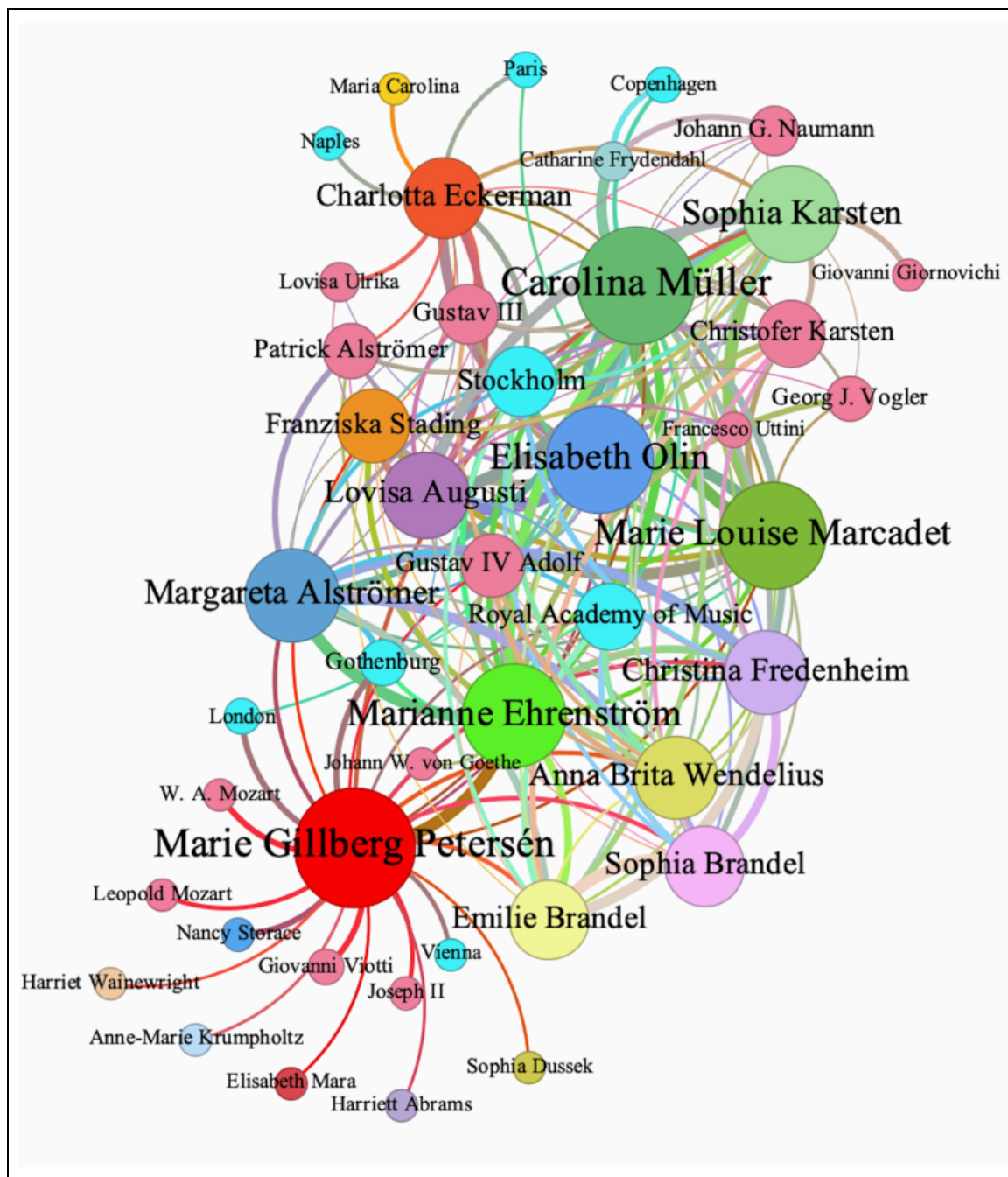


Fig. 3.27. Swedish composite network with Sophia Karsten

3.14 Sofia Franziska Stading (1763–1836)—Germanic

Sofia Franziska Stading is the final foreign-born soprano explored in this study. Stading’s background and early life are enigmatic, thus giving rise to various speculations.⁵²⁵ Some theories suggest that Stading may have originated from either

⁵²⁵ Nils Bohman, Torsten Dahl, and Bengt Hildebrand, eds., *Svenska män och Kvinnor: Biografisk uppslagsbok* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1942–1955), 7: 170.

Berlin or The Hague, with a few even proposing a potential familial tie to Friedrich Benedict Augusti, which would connect her through marriage to Lovisa Augusti.⁵²⁶ However, these conjectures lack definitive confirmation.⁵²⁷ Claims that Stading received vocal training from Elisabeth Mara should be viewed with skepticism, given the limited timeframe during which such lessons could have realistically occurred in The Hague.⁵²⁸ Furthermore, the contention that Francisca Stading was the stepdaughter of Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837) seems improbable, given that this would imply that Hummel’s wife, opera singer Elisabeth Röckerl (1793–1883), was Stading’s mother while being thirty years younger than her supposed daughter.⁵²⁹ The only conclusive evidence is that Franziska Stading arrived in Sweden at age ten in 1773, trained at the Bollhuset theatre, and was employed by the Royal Swedish Opera from 1779 to 1803 or 1806 when the Opera closed.⁵³⁰

At 15, Stading became a pupil at the Musical Academy in Stockholm, performing in at least one Academy recital in 1778.⁵³¹ From then on, she became a regular performer on the concert stage.⁵³² Two years later, she made her opera debut at the Drottningholm Theatre, portraying the character of “Myris” in the opéra-comique *La belle Arsène* by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny.⁵³³

In the small insignificant part in “*Arsène*,” a young German, Francisca Stading, was heard for the first time. She then earned herself a prominent place in the history of Swedish theatre through her sweet and modest grace, as well as the simplicity and unpretentiousness that characterized her singing and playing. According to Hæffner,⁵³⁴ she was “a real fair queen.”⁵³⁵

Stading’s career gained momentum as the protagonist in Naumann’s opera *Cora*

⁵²⁶ Ibid.; and Anna Ivarsdotter, “S Francisca Stading,” *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, par. 1.

⁵²⁷ Carl-Gunnar Åhlen, “Sofia Francisca Stading,” tr.by Alexia Grosjean, *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon* (published online May 26, 2020), par. 2.

⁵²⁸ Bohman, et al., *Svenska män och Kvinnor: Biografisk uppslagsbok*, 7:179; and Åhlen, “Sofia Francisca Stading,” par. 2.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Bohman, 170; Nordensvan, 108; Personne, 144; Åhlen, “Sofia Francisca Stading;” and Ivarsdotter, “S Francisca Stading.”

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Vretblad, 55.

⁵³³ See Operan. “Repertoire Archive.”

⁵³⁴ Composer Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner (1759–1833)

⁵³⁵ “I ett litet obetydligt parti i “*Arsène*” lät för första gången höra sig en ung tyska, Francisca Stading, som sedan eröfrade sig en framstående plats i den svenska teaterns historia genom det ljuftva och blygsamma behag, den enkelhet och flärdlöshet, som utmärkte hennes sång och spel. Enligt Hæffner’s omdöme var hon ‘en verklig äldrottning.’” (DT) Personne, 144–145. (Translation) DeepL, July 1, 2024.

and *Alonzo*, which premiered at the opening of the new opera house at Gustav Adolf's Square on September 30, 1782.⁵³⁶ Over the next two decades, Stading played leading roles in the popular operatic genres of the time, including the role of "Margareta Wasa" in Naumann's grandiose Swedish opera *Gustaf Wasa* (1786).⁵³⁷ Her versatility extended to French opera, where she excelled in Grétry's tragedy *Andromaque* (1785), earning poetic praise in the *Stockholms-Posten*.

Our victim, Andromaque! of silent hearts take for the sweetness of that anguish, wherewith thy play wounds us! The hand that cannot clap, who, trembling and weak, rises with difficulty to wipe the tears from his eyes!⁵³⁸

Furthermore, Stading's repertoire included interpretations of characters from Greek antiquity, most notably in her celebrated portrayals of the principal roles in the Gluck operas *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1788) and *Orpheus ed Eurydice* (1791).⁵³⁹ Additionally, her performance of "Antigone" in Sacchini's *Ædipe à Colone* opposite Christofer Karsten received widespread acclaim in 1800.

Karsten was absolutely unrivaled in this role, so deeply tragic, so nobly high! Miss Stading as Antigone had the gentle innocence and also the heroic dedication that this most beautiful of all female characters implies.⁵⁴⁰

In 1806, Gustav IV Adolf's temporary closure of the opera led to the dismissal of most of the staff, and Franziska Stading returned to her native Germany.⁵⁴¹ An intriguing

⁵³⁶ Ivarsdotter, "S Francisca Stading," par. 2; and Åhlen, "Sofia Francisca Stading," par. 4–5. Stading's performance as "Cora" inspired a poem printed in the *Stockholms-Posten*. "Ack, hvilken syn! — Den ömma Cora! — Hvad ljuflig röst! — Hvad himmelsk harmoni! — Hvad härligt Rum, som detta hörs uti! Hvad prakt och utvald smak, Som härskar i hvar minsta del och sak! Och gör, att jag al sansning tycks förlora! Hälst, sen jag fått betragta Cora rätt, Som, uti oskulds drägt, så skön som dagen, Och följd af ungdom och behagen, Förtjusar på allt möjligt sätt. / Alonzo! Akta väl ditt hjerta För skönhets magt, då, i din fann Hon dignar ner, för dig af smärta. Vet, at hon följs af lilla Gudens hamn, Som kan dit öga lätt förvilla, Då hennes bröst du flämta ser, Och, af des ögons blick, du såras kan så illa, At en så häftig eld dig nya lågor ger. Alonzo! tag dig väl i akt: Du känner kärleks våld och makt. [...] Ack Cora! unna oss, som icke få med dig agera, At åter snart i denna Piece, få se och höra dig briljera; Imedlertid, tag dig, Alonzo, väl i agt, Du känner kärleksvåld, du känner Kärleksmakt." (DT) *Stockholms-Posten*, no. no. 241 (October 21, 1782): 2–3.

⁵³⁷ See Operan. "Repertoire Archive."

⁵³⁸ "Vårt offer, Andromaque! af tysta hjärtan tag för sötman af det kval, hvarmed ditt spel oss sårar! Den hand ej klappa kan, som darrande och svag med möda höjer sig att torka ögats tårar!" (Quoted) Personne, 178. (Translation) DeepL, July 1, 2024.

⁵³⁹ Ivarsdotter, par. 3.

⁵⁴⁰ "Karsten var alldeles öfverträfflig i denna roll, så djupt tragisk, så ädelt hög! Mamsell Stading som Antigone hade den milda oskuld och tillika den hjältemodiga dévouement som denna skönaste af alla kvinnokaraktärer innebär." Malla Montgomery-Silfverstolpes, *Memoarer*, ed. by Malla Grandinson, 4 vols. (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1908), ebook 1: 625. (Translation) DeepL, July 1, 2024.

⁵⁴¹ Ivarsdotter, par. 8.

avenue of inquiry lies in Stading's activities during the 30 years between her departure from Sweden and her death in Dresden in 1836.⁵⁴² This period remains a mystery and offers a potential area for future research, as uncovering details about her life and career during these three decades could provide valuable insights into her post-Swedish career and personal life.

Stading stood out from her contemporaries as the only performer to have three distinct versions of her portrait printed simultaneously in different silhouettes.⁵⁴³

Marianne Ehrenström's commendation is consistently eloquent, as expected.

Miss Stading, born in Berlin, came to Sweden at the age of ten, took up a position as a student at the theatre, and soon became a charming actress and singer. What innocence, what grace and virginal shyness in this young person! In the roles of Iphigénie, Antigone, and Cora, she took your heart away, and her beautiful black eyes would have even touched a stone!⁵⁴⁴

Stading and her colleagues

Franziska Stading established professional connections with her peers early in her career. In her opera debut in 1780 in *La belle Arsène*, she shared the stage with Marie Louise Marcadet, Elisabeth Olin, and Christopher Karsten.⁵⁴⁵ Stading demonstrated her vocal prowess the following year alongside Caroline Müller and Lovisa Augusti in Piccinni's *Roland* and reunited with Olin and Marcadet in *Cora och Alonzo*.⁵⁴⁶ Following Elisabeth Olin's retirement in 1782, Stading regularly collaborated with her Opera colleagues. She participated in five further productions with Mary Louise Marcadet, performed twice with Lovisa Augusti, appeared in four operas with Carolina Müller, and participated in six productions each with Christopher Karsten and Jean-Rémy Marcadet.⁵⁴⁷

In 1788, Stading joined her colleagues Caroline Müller and Lovisa Augusti as

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ Leif Jonsson, "Silhuetter ur det gustavianska musiklivet," *Svenskt Musikhistoriskt Arkiv Bulletin*, no. 29 (Stockholm, 1995), 13.

⁵⁴⁴ "M^{lle} Stading, née à Berlin, vint en Suède dès l'âge de dix ans, s'y engagea comme élève au théâtre et devint bientôt une actrice et chanteuse charmante. Que d'innocence, que de grâce et de timidité virginale dans cette jeune personne ! Dans les rôles d'*Iphigénie*, d'*Antigone* et de *Cora* elle vous enlevait le cœur et ses beaux yeux noirs auraient touché une pierre même !" Ehrenström, *Notices Sur La Littérature*, [213] Section 2: 31.

⁵⁴⁵ See Operan. "Repertoire Archive."

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.; and Holman, "Operan Cross-reference"

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

members of the Royal Academy of Music.⁵⁴⁸ Joseph Martin Kraus (1756–1792), the kapellmeister, composed a grand funeral cantata for Gustav III’s funeral at Riddarholm Church on May 14, 1792.⁵⁴⁹ Kraus conducted the court chapel orchestra, the opera choir, and the soloists Franziska Stading, Caroline Müller, Christopher Karsten, and Carl Stenborg.⁵⁵⁰ Kraus passed away six months later due to a long-term lung disease.⁵⁵¹ In May 1798, the Royal Academy of Music held a memorial concert in his honor, featuring the court chapel orchestra, the opera choir, and soloists Stading, Olin, Stenborg, and Karsten.⁵⁵²

— Final inclusion in the Swedish network

As a prominent musician in Gustavian Sweden, Franziska Stading was deeply embedded in a network of highly skilled professionals, many of whom are well represented in the dataset.

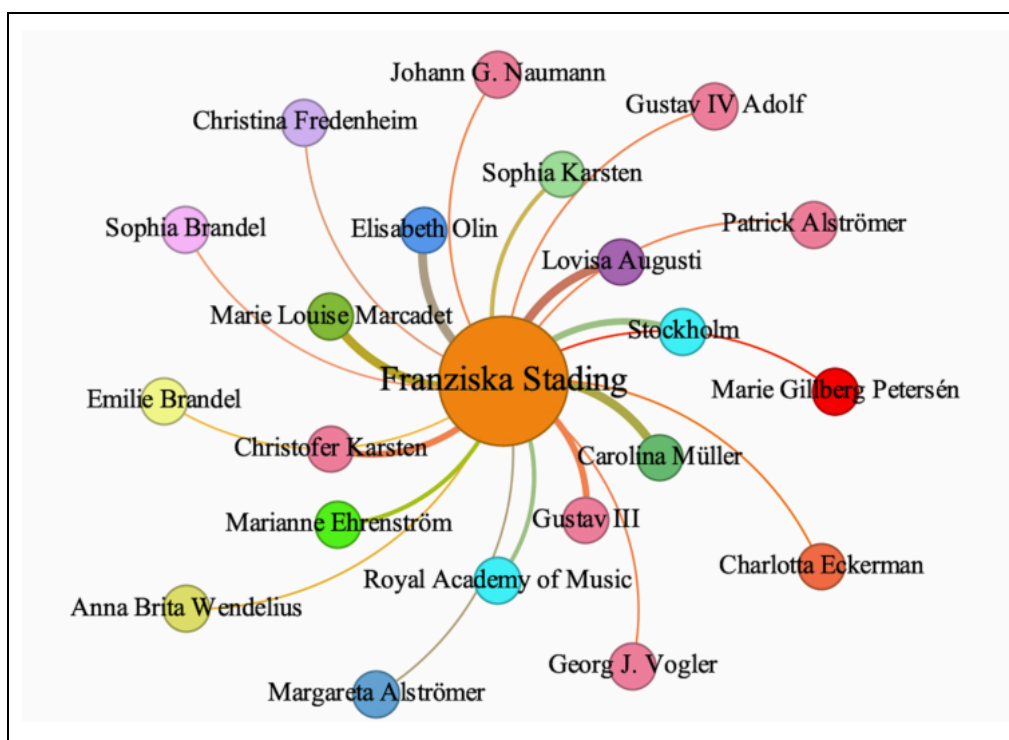


Fig. 3.28. Franziska Stading network

⁵⁴⁸ Hilleström, “Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter.”

⁵⁴⁹ Ivarsdotter, par. 6. The cantata is highly dramatic, with musical resources that befit the gravity of the ceremony: a large orchestra, choir, and four vocal soloists, totaling 104 performers. Sascha Wegner, “Zwischen Funeral- und Passionsmusik. Die Trauerkantate für Gustav III. von Joseph Martin Kraus.” In *Musik – Politik – Ästhetik*, ed. by Axel Schröter (Sinzig: Studio, 2012), 687–708.

⁵⁵⁰ Ivarsdotter, par. 6.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, par. 7.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.* However, it should be noted that biographer Carl-Gunnar Åhlen claims Stading performed at neither funeral. See Åhlen, “Sofia Francisca Stading,” par. 5.

Her network configuration in Figure 3.28 closely mirrors that of her contemporaries, with professional musicians positioned near the core, forming dense, well-documented connections. In contrast, amateur musicians create an outer circle of potential links, reflecting the broader musical landscape in which they operated.

The addition of Stading’s linkage to the broader network, shown in Figure 3.28, completes an intricate web of Swedish musical associations.

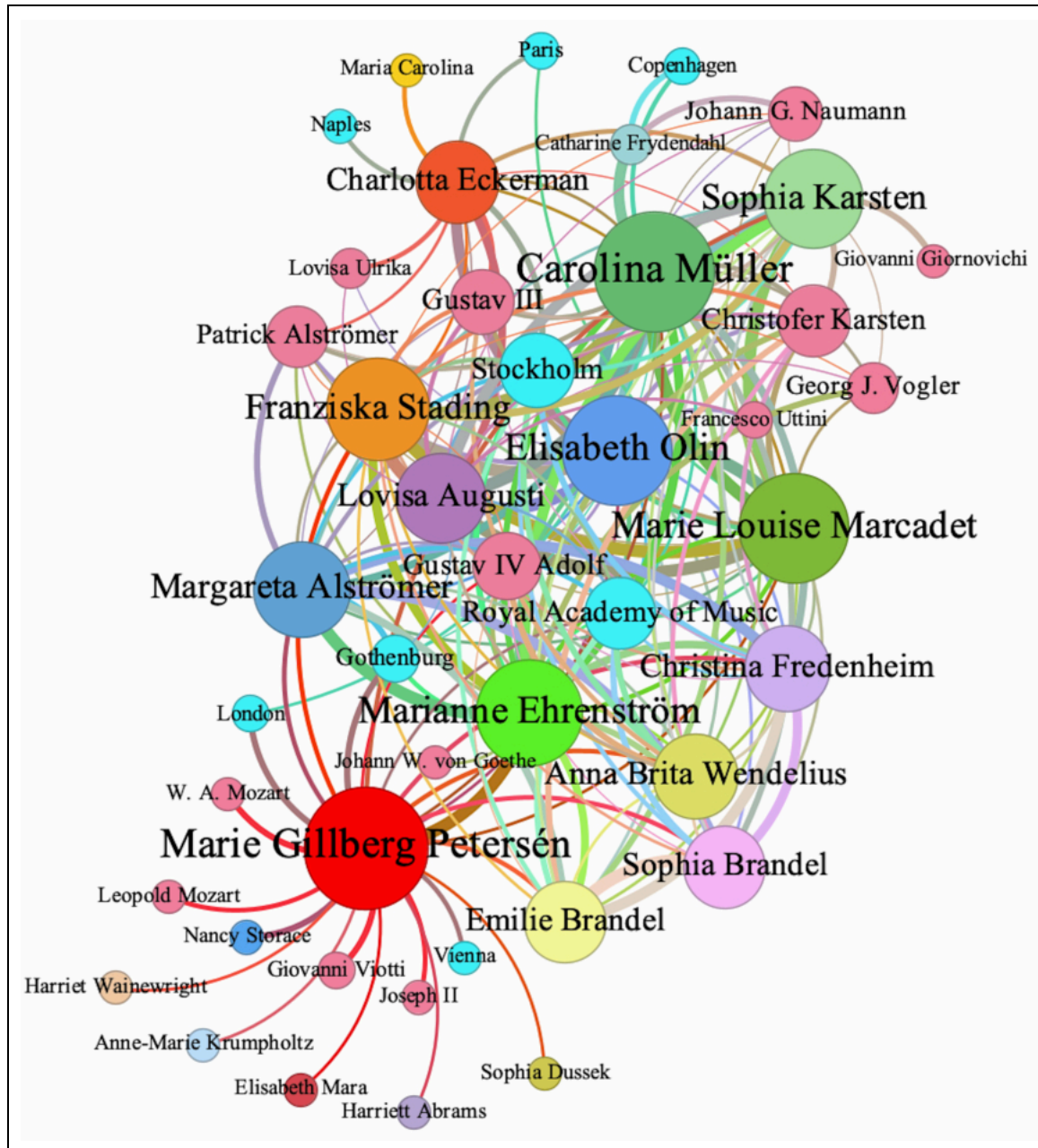


Fig. 3.29. Swedish composite network with Franziska Stading

The intimate nature of this community strongly suggests that Stading may have collaborated with one or more amateurs during her three-decade residency in Sweden,

even if such engagements were not as well-documented as her professional performances. Notably, professionals and amateurs in Stockholm remain on opposite sides of the map, reinforcing the structural distinction between formally trained musicians and those who participated in music outside institutional frameworks. Furthermore, the edges extending from Stading are significantly thicker toward the professionals, underscoring her recorded collaborations and reinforcing her position as a central figure within the professional musical sphere.

The clusters of amateur and professional actors remain distinct yet interrelated. The Swedish network appears to be closely knit with minimal mobility, aside from the notable exception of Marie Gillberg Petersén. Still, the Germanic actors such as Naumann and Vogler have a significant impact. Several figures, such as Goethe, Joseph II, and the Mozarts, have emerged as peripheral individuals with a single link. At the same time, two cities outside Sweden, namely London and Paris, are each associated with only two of the subjects. Considering the high level of interconnectivity observed among these actors in the previous maps, examining how their relationships evolve once all three maps—Martines, Mara, and Sweden—are combined promises to be fascinating.

Figure 3.30 pertains to the Swedish network, excluding single-connected nodes. Before this modification, peripheral nodes such as Naples, Maria Carolina, and all links associated with Petersén before her arrival in Sweden were outside the central cluster. Unsurprisingly, the minimal changes within the cluster itself indicate a high level of interconnectedness among all actors, underpinning the tightly knit nature of the Swedish musical community during that time. The density of the Swedish network further highlights the extent of interdependencies among the individuals involved. Notably, the absence of traveling edges and multiple clusters suggests a cohesive, unique group of musicians. Their relative isolation likely contributed to the solid professional relationships and collaborative efforts with amateur musicians, resulting in a vibrant yet self-contained artistic community.

The biographical summaries provide a glimpse into the foreign musical influences, mainly of Germanic and French origin, that significantly shaped the country's musical milieu. It is worth noting that certain musicians explored opportunities in neighboring countries, thereby facilitating a cross-fertilization of musical concepts and experiences. However, the Swedish ultimate map clearly shows that Stockholm and its Royal Academy of Music were the primary centers for these musicians, acting as focal points for training, performance, and collaboration.

One interesting observation arises from the spatial proximity between King Gustav III's node and the professional musicians, in contrast to the positioning of King Gustav IV Adolf's node, which is closer to that of the amateurs. This juxtaposition highlights the distinct focus and evolving nature of the music scene during the respective reigns of the father and son. It also offers insight into the age demographics of the amateurs: those closest to Gustav IV Adolf were typically born in the 1770s, except for Anna Brita Wendelius, indicating a generational shift. In comparison, the remaining female musicians were born between the 1740s and 1760s, underlining Gustav III's influence on their era.

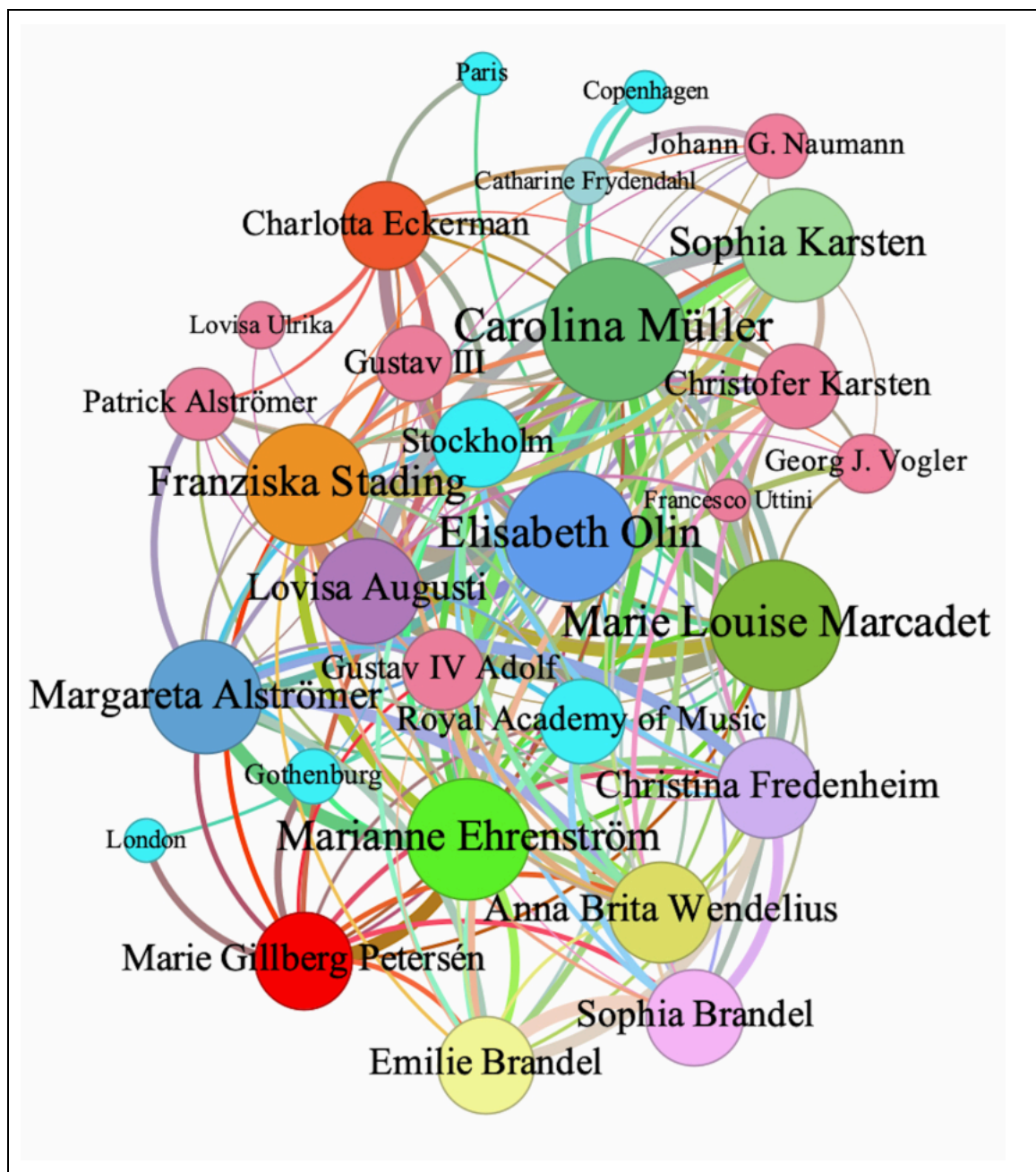


Fig. 3.30. Swedish composite network, complete

— Comparative analysis and merging composite maps

To contextualize the Swedish composite network within the broader framework of this study, Figure 3.30 is examined alongside the earlier Martines composite network (Figure 1.29) and the Mara composite network (Figure 2.33).

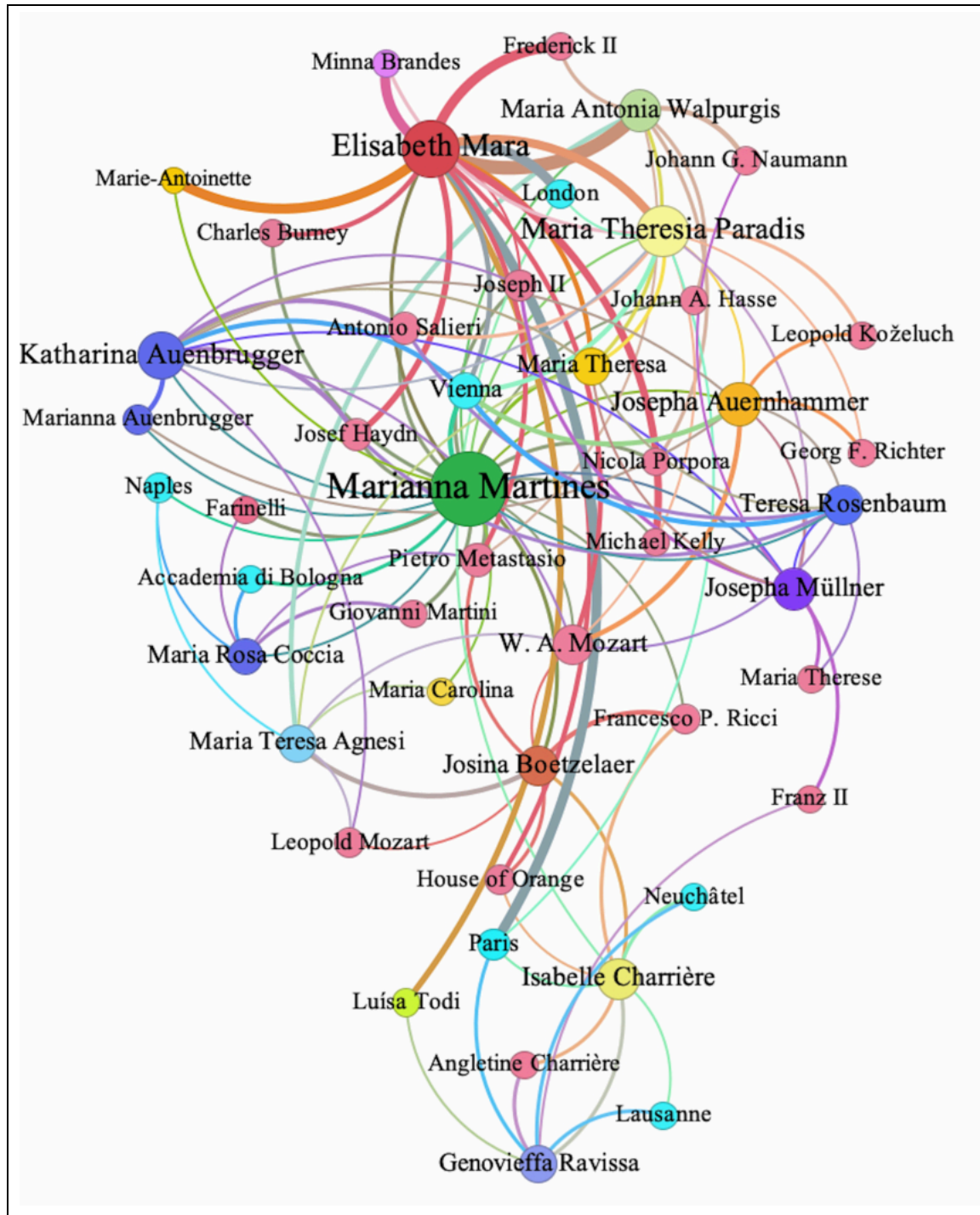


Fig. 3.31. Martines composite network (see Fig. 1.30)

This juxtaposition clarifies how network density, geographical reach, and the balance between amateur and professional musicians evolved across distinct cultural and

regional contexts. The most striking feature of the Swedish network is the prominence of its female participants, represented by oversized nodes that signal their influence and visibility. Another noteworthy distinction lies in the cluster density: while Martines’s network centers around Vienna with a relatively sparse configuration of secondary links, the Swedish network reveals a tighter, more cohesive structure.

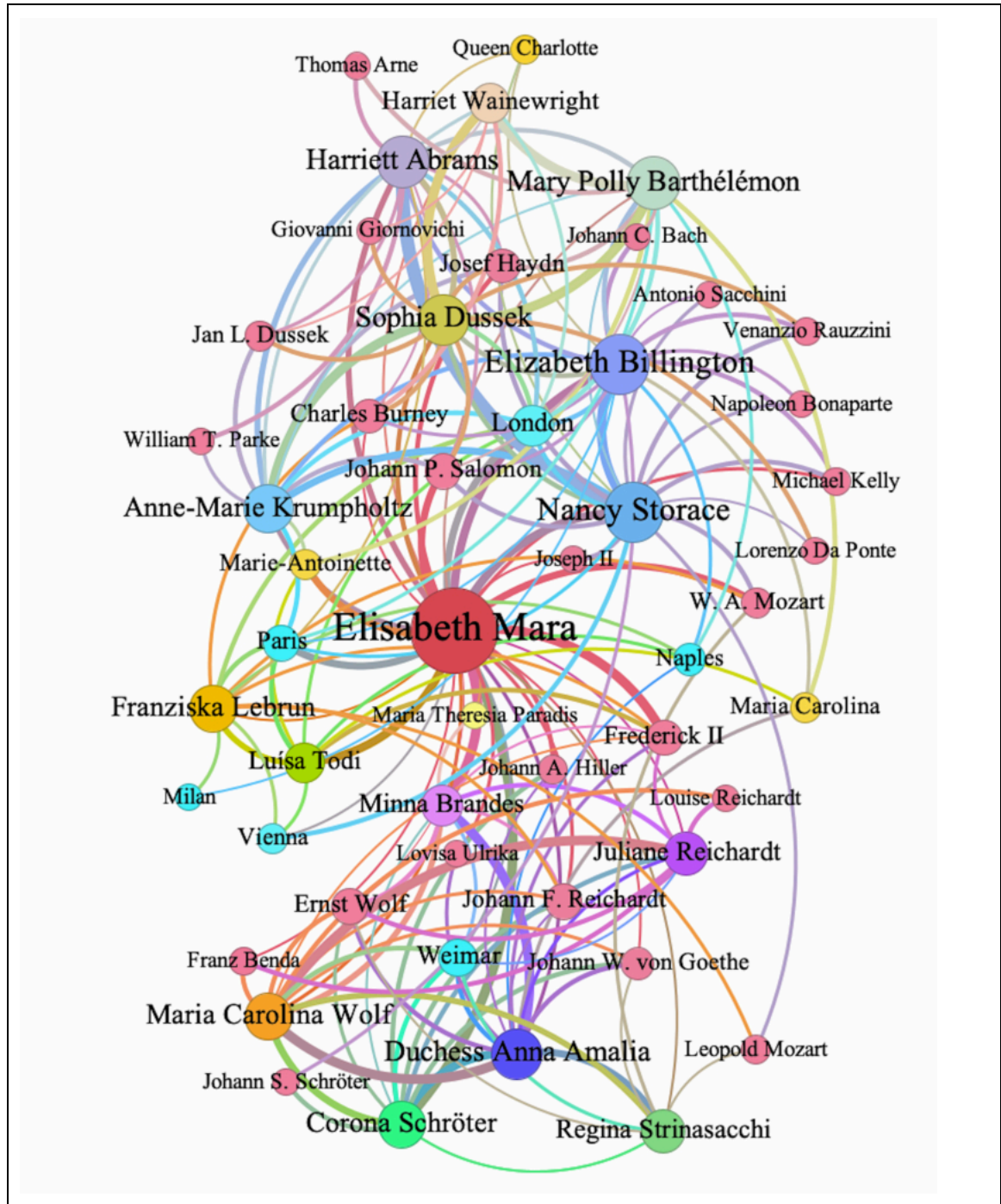


Fig. 3.32. Mara Martines composite network (see Fig. 2.33)

On the other hand, Mara’s network reveals three distinct clusters of varying

density, reflecting the geographical and professional diversity of her career across Weimar, Paris, and London. By contrast, the Swedish network displays a uniformly high level of interconnectedness, even among peripheral actors, resulting in a notably compact structure. This dense clustering underscores the cohesive nature of the Swedish musical community and the frequent overlap between amateur and professional circles.

Each of the three maps thus provides valuable insight into the musical ecosystems of their respective regions. Nonetheless, it is essential to recognize that these visualizations represent evolving reconstructions—exploratory in nature and subject to refinement as new evidence and connections come to light.

The consolidation of the three networks in Figure 3.33 presents a significant revelation. Despite the continued delineation of the Martines and Mara clusters, certain nodes have repositioned to form connections with the Swedish network. Noteworthy shifts include the relocation of London, Paris, and Naples toward a more central position. Additionally, key figures such as Naumann and Vogler have emerged as gatekeepers, along with Queen Lovisa Ulrika, who initiated the connection. While these three strong links were expected, the extensive network of minor connections bridging the two sides of the map was surprising. Of particular interest is the transition of Charlotta Eckerman and Catharine Frydendahl, who gravitated from peripheral roles within the Swedish cluster to more prominent linking positions. However, the most conspicuous linkage between the Swedish cluster and continental Europe is exemplified by Marie Crux Gillberg Petersén. The revelation of her cross-border connections under various marital names underscores the fluid nature of relationship network research.

Taken together, these findings illustrate the interpretive potential of network visualization for historical musicology. The consolidation of multiple regional networks into a single composite model not only reveals hidden patterns of transnational mobility but also challenges static, nation-centered narratives of eighteenth-century musical culture. By visualizing how figures like Petersén, Eckerman, and Frydendahl functioned as connective agents across courts and capitals, the map transforms anecdotal biographical data into a dynamic model of cultural exchange. Such visualizations remind us that networks are not merely analytical tools but heuristic devices that can uncover emergent relationships and invite new historical questions. In this sense, the combined map marks a transition from reconstructing individual careers to reimagining the broader geography of women's musical influence in Enlightenment Europe.

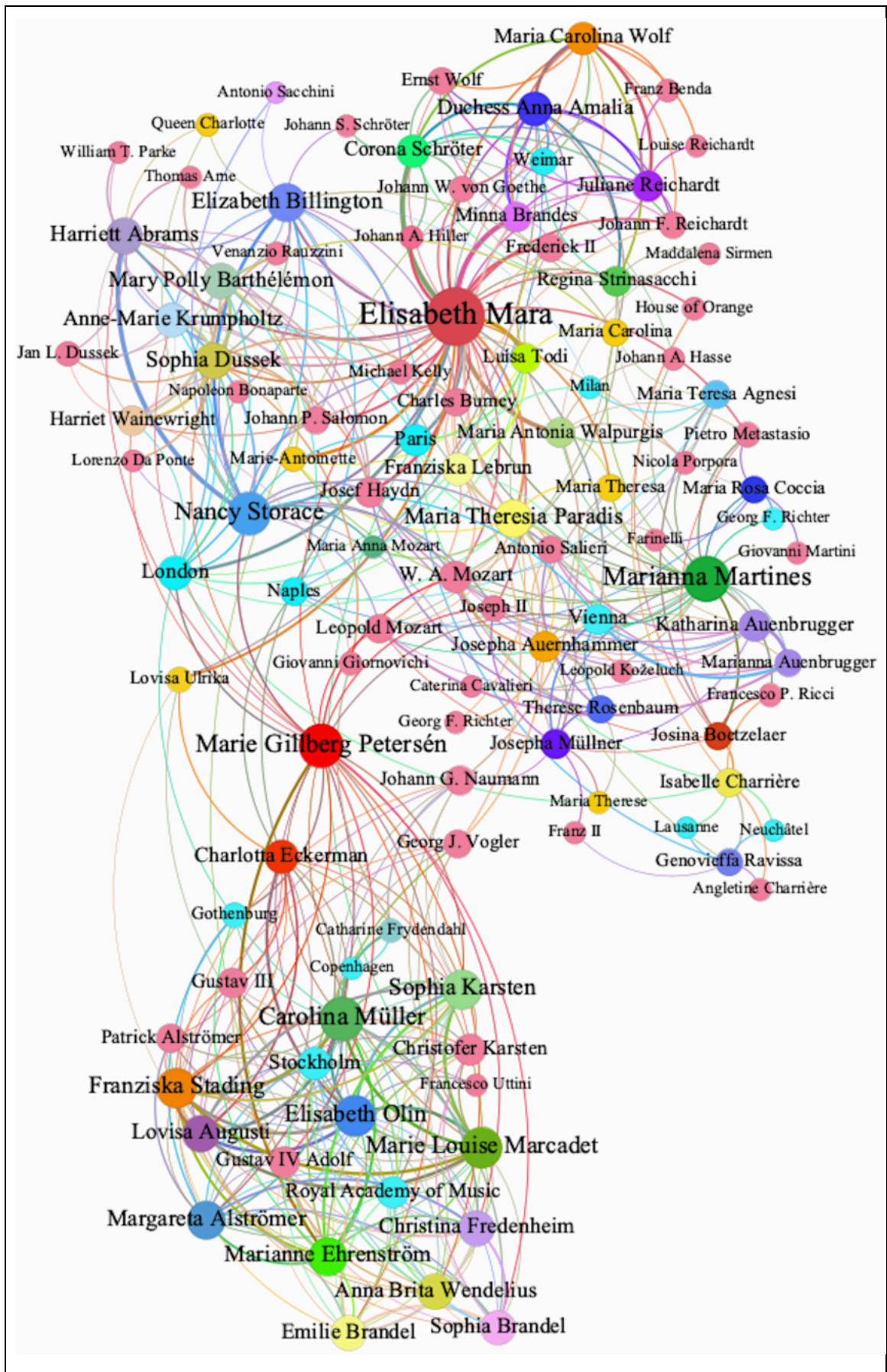


Fig. 3.33. Martines, Mara, and Swedish composite networks, merged

— Summary and conclusions

This chapter centers principally on female vocalists, recognizing that singing was the predominant mode of expression accessible to many female musicians during this time. Nevertheless, it is imperative to note that there was indeed a network of female composers, musicians, and patrons who collaborated to provide mutual support, inspiration, motivation, and challenges, particularly in Sweden. Initially, Queen Lovisa Ulrika established an environment that fostered and valued women, although her attention was not explicitly directed toward female musicians. Additionally, the mentoring bond between Caroline Müller, Franziska Stading, and Marianne Ehrenström exemplifies the network's supportive and motivating character. Through their guidance and influence, Ehrenström cultivated her talents and achieved recognition at the royal court. Furthermore, professional rivalry among female musicians spurred them to refine their abilities and attain considerable success. Finally, the professionals' openness to collaboration and mutual support fostered a conducive environment for the flourishing of artistic endeavors among female amateur musicians.

The profiles and Gephi map emphasize the distinctive characteristics of the Swedish musical environment during the latter half of the eighteenth century (1750–1800), demonstrating the potential for amateurs to attain a level of engagement and impact akin to that of professional musicians. This phenomenon highlights the inclusive and collaborative ethos in the Swedish musical milieu, fostering a conducive environment for amateur musicians to interact with professionals on equal terms. Such an egalitarian approach to music-making contrasts with the hierarchical, centralized networks depicted in the Martines and Mara maps, where influence was concentrated among a select few illustrious figures. Assimilating amateur musicians into this network exemplifies the potential for diverse forms of participation and influence within musical communities.

Furthermore, the women in the Swedish network demonstrated a high level of autonomy, exhibiting minimal reliance on their male connections. While men customarily held roles in composing and providing musical education, women also gained knowledge and skills through various means, including peer-to-peer learning. Interestingly, while men and women performed together with comparable success, we have seen that women often received more recognition and acclaim for their musical endeavors than their male counterparts.⁵⁵³ This finding invites further investigation into

⁵⁵³ Nordensvan, 7–15.

the factors that facilitated this unique network structure and its impact on developing Sweden's musical culture.

Amalgamating the three networks has yielded a more robust, interconnected network with key players strategically positioned. The movement of nodes and clusters within this network underscores the dynamic nature of networking historical figures. By identifying these shifts, we can glean valuable insights into the evolution of networks as we strive to unearth more information. It is worth reiterating that the absence of information concerning certain actors within the network does not diminish their significance or the potential for further research and exploration. The network analysis provides a glimpse into the relationships and dynamics among the documented individuals, yet it may not encompass all musical activities or connections during this specified era. This limitation underscores the need for ongoing research to uncover and incorporate additional historical data, thereby yielding a more comprehensive understanding of the period's musical landscape.

In the preliminary section of this chapter, I stressed the decisive role that Queen Lovisa Ulrika played in introducing French music theatre culture to Sweden. Additionally, a close friendship blossomed between Gustav III and Marie-Antoinette, strengthening the bond between the Swedish and French courts and fostering extensive cultural exchange, especially in music.⁵⁵⁴ This connection functions as a bridge between the current chapter and the upcoming one.

Chapter 4 explores the influence wielded by Marie-Antoinette, whose impact on the French musical landscape was genuinely historic. Her sphere of influence extended far beyond her court, permeating the broader tapestry of French society and leaving an enduring imprint on the era's musical preferences and trends. However, the chapter also presents a counterpoint to the central thesis of my research. While extraordinary female musicians graced the Court of Versailles and held sway over Paris's salons and theatres, I have yet to identify an apparent thread connecting them. By examining several examples, I hope that future scholars may be able to find these elusive threads.

⁵⁵⁴ Stefano Fogelberg Rota, "Versailles Through Swedish Eyes in the Eighteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Palace of Versailles Research Center*, 2020.

Chapter 4

Networking Marie-Antoinette

The preceding chapter illustrates how Lovisa Ulrika and the Swedish court maintained substantial connections with Frederick II's Prussian court while remaining deeply influenced by France. Following Gustav III's accession to the throne in 1771, the French court continued to exert considerable influence on Sweden's political and artistic life.¹ A key link within this overarching narrative is Gustav III's close friendship with Marie-Antoinette at Versailles.² This association with a Habsburg princess, a scion of the Habsburg dynasty, links Sweden's royal sphere to earlier figures such as Marianna Martines and Elisabeth Mara and provides the point of departure for this chapter.

Originally conceived as a counterpoint—or even an antithesis—to the preceding case studies, this chapter was expected to reveal a paucity of connections among female musicians at the French court. Yet this apparent absence proved instructive: rather than signaling isolation, it points to a different type of network—one based on symbolic influence, mediation, and patronage rather than the direct collaboration seen in other contexts. Marie-Antoinette's court exemplifies this model. Her patronage placed women at the intersection of art, politics, and representation, reshaping musical agency in late eighteenth-century France. Within this framework, **primary** connections include documented collaborations and acts of patronage; **secondary** connections arise from shared participation in the Queen's circles of influence; and **potential** connections are inferred from proximity within the Paris–Versailles sphere or mutual acquaintances among itinerant performers.

Although these networks are less densely documented than those in Vienna or Stockholm, they remain essential for understanding how female agency operated within hierarchical and mediated environments. Consequently, this chapter serves as both an exploratory reconstruction and a methodological reflection on the challenges of recovering elite networks. It demonstrates that even fragmentary evidence can illuminate

¹ A comprehensive narrative may be found at Zbigniew Anusik, *France in Sweden's Foreign Policy in the Era of Gustav III's Reign (1771–1792)* (Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2016).

² *Ibid.*, 97. “La venue à la cour, en juin 1784, du roi de Suède Gustave III, qui voyage sous le nom de “comte de Haga,” sera encore l’occasion de fastes grandioses. Ce séjour de six semaines, agrémenté de bals, de dîners, de comédies et d’opéras, marquera l’apogée de Versailles avant les années sombres. Fidèle à sa passion du spectacle musical, la reine choisira de faire créer devant le roi de Suède un opéra-comique de Piccinni, *Le Dormeur éveillé*, après lequel, comme pour son frère Joseph, elle offrira un souper et une promenade dans le parc illuminé de 100 000 bougies, que Gustave III qualifia de véritable “spectacle des champs Élysées.” Patrick Barbier, *Marie-Antoinette et la Musique* (Paris: Grasset, 2022), ebook: 232–233

alternative forms of connection, in which influence and visibility replace sustained collaboration. Thus, while less quantitatively developed, this case extends the dissertation’s central argument by showing that absence itself may signify a distinct mode of musical and social agency.

Marie-Antoinette—a name that conjures images of opulence and grandeur, tinged with the looming specter of terror and the guillotine. She evokes intense passions and conflicting viewpoints and serves as a muse for countless biographies and dramatic works. Yet, this Queen was unlike any other.³ Even today, her story continues to enthrall the collective imagination, with her life meticulously dissected—from her iconic fashion sense to her cherished refuge at the Petit Trianon.⁴ Regrettably, history has attached numerous false and scandalous tales connected to the young monarch, such as the misattributed quote “Let them eat cake!” during the Flour War preceding the French Revolution.⁵ Nevertheless, the enduring legacy of Marie-Antoinette remains a compelling and multifaceted subject, replete with intriguing complexities and nuanced interpretations.

Her notoriety has historically eclipsed Marie-Antoinette’s passionate devotion to music. However, recent scholarship has shed light on the profound influence of her strong affinity for the harp and opera, as well as her significant contributions to the development of the Franco-centric musical repertoire.⁶ As a skilled musician in her own right, music occupied a central place in her life, and she actively supported the arts and cultivated a lively musical culture.⁷ Her fondness for the harp was renowned, elevating Paris to a hub of harp performance.⁸ Marie-Antoinette catalyzed the evolution of the French opéra-

³ Ibid., 9–10. An early example can be found in the work of feminist philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), *An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution* (London: J. Johnson, 1794). Several decades later, historian Mathurin François Adolphe de Lescure published *La vraie Marie-Antoinette: Étude historique, politique et morale* (Paris: Librairie Parisienne, 1863).

⁴ Even as recently as 2015, Melanie Clegg published *Marie Antoinette: An Intimate History* (Burning Eye Books); and in 2022, the BBC produced a television period drama by Deborah Davis, *Marie Antoinette*.

⁵ The quote had been attributed to various women for at least a century prior to Marie-Antoinette’s birth. See Antonia Fraser, *Marie-Antoinette: The Journey* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), n22–n23, 135; and Evelyne Lever, *Marie-Antoinette: The Last Queen of France* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2001), 63–65.

⁶ In his cross-sectional study, music historian Patrick Barbier examines the intersection of music, arts, politics, society, and everyday life to provide a fresh perspective on the French Queen who was renowned for her love of music and support for musicians. Patrick Barbier, *Marie-Antoinette et la Musique* (Paris: Grasset, 2022), ebook, 9–12.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.; and Nora Turriago, “The Harp,” *Re-membering Marie Antoinette: An Online Exhibit* (2012).

comique and indelibly revolutionized the French music scene by promoting the genre and commissioning fresh compositions—a legacy that must be acknowledged and respected.⁹

4.1 Marie Antonia Josepha Joanna of Habsburg-Lorraine (1755–1793)

Marie Antonia was born in Vienna, Austria, as the fifteenth child of Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Francis I of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰ Affectionately called Antoine, a French form of her baptismal name, she grew up in a court where French was the preferred language.¹¹ Despite this, Antoine and her siblings spoke a mixture of German, French, and Latin, with her forte being Italian, which she attributed primarily to her teacher, Pietro Metastasio.¹² The Habsburgs were renowned for their appreciation of music and theatre, which was integral to Antoine’s upbringing.¹³ While she largely avoided formal education, she did receive training in dance and music, which enhanced her charm and elegance, though she lacked discipline.¹⁴ This educational deficiency had lasting repercussions, particularly in her inability to counter the scandalous rumors and literature that plagued her later life because of her illiteracy.¹⁵

Principal figures in her musical education included Christoph Willibald Gluck, Georg Christoph Wagenseil, and Johann Adolf Hasse.¹⁶ Hasse’s instruction is particularly important in the context of this investigation. Marianne and Cecilia Davies, previously mentioned in connection with Marianna Martines, resided with Hasse while he was instructing the Habsburg children, establishing a potential link to Marie-

⁹ Barbier, *Marie-Antoinette et la Musique*, 64–67.

¹⁰ Fraser, *Marie-Antoinette: The Journey*, 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Marie-Antoinette’s letters to her mother, Maria Theresa, are written in all three languages. Barbier, 19–20.

¹³ Fraser, 39; and Barbier, 21–22.

¹⁴ Fraser, 54. “De tempérament, elle est joyeuse, primesautière, vive, charmante et charmeuse, aussi sensible qu’attendrissante. Dotée d’un joli visage, elle plaît immédiatement à ceux qui l’approchent. C’est une enjôleuse qui n’obéit qu’à ses instincts et à son plaisir, ce qu’on ne cherche pas suffisamment à contrecarrer pendant ses premières années. Si bien qu’elle se montre peu portée sur l’effort et que, malgré ses réelles capacités, on a beaucoup de peine à la faire se concentrer et, en un mot, à la “façonner.” Barbier, 19–20.

¹⁵ Fraser, 39. The narratives of Henriette Campan, Marie-Antoinette’s lady’s maid and confidant, offer a nuanced insight into the challenges the young Queen faced and the consequences of her limited formal education. See Jeanne-Louise-Henriette-Campan, *Memoirs of Madame Campan on Marie Antoinette and her Court*, ed. by G. K. Fortescue, 2 vols. (Boston: J. B. Millet, 1909). For a more objective analysis of the accusations leveled against Marie-Antoinette, see Hector Fleischmann, *Marie-Antoinette Libertine: Bibliographie critique et analytique des pamphlets politiques, galants, et obscènes contre la reine* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Curieux, 1911).

¹⁶ Fraser, 40–41.

Antoinette.¹⁷

Young Antoine shared a close, affectionate relationship with her sister, Marie Carolina, who was three years her senior.¹⁸ These two future monarchs were so inseparable that if one became unwell, the other would inevitably fall ill, too.¹⁹ Maria Carolina was the dominant figure in their relationship, acting as the protectress of her little sister.²⁰ Despite their physical resemblance, their personalities were vastly different.²¹ The sisters also exhibited distinct musical preferences. While overseeing her Neapolitan court, Maria Carolina tolerated Italian music, but she actively fostered a community that cultivated German music, which aligned with her personal taste.²² In contrast, Marie-Antoinette favored lighter, comical genres such as *commedia dell'arte* and *opéra-comique*, finding the French “*musique ancienne*” weighty and tedious.²³ As a result, she restructured her court’s theatrical calendar accordingly.²⁴

Marie-Antoinette, although apolitical, inadvertently ignited a musical revolution that became intertwined with the political milieu of her time.²⁵ Recognizing what she considered the inferior quality of French musical standards compared to those of Italy and Germanic regions, she brought renowned artists from those areas to France, including luminaries such as Gluck, Piccinni, Sacchini, and Salieri, thereby elevating Paris into a cultural center.²⁶ Marie-Antoinette’s regular attendance at public theatres in Paris distinguished her from previous monarchs and bolstered economic stability.²⁷ Her mere

¹⁷ Ibid., 41; and Beesley, “Becoming a Virtuosa: Advice from Vienna, 1769,” 171–174. Marianne and Cecilia Davies also enjoyed the patronage of Empress Maria Theresa. Ibid., 165.

¹⁸ Maria Carolina became the Queen of Naples and the Two Sicilies in 1768. Maria Antoinette became the Dauphine of France in 1770 and Queen in 1774.

¹⁹ Fraser, 23–24.

²⁰ Fraser, 24.

²¹ John Cordy Jeaffreson, *The Queen of Naples and Lord Nelson*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1889), 1: 91.

²² Christina K. Lindeman, *Representing Duchess Anna Amalia’s Bildung...* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), 72–73.

²³ Barbier, 46–49; Julia Doe, *The Comedians of the King: “Opera Comique” and the Bourbon Monarchy on the Eve of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021), 88, 90.

²⁴ Doe, *The Comedians of the King*, 93–97. “Le Roi a fait un petit voyage à Choisy, depuis le 10 jusqu’au 13, avec madame la Dauphine. Comme cette Princesse goûte peu les tragédies, & encore moins nos grands opéras, on a exécuté sur le théâtre de ce château des pièces Italiennes & des opéra comiques. Arlequin a eu le bonheur de réjouir extrêmement Madame la Dauphine, & la musique légère & agréable des petits drames qu’on vient de nommer, ont paru lui plaire aussi ; en forte que les Auteurs de ce spectacle triomphent de leurs rivaux, & qu’ils n’en acquerront que plus de considération parmi la bonne compagnie.” (DT) Louis Petit de Bachaumont, Moufle d’Angerville, and Mathieu-François de Mairobert, eds., *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l’histoire de la république des lettres en France*, 36 vols. (London: John Adamson, 1783), 19: 235.

²⁵ Doe, 117–121. Given that Marie-Antoinette’s marriage, reign, and death have been extensively chronicled in countless biographies, I focus specifically on her connection to music and musicians.

²⁶ Barbier, 239–287.

²⁷ Ibid., 287–288.

presence inspired programming and ensured their effective execution, resulting in sold-out shows whenever she patronized the theatre.²⁸

The Queen's personal preferences and interests were instrumental in launching the careers of numerous composers, actors, and authors.²⁹ She significantly broadened the French musical landscape by facilitating the performance of works by foreign artists at Versailles and Paris, thereby enriching the music scene with cosmopolitan influences.³⁰ Additionally, her support was instrumental in ensuring the success of operas that might otherwise have struggled to gain recognition.³¹ Through her public endorsement of these productions, she propelled some works to unparalleled success for the next half-century, such as Sacchini's *Ædipe à Colone*.³² Furthermore, Marie-Antoinette made valuable contributions to the establishment of institutions such as the l'École Royale de Chant [Royal School of Singing], which laid the foundation for the future Conservatoire de Paris.³³ This accomplishment further connects Marie-Antoinette with Hélène de Montgeroult, discussed later in this chapter.

Marie-Antoinette's behavior was primarily driven by her passions rather than political strategies.³⁴ This inclination was particularly evident in her interactions with Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) during his diplomatic mission to Versailles, where he sought France's support in the American Revolutionary War.³⁵ However, Marie-Antoinette's admiration for Franklin was rooted in something much more profound, albeit less tangible—a shared fascination with fashion and a mutual aspiration to defy conventional dress codes.³⁶ Her friendship with Franklin provides a secondary connection

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Doe, 138–139; Barbier, 287.

³⁰ Ibid., 307, 338, 405.

³¹ Barbier, 271–275.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 321–326.

³⁴ Fraser, 153–154.

³⁵ Martha Joanna Lamb, John Austin Stevens, and William Abbat, eds., *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries* 16 (July-December 1886), 187.

³⁶ “From the very first Marie-Antoinette was interested in the cause of America; and without in any sense comprehending its possible issues, she ultimately made it the fashion in the brilliant French Court. When Dr. Franklin appeared in Paris, he found that his scientific reputation had preceded him, and that he was regarded as a person of importance. But from the hour he was ushered into the presence of the queen, in 1778, and invited to stand by her side that she might converse with him as opportunity offered, he was a star of the first magnitude in the French mind. [...] Nothing could have been more becoming than the plain black velvet suit he wore, with snowy ruffles at wrist and bosom, white silk stockings and silver buckles. The absence, however, of wig and sword, the absolute court requisites, inspired the queen (whose soul was so pestered with forms in those very years) with keenest admiration. She liked the effrontery with which she imagined he must have passed the chamberlain of the court, and her attentions to him were all the more gracious and flattering for that reason. The Court following her lead was captivated with the grand magician who had separated the suffering colonies from Great Britain.” Ibid.

with an upcoming French salonnière, Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy.

Marie-Antoinette's love for and contributions to the arts were integral to her reign, not just a historical footnote.³⁷ As a feminist sovereign, Marie-Antoinette actively supported and promoted the work of female artists and composers.³⁸ She also championed numerous singers and actresses like the incomparable Elisabeth Mara.³⁹

The shyness the Queen's first appearance had inspired in me had entirely given way to the gracious kindness she has always shown me. As soon as Her Majesty heard that I had a pretty voice, she gave me few sessions without making me sing several duets by Grétry with her, for she loved music infinitely, even though her voice was not very accurate. As for her conversation, it would be difficult for me to convey all its grace, all the benevolence; I do not believe that Queen Marie-Antoinette ever missed an opportunity to say something pleasant to those who had the honor of approaching her, and the kindness she always showed me is one of my fondest memories.

— *Louise-Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun*⁴⁰

— Marie-Antoinette's connections

It is hardly surprising that Marie-Antoinette's network in Figure 4.1 includes familiar names from the first two chapters. As a member of two ruling classes—Habsburg Austria and Bourbon France—she moved within elite circles that intersected with many of the female musicians discussed in this study. Whether in Vienna or Versailles, her presence shaped Europe's artistic and cultural landscape, making her a central figure in networks of composers, performers, and patrons. Her patronage not only provided financial support and opportunities for musicians but also elevated their social standing, granting them visibility in prestigious courts and salons. Indeed, her reputation preceded

³⁷ Barbier, 239–288; Turriago, “The Harp,” *Re-membering Marie Antoinette*.

³⁸ Among them were painters Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818) and Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842), and composers Caroline Wuiet (1766–1835), Florine Dezède (1766–1792), Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1745–1825) and Lucile Grétry (1772–1790). Barbier, 405–406. Profile sketches of Caroline Wuiet and Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis are forthcoming in this chapter.

³⁹ See Mara's profile sketch in Chapter 1.

⁴⁰ “La timidité que m'avait inspirée le premier aspect de la reine avait entièrement cédé à cette gracieuse bonté qu'elle me témoignait toujours. Dès que S. M. eut entendu dire que j'avais une jolie voix, elle me donnait peu de séances sans me faire chanter avec elle plusieurs duos de Grétry, car elle aimait infiniment la musique, quoique sa voix ne fût pas d'une grande justesse. Quant à son entretien, il me serait difficile d'en peindre toute la grâce, toute la bienveillance; je ne crois pas que la reine Marie-Antoinette ait jamais manqué l'occasion de dire une chose agréable à ceux qui avaient l'honneur de l'approcher, et la bonté qu'elle m'a toujours témoignée est un de mes plus doux souvenirs.” (DT) Louise-Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs de Mme Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun* (Paris: H. Fournier, 1835), 1: 67–68.

her, and she was known to all, even those who had never met her in person.

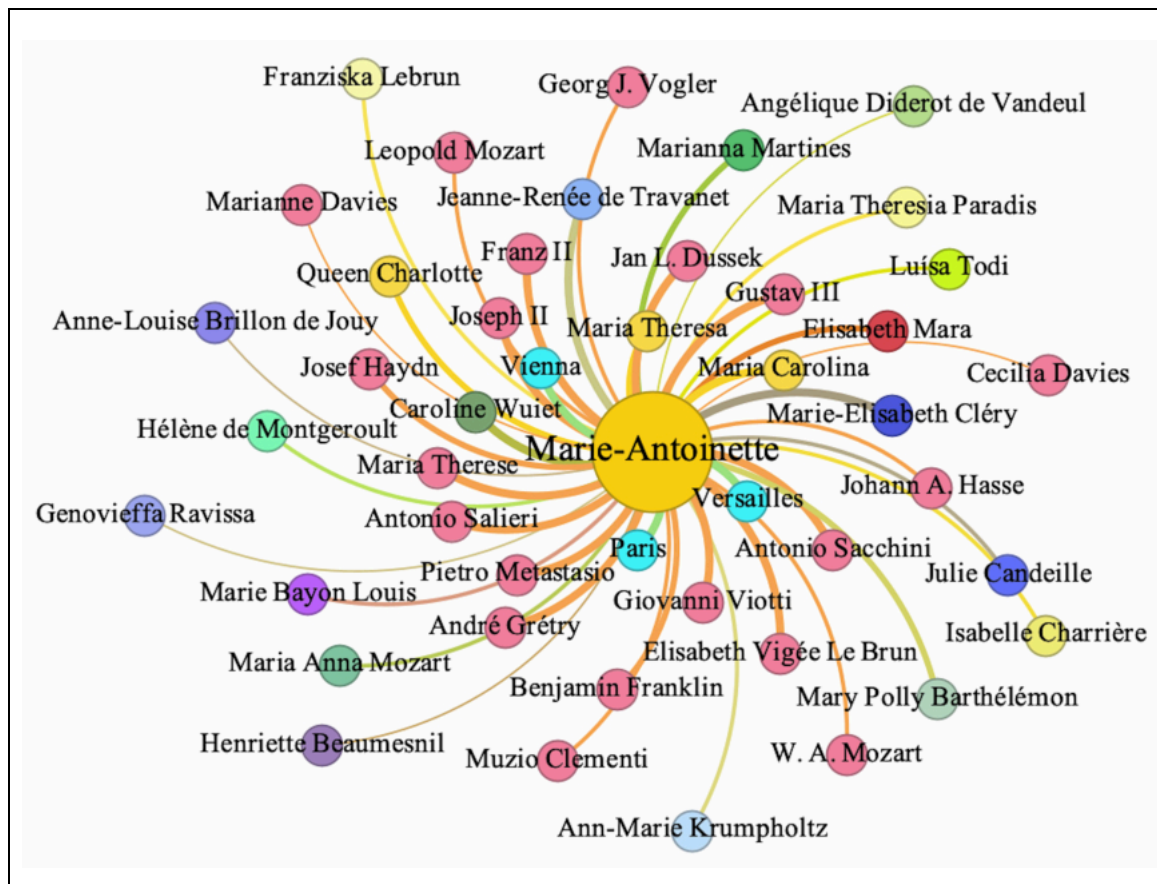


Fig. 4.1. Marie-Antoinette network

In recent years, there has been a notable uptrend in scholarly research on the lives and legacies of French female musicians. Diane Ambache’s work, *Les Parisiennes: French Women Composers of the Long Nineteenth Century*, is a seminal contribution to this field.⁴¹ Ambache’s research illuminates the achievements of more than thirty French female composers who helped shape the music landscape from the French Revolution to World War I. While Ambache’s study primarily focuses on the nineteenth century, it is imperative to acknowledge that the eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of remarkable French female musicians, who played crucial roles within the musical fabric of Versailles and Paris despite their comparatively limited recognition.

A. Versailles—Wuïet, Cléry, Travanet—*primary, secondary, potential*

In the following sections, I explore the lives of Caroline Wuïet Auffdiener, Marie-

⁴¹ Diana Ambache, *Les Parisiennes: French Women Composers of the Long Nineteenth Century*. Bristol, CT: Equinox Publishing, 2024.

Elisabeth Duvergé Cléry, and Jeanne-Renée de Bombelles Travanet within the context of eighteenth-century Versailles. Additionally, I examine the salonnières Hélène de Montgeroult, Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy, and Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis. To provide a broader perspective, I present the antithesis to my research by discussing the Parisian performers and composers Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil, Amélie-Julie Candeille, and Sophie Garre Gail. Although grouped into individual categories for clarity, it is essential to remember that the gentry, salonnières, and professional performers also composed music in their own right.

From the refined elegance exuded by the aristocrats to the artistic flair of the salonnières, performers, and composers, each category offers a unique lens through which we can explore the French cultural setting during the last half of the 18th century (1750–1800). However, unlike previous networks, I have found no discernible pattern outside of Marie-Antoinette’s court at Versailles. As we move on to Paris itself, connections become increasingly scarce. While some individuals had personal relationships with Marie-Antoinette, the majority likely only knew her as their Queen. This limited personal connection does not provide a substantial basis for my study. However, delving into their stories may uncover threads connecting these female musicians, allowing us to grasp the social and cultural forces that shaped their lives.

4.2 Caroline Wuïet Auffdiener (1768–1834)

Among the antique engravings on display at a merchant’s door, I had just spotted one of no interest to most but which reminded me of a whole era: it was an allegorical portrait engraved by Evangelisty⁴² and depicting a half-naked woman. Love, armed with his quiver, held her with a garland of roses while she tried to escape him, pointing to the distant Temple of Glory. Underneath was engraved the words:

“Miss Caroline Wuïet, pensioner of the Queen and decorated member of the Academy of the Arcades.”

I had known the original of this portrait, and my memory of it was still full of emotion. This woman, now forgotten, had excited the admiration of my contemporaries!⁴³

⁴² Probably Vincenzo Vangelisti (c1740–1798)

⁴³ “Parmi d’antiques gravures exposées à la porte d’un marchand, je venais d’en apercevoir une, sans intérêt pour le plus grand nombre, mais qui me rappelait, à moi, toute une époque: c’était un portrait allégorique gravé par Evangelisty et représentant une femme demi-nue. L’Amour, armé de son carquois, la retenait au moyen d’une guirlande de roses, tandis qu’elle faisait effort pour lui échapper, en montrant au loin le temple de la Gloire. Au-dessous étaient gravés ces mots: « *M^{lle} Caroline Wuïet, pensionnaire de la*

Multi-talented Caroline Wuïet, originally named Charlotte Pétronille Vuïet, was born in Reims, France.⁴⁴ Her father, Clément Vuïet (n.d.), served as the organist of the Saint-Symphorien church in Reims, and her mother was Marie Adrienne Labassée (n.d.).⁴⁵ The family later moved to Rambouillet and eventually settled in Paris, where Clément became a librarian.⁴⁶ A child prodigy on the keyboard, Caroline was introduced to Marie-Antoinette at the age of five by Marie-Thérèse Louise, the Princess de Lamballe (1749–1792).⁴⁷ Recognizing her potential, the Queen took Caroline under her wing, entrusting her education to some of the era’s luminaries: André Grétry for music, Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–1799) for theatre, Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805) for painting, and Charles-Albert Demoustier (1760–1801) for writing.⁴⁸ André Grétry, in particular, had a profound influence on the young music prodigy.⁴⁹ This

reine et membre décoré de l'Académie des Arcades.» “J’avais connu l’original de ce portrait, et le souvenir que j’en conservais était encore plein d’émotion. Cette femme, aujourd’hui oubliée, avait excité l’admiration de mes contemporains !” Much of Wuïet’s profile is taken from the biographical anecdotes of Émile Souvestre, “Mémoires d’un bourgeois de Paris: une femme célèbre,” in *Revue de Paris* (Bruxelles: Demengeot et Goodman, 1841), 4: 57. The biography also appears in “Souvenirs de la République: Mémoires d’un bourgeois de Paris. Une femme célèbre,” *Le Siècle* 1841 (April 9): 1–3; (April 10): 1–3; (April 12): 1–3; (April 13): 1–3; (April 14): 1–3; (April 15): 1–2.

⁴⁴ Alternative spellings include Wuïet, Wuïet, Wuyet, Wuier, Vuïet, Vuyet, Vuïel, and Vuet. Calvert Johnson, “Caroline Wuïet: Eighteenth-Century French Composer, Journalist, and Novelist,” *Women of Note Quarterly* 2 (1994): 20.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Clément’s position is listed in his son, Antoine Claude’s baptismal record dated April 27, 1778. See Paris archives, Actes de l’état civil reconstitué, call number 5 Mil 54, view 22/50, April 27, 1778.

⁴⁷ Souvestre, “Mémoires d’un Bourgeois de Paris,” 4: 58.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4: 58–59. Wuïet’s origins have long been a subject of debate, with French author Evelyne Sullerot (1924–2017) proposing that Wuïet was born in Vienna instead of Reims. See Evelyne Sullerot, *Histoire de la presse féminine en France, des origines à 1848* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966), 76. Sullerot’s assertion was repeated in Heather Belnap Jensen, “Portraitistes à la Plume: Women Art Critics in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 2007). Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson suggest that this claim could provide insight into Marie-Antoinette’s motives for adopting the girl. As the Queen of France and an Austrian native, Marie-Antoinette may have felt a connection to a child from her homeland, fostering Wuïet’s unwavering loyalty and lifelong devotion. (Letzter, 246, no. 38). However, it is important to note that Marie-Antoinette adopted several children for various reasons, as discussed in Philippe Huisman and Marguerite Jallut, *Marie Antoinette* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 143. However, Wuïet’s birth record contradicts Sullerot’s suggestion, confirming that she was indeed born in Reims. The record states that Charlotte Pétronille Vuïet was born on August 17, 1768, and baptized on August 18, 1768, to Clément Vuïet, the organist of Saint-Symphorien, and Marie Adrienne Labassée, who were also married in the parish. See Archives départementales de la Marne, BMS Reims. “Caroline Wuïet,” [Birth and Baptism records] 1766–1769, call number 2E534/78, view 223/314. Consequently, determining Marie-Antoinette’s specific motivations for adopting Wuïet continue to remain elusive.

⁴⁹ “Le célèbre Grétry, que mes talents intéressèrent, se chargea de diriger mon génie; grâce à ses bontés & à mon courage, je finis mon cours d’étude à Treize ans, alors je travaillai pour le Théâtre.” Caroline Wuïet, *Sophie, comédie en un acte, et en prose* (Paris: De Cailleau, 1787), preface, iv–vii. “Ma seconde élève fut M^{elle} Caroline Vuïet; jamais femme n’eut une tête plus mâle, plus forte que cette demoiselle, qui avoit alors neuf à dix ans. Elle pouvoit être un compositeur distingué lorsqu’elle prit un gout passionné pour la littérature, où elle doit avoir un jour des succès.” André Ernest Modest Grétry, *Mémoires; ou Essais sur la musique*, 3 vols. (Paris: Verdière, 1812), 3: 384.

early patronage not only fostered Caroline's artistic development but also highlights Marie-Antoinette's role in nurturing young talents during her reign.⁵⁰

Caroline Wuïet had an eventful life, achieving extraordinary milestones at a young age. She displayed her harpsichord skills at the Concert Spirituel at nine years old in 1777.⁵¹ Only two years later, she published her violin obligato to the overture of Sacchini's *L'Amore Soldato*.⁵² Not content with confining herself to only one or two artistic pursuits, Wuïet authored a three-act play titled *Angelina* (1782) at the age of fourteen, and at sixteen, she composed her first opera, *Zéphire et Flore* (1784), which was staged in Brussels.⁵³ Wuïet continued to break new ground, writing an opera buffa entitled *l'Heureuse Erreur* in 1786, taking on both the music and libretto, establishing her status as one of the pioneering women in this dual role.⁵⁴ Although the Comédie-Italienne accepted the opera and began rehearsals, the planned performance never materialized.⁵⁵ Devastated by this failure, Wuïet fell ill with grief.⁵⁶ Following her doctor's orders to travel for her health, she visited Germany and Italy, where she was accepted as a member of Rome's Académie des Arcades.⁵⁷

Wuïet's return to France signaled the decline of her previously idealized lifestyle.⁵⁸ Her allegiance to the royal family briefly led to her arrest in 1789.⁵⁹ Shortly after her seizure, she was exiled to England, where she performed at least once at Hanover Square in London before eventually joining a sizable community of French expatriates in Holland.⁶⁰ In 1797, Wuïet returned to Paris and resumed her composition

⁵⁰ Barbier, 211–214.

⁵¹ Letzter, 29.

⁵² Caroline Wuïet, *Ouverture de l'Amore Soldato* (Paris: Mmes Le Menu & Boyer, 1779).

⁵³ *Angelina* garnered immense applause at the Theatre des Beaujolais. For the reviews, see Johnson, "Caroline Wuïet: Eighteenth-Century French Composer, Journalist, and Novelist," 20–21; and Letzter, 28–29; and Johnson, "Caroline Wuïet," 22.

⁵⁴ Letzter, 28; and Heather Belnap Jensen, "Caroline Wuïet, la Baronne Auffdiener (1766–1835)," in *Women Art Critics in Nineteenth-Century France: Vanishing Acts*, ed. by Wendelin Guentner (Newark: University of Delaware, 2013), 327. The opera itself is lost, however, the manuscript for the overture can be found at Caroline Wuïet, *Ouverture de l'Heureux Stratagème, opéra comique* (Paris: Boyer, 1786).

⁵⁵ Souvestre, 4: 61.

⁵⁶ "Mais, à cette nouvelle, tous les musiciens s'ameutèrent; la partition de Caroline Wuïet fut attaquée avant d'être connue; on fit appel à toutes les jalousies, on intéressa des dépits, des rancunes; bref, après huit répétitions, l'ouvrage fut arrêté, et le manuscrit confié à un autre compositeur. Caroline tomba malade de chagrin par suite de cet échec, et les médecins lui ayant ordonné de voyager, elle visita l'Allemagne et l'Italie, où elle fut reçue membre de l'académie des Arcades." Souvestre, 4: 61.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* This is also why she sometimes uses the title of "academician." See Belnap Jensen, "Caroline Wuïet, la Baronne Auffdiener (1766–1835)," 328.

⁵⁸ Souvestre, 4: 61.

⁵⁹ Belnap Jensen, "Caroline Wuïet," 328.

⁶⁰ Souvestre, 4: 61–62; McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Wuïet — <Mlle>Caroline]; and Carl Friedrich Cramer, *Magazin der Musik* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971), 2.1: 23.

work amid the French Directory era.⁶¹ During this juncture, she found a measure of success with her sonatas, reasserting her musical prowess.⁶²

Characterized as a flamboyant individual, she assimilated into the vivacious social milieu of the Incroyables and Merveilleuses, embracing life's indulgences and driven by an insatiable curiosity for the rumors and intrigues that pervaded Parisian society.⁶³ Thus, she became a journalist and press director, creating a series of short-lived publications in 1798–1799.⁶⁴ These included *Le Cercle*, whose political commentary quickly got her into trouble;⁶⁵ *Le Papillon, journal des arts et des plaisirs*;⁶⁶ *Le Phénix, journal politique et littéraire*;⁶⁷ and finally, *La Mouche, journal des Graces*, all of which appeared for only a few months.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, she continued to write articles for the *Journal des Dames et des Modes* between 1800 and 1807 and wrote novels such as *Ésope au Bal de l'Opéra* [Aesop at the Opera Ball] (1803) and *Mémoires de Babioles* (1806)⁶⁹

Wuiet entered into matrimony later in life at 39 in 1807 when she married Baron Joseph Auffdiener (1769–1811), a respected military engineer and freemason.⁷⁰ She accompanied her husband to Portugal, where he had served since 1789, assuming the name Dona Elidora.⁷¹ Her extraordinary beauty, quick wit, and exceptional musical talent

⁶¹ “Six romances du Phénix, avec accompagnement de harpe ou de fortepiano; paroles et musique de la citoyenne Wuiet, académicienne; dédiées a la citoyenne Bonaparte.” *Le Nouvelliste littéraire* (May 19, 1799): 8. The Directory was the first political regime following the French Revolution, governing from 1795 to 1799.

⁶² Souvestre, 4: 70.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4: 64–78. During the period of the French Directory, an aristocratic subculture known as the Incroyables and their female counterparts, the Merveilleuses, emerged in Paris. These individuals were known for their distinctive and extravagant styles, setting trends and making bold fashion statements. See Philippe Séguy, “Costume in the Age of Napoleon,” in *The Age of Napoleon: Costume from Revolution to Empire (1789–1815)*, ed. by Katell le Bourhis (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1989), 59–70.

⁶⁴ Souvestre, 4: 75.

⁶⁵ *Le Cercle*'s run was abruptly halted when the Directory suppressed the politically focused journal after just a few months. *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Extracts may be accessed at “Caroline Wuiet, *Le Papillon*, an VI,” in *Plumes et Pinceaux: Discours de femmes sur l'art en Europe (1750–1850): Anthologie*, ed. by Anne Lafont (Dijon: Publications de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 2012), 59–67.

⁶⁷ (Extracts) *Ibid.*, 68–72.

⁶⁸ Caroline Wuiet, *La Mouche* (Paris: Chez les Auteurs, 1799). While the other publications faltered due to their overt display of strong political biases, this final publication struggled to attract a sufficient number of subscribers, ultimately leading to its discontinuation. See Gorse, 56.

⁶⁹ Belnap Jensen, “Caroline Wuiet,” 329–330. Caroline Wuiet, *Ésope au Bal de l'Opéra, ou Tout Paris en miniature*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gueffier, 1802); and, Caroline Wuiet, *Mémoires de Babiole, ou la Lanterne magique anglaise*, 3 vols. (Paris: Pougens, 1803).

⁷⁰ Jeffares, *Pastels & pastellists*.

⁷¹ Souvestre, 4: 93–94. For more information on Joseph Auffdiener and his career in Portugal, see Carlos Henrique de Moura Rodrigues Martins, “O programa de obras públicas para o território de Portugal continental, 1789–1809,” 2 vols. PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 2014.

made her a highly sought-after figure among the region's most influential families.⁷² Soon, however, the political upheaval caused by the Peninsula War (1807–1814) forced her to return to France in 1808 while her husband remained in Portugal to handle his business interests.⁷³ He was imprisoned and ultimately perished in 1811 while in custody.⁷⁴

Widowed but back in Paris, Caroline found comfort in her writing and continued to pursue her passion for writing fiction, romances, and ditties, some of which gained considerable popularity.⁷⁵ However, the city had undergone a profound transformation; the once-familiar world she knew had vanished.⁷⁶ Caroline struggled to adapt to the new political and social climate during the Bourbon Restoration (1814–1830), which affected her overall well-being.⁷⁷ Eventually, her circumstances deteriorated to the point where she became homeless, taking refuge in the park of Saint-Cloud with her two dogs.⁷⁸ In the latter days of her life, Caroline's mental state deteriorated further, with symptoms that align with what we might identify as dementia today.⁷⁹

The surroundings of this deathbed added to the horror of the scene. Near the bedside, above the dying woman's head, was the portrait we mentioned at the beginning of this article.

It was Caroline, crowned with flowers and swaying between Glory and Love. A little further on, another pencil portrait, dating from the Directoire period, depicted her as a man with curly hair, a loose tie, a half-open frock coat, and cuffed boots. Nearby were pastels of the Princess de Lamballe and the Queen, and several foreign miniatures, mounted in pins and medallions. Entwined figures, hair, emblems of fidelity, and mottoes of love grimaced around the funeral bed, recalling all the phases of this tormented life. At a single glance, one could see the beginning and the end

⁷² Souvestre, 4: 94–95. Wuiet wrote about being a French refugee in Portugal. See Caroline Wuiet, *Le Sterne du Mondego, ou le Français en Portugal* (Demantin, 1809).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁷⁴ The specifics surrounding Auffdiener's confinement and eventual demise remain unclear. According to Émile Souvestre, Auffdiener endured months of suffering in the Fort Sao Joao Baptista da Foz in Porto before being sent to a Plymouth pontoon [convict ship] in Devon, where he ultimately died. (Souvestre, 4: 97). Whereas, Evelyne Sullerot claims that Auffdiener met his untimely end during Napoleon's retreat from Russia. (Sullerot, 76–77).

⁷⁵ Souvestre, 4: 98. A ditty is a short, light-hearted song or poem.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4: 98–99.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 4: 99.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 4: 99–101. There are conflicting accounts regarding Caroline Wuiet's final days and living arrangements. While Heather Belnap Jensen claims that Wuiet spent her last days in the park and died as a vagrant (Belnap Jensen, "Caroline Wuiet," 331), Souvestre's account indicates that she had been hospitalized and later found lodging with the coachman's wife. (Souvestre, 4: 101). Souvestre, in his accounts, vividly portrays her final days, recounting the throes of her mental decline. (*Ibid.*, 4: 90–104).

and follow step by step the road that had led this happily gifted creature to solitude and abandonment.

I left with a heavy heart. When I returned the following day, Caroline Wuïet was dead, and the sale of her belongings was being completed.

— *Émile Souvestre*⁸⁰

In the past two decades, Caroline Wuïet has received substantial recognition and scholarly acclaim for her insightful art criticism, surpassing the attention given to her musical talents and compositional output.⁸¹

Wuïet and Versailles

Caroline Wuïet's connection with Marie-Antoinette transcended the boundaries of mortality, leaving an indelible impact on her life.⁸² She held onto precious keepsakes, including a portrait of the Queen and a lock of her hair, cherishing them as enduring mementos.⁸³ Moreover, Marie-Antoinette entrusted Wuïet with safeguarding a casket containing letters intended for Chevalier de Beauvoir before her arrest.⁸⁴ Wuïet was responsible for ensuring the casket's safe delivery to Charles-Philippe, the Count of Artois (1757–1836), Louis XVI's younger brother, who would then pass it on to the Chevalier.⁸⁵ The casket itself bore an engraving adorned with a phoenix, accompanied

⁸⁰ “L’entourage de ce lit de mort ajoutait encore à l’horreur de a scène. Près du chevet, au-dessus même de la tête de l’agonisante, se trouvait le portrait dont nous avons parlé au commencement de cet article. / C’était bien Caroline, couronnée de fleurs et balançant entre la Gloire et l’Amour. Un peu plus loin, un autre portrait au crayon, datant du directoire, la représentait en homme, les cheveux bouclés, la cravate lâche, avec une redingote à moitié ouverte et des bottes à revers. Tout auprès se trouvaient des pastels de la princesse de Lamballe et de la reine, et plusieurs miniatures étrangères, montées en épingles et en médaillons. Des chiffres enlacés, des cheveux, des emblèmes de fidélité, des devises d’amour grimaçaient autour du lit funèbre, rappelant toutes les phases de cette vie tourmentée. On pouvait embrasser pour ainsi dire d’un seul coup d’œil le point de départ et le terme, suivre pas à pas la route qui avait conduit cette créature si heureusement douée, à la solitude et à l’abandon. / Je partis le cœur navré. Lorsque je revins le surlendemain, Caroline Wuïet était morte et l’on achevait la vente de ce qui lui avait appartenu.” *Ibid.*, 4: 104.

⁸¹ The research and analysis of Caroline Wuïet's art criticism can be largely attributed to the dedicated efforts of art historian Heather Belnap Jensen, bringing Wuïet's contributions to the forefront of art historical scholarship. See Belnap Jensen, “Portraitistes à la Plume: Women Art Critics in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France,” PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 2007; “Le privilege des femmes dans la critique d’art en France, 1785–1815,” *Societies & Representations* 40 (2015): 145–161; “Caroline Wuïet, la Baronne Auffdiener (1766–1835),” in *Women Art Critics in Nineteenth-Century France: Vanishing Acts*, 327–334; and “‘C.W....académicienne’: Caroline Wuïet and the Emergence of the Woman Art Critic in Postrevolutionary France,” in *Women Art Critics in Nineteenth-Century France: Vanishing Acts*, 53–72.

⁸² Justine Guillery, *Mémoires de Justine Guillery: 1789–1846*, ed. by Marie-Paule de Weerd-Pilorge (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 47.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Possibly François Jean de Beauvoir, Marquis de Chastellux (1734–1788).

⁸⁵ Souvestre, 4: 61.

by the inscription:

*Je renâitrai de ma cendre*⁸⁶
[I will be reborn from my ashes]

Wuiet’s lengthy tenure of nearly thirteen years within the Queen’s inner circle would have undoubtedly exposed her to an array of musicians at Versailles. In particular, she would have been familiar with female musicians such as Marie-Élisabeth Cléry, the court harpist, whose musical abilities likely intersected with Wuiet’s own interests.

Wuiet, London, and Portugal

Caroline Wuiet may have come into contact with the other female performers while she was in London. Harriett Abrams, Mary Polly Barthélémon, Elizabeth Billington, Sophia Corri Dussek, Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, Elisabeth Mara, Nancy Storage, and Harriet Wainewright were all active in London at that time. Furthermore, Wuiet’s presence in Portugal may have allowed her to cross paths with Luísa Todi. However, the absence of extant documentation to substantiate such encounters presents a research gap warranting further investigation.

4.3 Marie-Elisabeth Talvaz-Duvergé Cléry (1762–1811)

In contrast to the relatively well-documented life of Caroline Wuiet, limited information is available on Marie-Elisabeth Cléry. Her husband, Jean-Baptiste Hanet Cléry (1759–1809), Louis XVI’s valet during the monarch’s final days in the Temple prison, is renowned for his detailed account of the King’s harrowing last days.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Marie-Elisabeth’s devotion to Marie-Antoinette was equally profound, a subject we are poised to explore.

Marie-Elisabeth Talvaz-Duvergé, an only child, was born on November 10, 1762, in Versailles to Pierre Talvaz-Duvergé (1733–1805), the “premier garçon de la Musique du Roi,”⁸⁸ and Marie-Anne Pilon (n.d.), the daughter of a wood gilder.⁸⁹ Marie-Elisabeth

⁸⁶ Ibid. The fate of the casket and its contents remains unknown, leaving historians and enthusiasts alike with a lingering sense of intrigue and unanswered questions.

⁸⁷ Jean-Baptiste Cléry, *Journal de ce qui s’est passé à la Tour du Temple, pendant la captivité de Louis XVI, roi de France* (London: Imprimerie de Baylis, 1798).

⁸⁸ First boy [gentleman] of the King’s music.

⁸⁹ Archives départementales Yvelines et de l’ancienne Seine-et-Oise [Duvergé, Marie-Elisabeth] Versailles Parish [Birth and Baptism records]: call number 4E 3483, B, 1762–1762, view 91; Charles Read, ed., *Chercheurs et curieux*, Numéros 629 à 639 (Paris: ICC Publications, 1864), 1104; and Centre de Musique Baroque, Versailles, “Talvaz Duvergé, Pierre (1733–1805).”

became a harpist in Marie-Antoinette's court orchestra in 1776 at the age of fourteen.⁹⁰ In June of the same year, one of her compositions is featured in the *Mercure de France* under the name "Mademoiselle Duv**."⁹¹ A few years later, in 1780, she appeared in the *Journal de Paris* announcing her harp performance of a Bach Concerto.⁹² By the time she married Jean-Baptiste on September 30, 1782, she was already an acknowledged celebrity performer.⁹³ Moreover, in 1784, a harpist named "Madame Cléry" appears in London newspapers:

Almack's Room. For the Benefit of Madame CLERY, Musician on the Harp to the Queen of France. On Wednesday the 9th of June will be performed a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. The Band under the Direction of Mr. CRAMER.⁹⁴

Even after her marriage, Marie-Elisabeth retained her position in the court orchestra, and by 1791, she was considered one of the premier harpists in Paris.⁹⁵

After her husband emigrated to Vienna to serve Marie-Thérèse, the last surviving member of France's royal family, Marie-Elisabeth remained with her children in Juvisy, just outside Paris.⁹⁶ Marie-Elisabeth Talvaz-Duvergé Cléry passed away in 1811 at the age of 49.⁹⁷ She is known for composing a sonata trio and two collections of harp arrangements inspired by the music of François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1834).⁹⁸ In these works, Marie-Elisabeth designates herself as a 'Professeur,' indicating a possible role as a

⁹⁰ Charles Read claims that Marie-Elisabeth entered Marie-Antoinette's service in 1779. (Read, *Chercheurs et curieux*, 1104). However, the age quoted here is given by Marie-Elisabeth's granddaughters. See Jean-Baptiste Cléry, *Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple, pendant la captivité de Louis XVI, roi de France*, ed. by Louise, Élisabeth, and Charlotte de Gaillard (Paris: C. Bertin, 1861), 3. Assuming the granddaughters have the most accurate knowledge of their family history, Marie-Elisabeth would have been hired into Marie-Antoinette's orchestra in 1776.

⁹¹ *MF* (June 1776): 62–67.

⁹² *Journal de Paris* (May 14, 1780): 555.

⁹³ Cléry and Gaillard, *Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple*, 3. Marie-Elisabeth and Jean-Baptiste had two daughters and three sons: Bénédicte m. Gaillard (1783–1856), Pierre-François (1785–1785), Charles (1786–1811), Hubertine m. Grem (1787–1858), and François-Louis (1789–1795). Éva Sárközi, "Adatok Kosztolányi Dezső családtörténetéhez egy eddig ismeretlen levél kapcsán," *Irodalomtörténet* 2 (2013): 283–303. Bénédicte was the mother of the Gaillard sisters, Marie-Élisabeth's granddaughters mentioned in no. 89.

⁹⁴ *The Public Advertiser* (June 5, 1784), 1.

⁹⁵ Read, *Chercheurs et curieux*, 1104–1105.

⁹⁶ Wien Geschichte Wiki, "Jean Baptist Cléry" (November 5, 2022); and Cléry and Gaillard, *Journal*, 4.

⁹⁷ Cléry and Gaillard, *Journal*, 23; and Archives départementales Yvelines et de l'ancienne Seine-et-Oise, "Table Alphabétique des Décès, et des Absences constatées par jugement," [Cléry Talvaz Duverger, Marie-Elisabeth] view 164/177, no. 32.

⁹⁸ Marie-Elisabeth Cléry, *Trois sonates pour la harpe ou piano-forté avec accompagnement de violon* (Paris: Bailleux, 1785); *Recueil de quatre nouvelles romances* (Paris: Mme Duhan, n.d.); and *Recueil de six nouvelles romances avec accompagnement de harpe* (Paris: Mme Duhan, n.d.).

harp instructor.

Cléry and the Royal Family

Like her husband, Marie-Elisabeth was fiercely devoted to the royal family, often risking her life on their behalf.⁹⁹ Furthermore, she composed a song for Louis Charles, also known as Louis XVII (1785–1795), shortly after his father’s execution.¹⁰⁰

I have said nothing of the song composed for the young King, after the death of his august father. Madame Cléry, who was a skilful performer on the harpsichord and harp, wrote the music for it. I took it to the Temple and presented it to the Queen; and when I returned a week later her Majesty took me into Madame Élizabeth’s room, where the young prince sang the song to Madame Royale’s accompaniment. [...] the scene is indescribable [...] Never will this picture be effaced from my memory.

— *Jacques François Lepitre*¹⁰¹

Following the deaths of Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, and Louis XVII, Marie-Elisabeth Cléry discovered that the princess royale, Marie-Thérèse, took evening strolls in the garden of the Temple prison.¹⁰² Seeking to provide solace to the young prisoner, Cléry rented two rooms in the Temple Rotunda, which offered a vantage point overlooking the garden. Equipped with her harp, Cléry collaborated with Lepitre, whose verses Cléry set to music, and performed small concerts for Marie-Thérèse. Each day, the princess would sit in the garden on a makeshift seat, such as a crate or an overturned flower pot, to listen to the soothing music. These musical interludes were soon banned by the police, putting an end to their attempts to comfort Marie-Thérèse during her captivity.

Cléry and Mara

As with Caroline Wuïet, Marie-Elisabeth Cléry possibly encountered Elisabeth Mara when the latter visited Versailles in 1782 or during Cléry’s sojourn in London in

⁹⁹ Cléry and Gaillard, *Journal*, 8–9; and Jean-Baptiste Cléry and Henry Essex Edgeworth, *A Journal of the Terror: Being an Account of the Occurrences in the Temple during the Confinement of Louis XVI*, ed. by Walter Sidney Scott (London: Folio Press, J. M. Dent, 1974), 48, 66, 78.

¹⁰⁰ Mrs. Rodolph Stawell and G. Lenotre (Théodore Gosselin), *The Last Days of Marie Antoinette* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1907), 121–122.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* Jacques François Lepitre (1764–1821) was a professor of rhetoric at the University of Paris. He was also one Marie-Antoinette’s guard while she was in Temple prison.

¹⁰² The anecdote in this paragraph can be found in Jean-François Lepitre, *Quelques souvenirs, ou Notes fidèles sur mon service au Temple* (Paris: H. Nicolle, 1814), 80–85.

1784.¹⁰³ According to the notice in the *Public Advertiser* on the preceding page, Cléry was residing at no. 23 Air Street, Piccadilly.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, the advertisement immediately above Cléry's announcement promotes Madame Mara's upcoming concert at the Pantheon on the 7th of June.¹⁰⁵ Tickets for this concert could be purchased at Mara's residence at no. 1, Duke Street, Portland Chapel [Place], less than a mile from Cléry's residence in Piccadilly.¹⁰⁶

Cléry and Krumpholtz

A potentially significant connection that warrants exploration is that Marie-Elisabeth Duvergé and Anne-Marie Krumpholtz were renowned harp virtuosos of similar age, both active in Paris at the same time. Given their respective eminence and commitment to the harp, it is conceivable that they were aware of each other and perhaps even engaged in direct interaction.

— Networking Versailles residents

The social networks of Caroline Wuïet and Marie-Elisabeth Cléry exhibit similarities in Figures 4.2 and 4.3, highlighting the limited historical documentation of their interactions with other musicians and key figures within the dataset. Both women were active in Versailles and Paris, with documented travels to London at least once. Their networks highlight the often-overlooked presence of female musicians in eighteenth-century cultural circles, where courtly patronage and social affiliations frequently dictated professional opportunities.

Notably, this marks the third time Elisabeth Mara emerges as a central figure in these musical networks. Her recurring prominence suggests a high degree of mobility and influence, making her a valuable point of comparison. The forthcoming analyses of Jeanne-Renée de Travanet and H el ene de Montgeroult will further illuminate these connections and provide a broader context for understanding how female musicians navigated the shifting social and political landscapes of the time.

¹⁰³ Reisman, 580–581.

¹⁰⁴ *The Public Advertiser* (June 5, 1784), 1.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ As noted in Marianne Crux Gillberg Peters en's profile, Duke Street in Portland Place in the Marylebone district (now known as Hallam Street), should not be confused with Duke Street, St. James's. See London Ancestor, "Map of Marylebone." This distinction is significant as Gillberg lived three kilometers away on this popular street ten years later.

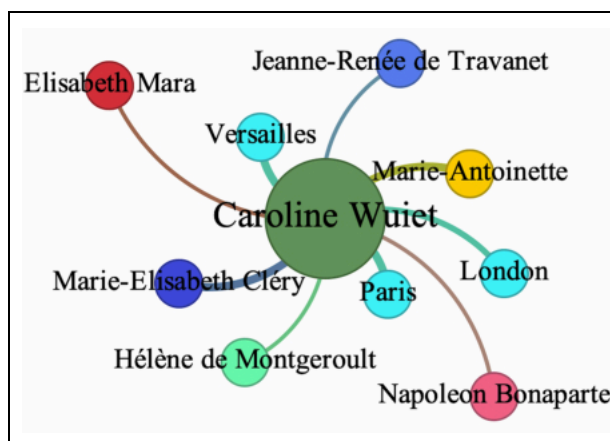


Fig. 4.2. Caroline Wuiet network

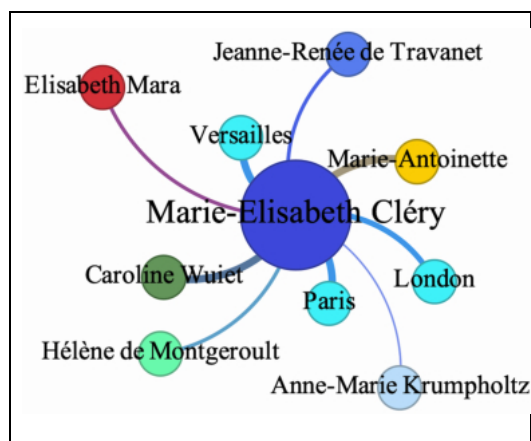


Fig. 4.0.3. Marie-Elisabeth Cléry network

Caroline Wuiet's relatively limited interactions within the dataset are evident in Figure 4.4, where her strongest associations are with Marie-Antoinette, Versailles, and Paris. This underscores the significance of royal and aristocratic patronage in shaping the careers of female musicians. Wuiet's connections suggest that, while she had access to elite circles, her interactions beyond the French court were relatively sparse.

Elisabeth Mara's repositioning within the network is particularly noteworthy. As she aligns more closely with the cluster forming around Versailles and Paris, her expanded role indicates a degree of fluidity uncommon among female musicians of the period. Interestingly, only two nodes—London and Napoleon Bonaparte—stand apart from Marie-Antoinette's network, reinforcing the political and geographic boundaries that shaped these relationships. Unlike Wuiet, there is no evidence that Marie-Antoinette ever visited London or engaged directly with Napoleon.¹⁰⁷

Wuiet's example illustrates the paradox of proximity and constraint that often characterized female musical life under royal patronage. Despite her visibility within Marie-Antoinette's artistic circle, her network appears largely confined to the boundaries of court culture. This confinement underscores the extent to which access to elite audiences did not necessarily translate into broader professional mobility. In contrast to musicians such as Mara, whose itinerant career fostered cross-border collaborations, Wuiet's connections reflect a more insular mode of participation—anchored in prestige but limited in reach. Further research into her correspondence or patronage ties might

¹⁰⁷ Wuiet is connected to Napoleon through her friendship with his wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais. See Souvestre, 78, 80; and Georges Mauguin, *L'impératrice Joséphine: Anecdotes et curiosités* (Paris: Self-published, 1954), 34–37.

reveal whether this insularity stemmed from structural limitations or from deliberate specialization within the court’s musical ecosystem.

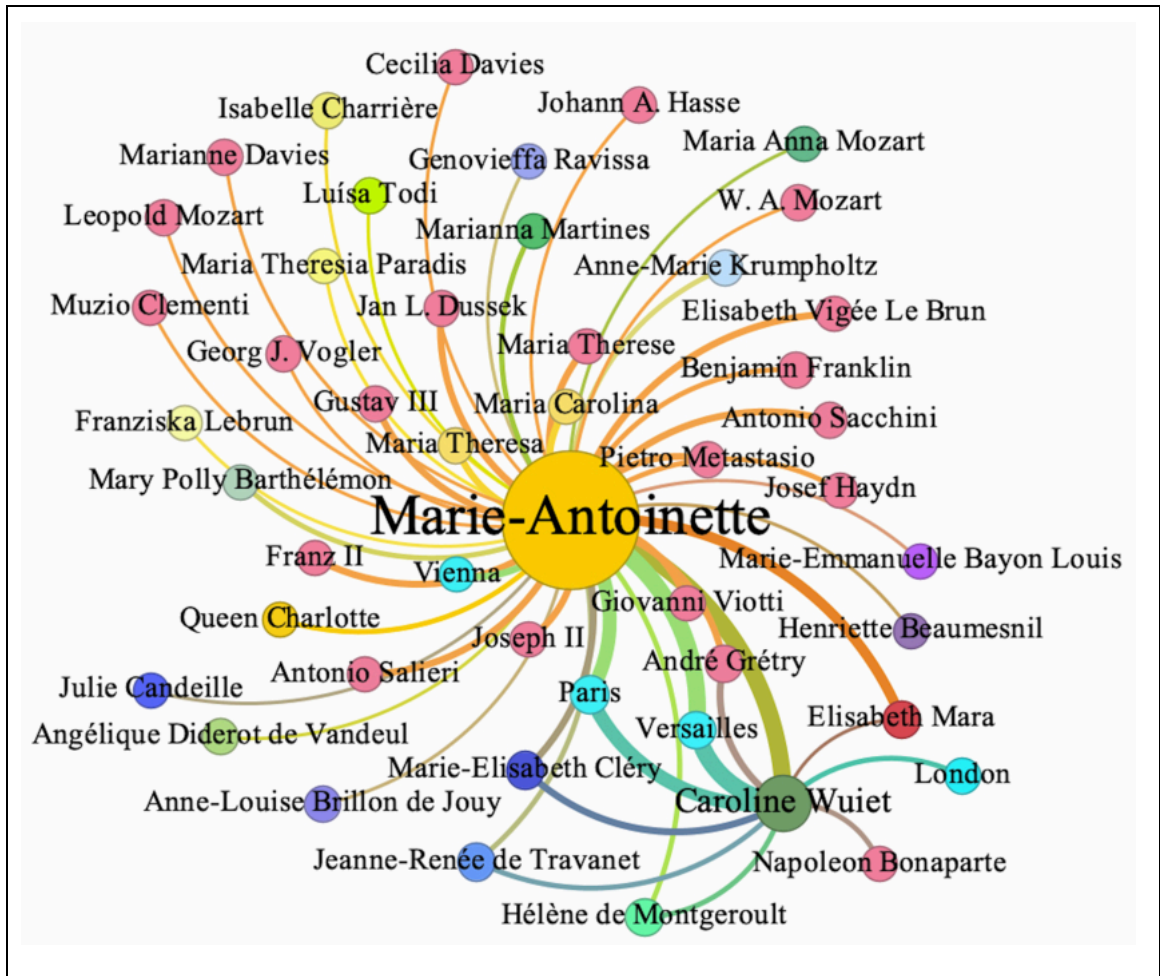


Fig. 4.4. Marie-Antoinette composite network with Caroline Wuïet

Marie-Elisabeth Cléry’s inclusion in Figure 4.5 reinforces the developing cluster by introducing additional edges that interlink the same primary actors, with the notable exception of Napoleon Bonaparte. A particularly intriguing aspect of her network is the potential connection to Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, which situates Cléry within the periphery of the existing cluster. This linkage suggests that Cléry’s professional or social circles may have overlapped with those of Krumpholtz, expanding the scope of the network beyond the immediate courtly environment.

At the core of this network, the relationships between Marie-Antoinette, Wuïet, and Cléry form a central axis, tightly bound to Versailles and Paris. While historical documentation remains incomplete, it is plausible that both Wuïet and Cléry interacted with additional figures from Marie-Antoinette’s circle, even if direct evidence has yet to surface. Should new archival discoveries emerge, these networks could shift dramatically,

reshaping our understanding of how these women engaged with their political and musical milieus.

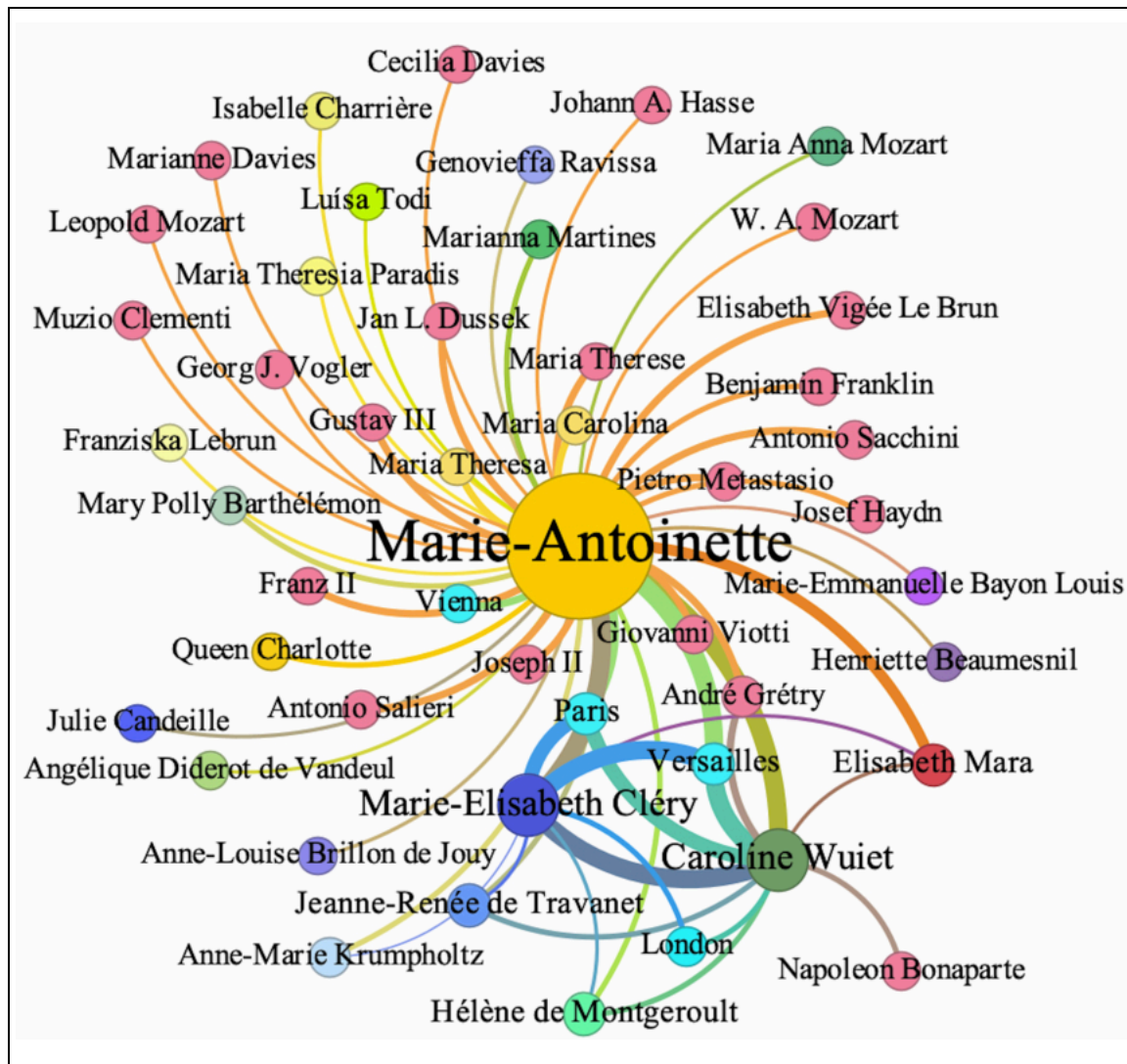


Fig. 4.5. Marie-Antoinette composite network with Marie-Elisabeth Cléry

Our exploration now takes us away from the centralized cluster as we delve into the lives of the female musician Jeanne-Renée Travanel. Unlike Wuiet and Cléry, Travanel was not a resident of Versailles but rather an aristocrat, with limited evidence linking her to Marie-Antoinette and the court. She represents the beginning of a dramatic shift from Gustav III’s highly interconnected yet insular world, the dense and intricate web surrounding Elisabeth Mara, and the expansive yet comparatively sparse connections of Marianna Martines. The forthcoming narratives and connections will offer a striking contrast to the networks examined thus far, shedding light on alternative social, musical, and professional dynamics that shaped the experiences of French female musicians.

4.4 Jeanne-Renée de Bombelles de Travanet (1753–1828)

Jeanne-Renée de Bombelles, a French composer, was born to Count Henri François de Bombelles (1681–1760), a military writer and the governor of Bitche, and his second wife Geneviève Charlotte de Badains (c1715–n.d.).¹⁰⁸ When her father died in 1760, Jeanne-Renée and her sister, Henriette-Victoire (1750–1822), were taken in by their aunt, Françoise de Bombelles d’Offémont (1720–n.d.).¹⁰⁹ Later, Jeanne-Renée resided with Baroness Marie-Angélique de Mackau (1723–1801), the mother of Jeanne-Renée’s future sister-in-law, Marie-Angélique de Mackau Bombelles (1762–1800).¹¹⁰ During this time, Jeanne-Renée developed a friendship with Madame Elisabeth (1764–1794), Marie-Antoinette’s sister-in-law, and served as her lady-in-waiting at Montreuil, located less than a mile from Versailles.¹¹¹

The information available on Jeanne-Renée de Bombelles is primarily derived from letters exchanged between her brother, Marc-Marie de Bombelles (1744–1822), a French diplomat, and his wife, Marie-Angélique.¹¹² Among the few surviving letters Jeanne-Renée wrote herself is one to her brother, Marc-Marie, in 1775, portraying a spirited, carefree, and somewhat sassy young lady.¹¹³ In a separate letter to her brother,

¹⁰⁸ Luc-Normand Tellier, *Face aux Colbert: Les le Tellier, Vauban, Turgot... et l’avènement du libéralisme* (Québec: University Presses, 1987), 669.

¹⁰⁹ Maurice Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau, marquise de Bombelles et la cour de Madame Élisabeth* (Paris: Emile-Paul, 1905), 6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8. Jeanne-Renée played matchmaker between her brother, Marc, and Marie-Angélique. (*Ibid.*, 10, 31; and Marc-Marie, Marquis de Bombelles et Angélique, Marquise de Bombelles, eds., *Que je suis heureuse d’être ta femme: Lettres intimes*, preface by Evelyne Lever (Paris: Tallandier, 2009), 13. Baroness Mackau was the royal governess to Élisabeth of France, Louis XVI’s sister, and later to Marie-Antoinette’s children. See Mary Monica Maxwell-Scott, *Madame Elizabeth de France* (London: E. Arnold, 1908), 8–9; and Fraser, 246.

¹¹¹ Marc Bombelles, *Journal du Marquis de Bombelles 1780–1822*, ed. by Jean Grassion and Frans Durif, 8 vols. (Genève: Droz, 1977), 1: 33. Marie-Angélique, like Jeanne-Renée, served as one of Madame Elisabeth’s ladies-in-waiting.

¹¹² Bombelles, *Que je suis heureuse d’être ta femme: Lettres intimes*. Given that all three individuals were closely associated with the royal court, with Marc-Marie serving as a court-appointed diplomat (Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau*, 9–10), their letters provide valuable insights into the courts of Madame Elisabeth and Queen Marie-Antoinette in France, as well as Queen Maria Carolina in Italy. (*Ibid.*, 8, 152, 160, 213, 305–306).

¹¹³ “M. Lorimier, très honnêtement, m’a envoyé chercher par ma cousine La Sourdière; je suis à Verrières depuis une semaine, où je m’amuse beaucoup: mes cousins et mes cousines étant très-gais. Pour le père, c’est le meilleur homme du monde, mais sa bonté est engloutie dans une bêtise outrée. Imaginez, cher ami, qu’il me répète cent fois par jour: » Ma belle cousine, n’est-il pas vrai que ma maison est belle, bien propre, qu’on y mange de bonnes choses ? Vous direz tout cela à votre petit frère. » Je crois qu’à force de lui avoir dit oui, je finirai par dire non. Il m’annonce à toutes les personnes qui doivent venir chez lui, si belle, qu’il est inmanquable qu’on ne me trouve pas très-laide. Du reste, il me traite très-bien ; et, comme je vois de quelle façon il faut le prendre, je n’ai égard qu’à sa bonne volonté et non point à ses façons. Ses enfants sont charmants.” (Transcription) Archives départementales Yvelines et de l’Ancienne Seine-et-Oise, “Bombelles (famille de),” *Papiers de famille: 1040–XIXe siècle* (Montigny-le-Bretonneux, 2010), 123, E406.

Jeanne-Renée recalls a 1782 holiday visit, during which her sister-in-law, Marie-Angélique, joined them.¹¹⁴ These letters offer rare and invaluable insights into Jeanne-Renée’s personality and the close-knit and supportive nature of her familial relationships.¹¹⁵ Through these glimpses, we see a vibrant, dynamic woman navigating the intricacies of aristocratic life in pre-revolutionary France.¹¹⁶

Little else is known about her life before she married Jean Joseph Guy Henri de Guilhem du Bourguet, Marquis de Travonet (1746–1795) in 1777.¹¹⁷ Their once-loving union eventually soured as Travonet’s gambling addiction took precedence over his relationship with his wife.¹¹⁸ Seeking comfort, Jeanne-Renée turned to her sister-in-law for support.¹¹⁹ In 1786, Jeanne-Renée suspected she might be expecting a child, hoping that a pregnancy would put an end to Travonet’s affair with a notorious courtesan.¹²⁰ However, her hopes were dashed when it turned out to be a false alarm.¹²¹ Travonet’s scandalous behavior reached new heights when he evicted Jeanne-Renée from their home and replaced her with his mistress.¹²² Marc-Marie, who cherished his sister, took her on his diplomatic mission to Portugal to help her recover from the emotional turmoil.¹²³

Upon their return to France in 1788, Marc-Marie expressed concern about Jeanne-Renée’s ability to live independently and support herself.¹²⁴ Consequently,

¹¹⁴ “Tu me pardonneras bien, mon cher ami, de ne t’avoir pas écrit plut tôt, quand tu sauras que depuis huit jours, je suis continuellement avec ta femme, et je vais en passer encore huit autres avec Bombon, à Viarmes. Jamais temps n’aura été si délicieusement employé ; aussi, il me paraîtra bien court. Nous allons installer mon héritier présomptif dans la terre qui lui appartiendra, tant que j’existerai. Nous faisons venir le jeune Goëtz, qui nous accompagnera sur le piano ; nous portons aussi nos harpes ; nous jouerons deux petites pièces de madame de Genlis. J’espère que, moyennant ces occupations, la promenade et l’ouvrage, ton ange ne s’ennuiera pas. Bombon aura tout ce qu’il pourra souhaiter, se roulera par terre, sera bien caressé. Il ne manque à tant de bonheur que celui de no pas voir son papa. Que tu es regretté, désiré par toute notre société !” (Transcription) Ibid., 123, E407.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 81–138.

¹¹⁶ Maurice Fleury highlights how the letters between Marc-Marie and Marie-Angélique, in particular, offer a glimpse into the political turmoil that led to the French Revolution. See Maurice Fleury, *Les dernières années du marquis et de la marquise de Bombelles: D’après des documents inédits* (Paris: Émiles-Paul, 1906).

¹¹⁷ [Travonet-Bombelles marriage announcement] *Gazette de France* (November 17, 1779). (Paris: Imprimerie Royal), 445; and Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau*, 146.

¹¹⁸ Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau*, 146, 152; and Bombelles, *Journal*, 1: 114.

¹¹⁹ Bombelles, *Journal*, 1: 259

¹²⁰ Ibid., 2: 95.

¹²¹ Ibid., 2: 120.

¹²² Ibid., 2: 136.

¹²³ Ibid., 1: 100; and 2: 199. For information on Jeanne-Renée’s activities in Portugal, see Ines Thomas Almeida, “Práticas musicais no feminino em finais do século XVIII em torno de Marie Angélique e Jeanne-Renée de Bombelles,” in *Francesas em Portugal: itinerários múltiplos*, ed. by Isabel C. Lousada and Jorge Pereira de Sampaio, 36–56 (Alcobaça: Associação de Defesa e Valorização do Património Cultural da Região de Alcobaça, 2023).

¹²⁴ Ibid., 2: 199–200.

Jeanne-René emigrated to Switzerland with her brother and sister-in-law in 1791, then to Regensburg in 1794 and Moravia in 1796.¹²⁵ Marie-Angelique passed away in 1800 while delivering her seventh child, Victor (1796–1815).¹²⁶ The following year, Jeanne-Renée returned to Paris with her youngest nephew, Victor, as Marc-Marie wanted him to receive a proper education in his homeland.¹²⁷ Her primary focus for the next several years was Victor’s care.¹²⁸ She was still a resident in Paris in 1815 when Victor died from consumption and subsequently visited her brother in Amiens in 1820.¹²⁹ Jeanne-Renée Bombelles de Travanet ultimately passed away in Paris in 1828 at the age of 75 and was buried at the Mont Valérien cemetery.¹³⁰

Jeanne-Renée de Travanet is credited with creating the widely beloved melody “Pauvre Jacques” in 1789.¹³¹ This tune gained additional historical significance when it was later transformed into the royalist anthem “Complainte de Louis XVI.”¹³² In 1801, she composed a romance based on the novel *Malvina* by Sophie Risteau Cottin (1770–1807).¹³³ In a letter to Cottin in 1801, Travanet offers insight into her creative process.¹³⁴

¹²⁵ Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau*, 150–151; Anne-Bernard-Antoine and Louise-Marie Gournay Raigecourt, eds., *Correspondance Du Marquis et de la Marquise De Raigecourt avec Le Marquis et la Marquise de Bombelles...* (Paris: Société d’Histoire Contemporaine, 1892), 135, 147, 393; and Bombelles, *Journal*, 5: 136–137.

¹²⁶ Stanislas Duneufgermain, ed., *Mémoires sur Mgr de Bombelles, évêque d’Amiens* (Amiens: Delattre-Lenoël, 1877), 90–92.

¹²⁷ Bombelles, *Journal*, 5: 410–411. After his wife’s death, Marc-Marie Bombelles became a priest in Silesia. See Duneufgermain, *Mémoires sur Mgr de Bombelles*, 99–118.

¹²⁸ Jeanne-Renée de Travanet is referenced 44 times in the 6th volume of her brother’s *Journal* between 1801 and 1807, primarily in connection to Victor.

¹²⁹ Duneufgermain, 151, 160–161, 202–203.

¹³⁰ Fleury, *Les dernières années du marquis et de la marquise de Bombelles*, 369.

¹³¹ Jeanne-Renée de Travanet, *Chanson patriotique: Air, du “Pauvre Jacques”* (Paris: Frère, 1792). French socialite and memoirist Henriette Louise von Waldner Oberkirch (1754–1803), remembers Jeanne-Renée and “Pauvre Jacques” in her *Memoirs*. “Je suis liée avec madame de Travenet de la plus vive amitié; c’est une des meilleures, une des plus spirituelles, une des plus charmantes femmes que je connaisse. Elle a été dame de madame Élisabeth, et ne l’était plus au moment dont je parle. C’est elle qui a compose la chanson du Pauvre Jacques, dont l’air et les paroles sont si touchants.” Henriette Louise von Waldner Oberkirch, ed., *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XVI et la société française avant 1789*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles: Meline, Cans et compagnie, 1834), 1: 148.

¹³² Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau*, 303. For information on the lyrics and the story behind the song, see Fr. Reichlen, “La romance du Pauvre Jacques,” *Revue historique vaudoise* (Janvier 1906): 23–28. For additional research material, see Rodama, “The Story of Pauvre Jacques,” Rodama: a blog of 18th-century & Revolutionary France.

¹³³ Jeanne-Renée de Travanet, *Romance de Malvina*. Paris: Naderman, 1801. *I determined the publication date based on the date Travanet indicates in her letter to Cottin. Refer to no. 133 for further details.

¹³⁴ Marie-Sophie Risteau Cottin, ed., *Lettres de divers correspondants à Sophie Cottin* (F-Pn, Département des Manuscrits), NAF 15959–15986: 139r. This letter, dated 1801, was written during the turbulent period in French history between the formation of the French Consulate in 1799 and Napoleon’s crowning in 1804. See Louis Madelin, *The Consulate and the Empire 1789–1809*, tr. by E. F. Buckley (New York: AMS Press, 1967).

It was only yesterday that I received the kind letter of the author of Malvina, dated the 3rd of this month. If not for the inexplicable delay, you would have already known that not only this letter but all of your productions are the charm and consolation of my life. Only a sensitive heart can genuinely appreciate a romance, and mine was deeply moved by your touching expression, Madame. Without care nor method, but rather an invincible attraction, I placed notes under each word that seemed, to me, to belong. I have strived to imbue my song with the same melancholy, tender abandon that reigns in your style and who paints Malvina's bewilderment, pain, and anticipation so truthfully. By working under your guidance, Madame, I am confident I will succeed and please. Because I did not want to alter anything in your romance, it appears to be a small masterpiece to you and everyone else, especially to me. Receive, Madame, with the homage of my gratitude and of my attachment.

Bombelles de Travanet

in Paris this 24 Fructidor¹³⁵ year 9¹³⁶

In addition to “Pauvre Jacques,” Travanet published two sets of *Romances et Chansons* with piano or harp accompaniment.¹³⁷ Several of her songs are featured in multiple anthologies, highlighting her musical talent and the popularity of her compositions during her lifetime.¹³⁸ Nearly fifty years after her death, her “Confiance en Marie” melody was included in a collection of hymns in 1877.¹³⁹ In this collection, she is the only female composer among the likes of Haydn, Mozart, Handel, Beethoven, and Grétry.¹⁴⁰ Despite these accomplishments, Jeanne-Renée's story and compositions have

¹³⁵ Fructidor is the twelfth month of the French Republican calendar, which was used during the French Revolution. It starts either August 18 or 19 and ends exactly thirty days later on September 17 or 18, according to the Gregorian calendar. Therefore “24 Fructidor an 9” in the French Republican calendar corresponds to September 11, 1801, in the Gregorian calendar. See Napoléon & Empire, “The French Republican Calendar.”

¹³⁶ “Ce n'en qu'avant hier Madame que j'ai rem l'amiable Lettre de l'auteur de Malvina, daté du 3 den mois, Sans cet inconcevable retard vous Sauriez déjà, que non Seule mem cette Épître; mais toute Vos Productions fon le Charme et la Consolation de ma vie. Il ne fans qu'un Cœur Sensible pour bien juger une romance, Le mien a été tell mem Ému de la touchante Expression de la vôtre Madame, que Sans Soïn ne méthode ; mais par un attrait invincible, j'ai placé Sous chaque mot la note que me Semblais lui appartenir, j'ai taché Surtout de prêter à mon chant Cette mélancolie, et ce tendre abandon qui règnent dans le Style. Et qui peignent avec tant de vérité, l'égarément, la douleur, et l'amont de Malvina. En travaillant Sous votre dictée Madame, je toit bien Sure de réussir et de plaire. Et c'est, parce que je me suis Gardée de rien Changer à votre romance, qu'elle vous parois, ainsi qu'à tout le monde, et Surtout à moi, un petit Chef D'œuvre. Recevez Madame avec l'hommage de ma reconnaissance celui de mon attachement. / Bombelles de Travanet / a Paris ce 24 Fructidor an 9.” Cottin, *Lettres de divers correspondants à Sophie Cottin*, 139r.

¹³⁷ Jeanne-Renée de Travanet, *Deuxième recueil de romances et chansons* (Paris: Self-published, 1798).

¹³⁸ See Jeanne-Renée de Travanet's works in the bibliography.

¹³⁹ Antoine Albanese Lecoffre, Jeanne-Renée de Bombelles Travanet, et al., *Lyre de la jeunesse chrétienne. Recueil de Cantiques choisis, revus et notés à toutes les strophes...* (Paris: Lecoffre fils et C.e., 1871), 315–316.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

not received the attention they deserve.

Travanet and the Royal Family

Jeanne-Renée de Travanet was famous throughout France for her romance “Pauvre Jacques,” which captured the hearts of the court and French people.¹⁴¹ Moreover, she performed at Versailles on at least one documented occasion.¹⁴² In addition, as a lady-in-waiting to Marie-Antoinette’s sister-in-law, Madame Elisabeth, Travanet undoubtedly attended various events at Versailles, where she may have crossed paths with Caroline Wuiet and Marie-Elisabeth Cléry. An interesting avenue of exploration might include whether she met any of the female musicians who performed at Versailles for Marie-Antoinette. Investigating the potential intersections of their lives and careers could reveal further insights into the musical and social networks of eighteenth-century France.

Beyond her connections to Marie Antoinette and Versailles, Travanet had ties to the Habsburg family. Notwithstanding the chaos during the tumultuous Reign of Terror (September 5, 1793– July 27, 1794), the Bombelles family and Jeanne-Renée de Travanet remained royalists, receiving financial support from Queen Maria Carolina.¹⁴³ Travanet’s nephew, Charles-René de Bombelles (1785–1856), further solidified the family’s ties to the Austrian royal family by marrying Maria Louise of Austria (1791–1847), Napoleon Bonaparte’s widow and Maria Carolina’s granddaughter.¹⁴⁴ This union inextricably linked the Bombelles to the Habsburgs.

B. Salonnières—Montgeroult, Brillon, Bayon—*primary, potential*

Similar to Vienna’s academies, the Parisian salons played a crucial role in fostering the intellectual and cultural dynamism characteristic of the Enlightenment.¹⁴⁵ These salons served as essential venues for discourse, promoted artistic endeavors, bridged social divides, shaped public opinion, facilitated influential networks, and

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 302.

¹⁴² Fleury, *Angélique de Mackau*, 256.

¹⁴³ Duneufgermain, 102, 221.

¹⁴⁴ Max Billard and Evelyn Duchess of Wellington, *The Marriage Ventures of Marie-Louise* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1910), 211–292.

¹⁴⁵ Extensive literature on salons is cited in Rebecca Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment* (University of Chicago Press, 2022), 1–23.

disseminated musical works.¹⁴⁶ Salonnières, who could be drawn from the aristocracy, such as Hélène de Montgeroult, established high standards in musical performance, particularly in piano.¹⁴⁷ Conversations at the salon of Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy, a member of the minor nobility, encompassed a wide range of topics, from contemporary philosophical treatises to groundbreaking scientific discoveries, frequently interspersed with performances of the latest musical compositions.¹⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the salon of Marie-Emmanuele Bayon Louis, while well-connected but not aristocratic, gained a reputation as a prominent center for intellectual discourse and artistic expression.¹⁴⁹

The dedication of these salonnières to music and their commitment to hosting these gatherings created an invaluable platform for emerging artists to showcase their talents and for established musicians to thrive.¹⁵⁰ Unlike the Viennese academies and their attendees, who shared geographical proximity and frequent interactions, each Parisian salonnière seems to have operated within her own unique social and cultural milieu, thereby establishing distinct networks of influence. This differentiation could partly be attributed to the constantly shifting nature of salon venues, as hosts navigated changes in social standing and adapted to evolving political regimes.¹⁵¹ Nonetheless, despite the rich history of these salons, identifying a direct thread that connects these salonnières has proven challenging.

4.5 Hélène de Nervo de Montgeroult (1764–1836)

In contrast to Jeanne-Renée Travanet, Hélène de Montgeroult has attracted heightened scholarly interest in recent decades.¹⁵² Born Hélène de Nervo in Lyon to Jean-Baptiste de Nervo (1735–1822) and Sabine Mayeuvre de Champvieux (1745–1823), her family moved to Paris shortly after her birth.¹⁵³ Hélène received a well-rounded education that included piano lessons from Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel (ca. 1756–1823), a student

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Barbier, 108–109.

¹⁴⁸ Bruce Gustafson, “Madame Brillon et son salon,” *Revue de Musicologie* 85, no. 2 (1999): 297–299.

¹⁴⁹ Deborah Hayes, “Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis, and Music in Late Eighteenth-Century France,” *College Music Symposium* 30, no. 1 (1990): 31–32.

¹⁵⁰ For a window into the salon cultural milieu, see Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges, eds., *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2019).

¹⁵¹ Nicole Vilkner, “Re-examining Salon Space: Structuring Audiences and Music at Parisian Receptions,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 174, no. 1 (May 2022): 223.

¹⁵² See the Les Amis d’Hélène de Montgeroult website.

¹⁵³ Jérôme Dorival, *Hélène de Montgeroult: La marquise et la Marseillaise* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2006), 24–29.

of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, whose influence profoundly shaped her style.¹⁵⁴ Hélène also studied under Jan Ladislav Dussek, Sophia Corri's husband, during his 1786 visit to Paris.¹⁵⁵

Hélène de Nervo married retired officer André-Marie Gaultier, Marquis de Montgeroult (1736–1793), in 1784 and lived at the Château de Montgeroult, northwest of Paris.¹⁵⁶ Hélène quickly endeared herself to the local populace by leading a choir of residents from the nearby village, which performed concerts in the château's grand hall.¹⁵⁷ In addition to their rural estate, the couple maintained a townhouse on the Faubourg Saint-Honoré in Paris, among other properties.¹⁵⁸ In Paris, Hélène frequented numerous salons hosted by the Parisian elite, including the Rochechouart family, writer Stéphanie-Félicité, Comtesse de Genlis (1746–1830), philosopher Germaine de Staël (1766–1817), and painter Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842).¹⁵⁹

Madame de Montgerou also came once, shortly after her marriage. Although she was very young at the time, she astonished my entire company, which was really very difficult, with her admirable execution and above all by her expression; she made the keys speak.¹⁶⁰

At one of the salons, Montgeroult likely encountered the Italian violin virtuoso Giovanni Battista Viotti, a man who would influence her life for decades to come.¹⁶¹ They formed an intimate friendship and collaborative partnership, sharing an innate connection that transcended their art.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁴ Antoine Marmontel, "Madame de Montgeroult," *Les pianistes célèbres: Silhouettes et médailles* (Paris: Self-published, 1878), 254–255.

¹⁵⁵ It is also possible that she received instruction from Muzio Clementi during the same period, but that is less certain. Dorival, *Hélène de Montgeroult*, 30–31.

¹⁵⁶ See the Château de Montgeroult website. Concerts have been regularly held at the Château de Montgeroult since 2014. See Les Amis d'Hélène de Montgeroult.

¹⁵⁷ Abbé Loisel, *Notice historique sur Montgeroult* (Pontoise: Villemer, 1874), 79.

¹⁵⁸ Éditions Modulation, "Publishing company dedicated to composer Hélène de Montgeroult and her contemporaries."

¹⁵⁹ Dorival, 30–37, 235–256; Henriette La Tour du Pin Gouvernet, *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans, 1778–1815*, 158; and Louise-Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs de Mme Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun* (Paris: H. Fournier, 1835–1837), 1: 89–90.

¹⁶⁰ "Madame de Montgerou vint aussi un fois, peu de temps après son mariage. Quoiqu'elle fût très jeune alors, elle n'en étonna pas moins toute ma société, qui vraiment était fort difficile, par son admirable exécution et surtout par son expression ; elle faisait parler les touches." Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs de Mme Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun*, 1: 89–90. Due to the inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names during the eighteenth century, Hélène's name has been documented as Montgeroult, Mongeroult, Mongerou, Mongeroux, Mongérault, Mongiroult, or even Montgeron. Barbier, 140, note 15.

¹⁶¹ Dorival, 38–50; and Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, 6: 452.

¹⁶² Ange-Marie d'Eymar, "Anecdotes sur Viotti, précédés de quelques Réflexions sur l'Expression en Musique," in *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique* (1798), 18: 526–534.

Come and hear *Euterpe* [Montgeroult] and *Viotti*: how they follow each other! How they guess! How they answer each other in turn! These two great virtuosos are equally profound in the science of harmony; equally versed, not only in the sequence of chords, musical phrases, and in the natural succession of passionate accents, but also in the knowledge and practice of all the accessory means by which one can add to the effect and the expression; both endowed with the rare gift of invention and with the most astonishing fruitfulness. Heaven has given them the deepest feeling, the purest taste: art has given them the most brilliant and easy execution. [...] Is it the same soul that animates them, the same God that inspires them? Yes, because it is the same feeling.¹⁶³

During the early stages of the Revolution, the Montgeroult and Viotti were initially seen as moderate revolutionaries who supported the idea of a constitutional monarchy.¹⁶⁴ However, Viotti was soon accused of having Jacobin sympathies, and in 1791, Hélène de Montgeroult became embroiled in his disputes with the Parisian theatres and political newspapers.¹⁶⁵ In 1793, the Montgeroult couple joined a delegation with Hugues-Bernard Maret, Duke of Bassano (1763–1839), tasked with persuading Italian courts to maintain their alliance with France.¹⁶⁶ However, the delegation was ambushed by the Austrians at Novate Mezzola, Italy, and Hélène and André-Marie were detained

¹⁶³ “Venez entendre *Euterpe* et *Viotti*: comme ils se suivent ! comme ils se devinent ! comme ils se répondent tour-à-tour ! ces deux grands virtuoses sont également profonds dans la science de l’harmonie ; également versés, non-seulement dans l’enchaînement des accords, des phrases musicales, et dans la succession naturelle des accens passionnés, mais encore dans la connaissance et la pratique de tous les moyens accessoires par lesquels on peut ajouter à l’effet et à l’expression ; tous deux sont doués du don si rare de l’invention et de la plus étonnante fécondité. Le ciel leur a départi avec le sentiment le plus profond, le goût le plus pur: l’art leur a donné l’exécution la plus brillante et la plus facile. [...] Est-ce la même ame qui les anime, le même Dieu qui les inspire ? Oui, car c’est le même sentiment.” (Quoted) Ibid., 18: 529–530. In her youth, Montgeroult’s friends affectionately named her *Euterpe*, designating her the Muse of Music. However, Germaine de Staël referred to Montgeroult as her *impératrice* [empress]. Arthur Pougin, *Viotti et l’école moderne de violon* (Paris: Maison Schott, 1888), 41.

¹⁶⁴ Dorival, 109–111, 129. Denise Yim, “Dangerous Liaisons. New Light on the Reasons for the Expulsion of the Violinist G. B. Viotti from Britain in 1798,” *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 15, no. 2 (2018): 165–167.

¹⁶⁵ Yim, “Dangerous Liaisons,” 169–170. “Il faut que le public sache qu’un violon de Jacobin, dont tout l’esprit est dans son archet, qui n’a d’autre titre à la fatuité que sa bêtise, dont l’ingratitude pour les bontés de la reine, n’est comparable qu’à la bassesse de toute sa vie; que sieur *Viott*. enfin, (on l’eût nommé sans moi) est l’apôtre et le protecteur de toutes les saletés qui se vomissent sur ce théâtre ; que le sieur *Léonard* voudrait purger de ces fétidités burlesques, plates, allusoires, qui en éloignent la bonne compagnie, qui le fait vivre. — Le *démarcheur Viott*. a pour Pénélope une nommée *Moujerou* [sic] ... claveciniste dévergondée, que la démagogie même ne peut plus enlaidir. Elle seconde merveilleusement les fureurs de ce reptile, qui pâture dans son sein ; elle l’engage à user de son crédit comique, pour inonder le théâtre de la rue Faydeau, de *pièces de circonstances*: elle finiroit par s’y donner elle-même au public, si ce n’étoit pas déjà fait.” *Journal général de la cour et de la ville* (November 26, 1791): 206.

¹⁶⁶ Charlotte de Sor, ed., *Le Duc de Bassano, Souvenirs intimes de la Révolution et de l’Empire*, 2 vols. (Paris: L. de Potter, 1843), 1: 67–87.

separately.¹⁶⁷ H el ene was released and sought refuge in Switzerland, where she tried to secure her husband’s freedom.¹⁶⁸ Despite her efforts, however, Andr e-Marie was executed while imprisoned in Mantua.¹⁶⁹ H el ene eventually returned to Paris.¹⁷⁰

The following year, the Committee for Public Safety imprisoned H el ene de Montgeroult and sentenced her to the guillotine.¹⁷¹ However, her fate took a dramatic turn when Bernard Sarrette (1765–1858), the director of the Institut National de Musique, intervened.¹⁷² Sarrette, reportedly present at Montgeroult’s trial, declared her one of the greatest pianists in France and argued that she was indispensable for his music institute.¹⁷³ To substantiate these claims, a harpsichord was brought into the courtroom, and Montgeroult was requested to perform *La Marseillaise*. Even though she had not touched a keyboard during her nine-month incarceration, Montgeroult delivered an impassioned and brilliant improvisation of the Revolutionary anthem. Her performance moved everyone present, including the tribunal president, to join in singing. As a result, Montgeroult was granted her freedom and subsequently hired as the first female first-class professor at the Institut, now called the Conservatoire de Paris.¹⁷⁴

1795 was a hectic year for H el ene de Montgeroult. In February, she welcomed her son, Horace His de La Salle (1795–1878), with Charles-Antoine-Hyacinthe His (1769–1851), an of *Le Moniteur Universel*.¹⁷⁵ Just two months later, in April, she published her first set of three piano sonatas.¹⁷⁶ However, the pinnacle of her year came in November when she was appointed the first female first-class piano teacher at the Conservatoire de Paris, receiving a salary commensurate with that of her male colleagues.¹⁷⁷ Montgeroult

¹⁶⁷ To read the story in her own words, see (M^{me} de Montgeroult’s letter to Comte Alberto Litta, July 28, 1793) and (M^{me} de Montgeroult’s letter to M. Andr e, July 28, 1793) (Quoted) L eon P elissier, “Apr es l’attentat contre S emonville et Maret,” *Revue historiques de la R evolution fran aise* 58 (1910), 521–527.

¹⁶⁸ Dorival, 81–84.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.; and *GNMU* 17 (October 8, 1793): 1.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ The following paragraph is the anecdote derived from the dramatic account in Loisel, *Notice historique sur Montgeroult*, 81–85. This undocumented story has captured the imagination of many, but its veracity continues to be debated. The origins of the anecdote can be traced back to Eugene Gautier, *Un musicien en vacances:  tudes et souvenirs* (Paris: A. Leduc, 1878), 50–53.

¹⁷² Ibid., 51.

¹⁷³ Gustave Vallat credits the violinist Alexandre Boucher with securing Montgeroult’s release from prison. See Gustave Vallat, * tudes d’histoire ...* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1890), 84–85.

¹⁷⁴ For a dramatic account, see Loisel, *Notice historique sur Montgeroult*, 81–85.

¹⁷⁵ H el ene married Charles-Antoine in 1797, but they divorced in 1802. Dorival, 140.

¹⁷⁶ These sonatas are sizable compositions featuring first-movement expositions with three extended sections and individual thematic material. H el ene Montgeroult, *Trois Sonates pour le Forte Piano*, op. 1 (Paris: Conservatoire de Musique, 1795).

¹⁷⁷ Pierre Constant, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de d eclama ion ...* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 129, 407–408, 584.

resigned from the Conservatoire in January 1798, citing health-related reasons, much to the dismay of the institution's administration.¹⁷⁸ Following her departure, she continued her career as a composer and published several keyboard works between 1800 and 1807, which included at least six additional sonatas, six nocturnes, a *Piece pour le Forte Piano*, and piano transcriptions of two concertos by Viotti.¹⁷⁹

Montgeroult opposed ostentatious displays of virtuosity in piano performance, favoring an elegant and musically inspired cantabile style rooted in the Italian bel canto tradition.¹⁸⁰ Her seminal work, *Cours complet pour l'enseignement du forté-piano*, is a comprehensive piano pedagogical resource aligned with this philosophy.¹⁸¹ This extensive work spans over 600 pages and is filled with detailed exercises, etudes, and compositions designed to enhance pianists' technical and expressive capabilities, whether self-taught or receiving formal instruction.

The *Cours Complet* is structured to systematically guide students from basic techniques to advanced artistry, incorporating a diverse range of musical forms and styles. The first volume is divided into 17 chapters and contains 972 exercises, each addressing a singular topic. Extensive introductions and clarifications accompany these exercises, elucidating piano technique and underscoring the importance of musicality and refinement. Volumes 2 and 3 each contain 114 etudes supplemented with instructions, followed by sets of variations, canons, fugues, and fantasies. This comprehensive methodology ensures that students are exposed to a broad spectrum of musical styles and techniques, fostering a holistic understanding of piano performance.¹⁸² Montgeroult's pedagogical approach was groundbreaking for her time, prioritizing not only technical

¹⁷⁸ Dorival, 143–144.

¹⁷⁹ Hélène de Montgeroult, *Trois Sonates pour le Forte Piano*, op. 2 (Paris: Conservatoire de Musique, 1800); Montgeroult, *Trois Sonates pour le Forte Piano*, op. 5 (Paris: Melles Erard, n.d.); Montgeroult, *Six Nocturnes à Voix Seule* (Paris: Melles Erard, n.d.); Montgeroult, *Piece pour le Forte Piano*, op. 3 (Paris: Melles Erard, 1804); Hélène Montgeroult and Giovanni Battista Viotti, (1er) *Concerto pour le Piano*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Imbault, n.d.); and Montgeroult and Viotti, (2e) *Concerto pour le Piano*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Imbault, n.d.).

¹⁸⁰ Maria Rose, "Helene de Montgeroult and the Art of Singing Well on the Piano," *Women & Music* (2001): 99–124; and Hélène de Montgeroult, *Cours complet pour l'enseignement du forté-piano*, 3 vols. (Paris: Pelicier, n.d.), 1: i.

¹⁸¹ The following two paragraphs describe the book Montgeroult's *Cours complet*.

¹⁸² Louise Girod de Vienney, Baron de Trémont (1779–1852), played a significant role in encouraging Montgeroult to develop her piano method. Trémont proposed that Montgeroult document her technique and create etudes as a personal favor to him, offering to teach her English in return for piano lessons. See Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "Baron de Trémont, Souvenirs inédits du monde musical et dramatique: Madame la Marquise de Montgeroult," *Le Ménestral* (August 8, 1929), 347–349; and Michel Brenet, "Quatre Femmes Musiciennes: Madame de Mongeroult," *L'Art: Revue hebdomadaire illustrée* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1894), 144–147.

mastery but also the development of musicality and emotional expression.¹⁸³ Despite her initial reluctance to publish her method, Mongeroult eventually released *Complet Cours* in 1812.¹⁸⁴ Many of her innovative techniques can be traced in later piano methods.¹⁸⁵ Musicologist Jérôme Dorival portrays Hélène de Montgeroult as the bridge between Mozart's classicism and Chopin's romanticism.¹⁸⁶

Hélène de Montgeroult earned a reputation as one of her era's finest pianoforte performers and improvisers.¹⁸⁷ Unlike many virtuosos, however, she eschewed public concerts in favor of the more intimate settings of salons and private gatherings, where she would often perform for audiences of up to 150 people.¹⁸⁸ Montgeroult gained particular distinction for her salon events known as "Madame de Montgeroult's Mondays."¹⁸⁹ Her influence and musical prowess were widely recognized, leading to dedicated works from several prominent composers, including Amélie-Julie Candeille (1767–1834), one of the subjects of this study.¹⁹⁰ André Grétry was also counted among Montgeroult's admirers.¹⁹¹

As I said before, Grétry took no interest in music other than his own. One evening when Mme. de Montgeroult had come to see him at the hermitage, he thought himself bound to request her to play something on the piano. She played only an Adagio by Mozart, but with such feeling as to draw tears to the eyes. He whispered to me, "My friend, I shall surely die of an Adagio."¹⁹²

¹⁸³ For an in-depth analysis of the *Course Complet*, see Helen Thomas, "Hélène de Montgeroult," *Illuminate: Shining Light on the Work of Women Composers & Performers*.

¹⁸⁴ Brenet, "Quatre Femmes Musiciennes: Madame de Mongeroult," 146.

¹⁸⁵ Rose, "Helene de Montgeroult and the Art of Singing Well on the Piano," 112–113. In fact, Sigismund Thalberg (1812–1871) repeats many details of the preface to the *Cours Complet* almost verbatim. Sigismund Thalberg, *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano*, op. 70 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1853), preface.

¹⁸⁶ Dorival, 10.

¹⁸⁷ Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, 6: 452.

¹⁸⁸ Florence Badol-Bertrand and the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris, "Hélène de Montgeroult, pianist, compositrice et pédagogue," documentary recorded at the CNSMDP and at the Château de Montgeroult, 2015.

¹⁸⁹ Dorival, 143–144. During her "Madame de Montgeroult's Mondays," Hélène de Montgeroult brought together esteemed individuals to socialize and exchange ideas, such as the diplomat Hugues-Bernard Maret, Duke of Bassano, renowned politician and author Benjamin Constant (1767–1830), and innovative painter Anne-Louis Girodet (1767–1824). Montgeroult also collaborated with notable musicians, including violinists Alexandre Boucher (1778–1861), Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766–1831), and, of course, her cherished Viotti during these gatherings. *Ibid.*, 259–261.

¹⁹⁰ See Julie Candeille, *Grande sonate pour le piano forté* (Paris: Imbault, 1798). Other dedications include those by Jan Ladislav Dussek, Louis Emmanuel Jadin (1768–1853), and John David Hermann (1760–1846). Dorival, 33, 37, 290, 388.

¹⁹¹ Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, "Baron de Trémont, Le Monde musical à l'époque romantique: Grétry (André-Ernest-Modest)," *Le Ménestral* (September 16, 1927), 388.

¹⁹² "J'ai dit que toute musique ennuyait Grétry hors la sienne. Un soir que M^{me} de Montgeroult était venue le voir à l'hermitage, il se crut obligé de la prier de jouer un morceau de piano. Elle dit un seul

In 1820, Montgeroult entered her third marriage with Count Édouard Dunod de Charnage (1783–1826) but was widowed once again six years later.¹⁹³ Due to health reasons, she relocated to Florence, Italy, where she resided with her son.¹⁹⁴ Hélène de Montgeroult died two years later, on May 20, 1836, and she was interred in the convent of Santa Croce in Florence.¹⁹⁵ Édouard Monnais (1798–1868), the chief editor of the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, wrote a fitting epitaph for this remarkable woman who faced and overcame unimaginable perils through strength, determination, and talent.

Few years have passed since the death of this truly superior woman, and already there are few people left who have had the pleasure of hearing her; but those who do speak of her playing with deep admiration, a serious and collected enthusiasm, which is not exempt from a kind of mysticism. If we are to believe their testimony, the piano would never have exhaled a more melodious language, more gently accentuated, nobler and more tender; never would its keys have been animated with a more suave and exquisite expression than under the fingers of Hélène de Nervo, later Madame de Montgeroult.¹⁹⁶

Montgeroult's secondary links through Viotti

Montgeroult and Marie Antoinette are connected through their shared association with Giovanni Battista Viotti. Viotti was not only Montgeroult's musical soulmate but also had successful performances at the Concert Spirituel. His debut allowed him to enter the Queen's service in 1784, until he eventually moved to London in 1792.¹⁹⁷ During his time in London, Viotti performed alongside several female performers,

adagio de Mozart, mais avec un sentiment fait pour arracher des larmes. Il me dit: 'Mon ami, je ne mourrai que d'un adagio.'" Ibid. (Translation) Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme and Theodore Baker, "The Baron de Trémont: Souvenirs of Beethoven and Other Contemporaries," *The Musical Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (1920): 385.

¹⁹³ Dorival, 321; and France National Archives, "Inventaire après décès d'Edouard Sophie Dunod, Comte de Charnage. A la requête d'Hélène Antoinette Marie de Nervo." MC/RE/XXI/16.

¹⁹⁴ Both de Tauzia, *Notice des dessins de la collection His de la Salle: Exposés au Louvre* (Paris: C. de Mourgues, 1881), 8.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ "Peu d'années se sont écoulées depuis la mort de cette femme vraiment supérieure, et déjà l'on ne rencontre plus guère de gens qui aient eu le bonheur de l'entendre; mais ceux-là parlent de son jeu avec une admiration profonde, un enthousiasme sérieux et recueilli, qui n'est pas exempt d'une sorte de mysticisme. S'il faut s'en rapporter à leur témoignage, jamais le piano n'aurait exhalé de langage plus mélodieux, plus doucement accentué, plus noble et plus tendre; jamais ses touches ne se seraient animées d'une expression plus suave et plus exquise que sous les doigts d'Hélène de Nervo, plus tard madame de Montgeroult." Edouard Monnais, *Esquisses de la vie d'Artiste* (Paris: Jules Labitte, 1844), 2: 67.

¹⁹⁷ Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 91–92. "Son ami Viotti avait une physionomie douce et sensible: sa taille svelte, ses longs et blonds cheveux le faisaient rechercher par une cour qui avait épuisé toute les jouissances et qui en était toujours avide." Loisel, *Notice historique sur Montgeroult*, 77.

including Harriette Abrams, Marie Crux Gillberg, Anne-Marie Krumpholtz, Elisabeth Mara, and Nancy Storace.¹⁹⁸ However, these connections with Viotti will become irrelevant once all the male actors are removed in the final analysis, unless other possibilities arise.

Montgeroult's potential links

Hélène de Montgeroult performed for Marie-Antoinette in her private chambers at least once, potentially providing a connection to two other female musicians.¹⁹⁹ It is possible that Jeanne-Renée Travanet, as one of Madame Elisabeth's ladies-in-waiting, may have been present during the performance, hinting at a potential link between the two composers. Moreover, Elisabeth Mara, the Queen's "première chanteuse de la Reine," might have attended the performance if she were in France at the time.²⁰⁰ However, both scenarios remain speculative.

In Paris, Montgeroult was likely aware of the rivalry between Elisabeth Mara and Luísa Todi, whether or not she knew the performers personally. In addition, Montgeroult spent six months in London in 1792, where she may have engaged with the city's vibrant musical scene.²⁰¹ It is conceivable that she attended concerts or private salons featuring female musicians active in London. Given her own talent and reputation, Montgeroult might have even participated in these musical events as a performer or guest. Nonetheless, further research is necessary to substantiate these conjectures.

— Incorporating aristocratic composers

In Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7, Jeanne-Renée de Travanet and Hélène de Montgeroult exhibit connections that are analogous to those of Caroline Wuiet and Marie-Elisabeth Cléry, albeit to a lesser extent, except for their ties to Paris. As a courtier, Travanet was more predisposed to interact with figures such as Marie-Antoinette, Cléry, and Wuiet, resulting in relatively closer yet still tenuous edges linking them. In contrast, despite having twice as many connections as Travanet, Montgeroult demonstrates several primary links that are considerably distant from her centrality. This observation indicates that while Montgeroult was widely recognized, there is currently insufficient

¹⁹⁸ See the London Cross-Reference database.

¹⁹⁹ Dorival, 42.

²⁰⁰ *AMZ* 37 (September 15, 1875): 580–581.

²⁰¹ (Montgeroult's letter to Comte Alberto Litta, July 28, 1793) (Quoted) Léon Pélissier, *Revue historiques* 1: 527.

documentation to support her interactions with the other individuals in the dataset, making her potential connections appear highly remote.

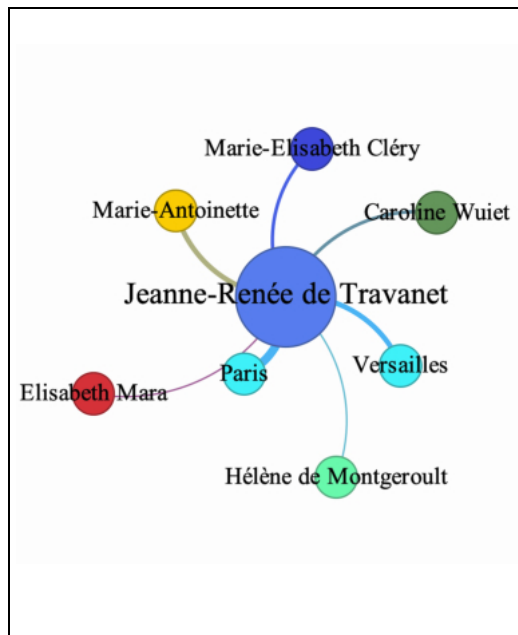


Fig. 4.6. Jeanne-Renée de Travanet network

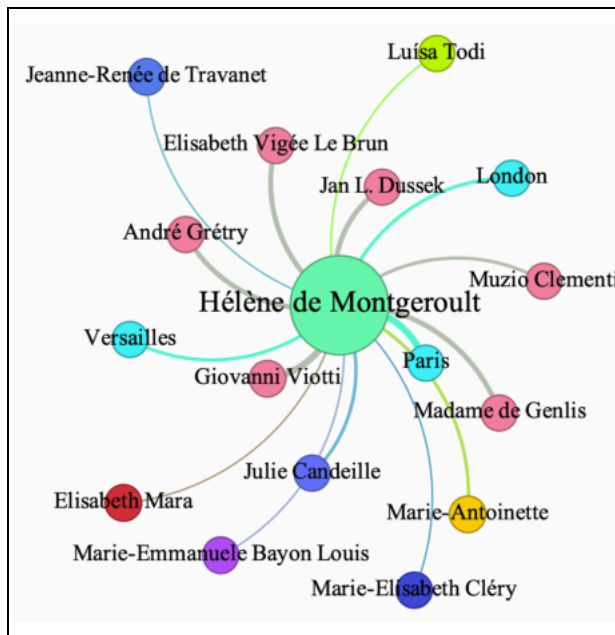


Fig 4.7. Hélène de Montgeroult network

The data presented in Figure 4.8 unequivocally demonstrate that, despite Jeanne-Renée Travanet’s association with Paris, her connections within the dataset are clearly few. The primary link among Marie-Antoinette, Marie-Elisabeth Cléry, and Caroline Wuiet lies in their collective ties to Versailles. While these associations offer partial insight into her social circle, her network is less well documented than those of some of her contemporaries. As such, Travanet’s interactions appear limited, underscoring the need for further research to identify additional connections that could yield a more nuanced understanding of her influence and relationships.

Travanet’s apparent marginality also reflects a broader historiographical challenge: the survival of sources documenting women’s professional and social exchanges in ancien-régime France. Female musicians who did not publish widely or perform in public venues often left only fragmentary traces—letters, concert notices, or passing mentions in contemporaneous memoirs. In this sense, her sparse network may reveal less about her actual isolation than about the limitations of the archival record itself. Integrating nontraditional materials such as salon guest lists, private correspondence, or amateur music inventories could potentially expand her network and clarify the social mechanisms through which women like Travanet navigated Parisian

musical life.

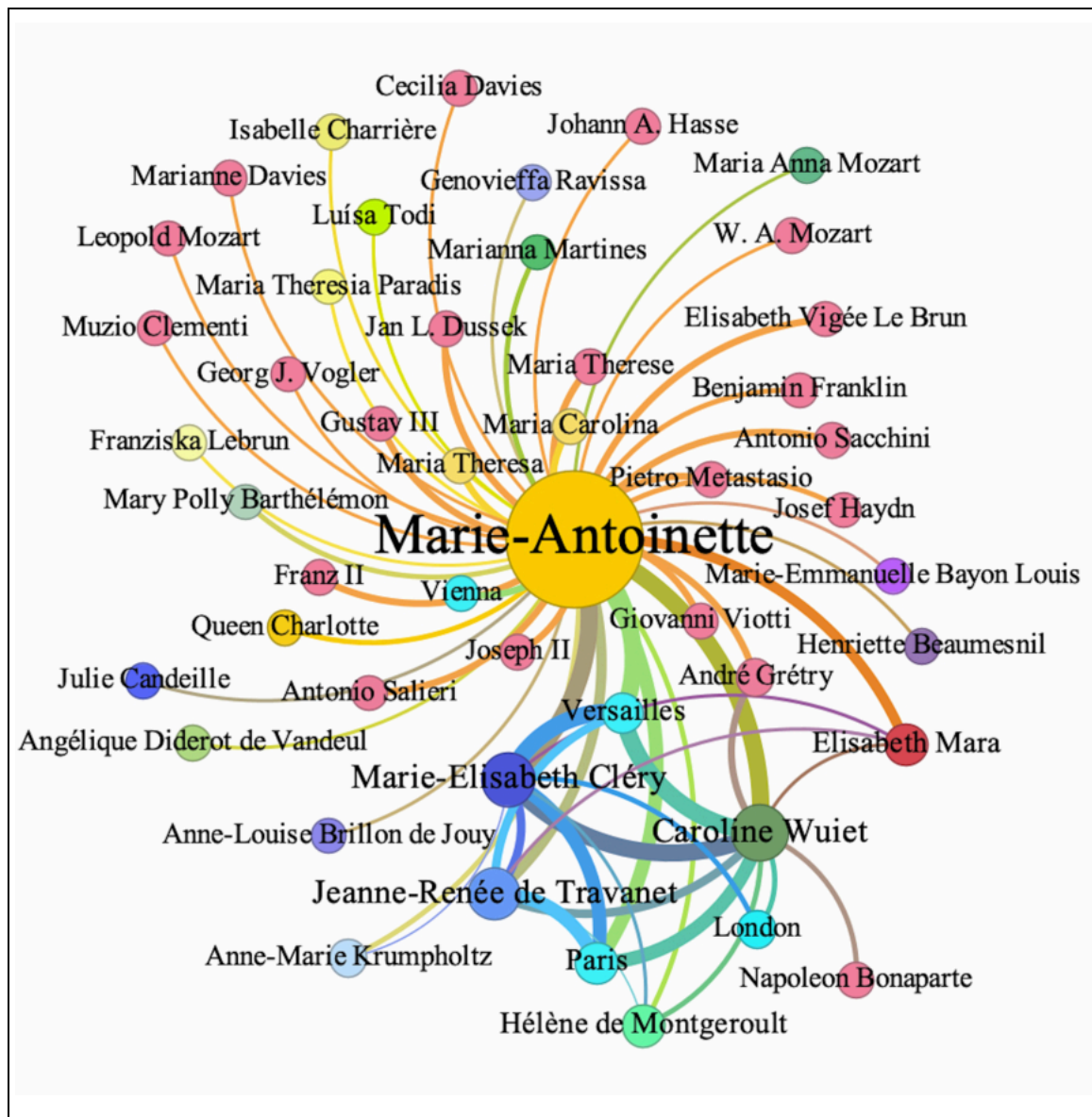


Fig. 4.8. Marie-Antoinette composite network with Jeanne-Renée de Travernet

Notwithstanding her aristocratic status, H el ene de Montgeroult's connections extended beyond court society, as illustrated in Figure 4.9. Familiar names like Jan Ladislav Dussek,  elisabeth Vig e Le Brun, and Lu sa Todi have been repositioned to join Montgeroult's orbit, reflecting her engagement with both the musical and artistic elite. Nevertheless, her most significant connections remain anchored in Paris and with Giovanni Viotti.

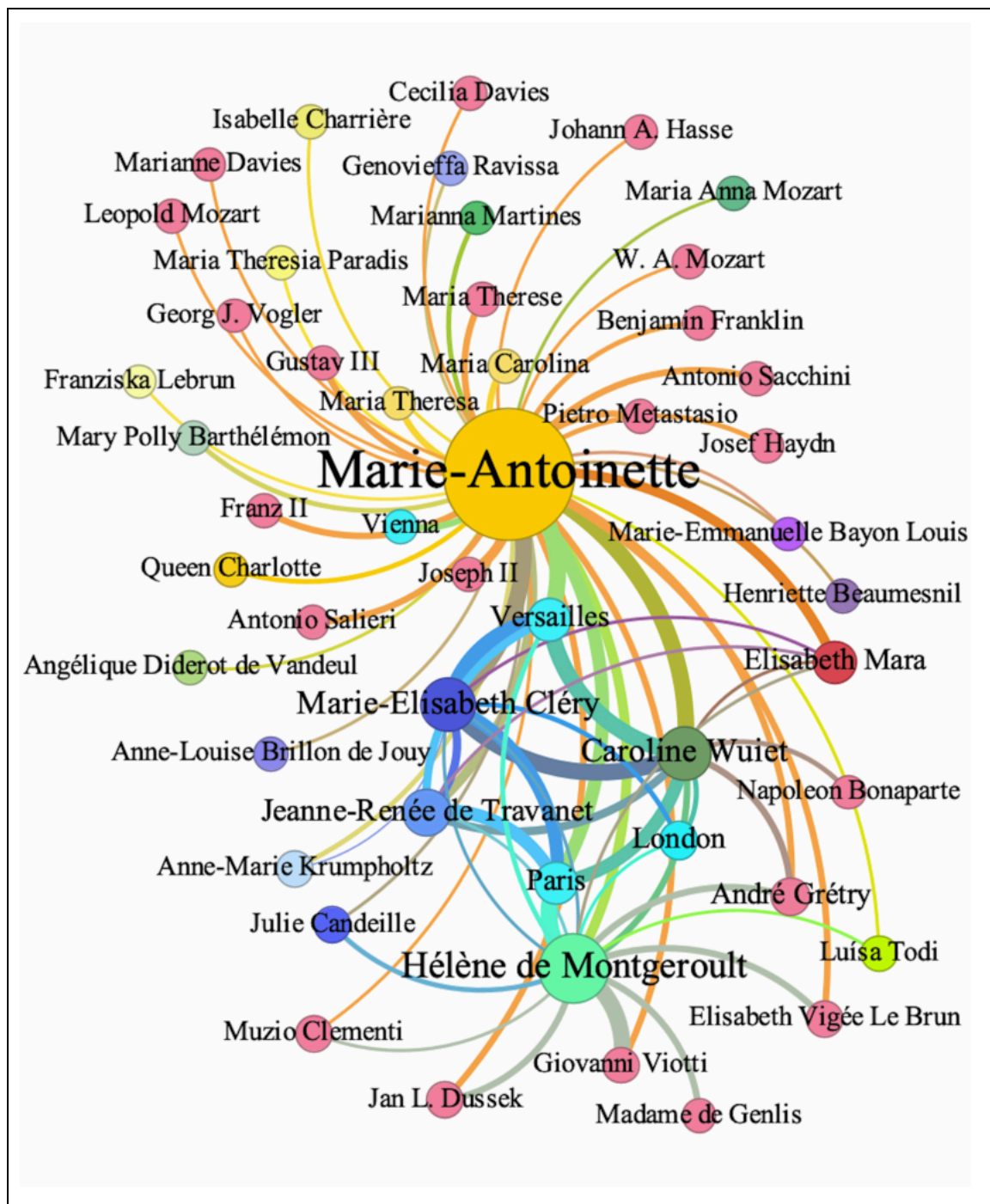


Fig. 4.9 Marie-Antoinette composite network with Hélène de Montgeroult

While Montgeroult maintains slight ties to Marie-Antoinette and her courtiers at Versailles, she is increasingly moving away from the nascent cluster that had only just begun to take shape. Her network remains largely confined to France, with few documented connections to the female musicians in the dataset from other countries. This relative insularity contrasts with figures like Elisabeth Mara or Marianna Martines, whose networks were shaped by extensive international ties.

Given her stature and activity in Paris, it is possible that she crossed paths with female musicians who lived in or visited France, such as Anne-Marie Krumpholtz or even Elisabeth Mara. While concrete evidence remains elusive, exploring potential intersections between their networks may help illuminate the extent of Montgeroult's influence beyond France.

4.6 Anne-Louise Boyvin d'Hardancourt Brillon de Jouy (1744–1824)

Anne-Louise Boyvin d'Hardancourt (1744–1824) was a prominent French pianist and composer recognized for her extensive body of work and the influence of her salon.²⁰² She was born to Marie-Elizabeth Martin (1723–1785) and Louis-Claude Boyvin d'Hardancourt (c1710–1756), a melomaniac who encouraged her to master both the harpsichord and the newly emerging pianoforte—two instruments that would define her salon.²⁰³ At nineteen, Anne-Louise married Jacques Brillon de Jouy (1722–1787), a tax officer twenty-two years her senior.²⁰⁴ The couple had two daughters, Cunégonde (1764–1831) and Aldegonde (1765–1799), to whom Anne-Louise passed on her love for music, teaching them to sing and play the piano.²⁰⁵

The new Madame Brillon promptly established her salon in Passy, where she routinely hosted international musicians on Wednesdays and Saturdays.²⁰⁶ Music was at the heart of Brillon's salons; as a skilled harpsichordist, she entertained her guests and accompanied other musicians, earning her a reputation as an outstanding musician and composer.²⁰⁷

I heard M. Pagin on the violin,²⁰⁸ at the house of Mad. Brillon, at Passy; she is one of the greatest lady-players on the harpsichord in Europe. This

²⁰² Much of Brillon de Jouy's profile is derived from Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon."

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 299. Although details about Anne-Louise's formal education remain unknown, it is plausible that the d'Hardancourt family, being a prominent in Parisian society, frequented the renowned salons of Charles Ernest, Baron de Bagge (1722–1791), and Alexandre Jean Joseph Le Riche de La Pouplinière (1693–1762). (*Ibid.*, 303–304). This would have allowed them to engage with some of the most influential musicians and intellectuals of the Enlightenment era, including Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) and François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778), better known as Voltaire. See Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme and Theodore Baker, "A French Mæcenas of the Time of Louis XV: M. de La Pouplinière," *The Musical Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1924): 511–531.

²⁰⁴ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 300.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 299.

²⁰⁶ Passy, today the 16th arrondissement, was home to many of the wealthiest Parisians then and now, including La Pouplinière. See Bruce Gustafson, "The Music of Madame Brillon: A Unified Manuscript Collection from Benjamin Franklin's Circle," *Notes* 43, no. 3 (1987): 529; and Prod'homme and Baker, "A French Mæcenas of the Time of Louis XV: M. de La Pouplinière," 518–522.

²⁰⁷ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 306–308.

²⁰⁸ Violinist and composer André-Noël Pagin (1723–1799)

lady not only plays the most difficult pieces with great precision, taste, and feeling, but is an excellent sight's-woman; of which I was convinced by her manner of executing some of my own music, that I had the honour of presenting to her. She likewise composes; and was so obliging as to play several of her own sonatas, both on the harpsichord and *piano forte*, accompanied on the violin by M. Pagin. But her application and talents are not confined to the harpsichord; she plays on several instruments; knows the genius of all that are in common use, which she said it was necessary for her to do, in order to avoid composing for them such things as were either impracticable or unnatural; she likewise draws well and engraves, and is a most accomplished and agreeable woman.²⁰⁹

In 1777, Madame Brillon met the American ambassador, Benjamin Franklin, who had taken up residence in Passy on the same street as the Brillon de Jouy family.²¹⁰ This serendipitous encounter initiated an extraordinary friendship that would ultimately secure her place in history.²¹¹ Furthermore, the friendship between the Brillons and Franklin proved mutually advantageous politically, as Jacques Brillon de Jouy brokered deals with French merchants to supply armaments to the American colonies.²¹²

The burden of establishing and sustaining her lavish lifestyle eventually resulted in Madame Brillon experiencing the onset of chronic depression.²¹³ In May 1780, she composed a letter to Benjamin Franklin expressing her distress, stating, “Since I never leave my room, will you not give me back the evening that I lost yesterday?”²¹⁴ Her condition deteriorated further, and in 1781, she was compelled to relocate her entire entourage—including her husband, daughters, and a violinist—to Nice.²¹⁵ The change of

²⁰⁹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket and Co., 1771), 42.

²¹⁰ “Passy’s very location between Paris and Versailles was symbolic of his position: it was away from the capital, where his presence was provoking such an effervescent welcome that the British Ambassador was deeply disturbed; it was away — but not too far away — from a Court which had to remain officially neutral but desired to keep in touch with the American Commissioners.” Claude-Anne Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa: Franklin and the Ladies of Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 124.

²¹¹ The intricate details of Brillon de Jouy’s relationship with Franklin can be found throughout Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa*. Additionally, their correspondence has been published online in The American Philosophical Society and Yale University, “Benjamin Franklin Papers;” and Founders Online: National Archives, “Brillon.”

²¹² Kelsa Pellettier, “Friendship and Sociability: A Reexamination of Benjamin Franklin’s Friendship with Madame Brillon de Jouy,” *Age of Revolutions* (January 12, 2021); and (Letter to Benjamin Franklin from Jacques Brillon de Jouy, May 4, 1778) Founders Online.

²¹³ Bruce Gustafson, “Madame Brillon (1744–1824),” in *WCMA*, ed. by Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York, NY: G.K. Hall & Co., 1998), 5: 32.

²¹⁴ “Comme je ne sors point de ma chambre; ne me rendrés vous pas la soirée que j’ai perduë hiér?” (Excerpt, letter to Benjamin Franklin from Madame Brillon, May 11, 1780) Founders Online. See bibliography for details.

²¹⁵ Gustafson, “Madame Brillon et son salon,” 301. It is likely that the violinist in question was André-Noël Pagin. While Gustafson’s account does not provide a definitive identification, the Brillon

scenery proved to be an effective remedy, as she returned to Paris in May of 1782, completely rejuvenated.²¹⁶ In 1783, Cunégonde married General Antoine-Marie Paris d'Illins (1746–1809), a wealthy chevalier, and the entire family settled into the Brillon de Jouy's newly acquired residence at the Parisian Hôtel de Mailly, an elegant seventeenth-century mansion.²¹⁷

Madame Brillon's world began to unravel in 1785: Ben Franklin returned to America, and Cunégonde's first child died.²¹⁸ The following year, her husband's declining health forced him to move to Nice, where he passed away just four months later.²¹⁹ After her husband's death, Brillon sold her country estate in Passy and La Tuilerie.²²⁰ The family then renovated their château in Villers-sur-Mer, only to abandon it in 1791 when Napoleon's troops ransacked and occupied the property. During the French Revolution and its aftermath, Madame Brillon lived with her daughters and their families in a château in Seine-et-Marne, owned by Aldegonde's husband, Athanase.²²¹ Despite the danger, the family returned to Villers-sur-Mer on several occasions between 1793 and 1795 to assess the damage and retrieve any salvageable belongings. Aldegonde passed away in 1799; however, the remaining family members eventually moved back to Villers-sur-Mer in 1802. From 1808 until her death, Madame Brillon divided her time between Paris and her reclaimed estate in Villers-sur-Mer, where she died at the age of 80 in 1824.

Madame Brillon is esteemed for her extensive collection of 88 instrumental and vocal compositions.²²² Her sheet music library is a treasure trove of works dating back to the period when the harpsichord was transitioning to the fortepiano, with both

family's letter to Benjamin Franklin from Nice on December 24, 1781, includes Pagine's name as a signatory. (Letter to Benjamin Franklin from Madame Brillon et al., 24 December 1781) Founders Online.

²¹⁶ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 301.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 301–302. The Brillons acquired the Hôtel in 1783, which is now the Hôtel de Bondeville on 4 Rue de Haudriettes in Le Marais. Madame Brillon lived in twelve different residences during her lifetime. Her residences included the Hôtel de Mailly, which cost four times their Passy estate, a farm retreat located thirty kilometers outside of Paris, her mother's château northwest of Paris called La Tuilerie, and a château in Villers-sur-Mer in Calvados. *Ibid.*; and Arnaud Brignon, "Contexte historique de la collection Félix de Roissy (1771–1843) de reptiles marins jurassiques des Vaches Noires," *Geodiversitas* 40 (January 2018): 47–48.

²¹⁸ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 302.

²¹⁹ The rest of the paragraph is sourced from Gustafson, "Madame Brillon (1744–1824)," 5: 32–33.

²²⁰ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 301.

²²¹ Aldegonde married Athanase Vialatte de Malachelles (n.d.), a financier and chevalier, in 1787. See *Projet Familles Parisiennes*, "Vialatte de Malachelles/Matachelles;" and "Brillon de Jouy."

²²² For a list of Madame Brillon's compositions, see Gustafson, "The Music of Madame Brillon: A Unified Manuscript Collection from Benjamin Franklin's Circle," 523–525 and 534–543.

instruments used in tandem.²²³ As one of the early proponents of the piano, Madame Brillon possessed an English pianoforte, presented to her by Johann Christian Bach from London, as well as a German pianoforte and a harpsichord.²²⁴ Two of her trios were written explicitly for this combination of instruments.²²⁵ Her most famous composition, *Marche des insurgents*, in 1777, pays tribute to Benjamin Franklin and commemorates the American victory over British forces at the Battle of Saratoga.²²⁶ Additionally, Madame Brillon was a playwright; however, none of her works were published during her lifetime.²²⁷

Like many other female musicians and composers of the eighteenth century, Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy had largely been forgotten by history.²²⁸ Nevertheless, her connection to Benjamin Franklin sparked renewed interest in her life during the twentieth century, mainly through research funded by the American Philosophical Society, an institution Benjamin Franklin founded in 1743.²²⁹ Of particular significance was the discovery of her sheet music library, established in the 1760s, which contains approximately four hundred works.²³⁰ This collection represents the only known repository of its kind in France and is primarily privately owned.²³¹ Nonetheless, biographer Bruce Gustafson received authorization to record, catalog, and evaluate the collection's contents.²³²

The fact that Madame Brillon's music library can play a documentary role in social history, and that it constitutes one of the rare examples testifying to the efforts — however commendable — of an 18th-century woman in the field of musical composition would certainly not suffice to define the particular interest of this collection. It must be understood that

²²³ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 310–311; and Albert G. Hess, "The Transition from Harpsichord to Piano," *The Galpin Society Journal* 6 (1953): 75–94. Brillon de Jouy's six surviving works expressly intended for different keyboard instruments are of particular interest, providing valuable insight into this period of musical transition. For an extensive discussion on Madame Brillon, her approach to composition, and her use of instruments, see Gustafson, 529–534; and Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons in the Enlightenment*, 103–149.

²²⁴ Brillon would play the English piano, Cunégonde the harpsichord, and Aldegonde the German piano. Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 307, 314; and Gustafson, "The Music of Madame Brillon," 529.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid., 533; and Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy, *Marche des insurgents*.

²²⁷ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 314.

²²⁸ Rebecca Cypess and Rutgers Alumni, "The Salon of Madame Brillon: Music and Friendship in Benjamin Franklin's Paris" (Webinar, Department of Music, Mason Gross School of the Arts, June 3, 2020).

²²⁹ Ibid., and The American Philosophical Society, "History."

²³⁰ Gustafson, "Madame Brillon et son salon," 310–311.

²³¹ Ibid., 314–315.

²³² Gustafson, "The Music of Madame Brillon," 522–543.

this is the only “complete” collection of works by a French harpsichord composer to have come down to us. Obviously, some of it has been lost, but what remains is so eloquent, both in terms of style and chronology, that we can reasonably assume that the gaps would hardly alter our idea of the repertoire played in Madame Brillon’s salon. Her musical priorities were elegant simplicity, melodic naturalness on well-defined accompaniment figures, and harmonic softness to the point of blurring. [...] A very famous American was the jewel of her salon. This microcosm was able to flourish in the light of Madame Brillon’s personal and musical charm, the founder of a veritable citadel of keyboard music in the hours leading up to the Revolution.²³³

In popular culture, Madame Brillon is featured in the children’s book *Ben and Me* and, most recently, the miniseries *Franklin*, based on the Pulitzer Prize-winning book *A Great Improvisation: Franklin, France, and the Birth of America*.²³⁴

Madame Brillon’s secondary connections

There is currently no documentation to substantiate a direct connection between Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy and Marie-Antoinette. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that Madame Brillon ever visited the royal residence of Versailles or that the Queen attended any salon gatherings beyond her own. Nonetheless, it remains plausible that the two women may have encountered one another at public events, such as the Concert Spirituel or Opéra.

Despite the absence of definitive evidence, a compelling case can be made for secondary connections between the two women through mutual acquaintances such as Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun and Benjamin Franklin. LeBrun notes that she frequently

²³³ “Que la bibliothèque musicale de Madame Brillon puisse jouer un rôle documentaire dans l’histoire sociale, qu’elle constitue l’un des rares exemples témoignant des efforts—aussi louables soient—ils—d’une femme du XVIII^e siècle en matière de composition musicale, ne suffirait certes pas à définir l’intérêt particulier de cette collection. Il faut bien comprendre qu’il s’agit ici de *l’unique* collection « complète » qui nous soit parvenue d’un compositeur français de clavecin. Il est évident qu’une part en a été perdue, mais ce qui nous est parvenu est si éloquent, sur le plan du style comme sur celui de la chronologie, que l’on peut raisonnablement estimer que les lacunes ne modifieraient guère l’idée que nous nous faisons du répertoire pratique dans le salon de Madame Brillon. Ses priorités musicales allaient vers une simplicité élégante, le naturel mélodique sur des figures d’accompagnement bien définies comme telles, et une douceur harmonique allant jusqu’au flou. [...] Un Américain très célèbre fut le joyau de son salon. Ce microcosme eut tout le loisir de s’épanouir à la lumière du charme personnel et musical de Madame Brillon, fondatrice d’une véritable citadelle de la musique pour clavier dans les heures précédant la Révolution.” Gustafson, “Madame Brillon et son salon,” 314.

²³⁴ Robert Lawson, *Ben and Me: An Astonishing Life of Benjamin Franklin by his Good Mouse Amos* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1939), 79–81, 96, 102; and Stacy Schiff and Tim Van Patten, *Franklin* (2024); and Stacy Schiff, *A Great Improvisation: Franklin, France, and the Birth of America* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2005).

observed Franklin at Brion's [*sic*] salon in Passy, where he was known to spend his evenings.²³⁵ Furthermore, in a letter to Brillon, while she was recuperating in Nice, Franklin references her in connection with Versailles; however, he does not mention specific names.²³⁶ According to the letter, Madame Brillon did not cultivate numerous acquaintances, which might explain the lack of a clear network thread linking her to other female musicians in the database.²³⁷

4.7 Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1745–1825)

Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, known as Madame Louis, was a prominent salonnière and instrumental in popularizing the piano in France, much like her contemporary, Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy.²³⁸ Born in Marcei in 1746, details about her early life and musical education are scarce.²³⁹ However, the preface to her *Six Sonates pour le clavecin ou le Piano*, op. 1 (1769) provides a clue to her upbringing.²⁴⁰ In the dedication, she expresses gratitude to the Marquise de Langeron family for their “many kindnesses bestowed upon me since my tenderest infancy.”²⁴¹ This acknowledgment hints at a privileged upbringing, likely centered in or around Paris, where she would likely have had access to a high-quality musical education and refined cultural circles.²⁴²

Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil (1753–1824), the daughter of the eminent philosopher Denis Diderot (1713–1784), studied harpsichord with Marie-Emmanuel

²³⁵ “Je puis dire toutefois qu’il ne suffisait pas de se rencontrer avec lui, fût-ce même très fréquemment, pour satisfaire la curiosité qu’il excitait’ je l’ai beaucoup vu chez madame Brion, qui habitait constamment Passy; Franklin passait là toutes ses soirées; madame Brion et ses deux filles faisaient de la musique, qu’il semblait écouter avec plaisir, mais dans les intervalles des morceaux, je ne lui ai jamais entendu dire un seul mot, et j’étais tentée de croire que le docteur était voué au silence.” Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs*, 1: 251.

²³⁶ “Comme vous avez toujours évité de faire des Connoissances nombreuses, vous ne pouvez pas imaginer la Quantité de Gens qui s’intéressent de vôtre Bien-être. Je rencontre tous les jours quelques-uns dans toutes les Sociétés, en toutes les Parties de Paris & à Versailles, qui me demandent de vos Nouvelles, de vôtre Santé, &c. Et ceux qui m’aiment, disent quelques mots pour me consoler de vôtre Absence ; que vous amelioriez votre Constitution, que vos Nerfs seront fortifiées, que vous vivrez plus longtemps, &c. Tous parlent de vous avec Respect, plusieurs avec Affection, & même avec Admiration.” (Excerpt, letter from Benjamin Franklin to Madame Brillon, December 25, 1781) Founders Online.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert, *Anecdotes échappées à l'observateur anglois et aux mémoires secrets*, 3 vols. (London: Chez John Adamson, 1788), 3: 181.

²³⁹ Charles Marionneau, *Victor Louis, architecte du Théâtre de Bordeaux: Sa vie, ses travaux et sa correspondance, 1731–1800* (London: Impr. G. Gounouihou, 1881), 554–555.

²⁴⁰ Deborah Hayes, “Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis, and Music in Late Eighteenth-Century France,” 20–29.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 16.

²⁴² Ibid. The Langeron family genealogy is found in François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, ed., *Dictionnaire de la noblesse: Contenant les généalogies, l'histoire & la chronologie des familles nobles de France*, 3rd ed. (Paris: La veuve Duchesne, 1770), 1: col. 481–492.

Bayon from 1765 to 1769.²⁴³ Their mentor-student dynamic blossomed into a lifelong friendship.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, Denis Diderot himself held Bayon in high regard, treating her with fatherly affection and facilitating introductions to a network of influential friends.²⁴⁵

Yesterday morning, I took my two Englishmen to see Mademoiselle Bayon, whom I had warned. She played like an angel; her entire soul was at her fingertips. My good Englishmen believed she was doing all of this for them: oh, but no! It was for their friend Bach [Johann Christian], to whom they will not fail to speak enthusiastically about her; a commission she gave them without their noticing, and perhaps without her realizing it herself.²⁴⁶

Much of what we know about Bayon comes from Charles Marionneau's (1823–1896) biography of her husband, the architect Victor Louis (1731–1800).²⁴⁷ The couple married on June 20, 1770, and had one child, Marie-Hélène-Victoire (1774–1848).²⁴⁸ Madame Louis stopped giving harpsichord lessons to Angélique Diderot shortly before her marriage but continued composing music.²⁴⁹ The opus 1 sonatas, published in Paris in 1769, gained international recognition when listed in the *Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue* the same year.²⁵⁰ The sonatas were also disseminated in London, with a copy inscribed, “This volume belongs to the Queen, 1788,” housed in the British Library.²⁵¹

²⁴³ Hayes, “Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis,” 15–18.

²⁴⁴ Jean Massiet du Biest, *La fille de Diderot* (Tours: Archives départementales d'Indre-et-Loire, 1949), 161–162.

²⁴⁵ Denis Diderot, *Correspondance*, ed. by Georges Roth and Jean Varloot (Paris: Éditions de Minuit 1962), 8: 87–88.

²⁴⁶ “Hier matin, je conduisis mes deux Anglais chez mademoiselle Bayou [*sic*], que j'avais prévenue. Elle joua comme un ange ; son âme était tout entière au bout de ses doigts. Mes bons Anglais croyaient qu'elle faisait tout cela pour eux: oh ! que non ! e'tait pour leur ami Back [*sic*], à qui ils ne manqueront pas d'en parler avec enthousiasme ; commission qu'elle leur donnait sans qu'ils s'en aperçussent, et peut-être sans s'en apercevoir elle-même.” Denis Diderot and Marie-Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil, eds., *Memoires, correspondance et ouvrages inedites de Diderot*, 4 vols. (Paris: H. Fournier, 1830–1831), 2: 109–110. Diderot also found visiting Bayon a welcome respite from his writing. *Ibid.*, 2: 115.

²⁴⁷ Marionneau, *Victor Louis, architecte du Théâtre de Bordeaux*, xi, 49, 95–101, 306, 412, 526, 548, 554–555, 578, 582. Thanks to the efforts of musicologist Deborah Hayes, we now have a definitive biography of Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis, along with valuable insights into her musical compositions.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 98, 554.

²⁴⁹ Diderot, *Memoires*, 182–183.

²⁵⁰ Barry S. Brook, Breitkopf, & Härtel, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 363 [214]. For an analysis of the sonatas, see Hayes, “Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis,” 21–29.

²⁵¹ Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744–1818). *Ibid.*, 18. The inscription “This volume belongs to the Queen 1788” is a notable mark found on various volumes in the Royal Music Library, indicating ownership by Queen Charlotte. This inscription signifies that these volumes were part of Queen Charlotte's personal collection, reflecting her interest in music and her support for musicians of her time. The Royal Music Library, now housed in the British Library, includes a vast collection of music manuscripts and printed music, which were gathered by the royal family. Queen Charlotte's involvement in music was well documented, as she was an accomplished harpsichord player and a patron of the arts, often

However, it was her comic opera, *Fleur d'Épine* [Pine Flower], that brought her widespread fame.²⁵² The opera premiered on August 22, 1776, at the Théâtre Italien in Paris and was performed twelve times that season.²⁵³ It was published in 1777 and dedicated to Louise Marie-Adélaïde, Duchess de Chartres.²⁵⁴ Arrangements of musical numbers from *Fleur d'Épine* continued to be published over the next decade, with copies of the score found in institutions such as the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, Berlin's Staatsbibliothek, and Harburg's Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek.²⁵⁵ Apart from her opera, Madame Louise composed and performed music primarily for her salon gatherings.²⁵⁶

Following *Fleur d'Épine*'s successful run, Madame Louis joined her husband in Bordeaux, where he had been commissioned to design and build the Grand Théâtre.²⁵⁷ During their stay, the Louis residence became an exclusive salon frequented by the city's elite.²⁵⁸ Two of Madame Louis's operas were performed in this cultured environment, although their titles have not been preserved.²⁵⁹ Upon completing the Grand Théâtre in 1780, the Louis family returned to Paris and settled on the rue de la Place-Vendôme.²⁶⁰

commissioning works and hosting musical events at court. See "Music in the Royal Collection," Royal Collection Trust; and British Library: Music blog, "Digitised music manuscripts update."

²⁵² Deborah Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1746–1825)," 9–17; and Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louise and Abbé Voisenon, *Fleur d'épine: Comédie en deux actes, mêlée d'ariettes*. (Paris: Huguët, 1777).

²⁵³ *Fleur d'Épine* was also performed in Brussels, and a performance was held in Bordeaux in 1784. *Ibid.*, 3–4; and *La Grande Encyclopédie: Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, ed. by M. M. Berthelot, 31 vols. (Paris: H. Lamirault, 1885–1902), 22: 668.

²⁵⁴ Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louise and Abbé Voisenon, *Fleur d'Épine, comédie en deux actes, mêlée d'ariettes* (Paris: Huguët, 1777), preface. Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon's dedication is particularly intriguing given the complex and intertwined histories of Duchess Marie-Adélaïde de Chartres and Bayon's friend, Comtesse Stéphanie de Genlis. Genlis served as Marie-Adélaïde's lady-in-waiting and was romantically involved with the Duchess's husband, Duc Philippe. Despite the eventual cooling of their romance, Genlis continued in her official capacity and later became the governess to the couple's children. Their relationship was further complicated by their divergent political ideologies, leading to an eventual parting of ways. Bayon's dedication thus highlights the complex social and political dynamics of the time and her connection to these influential figures. See André Castelot, *Philippe Égalité le Régicide*, ed. by Jean Picollec (Paris: Self-published, 1991).

²⁵⁵ Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis," 32. For a detailed discussion on *Fleur d'Épine*, refer to Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1746–1825)," 9–18, and a comprehensive list of works on pp. 18–21.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁵⁷ Marionneau, 99. The old theatre, destroyed in 1755, led to the commissioning of a new building by Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu (1696–1788). (*Ibid.*, 105–110). This new theatre is arguably Victor Louis's most famous work. Opera National de Bordeaux, "History of the Grand Theatre."

²⁵⁸ "Au rapport des gens qui fréquentaient cette maison si honorablement tenue, Mme Louis, femme d'infiniment d'esprit et d'une grand beauté, savait en faire les honneurs avec un charme attractif et une amabilité qui en faisaient rechercher avec empressement la fréquentation par tout ce que la ville offrait de distingué." E. Gaullier L'Hardy, *Portefeuille Iconographique de Victor Louis* (Paris, 1828), 32. (Quoted) Marionneau, 99.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

²⁶⁰ Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1746–1825)," 3.

Their Parisian home quickly became a center for distinguished literary and artistic gatherings.²⁶¹ While no additional compositions by Madame Louis have surfaced from this period, she likely continued composing and performing for her salon's select audience.²⁶²

In 1790, Victor Louis acquired the Chartreuse d'Aubevoye, near Rouen, as a future dowry for his daughter, Marie-Hélène-Victoire, upon her marriage to Charles Aimé Éthis de Corny (1763–1829), the mayor of Aubevoye, in 1791.²⁶³ Aside from hosting her salon, Marie-Emmanuelle dedicated herself to furthering her husband's career while he designed and oversaw the construction of the Théâtre National in Paris from 1791 to 1793.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, he soon fell heavily into debt and grew increasingly estranged from his wife.²⁶⁵ Angélique portrays Victor as entirely self-centered and interested only in his personal projects, leaving Marie-Emmanuelle to manage their household responsibilities alone.²⁶⁶

Madame Louis suffered from hearing loss and physical infirmities in the late 1790s, although the specifics of her condition are unknown.²⁶⁷ After Victor's death in 1800, Marie-Emmanuelle divided her time between Aubevoye, where she stayed with her daughter's family, and Paris, living with Angélique Diderot, now Vandeuil, in her apartment on rue Poissonnière, n° 33.²⁶⁸ Little else is documented about her life after this period, except that she died on March 19, 1825, at the Château d'Aubevoye.²⁶⁹

In 1881, Charles Marionneau was nearing the completion of his biography of Victor Louis when he received a letter from bibliographer Maurice Tourneux (1849–

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Letzter, *Women Writing Opera*, 96.

²⁶³ François-Georges Pariset, ed., "Notes sur l'architecte Victor Louis." In *Actes du quatre-vingt-deuxième congrès national des sociétés savants, Bordeaux, 1957* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1959), 177–202. The article includes descriptions and valuations of the entire Louis estate. Marie-Hélène-Victoire and Charles de Corny's first-born son, Emmanuel Victor Aimé de Corny (1798–1865), eventually became the captain of Louis XVIII's bodyguards. See Académie des Sciences Morales des Lettres et des Arts de Versailles et d'Ile-de-France.

²⁶⁴ Marionneau, 526–527; and Diderot, *Correspondance*, 15: 249.

²⁶⁵ Pariset, "Notes sur l'architecte Victor Louis," 186–191.

²⁶⁶ Massiet du Biest, *La fille de Diderot*, 161.

²⁶⁷ Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1746–1825)," 4.

²⁶⁸ Angélique married Abel Caroillon de Vandeuil (1746–1713) in 1772. Diderot, *Correspondance*, 15: 249, no. 5; Pariset, 188; and Michèle Gauthier, "Fond Diderot-Caroillon de Vandeuil. Inventaire," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 9 (1990): 177, no. 4. We delve deeper into Angélique Diderot Vandeuil's life in the next section.

²⁶⁹ Marionneau, 555, note 2. Victor Louis changed the name from "Chartreuse" to "Château" in 1797 due to several construction and demolition changes. See Pariset, 187. Madame Louis never ventured beyond the borders of France, whether for concert tours or other reasons. Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis," 32.

1917).²⁷⁰ Within this correspondence was a poem, likely unpublished, that Tourneux had unearthed in the literary correspondence of Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm (1723–1807), a close confidant of Denis Diderot.²⁷¹ This poem, written by the novelist Jean-François Marmontel (1723–1799), was composed in 1797 as a tribute to Madame Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis.²⁷² Marmontel, who lived on a modest farm near the Louis estate, conveys profound gratitude and overwhelming joy for the love and genuine friendship he received from her, particularly in his later years.²⁷³

✿ Bayon Louis’s secondary links to Marie-Antoinette ✿

A potential connection exists between Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis and Marie-Antoinette, evidenced by the Queen and members of the royal family attending the final production of *Fleur d’Épine* at the Hôtel de Bourgogne on April 14, 1777, which was held in a packed house.²⁷⁴ Deborah Hayes, Bayon Louis’s biographer, suggests that the Queen’s court likely informed the theatre of her preferred works to be performed that evening, indicating her familiarity with Bayon Louis’s oeuvre.²⁷⁵

Although there is no concrete evidence of a direct encounter between Marie-Antoinette and Bayon Louis, it is intriguing to consider that the Queen’s brother, Joseph II, may have crossed paths with Bayon Louis during his 1777 tour of France with diplomat Giovanni Filippo Cobenzl (1741–1810), thus establishing a secondary link to the Queen.²⁷⁶ Joseph II and Cobenzl toured Victor Louis’s Salle de Spectacle and spent

²⁷⁰ Marionneau, xi.

²⁷¹ Ibid. The referenced literature may be found at Friedrich Melchior Grimm, Abbé Raynal, Maurice Trouneux, Denis Diderot, and Jacques-Henri Meister, *Correspondance, Littéraire, Philosophique et Critique*, 16 vols. (Paris: 1877–1882).

²⁷² Marionneau, xi.

²⁷³ “COUPLETS / FAITS PAR M. MARMONTEL, A UNE FÊTE QUE LUI AVAIT DONNÉE M^{me} LOUIS, FEMME DE L’ARCHITECTE. / Sur l’air: *Daigne Écouter l’aimant fidèle*. / Ici, pour moi, quel prodige s’opère ? Mon cœur renaît, je me sens ranimer. Ah ! c’est vieillir que de cesser de plaire, C’est rajeunir que de se voir aimer. / Tendre amitié, que ta faveur m’honore Et de tes soins que le charme est touchant ! / C’est toi qui veux me rendre heureux encore Et de tes fleurs embellir mon couchant. / Divins talents, plaisirs de l’innocence, Des dons du ciel le plus pur, le plus beau, Prolongez-moi votre douce influence Et ma vieillesse oubliera le tombeau. / Quoi ! De vos mains je reçois la couronne Ah ! c’est à vous que je dois la donner. Oui, que des cœurs le suffrage la donne: C’est vous partout que l’on va couronner. / Parques, filez lentement, je vous prie: Qu’un jour pareil me soit encore permis: Tant de bonheur me fait chérir la vie ; Elle est charmante avec de tels amis. Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Clarence D. Brenner, *The Théâtre Italien: Its Repertory, 1716–1793* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 373.

²⁷⁵ Hayes, “Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1746–1825),” 13, no. 39.

²⁷⁶ Philipp von Cobenzl, Georges Englebert, and Federico Vidic, “Le Voyage de Joseph II en France (1777): La Transcription de Georges Englebert du Journal de Philippe Cobenzl,” in *I Cobenzl. Una famiglia europea tra politica, arte e diplomazia (1508–1823)*, a cura di Federico Vidic e Alessio Stasi (Roma-Gorizia: Lithos-Archivio di Stato di Gorizia, 2022), 812.

several hours with the architect.²⁷⁷ Cobenzl’s journal also notes a meeting with Bayon Louis, describing her as a friendly woman and a talented musician.²⁷⁸

Another secondary link between Madame Louis and Marie-Antoinette can be found in an anecdote shared by the Queen’s lady-in-waiting, Henriette Campan (1752–1822).²⁷⁹ In a letter dated 14 Brumaire an XI,²⁸⁰ Campan recounts:

The day before yesterday, Madame Louis kindly sent her carriage and four to take me and some of my pupils to see this admirable picture. We afterwards dined with her, and at seven in the evening I was home again, and seated on the sofa in my closet, resting, after the fatigues of the day.²⁸¹

Although Campan’s letter was written almost a decade after the passing of her mistress, Marie-Antoinette, it highlights the amicable relationship between Campan and Bayon Louis. The fact that Madame Louis arranged for a coach and invited Campan and her students for dinner indicates a significant connection between the two women. It would be intriguing to uncover how and when their acquaintance began.

Bayon Louis and Montgeroult

In 1767, Maire-Emmanuelle Bayon performed at the salon of Stéphanie-Félicité, Comtesse de Genlis.²⁸² Genlis was effusive in her praise of Bayon, describing her as “a charming young person, pretty, gentle, modest, wise, witty, a first-class piano player, a

²⁷⁷ Marionneau, 339–353.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Henriette Campan’s memoirs provide a significant primary source for understanding life in Versailles during the reign of Marie-Antoinette and Louis XVI. Jeanne-Louise-Henriette Campan, *Journal anecdotique de Mme Campan: ou, Souvenirs recueillis dans ses entretiens* (Paris: Baudouin Frères, 1824).

²⁸⁰ *Brumaire* was the second month in the French Republican (Revolutionary) calendar, officially in use from September 22, 1793 until the end of 1805. Therefore, Brumaire 14 an XI = November 5, 1802. See the calendar converter at Napoléon & Empire, “The French Republican Calendar.”

²⁸¹ “Avant-hier madame Louis a eu l’attention de m’envoyer une voiture à quatre chevaux, bien grande, bien large, pour que l’on puisse mener cinq de mes élèves admirer cette belle composition. Nous avons diné ensuite chez elle, et à sept heures j’étais déjà assise dans mon cabinet sur le bon canapé où je me délasse de mes fatigues.” Ibid., 203. (Translation) Jeanne-Louise-Henriette Campan, *The Private Journal of Madame Campan*, ed. by M. Maigne (Philadelphia: A. Small, 1825), 140. The picture referenced in the quote is Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774–1833) *Phaedra and Hippolytus*, 1802 (Harvard Art Museums, 1942.191).

²⁸² “Je m’amusai aussi beaucoup chez moi cet hiver; mon salon étoit fort grand; nous y jouâmes non-seulement des proverbes, mais un opéra-comique dont mon amie, mademoiselle Baillon (depuis madame Louis, femme du fameux architecte), fit la musique; M. de Sauvigny avoit fait les paroles, et un rôle pour moi, dans lequel je jouais de la harpe, de la guitare et de la musette. Nous jouâmes aussi une jolie comédie, intitulée *l’Avaro amoureux*.” Stéphanie-Félicité du Crest de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits de Madame La Comtesse de Genlis*, 10 vols. (Paris: Ladvocat, 1825), 1: 357–359.

marvelous composer, and with astonishing ease in execution.”²⁸³ Given that H el ene de Montgeroult was also known to frequent Genlis’s salon,²⁸⁴ it is plausible that Bayon and Montgeroult interacted in some capacity during these gatherings.

— Integrating salonni eres

The networks of Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy and Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis, as depicted in Figures 4.10 and 4.11, underscore their limited visibility within the dataset. Nevertheless, their connections included prominent figures of the era, such as Charles Burney, Benjamin Franklin, Madame de Genlis, and Emperor Joseph II. Although both women were of similar age and held prominent positions as salonni eres during the same period, their only definitive connection seems to be the city of Paris, with Marie-Antoinette potentially serving as a weak link between them.

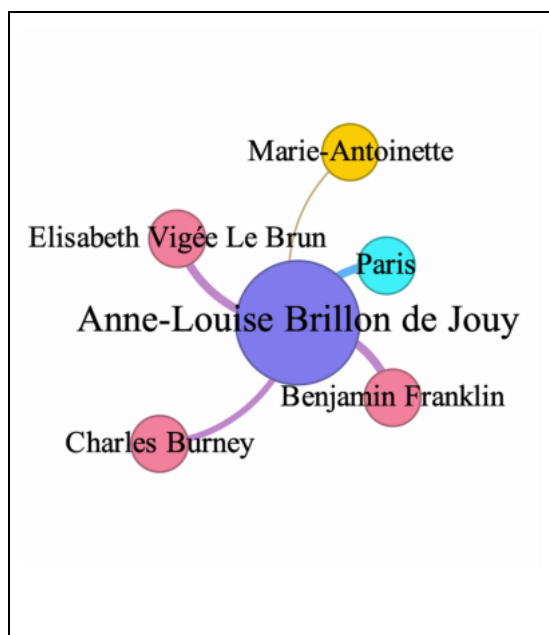


Fig. 4.10. Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy network

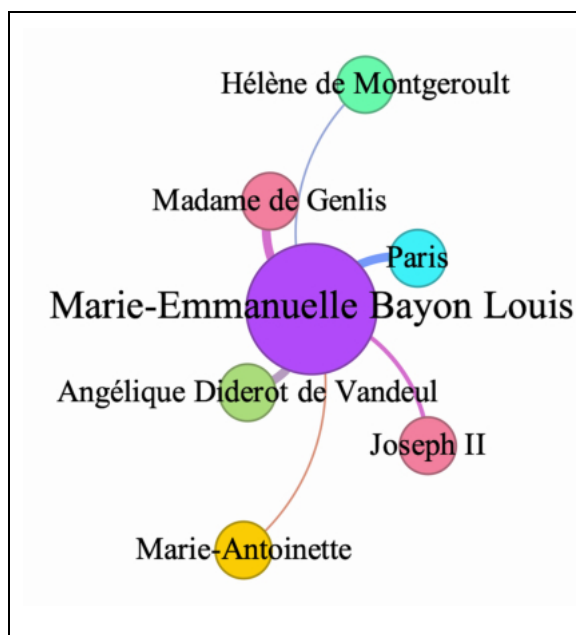


Fig. 4.11. Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis network

Once Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy is integrated into the network, as illustrated in Figure 4.12, her connection to Paris becomes immediately evident. However, in contrast to the female musicians discussed in Chapter 1, who had numerous secondary and potential links within the geographical environs of Vienna, the only secondary connections linking Brillon de Jouy to Paris are through Benjamin Franklin and  Elisabeth

²⁸³ “...une charmante jeune personne, jolie, douce, modeste, sage, spirituelle, jouant du piano de la premi ere force, composant   merveille, et avec une  tonnante facilit e.” Ibid., 358.

²⁸⁴ See H el ene de Montgeroult’s profile, 409.

Vigée Le Brun. Le Brun also establishes a secondary link between Madame Brillon and H el ene de Montgeroult. Consequently, there is a pressing need for further research to expand the database, which could potentially enhance Brillon de Jouy’s network viability.

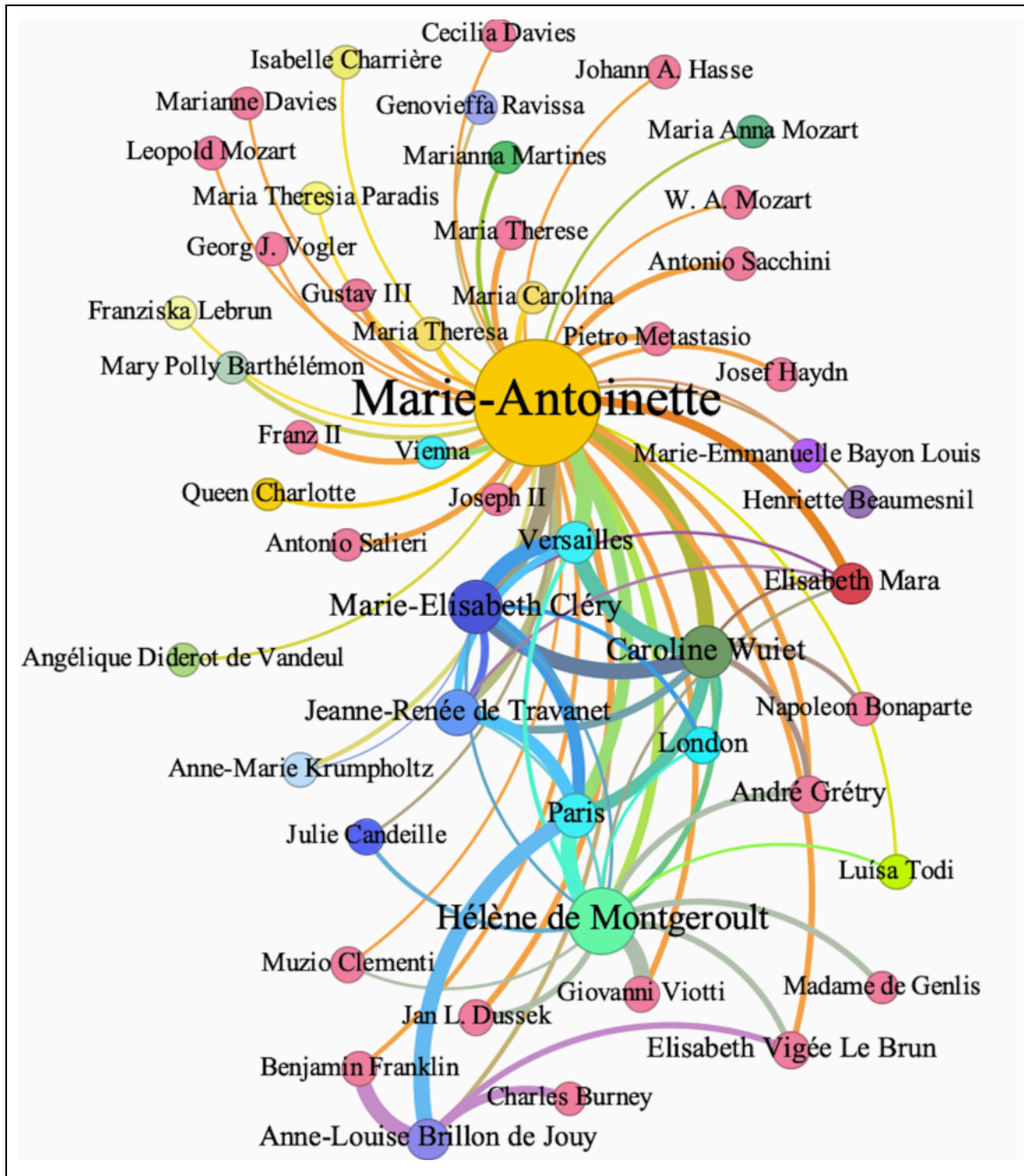


Fig. 4.12. Marie-Antoinette composite network with Anne-Louise Brillon de Jouy

In Figure 4.13, Paris continues to serve as the central hub in the network, now with the inclusion of Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis. She is connected to H el ene de Montgeroult through Madame de Genlis, while Joseph II provides a secondary link to Marie-Antoinette.

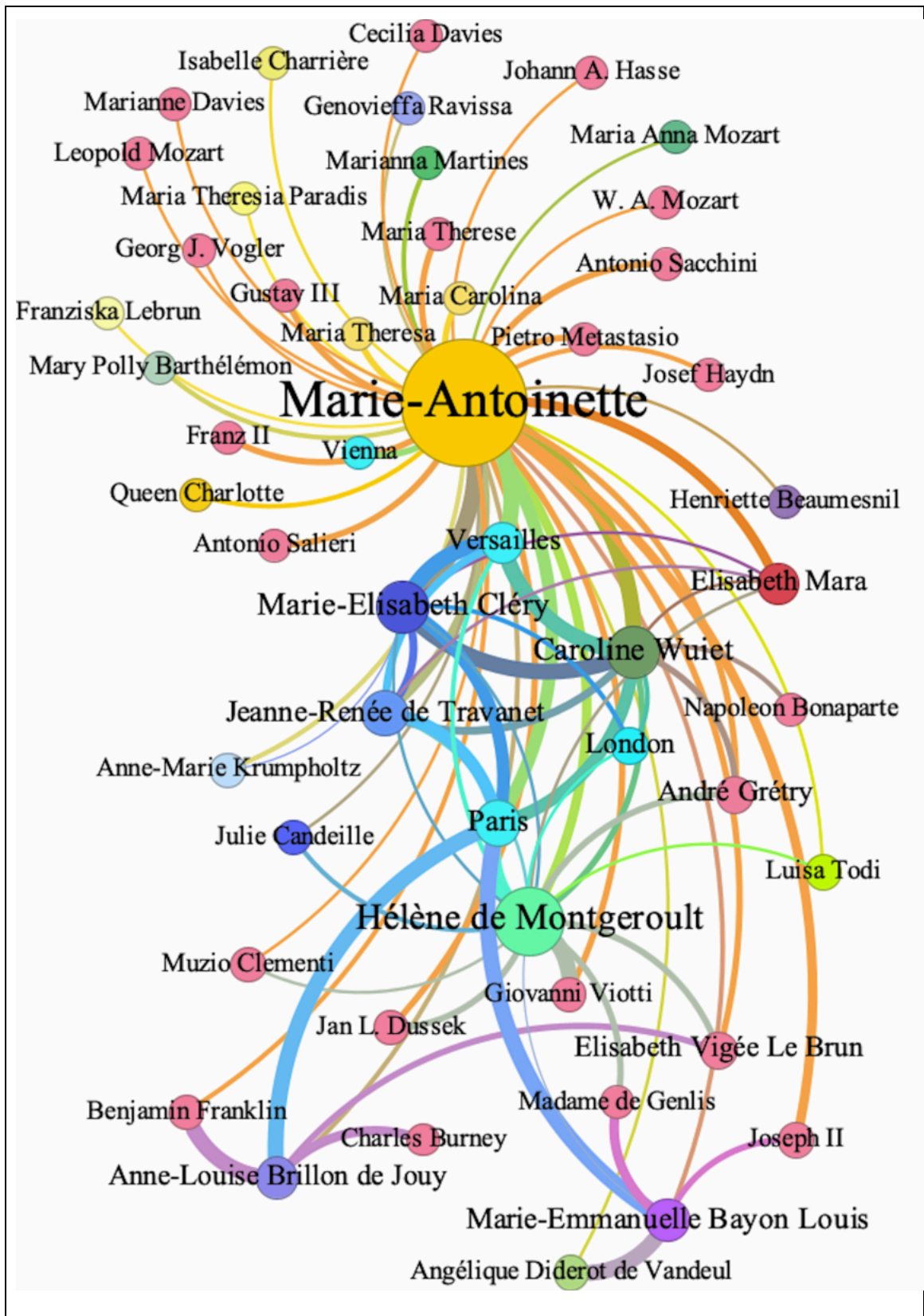


Fig. 4.13. Marie-Antoinette composite network with Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis

The question arises whether Brillon de Jouy and Bayon Louis were genuinely unacquainted, or whether French society at the time was somewhat insular, warranting

further research. While the dataset encompasses numerous individuals who facilitated connections between female musicians across eighteenth-century Western Europe, France appears to have been somewhat isolated from these networks. This indicates a significant research gap, highlighting the necessity for further exploration to better understand the interactions and networks of French female musicians within the broader European musical landscape.

Although current evidence suggests only tenuous links between Brillon de Jouy and Bayon Louis, the overlap in their social and artistic environments invites further investigation. Both women occupied prominent positions within elite Parisian salon culture and maintained contact with figures—such as Franklin and de Genlis—who moved fluidly between artistic and diplomatic circles. These intermediary figures could well represent latent or undocumented ties that remain to be uncovered through correspondence, dedication records, or contemporaneous press notices. Expanding the dataset to include secondary figures from adjacent literary and intellectual networks may reveal additional nodes of connection, potentially demonstrating that these women participated in a broader, if less formally institutionalized, sphere of female collaboration in pre-revolutionary France. Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis’s association with Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil provides a foundation for the final section of this analysis. However, while the primary connection between Bayon Louis and Diderot de Vandeuil may possibly yield additional secondary and potential links, the connection between Marie-Antoinette and Bayon Louis remains weak, rendering any further connections through this pathway tenuous at best.

C. Performers and composers—Diderot, Candaille, Gail—counterpoint

The following profiles pertain to three French performers: Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil, Amélie-Julie Candaille, and Sophie Garre Gail. It is reasonable to assume that they were aware of other female musicians in Paris, as well as their Queen, Marie-Antoinette. At the time, Paris was more than twice the size of Vienna; however, Vienna’s musical milieu was predominantly centered on the Habsburg court, located in the heart of the city. In contrast, the court at Versailles was located approximately ten miles from central Paris, creating a degree of separation between the monarchy and the city’s musical life.

Furthermore, the Académie Royale de Musique and Concert Spirituel catered to

an elite musical audience, featuring performances by both foreign and local female musicians. Nevertheless, enthusiasm for these venues among the French public does not seem to have reached the levels observed in London or Stockholm, where public concert culture was more firmly established. As a result, no concrete primary or secondary connections have been established among these performers to date, nor have any potential associations based on geographical proximity been identified. It remains possible that informal or undocumented interactions took place within aristocratic salons or private gatherings, but such links have yet to be substantiated.

4.8 Marie-Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil (1753–1824)

Marie-Angélique Diderot, a distinguished harpsichordist from Paris, was the only surviving offspring of Denis Diderot and Anne-Antoinette Champion (1710–1796).²⁸⁵ From a young age, Angélique became the subject of a contentious debate concerning her education.²⁸⁶ Aware of his wife’s devout Catholicism, Denis Diderot grew increasingly apprehensive about its potential adverse effect on their daughter’s development, leading to frequent conflicts between the couple.²⁸⁷ Diderot was particularly worried about the prospect of Angélique being sent away to a boarding school, a customary practice among families of their social standing.²⁸⁸ In 1762, when his wife was battling a prolonged illness, Diderot resolved to take charge of Angélique’s education himself.²⁸⁹ Motivated by his deep love for his daughter and a strong desire to provide her with the best possible education, he enthusiastically undertook her instruction at home.²⁹⁰ Diderot closely monitored Angélique’s academic progress, emphasizing the importance of fostering critical thinking skills.²⁹¹

²⁸⁵ Arthur McCandless Wilson, *Diderot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 186, 455. In the profile, she is referred to as Angélique to avoid confusion with her father, who is referred to as Diderot.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 455.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ This apprehension was deeply rooted in a personal tragedy—the premature demise of his sister, who suffered from a severe mental disorder acquired during her secluded life in a convent, passing away at the age of 28. *Ibid.* 14, 455. For a fascinating study, I recommend Chantal Grell and Arnaud Ramière de Fortanier, eds., *L’éducation de jeunes filles nobles en Europe: XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne, 2014).

²⁸⁹ Wilson, *Diderot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 455.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 455, 594–596.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 594. Miriam Bastos Marzal discusses the intricacies of her musical development and the extent of her father’s influence on her musical education in her article, “Retrato de Familia a Contraluz: El Aprendizaje Musical de Angélique Diderot y la Educación Ilustrada de las Mujeres,” *Historia de la Educación* 38 (2019): 223–238.

From an early age, Angélique displayed talent and sensitivity and began playing the harpsichord at nine.²⁹² Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon was her instructor for over three years from 1765.²⁹³ In late 1769, she started lessons with Anton Bemetzrieder (1743–1817), studying with him for one year and becoming one of the main characters in his textbook, *Leçons de Clavecin et Principes d'Harmonie*.²⁹⁴ In this treatise on harmony, Bemetzrieder describes the lessons he gave to his sixteen-year-old student and includes philosophical and musical conversations between himself [Le Maître], Angélique [L'Éleve], and Diderot [Le Philosophe].²⁹⁵ From these accounts, we can surmise that Angélique mastered technically and musically demanding compositions.²⁹⁶

It seems to me that the time has been well spent: Mademoiselle executes the Games [modulations, embellishments, etc.] and the Enchaînements [linked phrases] very quickly; she runs diatonically & chromatically over the keyboard, as if she had never done anything else; she is as comfortable in F sharp as in C natural; & we are about to begin Harmony.²⁹⁷

Angélique's one surviving composition appears in Bemetzrieder's treatise entitled "Le Prélude de L'Éleve."²⁹⁸ Underscoring her proficiency and versatility, Charles Burney claims Angélique "is one of the finest harpsichord-players in Paris, and, for a lady, possessed of an uncommon portion of knowledge in modulation."²⁹⁹

²⁹² Jean Massiet du Biest, *Angélique Diderot: Témoignages nouveaux...* (Paris: Self-published, 1960), 12. Diderot wrote to his paramour Sophie Volland (1716–1784), describing an exchange with his daughter: "Angélique, ce passage vous embarrasse? regardez sur votre papier. — Le doigté n'est pas écrit sur mon papier, et c'est là ce qui m'arrête. — Angélique, je crois que vous passez une mesure. — Comment la passerais-je puisque j'en tiens encore l'accord sous mes doigts ?" (Excerpt, letter from Denis Diderot to Sophie Volland, July 31, 1762) Denis Diderot, ed., *Œuvres Choiesies*, introduction by Paul Albert, 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1877–1879), 4: 150.

²⁹³ Jean Massiet du Biest, *La fille de Diderot* (Tours: Archives départementales d'Indre-et-Loire, 1949), 27, 161–162; and Claudia Schweitzer, "... ist übrigens als Lehrerinn höchst empfehlungswürdig...." (Schriftenreihe des Sophie Drinker Instituts 6, Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag, 2008), 167–169.

²⁹⁴ Hayes, "Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, Later Madame Louis," 15–19. Bayon Louis and Bemetzrieder apparently despised each other, prompting Diderot to intervene and resolve the issue. "J'ai réconcilié, par occasion, deux êtres qui se méprisaient injustement, et qui, pour s'estimer, n'avaient qu'à se mieux connaître; c'est mademoiselle Bajon [*sic*] et le petit maître de ma fille. Je fis jouer un concerto à celui-ci ; l'autre l'entendit, et trouva qu'il jouait comme un ange. Je fis jouer et chanter la demoiselle, à présent dame ; elle chanta et joua comme un ange, et l'autre en convint." Diderot, *Memoires*, 182–183; and Schweitzer, "... ist übrigens als Lehrerinn höchst empfehlungswürdig," 170–173; and Anton Bemetzrieder, *Leçons de Clavecin et Principes d'Harmonie* (Paris: Bluet, 1771).

²⁹⁵ Bemetzrieder, *Leçons de Clavecin et Principes d'Harmonie*.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ "Il m'a paru que le tems avoir été bien employé: Mademoiselle exécuté tré-lestement les Games & les Enchaînements; elle parcourt diatoniquement & chromatiquement son clavier, comme si elle n'avoit jamais fair autre chose; elle est aussi commodément en fa dieze, qu'en ut naturel; & nous allons entamer l'Harmonie." *Ibid.*, 122.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 303–306. For a critical analysis of the prelude and its place within the treatise, see Rebecca Cypess, "Asserting Her Voice," *Early Music America* (November 27, 2023).

²⁹⁹ Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 392.

Angélique Diderot married Parisian industrialist Abel François Nicolas Caroillon de Vandeuil (1746–1713) on September 9, 1772, and they had two children: Marie Anne (1773–1784) and Denis Simon (1775–1850).³⁰⁰ To secure financial stability for Angélique’s future, Diderot had sold his 3000-book library to Empress Catherine II (1729–1796) in 1765, enabling him to provide his daughter with a substantial dowry.³⁰¹ Little is known of her musical activities after her marriage, although her father continued to pay for her music lessons with Johann Gottfried Eckhardt (1735–1809) three times a week.³⁰²

After Diderot died in 1787, Angélique preserved his correspondence and memoirs.³⁰³ However, Angélique was a forceful woman who wielded authority over her father’s legacy and deleted all his letters to his lover, Sophie Volland, from one edition.³⁰⁴ Her strength was further demonstrated during a critical period in the Revolution when her husband, Abel François, was arrested on March 17, 1794.³⁰⁵ Angélique demanded his *liberté* on April 7, and he was released on August 26.³⁰⁶

His wife, who prides herself on having been cradled in philosophy and to have been a republican before the revolution, is not afraid to provoke the most severe scrutiny of her husband’s principles and actions. The voice of a wife, of a mother, of the only daughter of one of the first and most courageous apostles of Liberty, will not be rejected by those representatives who, in the exercise of important and rigorous functions, seek by sentiment as much as by duty to ensure the triumph of innocence and to guarantee it from oppression.³⁰⁷

Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil died in Paris on December 6, 1824, and is interred in the

³⁰⁰ France National Archives “Contrat de mariage entre Abel François Nicolas Carvillon et Marie Angélique Diderot.” MC/ET/LIII/489; and Favier, Hervé. “Angélique Diderot et les Caroillon sous la Révolution,” *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 19, no. 1 (1987): 283–284.

³⁰¹ Louis Petit de Bachaumont and Jules Amédée Désiré Ravenel, eds., *Mémoires secrets de Bachaumont de 1762 à 1787*, 4 vols. (Paris: Brissot-Thivars, 1830), 1: 385.

³⁰² Wilson, 617.

³⁰³ Denis Diderot and Marie-Angélique Diderot de Vandeuil, eds., *Mémoires, correspondance et ouvrages inédits de Diderot*, 4 vols. (Paris: Paulin, 1830–1831).

³⁰⁴ Jean Massiet du Biest, “Lettres inédites de Nageon a M^r et M^{me} de Vandeuil (1786–1787),” *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres*, no. 10 (January 1, 1948): 1–12.

³⁰⁵ Charles Nauroy, *Le Curieux*, 2 vols. (Paris: Self-published, 1883–1888), 1: 249.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1: 249–250.

³⁰⁷ “Sa femme qui elle-même se glorifie d’avoir eu la philosophie pour berceau et d’avoir été républicaine avant la révolution, ne craint pas de provoquer la recherche la plus sévère des principes et des actions de son mari. La voix d’une épouse, d’une mère, enfin de la fille unique de l’un des premiers et des plus courageux apôtres de la Liberté, ne sera pas repoussé par les représentants qui dans l’exercice d’importantes et rigoureuses fonctions cherchent par sentiment autant que par devoir à faire triompher l’innocence et à la garantir de l’oppression.” (Excerpt, letter from Angélique de Vandeuil aux représentants du Peuple, members du Comité de sûreté générale de la Convention nationale) (Quoted) *Ibid.*

Caroillon de Vandeul family tomb in Père Lachaise cemetery.³⁰⁸

Diderot and Bayon Louis

Angélique and Marie-Emmanuelle's friendship was such that both Monsieur and Madame de Vandeul were at Marie-Hélène-Victoire Louis's wedding in 1791, where they signed her marriage certificate.³⁰⁹ The two friends occasionally attended concerts, and Marie-Emmanuelle lived with the Vandeuls for a time.³¹⁰

Diderot connections

Angélique Diderot appears to have had no connection to Marie-Antoinette, Versailles, or any other female musician in the dataset apart from Madame Louis.

4.9 Amélie-Julie Candaille Simons Périé (1767–1834)

Amélie-Julie Candaille was a versatile Parisian artist—singer, harpsichordist, composer, actress, playwright, and novelist.³¹¹ Growing up in a family immersed in music, she received instruction and guidance from her father, Pierre-Joseph Candaille (1744–1827), an opera composer.³¹² Under his mentorship and management, Julie honed her natural talents for the harpsichord and singing, with Pierre actively promoting her as a child prodigy.³¹³ Julie first sang at a concert with her father in 1772, at the age of five.³¹⁴ In her *Mémoires*, Candaille recounts being presented to Marie-Antoinette at age eight or nine (1775–1776), but she apparently did not perform for the Queen.³¹⁵ Around the same period, however, Candaille did perform a harpsichord arrangement of the overture to

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 12, 250.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.; and Pariset, 179–180.

³¹⁰ Hayes, “Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon Louis (1746–1825),” 4; and Diderot, *Correspondance*, 15: 249, no. 5..

³¹¹ César Jourdin, *Essai Historique sur Estaires* (Lille: Éditions Taffin-Lefort, 1958), 131.

³¹² Julie's mother is only mentioned as a homemaker in biographical data, when mentioned at all. Calvert Johnson, “Amélie-Julie Candaille (1767–1834),” in *WCMA*, 5: 196; and L. Aillaud, “Julie Candaille,” *Chronique mondaine, littéraire et artistique* 24 (October 27, 1923): 1. Candaille's *Mémoires* are assumed lost; however, excerpts from them are preserved in the periodical *Chronique Mondaine*. Ibid., (October 27, 1923): 1; (November 3): 1; (November 10): 1; (November 24): 1; (December 18): 1; (December 29): 1; and (January 12, 1924): 1. For a comprehensive examination of these excerpts, see Charles Terrin, “Julie Candaille: Actrice, musicienne, femme de lettres,” *Revue des Deux Mondes (1829–1971)* 33, no. 2 (1936): 403–425.

³¹³ Fétis, 8: 214.

³¹⁴ Johnson, “Amélie-Julie Candaille (1767–1834),” 196.

³¹⁵ Aillaud, *Chronique mondaine* (October 27, 1923): 1. Candaille does not mention performing for the Queen; she only recounts being introduced to her.

Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*, which reportedly delighted the composer so much that he lifted and embraced her in admiration.³¹⁶ Also during this time, many Candeille biographies suggest she performed alongside a young Mozart; however, such claims are unlikely.³¹⁷ In her *Mémoires*, Candeille clarifies that her audience at a performance hosted by Madeleine-Sophie Arnould (1740-1802) merely compared her to Mozart.³¹⁸

Julie Candeille was admitted to the *Théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique* (commonly known as the Paris Opera) in 1779.³¹⁹ After three years of training, she made her debut on the stage of the Opéra with a small role in *Iphigénie en Aulide*.³²⁰ Although her vocal projection did not particularly distinguish her from her contemporaries, critics noted her beauty, elegance, and vocal quality.³²¹ Nonetheless, Candeille did not attain the acclaim she aspired to as a singer, prompting her to redirect her efforts toward the piano.³²² In 1783, Candeille debuted at the Concert Spirituel, performing concertos by Clementi and Schobert.³²³ Her musicianship received high accolades, with the *Mercure de France* praising her “brilliant hand” and “pearl-like execution.”³²⁴ Furthermore, she demonstrated her compositional abilities by performing original works, including a symphony for piano, which was compared favorably with

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Henri de Curzon, “Une anecdote inédite de l'enfance de Mozart à Paris,” *Le Ménestrel: Journal de musique* (April 26, 1940): 72. In her biography on Julie Candeille, Anja Herold posits that when Candeille was nine, she competed with a young Mozart, with whom she took turns auditioning. However, Mozart spent time in Paris in 1763–1764, three years before Julie was born. She turned nine in 1776 and Mozart did not return to Paris until 1778. Therefore, even if Candeille performed with him at that point, she would have been eleven or twelve, while he would have been twenty-two. This discrepancy suggests that the account of them competing or performing together when she was nine is implausible. See Anja Herold, “Candeille, Amélie-Julie,” *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen*, 2009.

³¹⁸ Aillaud, (October 27, 1923): 1

³¹⁹ Terrin, “Julie Candeille: Actrice, musicienne, femme de lettres,” 412. Mozart, uncredited, had composed the music for Jean-Georges Noverre's (1727–1810) ballet-pantomime *Les Petits Riens*, which premiered at the Académie the previous year. See *JP* (June 12, 1778): 651; and (Letter Wolfgang to Leopold, July 9, 1778) “Mozart Briefe und Dokumente,” No. 462.

³²⁰ *MF* (January 1783): 35.

³²¹ “Le Vendredi 27, Mlle Candeille, fille du sieur Candeille, Musicien de l'Opéra, & Compositeur connu par quelques Ouvrages, a débuté dans le rôle d'*Iphigénie en Aulide*. Une figure agréable & intéressante, une taille avantageuse, une voix douce & sensible, une grande connoissance de la musique, & une action pleine d'âme & d'intelligence, quoiqu'elle soit très-jeune, & qu'elle n'eût jamais monté sur aucun Théâtre, rendront ce Sujet précieux à l'Opéra, si l'usage & la confiance peuvent donner à sa voix la force & la sûreté nécessaires pour les rôles auxquels sa figure & ses talents semblent las destiner. L'embaras & la timidité, inséparables d'un premier Début, ne lui ont pas permis de déployer tous ses moyens ; il faut la voir & l'entendre encore pour juger de ce qu'on peut en attendre.” Ibid.

³²² Terrin, 412–413.

³²³ *MF* (August 1783): 188.

³²⁴ “Cette jeune Virtuose est extrêmement bonne Musicienne; elle a la main très-brillante, l'exécution perlée, beaucoup de goût and de précision; elle a été fort applaudie, quoique cet instrument fasse en général peu d'effet au Concert.” Ibid.

Haydn and received rapturous applause.³²⁵

From 1785 to 1794, Julie was an active performer and playwright.³²⁶ Initially affiliated with the Comédie Française from 1785 to 1790, she subsequently transitioned to the Théâtre du Palais-Royal in 1790, where she carved out a niche for herself in coquettish and comedic characters.³²⁷ As a staunch revolutionary, Candeille hosted a salon frequented by Républicans.³²⁸ Moreover, the Théâtre du Palais-Royal produced her revolutionary and autobiographical comedic opera, *Catherine, ou la belle fermière*, in 1792.³²⁹ This work was crafted to highlight Candeille's diverse talents; she not only composed the lyrics and music but also performed the leading role, singing while accompanying herself on both the harp and piano.³³⁰ *Catherine* was a tremendous success, boasting 113 performances during the Revolutionary period alone, and it was staged over 150 times in theatres across the region over the next thirty-five years.³³¹ Following this success, she embarked on further theatrical works, but they were not well-received.³³² Dispirited, she took *Catherine* to Belgium and Holland before retiring from the stage in 1796 to focus on writing poetry and novels.³³³

In 1794, Candeille married the physician Louis-Nicholas Delaroché (1768–n.d.); however, she never adopted his name, and the couple divorced three years later.³³⁴ She

³²⁵ Bachaumont, et al., *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France*, 31: 78; Julie Candeille, *Concerto pour le forte-piano ou clavecin à grand orchestre* (Paris: Self-published, 1787). Not all of her artistic endeavors were as well-received, however. For instance, her lyrics for the Hymn was starkly criticized, contrasting with the acclaim she received for her instrumental performances and compositions. *MF* (February 1786): 85–86.

³²⁶ Jourdin, *Essai Historique sur Estaires*, 133.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ Johnson, 197.

³²⁹ Heather Belnap Jensen, "Amélie-Julie Candeille (1767–1834)," in *Women Art Critics in Nineteenth-Century France: Vanishing Acts*, ed. Wendelin Guentner (Newark: University of Delaware, 2013), 280. Julie Candeille, *Catherine, ou, la belle fermière* (Paris: Chez Maradan, 1793); Julie Candeille, "Ouverture from *Catherine, ou la belle fermière*," ed. by Calvert Johnson, in *WCMA*, ed. by Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York, NY: G.K. Hall & Co., 1998), 5: 291–330; and Julie Candeille, *Romance de Catherine, ou la belle fermière* (Paris: Frère, 1793).

³³⁰ Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, "The Legacy of a One-Woman Show: A Performance History of Julie Candeille's 'Catherine, ou la belle fermière,'" *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 33, no. 1/2 (2004): 11–14. For a character analysis of *Catherine* and opera's impact, see Caroline Gleason-Mercier, "Marching on the Stage: The Political Significance of Women-Composed Opera of the Early French Revolution, 1789–1794" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2023), 201–253.

³³¹ Johnson, 197. For *Catherine*'s performance history, see Letzter and Adelson, "The Legacy of a One-Woman Show," 29–31.

³³² Johnson, 197.

³³³ Candeille's repertoire of plays included the one-act *Bathilde*, in which she played a duet with the cellist Jean Baptist Aimé Joseph Janson (1742–1803). It premiered in 1793 and was less successful than *Catherine*, whereas her five-act *La Bayadère* in 1795 was a spectacular failure. *Ibid.*; and Joseph Marie Quérard, ed., *La France littéraire ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants*, 10 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1827–1839), 9: 178–180.

³³⁴ Terrin, 413.

entered a second marriage in 1798 with Jean Simons (n.d.–1821), a coach builder she had met in Belgium two years earlier.³³⁵ Following their wedding, Julie gradually withdrew from the public eye and took on the management of her husband’s business in Belgium, allowing her to enjoy a life of luxury until its collapse in 1802.³³⁶ Around 1800, Candeille Simons formed a close friendship with the painter Ann-Louis Girodet de Coussy (1767–1824).³³⁷ Although the nature of their relationship falls outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that they significantly influenced each other’s careers and were intimate friends until his death.³³⁸ Candeille separated from Simons in 1802, although they remained legally married.³³⁹ She returned to Paris, where she taught piano lessons to support herself and her father for the next decade.³⁴⁰ During this period, she also published sheet music, including piano songs and romances, as well as essays, poetry, and novels.³⁴¹

As an opponent of Napoleon, Candeille fled to England during the Hundred Days³⁴² in 1815.³⁴³ After Napoleon’s second abdication and the restoration of King Louis XVIII (1755–1824) the following year, Candeille returned to Paris, where she and her father were granted government pensions.³⁴⁴ After the death of her second husband in 1821, Candeille married a third time, to the painter Hilaire-Henri Périé de Senovert (1780–1833), and moved with him to Nîmes.³⁴⁵ Despite hosting salons and concerts in

³³⁵ Belnap Jensen, “Amélie-Julie Candeille (1767–1834),” 281.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ For further information, see Heather Belnap Jensen, “Quand la muse parle: Julie Candeille sur l’art de Girodet,” in *Plumes et Pinceaux: Discours de femmes sur l’art en Europe (1750–1850)* (Dijon: Publications de l’Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, 2012); Heather Belnap Jensen, “Amélie-Julie Candeille’s Critical Enterprise and the Creation of ‘Girodet,’” in *Women Art Critics in Nineteenth-Century France: Vanishing Acts*, ed. by Wendelin Guentner (Newark: University of Delaware, 2013), 73–92; and Andréanne Parent, “La partenaire invisible: La réhabilitation de Julie Candeille dans la vie et l’œuvre de Girodet” (MA thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2020).

³³⁹ Jourdin, 141.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ See F-Pn Data.

³⁴² The Hundred Days in French history refers to the period between March 20, 1815, when Napoleon returned to Paris after escaping from exile on Elba, and July 8, 1815, when King Louis XVIII was restored to the throne and returned to Paris. This brief but intense period marked Napoleon’s final attempt to regain power before his ultimate defeat at the Battle of Waterloo.

³⁴³ Belnap Jensen, “Amélie-Julie Candeille (1767–1834),” 283. Candeille’s anecdotes from her time in Brighton and London offer a vivid description of the era, transforming historical figures from mere names in a book into vibrant characters. Her observations, presented from a French perspective, provide valuable insights into the cultural and musical life of these two English cities. She delves into various aspects of daily life, including shopping habits, cuisine, piano-makers, skilled accompanists, and the peculiar enthusiasm of English ladies for self-medication. See Julie Candeille, *Souvenirs de Brighton, de Londres et de Paris, et quelques fragmens de littérature légère* (Paris: Delaunay, 1818), 92.

³⁴⁴ Fétis, 8: 215.

³⁴⁵ Aillaud, (October 27, 1923): 1; and Quérard, *La France Littéraire*, 9: 178.

Nîmes, Madame Candaille Périé was unhappy there because of the city's strong royalist sentiments.³⁴⁶ Following her husband's death in 1833, she returned to Paris.³⁴⁷ Candaille suffered a stroke while in Nîmes in 1831, and a second stroke claimed her life in February 1834.³⁴⁸ She was laid to rest in Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.³⁴⁹

Despite her many accomplishments as a performer, composer, playwright, and writer, Amélie-Julie Candaille Simons Périé's obituary in *Le Moniteur Universel* is surprisingly meager.³⁵⁰ *Le Pianist* listed her among the deceased of 1834 under two categories: "Auteurs et gens de lettres" and "Actrices et anciennes actrices."³⁵¹ Although multi-talented, Candaille never quite achieved the level of success she craved during her lifetime.³⁵² Nevertheless, Alexandre Dumas immortalized Candaille in the second volume of his *Création et Rédemption: Le docteur mystérieux* in 1872.³⁵³ Additionally, the work of art historian Heather Belnap Jensen has renewed interest in Candaille and her influence on Girodet in recent years.³⁵⁴ While much more could be said about the life and contributions of Amélie-Julie Candaille Simons Périé, no information in the database links her to the female musicians.

Mademoiselle Candaille was gifted with everything that can make an accomplished person. Her size was well taken, her gait noble, her features and her whiteness held of the Creole women. She possessed several talents to a very high degree, the harp, and the piano especially. She was witty and educated; we have seen several successful works by her. She was a good comedian; she was the best person in the world, and she had a

³⁴⁶ Johnson, 197.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Fétis, 8: 215.

³⁴⁹ Jourdin, 141.

³⁵⁰ "M^{me} Simons-Candaille, en dernier lieu M^{me} Périé, auteur de la Belle Fermière, de plusieurs autres pièces de théâtre et de quelques romans, vient de mourir; elle avait débuté à la Comédie-Française vers 1790." *Le Moniteur Universel* 42, (February 11, 1834): 275, col. 2.

³⁵¹ Peculiarly, considering *Catherine, ou la belle fermière*'s incredible popularity, *Le Pianist* does not recognize her as a composer. See *Le Pianiste: Journal spécial, analytique et instructif*, 2^e année (20 Janvier 1835): 50.

³⁵² See Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, "The Legacy of a One-Woman Show, 11–34; Amélie Julie Candaille, *Réponse de Madame Simons-Candaille, à un article de biographie* (France: J. Gratiot, 1817); and Louis-Gabrielle Michaud, ed., *Biographie des hommes vivant* (Paris: Michaud, 1816–1817), 2: 33–34.

³⁵³ Alexandre Dumas, *Création et Rédemption: Le docteur mystérieux*, nouvelle édition, 2 vols. (Paris: M. Lévy Frères, 1872–1875).

³⁵⁴ Among her other works, see Heather Belnap Jensen, "Amélie-Julie Candaille's Critical Enterprise and the Creation of 'Girodet,'" in *Women Art Critics in Nineteenth-Century France: Vanishing Acts*, ed. by Wendelin Guentner (Newark: University of Delaware, 2013), 73–92.

charming character; finally, she alone combined more qualities than it would have been needed for many to be admired.³⁵⁵

Candeille connections

Julie Candeille was presented to Marie-Antoinette as a child, though there appears to be no documented contact between them thereafter. Candeille also has a tenuous connection to Hélène de Montgeroult, as she dedicated her *Grand Sonata* to Montgeroult. However, no documentation suggests the two female composers had any personal interaction beyond this dedication. Similarly, while Madame de Genlis wrote briefly about Candeille, no evidence indicates they had direct personal interaction or a secondary link.³⁵⁶ Some Candeille biographies mention her performing with Giovanni Viotti, thereby establishing a secondary connection to both Hélène de Montgeroult and Marie-Antoinette. However, Viotti's biographies do not corroborate these performances, and Candeille only refers to Viotti in her *Souvenirs* in the context of his involvement in the wine trade.³⁵⁷

4.10 Edmée Sophie Garre Gail (1775–1819)

Edmée Sophie Garre Gail, commonly referenced as Sophie Gail, is the final female musician in this study and is notably among the youngest. Her connection to Julie Candeille is primarily established through their shared recognition as accomplished opera composers.³⁵⁸ Born in Paris to Adelaide Colloz (1748–1795) and surgeon Claude-François Garre (1730–1799), Sophie exhibited an early passion for music, which her parents actively supported.³⁵⁹ By 1787, she had already demonstrated promising piano

³⁵⁵ “Mademoiselle Candeille était douée de tout ce qui peut faire une personne accomplie. Sa taille était bien prise, sa démarche noble, ses traits et sa blancheur tenaient des femmes créoles. Elle possédait à un très haut degré plusieurs talents, la harpe, le piano surtout. Elle avait de l'esprit et de l'instruction ; nous avons vu d'elle plusieurs ouvrages qui ont réussi. Elle jouait agréablement la comédie ; c'était la meilleure personne du monde, et elle avait un caractère charmant ; enfin elle réunissait à elle seule plus de qualités qu'il n'en eut fallu à plusieurs pour être admirées. Il semblait que les fées eussent assisté à sa naissance et l'eussent douée de tous les dons ; main, hélas ! on avait sans doute oublié d'y convier une petite fée Carabosse qui s'en était bien vengée, car d'un seul coup de baguette elle avait détruit leur ouvrage.” Louise Fusil, *Souvenirs d'une actrice* (Paris: Dumont, 1841–1846), 1: 199.

³⁵⁶ Genlis, *Mémoires inédits*, 7: 95–96.

³⁵⁷ For example, see Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Candeille, *Souvenirs de Brighton, de Londres et de Paris*, 15, no. 1.

³⁵⁸ Letzter and Adelson, *Women Writing Opera*, 30–33, 39–42.

³⁵⁹ Jean Hervé Favre, “Sophie Garre Family Tree,” Geneanet (June 2005); and Fétis, *Biographie Universelle*, 4:242. Nearly all of Sophie Gail's biography comes to us through this source.

and singing skills, and by 1790, the romances and songs she composed were published in weekly music journals.³⁶⁰

In 1793, at eighteen, Sophie's family arranged her marriage to Jean-Baptiste Gail (1755–1829), a Hellenistic professor twenty years her senior.³⁶¹ This union resulted in the birth of Jean-François (1795–1845), who penned an homage to his mother.³⁶²

Why have I ventured to talk about music, when I am almost a complete stranger to it? Perhaps because you were my mother. My youth spent in the bosom of the arts, embellished by the approach of your happy nature, of your easy and truly inspired talent, the memory of your successes, the taste which must have remained in me for the music of which you delighted and which earned you a little glory, all these causes naturally led my reflections on the state of our lyrical scene. *Les Deux Jaloux*, *Mademoiselle Delaunay*, *la Sérénade*, etc., have given you a dramatic existence that a woman could be proud of. Your productions were simple and original: this kind of merit, the approval that Grétry accorded you, and the genius of this composer, make me believe in French music and persist in recognizing its distinct character. If I have a few good ideas, I dedicate them to you, as a memory, as a tender tribute.³⁶³

The Gails separated shortly after their son's birth, although they did not officially divorce until 1801.³⁶⁴ During their separation, Sophie devoted herself to her musical predilection and received vocal training from the Florentine Bernard Mengozzi (1758–1800), a professor at the Conservatoire.³⁶⁵ Impoverished from the Revolution, Sophie undertook concert tours in southern France and Spain in the mid-1790s, both to sustain herself financially and to gain recognition for her musical talents.³⁶⁶ Upon her return to

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid. Hellenistic refers to studies in ancient Greek history, language, and culture.

³⁶² Favre, "Sophie Garre Family Tree;" and Jean-François Gail, *Réflexions sur le goût musical en France* (Paulin: Place de la Bourse, 1832), preface.

³⁶³ "A quel titre me suis-je avisé de parler de musique, quand j'y suis presque complètement étranger? Peut-être parce que tu fus ma mère. Ma jeunesse passée au sein des arts, embellie par l'approche de ton heureux naturel, de ton talent facile et vraiment inspiré, le souvenir de tes succès, le goût qui a dû me rester pour la musique dont tu fis tes délices et qui te valut un peu de gloire, toutes ces causes ont porté naturellement mes réflexions sur l'état de notre scène lyrique. *Les Deux Jaloux*, *M^{lle} Delaunay*, *la Sérénade*, etc., t'ont fait une existence dramatique dont une femme a pu s'honorer. Tes productions étaient simples et originales: ce genre de mérite, l'approbation que Grétry t'a accordée, et le génie de ce compositeur, me font croire à la musique française et persister à lui reconnaître un caractère distinct. Si j'ai quelques bonnes idées, je te les consacre, comme un souvenir, comme un tendre hommage." Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Palazzetto Bru Zane: Centre de Musique Romantique Française, "Gail, Sophie (1775–1819)." Sophie Gail never remarried but had three additional sons: Henri Gail (1800–1872), Theodore Garre (1804–1862) and Pierre-Michel Saint-Elme-Petit (1805–1862). See Favre, "Sophie Garre Family Tree."

³⁶⁵ Fétis, 4:242 ; and Letzter and Adelson, *Women Writing Opera*, 40.

³⁶⁶ Florence Launay, "Gail, Sophie (née Garre): Compositrice Française." *Le Dictionnaire universel des créatrices*, ed. by Béatrice Didier, Antoinette Fouque, and Mireille Calle-Gruber, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions des Femmes, 2013), digital ed., 11087.

Paris, she composed romances that were met with great enthusiasm; however, she chose to maintain her amateur status by publishing these works anonymously³⁶⁷

Sophie's dive into opera began in 1797 when she composed two airs for the drama *Montoni* by Alexandre Duval (1767–1842).³⁶⁸ This was followed by the creation of a one-act opera intended for a salon performance, which was praised by French Romantic composer Étienne Méhul (1763–1817).³⁶⁹ Motivated by this approval, Sophie pursued more serious study, turning to Belgian composer François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) for lessons in harmony and counterpoint.³⁷⁰ She later studied with the future director of the Conservatoire de Paris, François-Louis Perne (1772–1832), and Austrian composer Sigismund von Neukomm (1778–1858).³⁷¹ In 1813, Sophie achieved notable success with her comic opera, *Les Deux Jaloux*.³⁷² However, her second opera that year, the one-act *Mademoiselle de Launay*, did not fare as well.³⁷³ Sophie had devastating reviews of the two operas she produced the following year.³⁷⁴ The first, *Angela, ou l'Atelier de Jean Coutin*, a comic opera in collaboration with François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1834), received blistering criticism, mainly for its libretto.³⁷⁵ Although certain musical elements were praised, such commendations only highlighted the mediocrity of the overall production.³⁷⁶ The second opera, *La Méprise*, fared even worse than *Angela*, eliciting

³⁶⁷ Palazzetto Bru Zane, “Gail, Sophie (1775–1819);” and Fétis, 4: 242.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 4: 243.

³⁷¹ Ibid. Although Fétis does not provide specific dates for these lessons, it is reasonable to infer that they occurred after the turn of the century.

³⁷² “Le sévère Jean-Jacques a osé avancer qu’il n’était pas donné aux femmes de réussir dans les arts d’imagination: il prétend que leurs ouvrages *sont froids et jolis comme elles*. Il regardait comme impossible, par conséquent, qu’une femme pût composer de la bonne musique, et l’expérience, il est vrai, vient à l’appui de l’opinion du philosophe de Genève; mais il aurait reçu, samedi soir, un démenti complet au Théâtre-Feydeau. C’est à une dame (qui n’a pas voulu être nommée, mais que tout le monde connaît) que nous sommes redevables d’une des musiques les plus piquantes, les plus gracieuses que l’on ait entendues depuis long-tems à l’Opéra-Comique. Les idées sont toutes à elle, chose devenue extrêmement rare; et son style est formé à l’école des Mozart et des Cimarosa. Un *trio* charmant et des couplets délicieux, chantés avec un goût exquis par M^{me} Gavaudan, ont excité des transports d’enthousiasme.” *GF* (March 29, 1813): 354–356; and Sophie Gail, *Les deux jaloux; Opéra-comique* (Paris: P. Gaveaux, n.d.).

³⁷³ “Cette nouvelle composition, comme on est venu l’annoncer, est due à l’aimable auteur des *Deux Jaloux*. On y a retrouvé ses chants faciles et gracieux; mais on y a en outre acquis la preuve que son talent pouvait s’élever à des conceptions plus fortes. Deux quatuors ont surtout attiré l’attention des connaisseurs: le premier (celui où deux des parties sont derrière la muraille) est tout-à-fait à la manière de Mozart, et particulièrement dans le style de *la Flûte Enchantée*. Trois romances ont été couvertes d’applaudissemens: je sais que les acteurs les demandent, parce que le succès en est presque toujours certain auprès du public de ce théâtre; mais il serait à désirer, ce me semble, que les compositeurs en fussent moins prodigues. Cette multitude de couplets fatigue l’oreille; elle a un inconvénient plus grave: celui de trop rapprocher l’opéra-comique du vaudeville.” *GF* (December 19, 1813): 1446.

³⁷⁴ Fétis, 4: 243;

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ *GF* (June 19, 1814): 675–676.

disparaging comments aimed at both the performers and the creators.³⁷⁷

Changing course for a time, Sophie toured London in 1816, performing romances with considerable acclaim.³⁷⁸ Returning to Paris, she composed lighter musical pieces and published three collections of French and Italian nocturnes, in addition to a substantial number of romances.³⁷⁹ In 1818, she re-entered the opera milieu with *La Sérénade*, coauthored with Sophie Gay (1775–1832).³⁸⁰ Though the opera received positive reviews, it would be her final composition.³⁸¹ Shortly after the première, Sophie joined Angelique Catalani (1780–1849) on a tour to Vienna but soon returned to Paris, where she died of angina on July 24, 1819, at the age of 43.³⁸² Sophie was interred at the Père Lachaise cemetery, and Pierre-Edouard Lemontey (1762–1826), a member of the Académie Française, delivered a eulogy that moved all in attendance to tears.³⁸³

Even if Sophie Gail’s operas were not always successful, her legacy remains compelling. French musicologist Castil-Blaze (1747–1857) lauded Gail’s *La Sérénade* and *Les Deux jaloux* as “the best of its genre to have flowed from a woman’s pen.”³⁸⁴ These two operas enjoyed tremendous popularity; by 1827, *Les Deux jaloux* had been performed 166 times and *La Sérénade* 66 times.³⁸⁵ Moreover, novelist and educator Sophie Ulliac-Trémadeure (1794–1862) highlighted Gail’s achievements in her educational treatise *Les Jeunes Artistes*, using them not only as entertainment but also as an illustration of the ongoing obstacles female composers face, as well as the power of study and determination in overcoming them.³⁸⁶

But Emmeline [the heroine of the story] could not help dreaming of glory.
The glory she aspired to was no longer the fleeting and dangerous one of

³⁷⁷ *JP* (June 22, 1814): 1–2.

³⁷⁸ Fétis, 4: 243. These performances were possibly salon concerts, as my research has not uncovered any critical reviews in local newspapers. Future research into letters, diaries, and other personal documents may provide further insights into Sophie’s activities during her time in London.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* For access to her digitized compositions, adaptations of her work, etc., see Gail, Sophie. F-Pn Data.

³⁸⁰ Letzter and Adelson, *Women Writing Opera*, 40–41; and Sophie Gail, *La Sérénade*, 1800–1810.

³⁸¹ *GF* (April 6, 1818): 377–378.

³⁸² “Madame Sophie Gail, compositeur distingué, est morte aujourd’hui à cinq heures du matin, des suites d’une maladie de poitrine [angina]. Nous devons à sa lyre facile et gracieuse des opéras que l’on entendra longtemps avec plaisir, tels que les *deux Jaloux* et *la Sérénade*. [...] Son fils, qu’elle aimait tant, a été couronné à l’Académie, dans la séance de vendredi dernier, et le lendemain la mère a été enlevée de ce monde. Le caractère de madame Gail lui avait assuré encore plus d’amis que son talent ne lui avait acquis d’admirateurs.” *JP* (July 25, 1819): 2.

³⁸³ *GMMU* 209 (July 28, 1819): 1021.

³⁸⁴ “Et madame Gail, par *les Deux Jaloux* et *la Sérénade*, ouvrages fort agréables, et les meilleurs en ce genre qui soient sortis de la plume d’une femme.” M. Castil-Blaze, *De l’Opéra en France*, 2 vols. (Paris: Janet et Cotelte, 1820), 1: 41.

³⁸⁵ Letzter and Adelson, 41.

³⁸⁶ Sophie Ulliac-Trémadeure, *Les Jeunes Artistes* (Paris: Didier, 1899), 192–193.

the renowned singer; it was the glory of the composer. Sophie Gail, author of the music for *Les Deux Jaloux*, had just proved that a woman composer could compete with men, at least on the Opéra-Comique stage; Sophie Gail's name was on everyone's lips, her music on every piano...Emmeline tried her hand at composing a few romances.

She did not dare publish them under her own name; in those days, young female authors or musicians were afraid of the ridicule that was poured out with both hands on those who had the audacity to put themselves forward; she took a man's name, an assumed name. The success of Emmeline's music encouraged her. While dreaming of loftier compositions, she continued to write romances, contredanses, waltzes. But, to compose a comic opera like Sophie Gail, it would have been necessary to engage in time-consuming studies. [...]

Little by little she began to hope for a better fate, and soon she came to believe that courage and perseverance alone can, sooner or later, overcome misfortune.³⁸⁷

Gail connections

There is no evidence to suggest that Sophie Garre Gail had any documented contact with Marie-Antoinette, Versailles, or any other female musician in the dataset. Her son, Jean-François, mentions in his homage that Sophie received André Grétry's approval; however, I have been unable to locate any records substantiating this endorsement.

— Entering the counterpoint

The networks of Angélique Diderot, Julie Candaille, and Sophie Gail do not reveal any surprises in the Figures below. As expected, Candaille demonstrates the most connections within the dataset, which aligns with her extensive career and social engagements. Beyond this observation, there is little additional insight to be gleaned from

³⁸⁷ “Mais Emmeline ne pouvait s'empêcher de rêver encore de gloire. Cette gloire qu'elle ambitionnait, n'était plus celle si passagère et si dangereuse de la cantatrice en renom ; c'était la gloire du compositeur. Sophie Gail, auteur de la musique *des Deux Jaloux*, venait de prouver qu'une femme compositeur peut lutter avec les hommes, au moins sur le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique ; le nom de Sophie Gail était dans toutes les bouches, sa musique sur tous les pianos... Emmeline s'essaya à composer quelques romances. / Elle n'osa pas les faire paraître sous son nom ; *en ce temps-là* les jeunes filles auteurs ou musiciennes redoutaient le ridicule qu'on déversait à pleines mains sur celles qui avaient l'audace de se mettre en évidence ; elle prit un nom d'homme, un nom d'emprunt. Le succès qu'obtint la musique d'Emmeline, l'encouragea. Tout en rêvant des compositions plus hautes, elle continua de faire des romances, des contredanses, des valse. Mais, pour composer un opéra-comique comme Sophie Gail, il aurait été nécessaire de se livrer à des études qui exigeaient beaucoup de temps. [...] Peu à peu elle commença à espérer un sort meilleur, et bientôt elle finit par croire qu'en effet le courage et la persévérance savent seuls, tôt ou tard, lasser le malheur.” Ibid.

these individual networks that was not already uncovered in their profiles. The links mapped in the networks simply reinforce the information gathered about their lives and interactions without providing new or unexpected revelations.

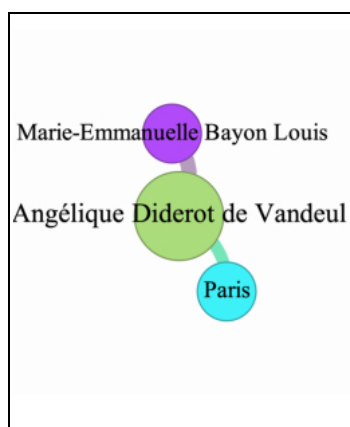


Fig. 4.14. Angélique Diderot network

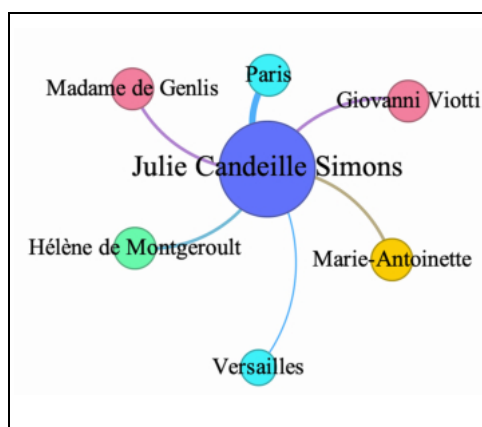


Fig. 4.15. Julie Candaille network

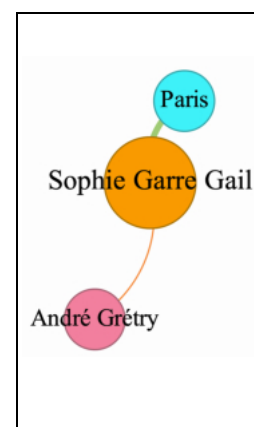


Fig. 4.16. Sophie Gail network

However, an unexpected web of interconnections emerges when Diderot, Candaille, and Gail are included in the network depicted in Figure 4.17. Surprisingly, very few male actors connect these female musicians within the cluster. Benjamin Franklin is the sole male figure not mentioned in the previous chapters. The strongest connections, indicated by the widest edges, are between the women themselves, with Versailles as a central linkage point. This is understandable, as Versailles was a highly insular environment, particularly before the Revolution, which fostered close-knit relationships among those within its orbit.

It should be noted that all of the outlying nodes above Marie-Antoinette and the cluster are individuals included in the dataset. Although the database expanded as my research progressed, I could not establish direct connections between these peripheral actors and the French musicians at the core of this chapter. However, this does not rule out the possibility of connections; further research could uncover primary, secondary, or potential links. For instance, we know that musicians like Maria Theresia Paradis, Mary Polly Barthélémon, and the Davies sisters—Marianne and Cecilia—performed for the Queen at Versailles. Additionally, Elisabeth Mara and Luísa Todi were known for their rivalry, which made headlines, yet Franziska LeBrun also created a sensation at the Concert Spirituel. Did they perhaps cross paths with the French musicians?

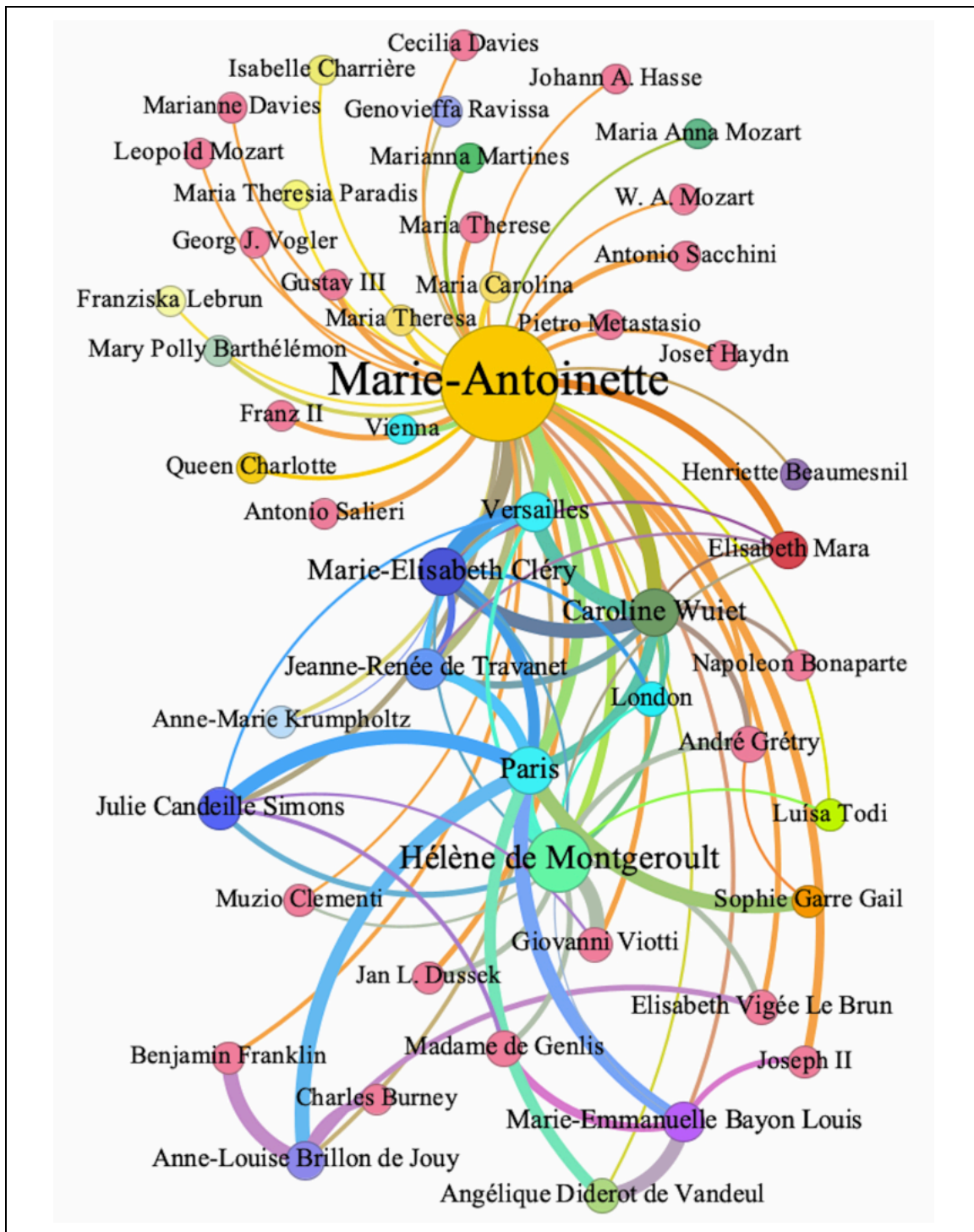


Fig. 4.17. Marie-Antoinette composite network with Angélique Diderot, Julie Candeille, and Sophie Gail

By removing all of the nodes with only one connection in Figure 4.18, as done in previous chapters, I was astonished to discover a considerably larger cluster than anticipated. This finding highlights the importance of a comprehensive research methodology that integrates both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The individual profiles alone did not fully capture the breadth and depth of Marie-Antoinette’s French

network. The unexpected density of connections illustrates how a more integrated analysis can reveal intricate relationships that might otherwise remain hidden.

In preparation for the final analysis, I conducted a closer examination of Marie-Antoinette’s network, focusing on Paris as the unifying factor rather than the Queen herself. While Marie-Antoinette undeniably played a central role in shaping artistic and musical circles, this shift in perspective emphasized the extent to which Paris functioned as an independent hub of cultural activity. Paris’s centrality intrigued me as I sought to understand how the network dynamics would shift if this key location were removed as a connecting node.

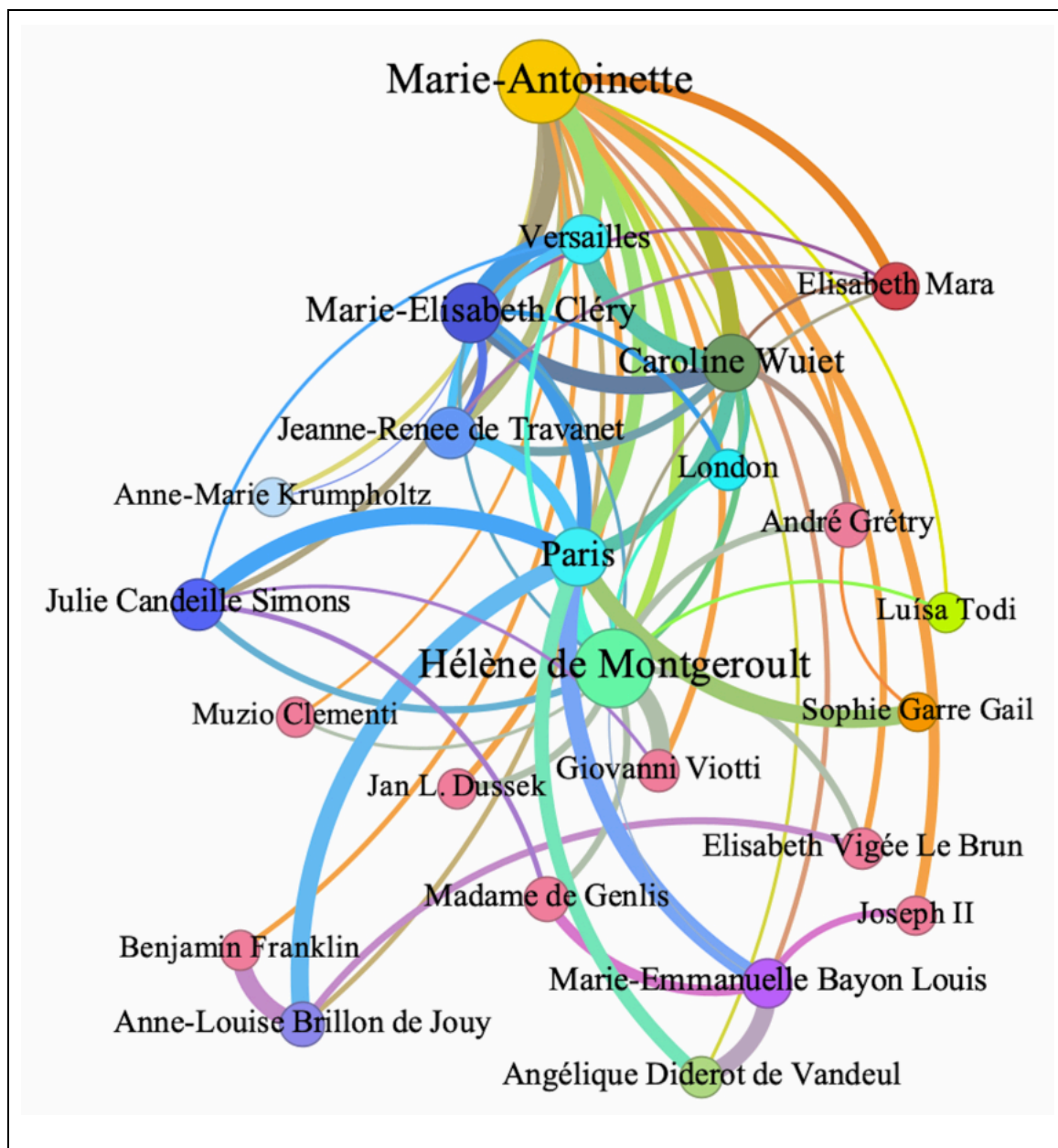


Fig. 4.18. Marie-Antoinette composite network, complete

Surprisingly, even without Paris as a direct link, numerous connections persisted among the musicians in Figure 4.19. Marie Antoinette’s influence remains significant despite her limited personal interactions with many of these individuals. The presence of these connections suggests that her impact as a cultural icon extended beyond direct contact. Notably, the exclusion of Paris from the network led to the complete removal of Sophie Gail’s connection, suggesting that her inclusion was largely contingent on her ties to Paris. This finding underscores the role that geographical context may play in shaping relationship networks.

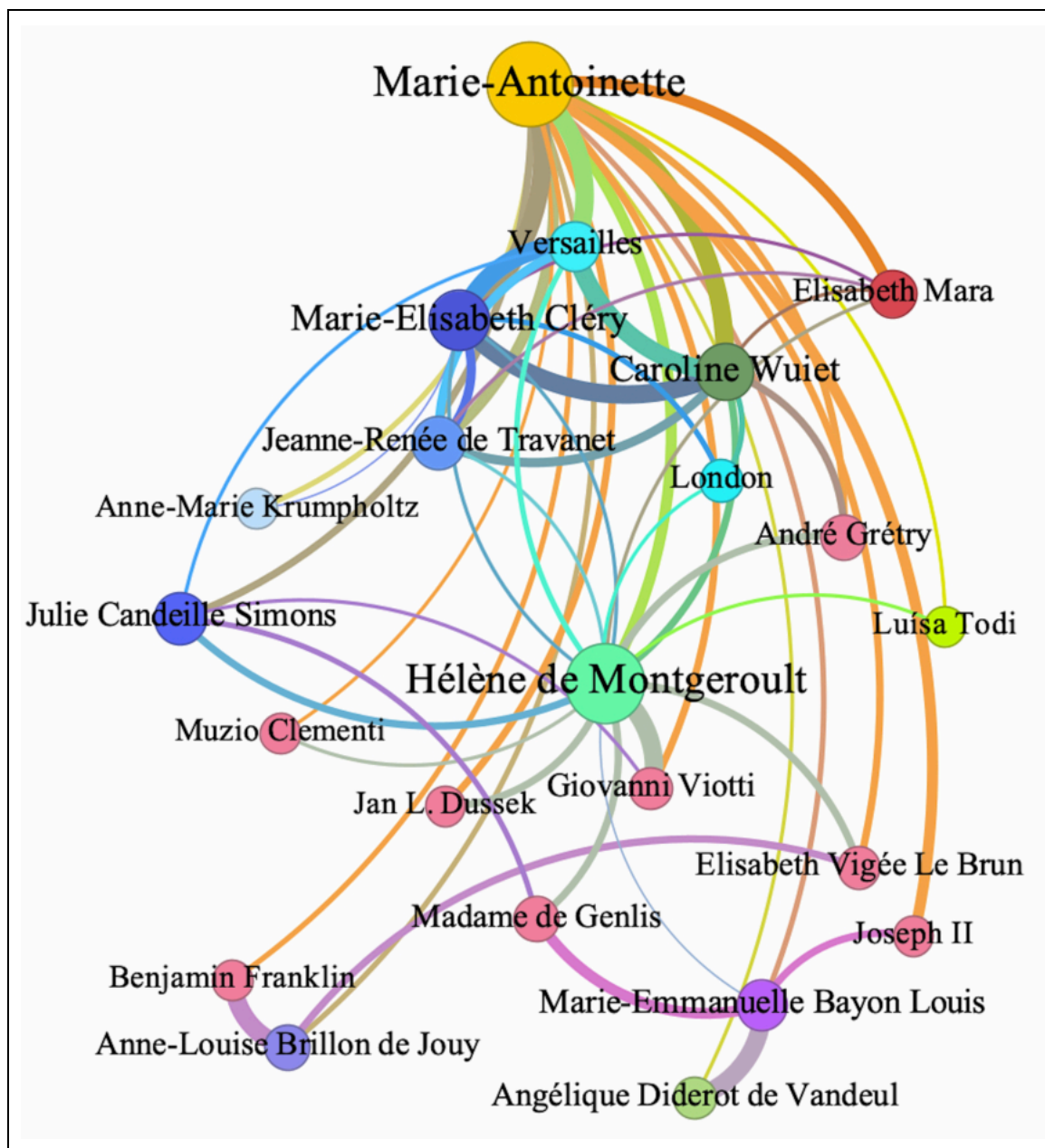


Fig. 4.19. Marie-Antoinette network sans Paris

— The final amalgamation

Merging Marie-Antoinette's network in Figure 4.20 proves to be quite revealing.

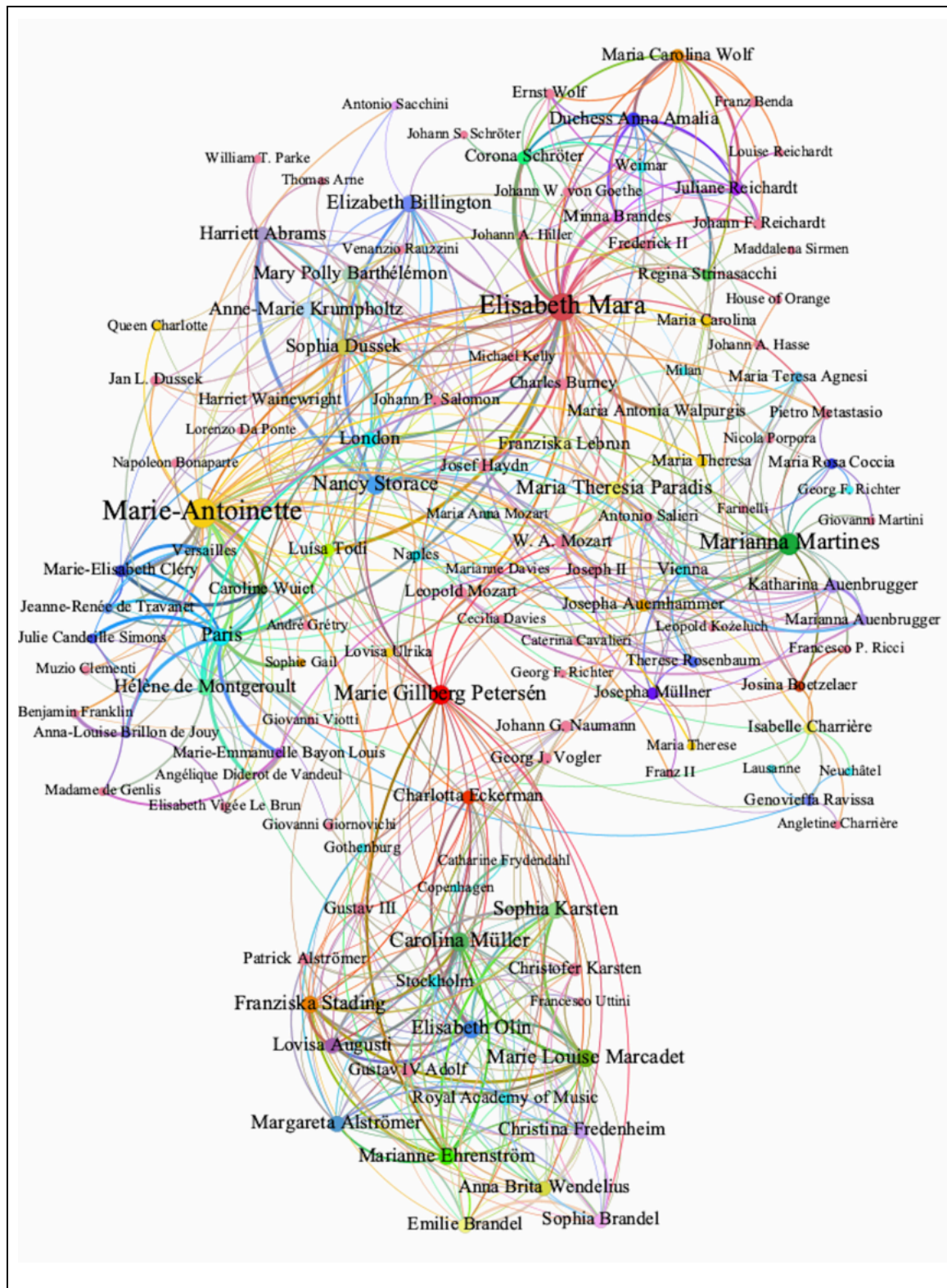


Fig. 4.20. All four composite networks, merged

Initially, I anticipated that incorporating the French musicians would have minimal impact on the overall network. However, this assumption proved incorrect. The nodes representing Marie-Antoinette and Paris have shifted significantly, forming a uniquely shaped cluster within the network. Additionally, the counterpoint actors I expected to be on the periphery are actually more intertwined than I had predicted. Marie-Antoinette's previously fringe connections have noticeably deepened the network's overall density, illustrating her substantial influence across the spectrum.

The amalgamated network map reveals a wealth of information. The clusters surrounding major cities—Weimar, London, Paris, Vienna, and Stockholm—are clearly defined, yet there is no clear separation between them. Instead, the linkage patterns are so densely woven that tracing individual connections becomes challenging. This complex network accentuates the interconnectivity among eighteenth-century female musicians and reflects the broader, intertwined fabric of European society during that era. The absence of apparent gaps between these clusters suggests a cultural and social landscape in which borders and boundaries were fluid, fostering an environment of shared influences and collaborative creativity.

— Summary and conclusions

This chapter set out to explore Marie-Antoinette's connections in Versailles and Paris, offering a counterpoint to the previous networks due to the perceived lack of direct ties leading back to the Queen. While I could delve into the relationships among the musicians associated with Marie-Antoinette and Versailles, the additional profiles were intended to uncover less apparent connections. Yet, as I investigated Parisian female musicians, those links did not materialize.

Nevertheless, introducing the Gephi network analysis transformed the trajectory of my inquiry. Paris was unveiled as the central actor, fundamentally altering my understanding of the connections at play. In Chapter 1, geographical proximity was crucial in establishing potential connections in Vienna. Similarly, geography played a significant role in Paris, though its potential connections were not as immediately apparent. This finding encourages me to believe that further connections within Paris may still be uncovered, awaiting deeper exploration.

Throughout this dissertation, I have examined the relationships among female musicians and included the male figures in their lives. These women did not exist in isolation; they were shaped by and contributed to the networks of their male friends,

teachers, mentors, and patrons. However, my primary focus is on the networking of eighteenth-century female musicians. Therefore, in the Finale, we will exclude the male elements from each of the ultimate networks—Marianna Martines, Elisabeth Mara, Gustavian Sweden, and Marie-Antoinette—to gain a clearer picture of the connections between the fifty-five female musicians we have explored.

Finale

With the breadth of material examined across the preceding chapters—each offering in-depth analyses of individual musicians, regions, and methodological approaches—it was necessary to present findings within their respective contexts. This Finale now draws these strands together, transforming the chapter-level insights into a cohesive synthesis that reflects the full scope of the dissertation’s qualitative and quantitative evidence.

Taken together, the networks of Marianna Martines, Elisabeth Mara, the Gustavian musicians, and Marie-Antoinette prove that women were not marginal or isolated, but rather integral to the transnational musical fabric of the eighteenth century, reshaping our understanding of the era. This composite analysis offers a provisional but persuasive synthesis, affirming that female musicians were interconnected across regions and professions, and that their collective influence extended far beyond the isolated narratives of traditional historiography.

As this synthesis shows, the cumulative evidence allows for a broader perspective than any single chapter could provide. Having examined these women within their individual cultural and geographic contexts, the task now is to step back and consider what their stories reveal collectively about female agency, influence, and interconnectedness in the eighteenth century.

My exploration into the lives of eighteenth-century female musicians has been both intellectually demanding and emotionally affecting. As I followed their first steps into the world of music, I celebrated their triumphs and empathized with their struggles. I stood beside them at the height of their fame and, all too often, witnessed their descent into obscurity or premature death. Engaging so closely with their lives has been at once inspiring and heart-wrenching. Now, as I reflect on this work as a whole, the central question emerges with renewed clarity: Have I effectively addressed the research questions that guided this dissertation?

To make the large volume of information more manageable, I integrated analyses directly into the individual profiles within each chapter, rather than saving all data analytics for the final chapter. Consequently, this conclusion weaves these analytical threads together, highlighting specific musicians who most clearly illustrate the answers to the qualitative research questions. The Finale is designed to synthesize the profile sketches and network analyses from the preceding chapters. By doing so, it can pinpoint

and highlight the specific female musicians who best illustrate the answers to these inquiries. To effectively achieve this goal, the conclusion is divided into qualitative and quantitative sections, providing a final, comprehensive overview of the evidence presented.

— Qualitative inquiry

The profile sketches address the following qualitative questions:

1. Did a network of professional and amateur female musicians, composers, and patrons foster mutual influence, support, inspiration, and challenges?

In the latter half of the eighteenth century (1750–1800), networks of female musicians—amateurs and professionals—varied significantly depending on regional and social contexts. For instance, the network associated with Marianna Martines primarily consisted of amateur musicians, with only a few professionals. These amateur networks tended to be informal and discreet, shaped by societal norms that constrained women’s professional activities at the time. Nonetheless, evidence indicates that these women were likely aware of one another and engaged in mutual support through various means, including direct interactions, correspondence, and collaborative participation in academies, performances, and music publications. The relationships among several female musicians, as evidenced by dedications and personal connections, highlight a network that extended beyond mere professional interactions to encompass personal support and inspiration.

By contrast, Elisabeth Mara’s network was predominantly professional and reflected very different dynamics. Despite the inherent competitiveness within their careers, these women exerted considerable influence over each other’s professional trajectories, often vying for similar roles or positions. Yet, contrary to public narratives emphasizing rivalry, their collaborations and mutual respect demonstrate an underlying supportive network.

Meanwhile, the Gustavian Swedish network exemplifies a more hybrid model in which amateur and professional female musicians interacted closely. Here, competition and collaboration coexisted, producing a vibrant musical environment that nurtured mutual growth. In a similar vein, the smaller network of female musicians in Paris encompassed both amateurs and professionals, yet evidence of direct collaboration is limited. While many women moved within the same aristocratic and artistic circles, their

mutual influence is often subtle, indirect, or difficult to trace, reflecting the challenges of reconstructing their precise relationships.

Finally, female patrons exerted substantial influence on the musical careers of women during this era. Patrons shaped artistic direction, promoted repertoire, and provided mentorship. Duchess Anna Amalia fostered a nurturing environment at her court, while Empress Maria Theresa and Marie-Antoinette organized musical events that supported female performers and composers. Maria Antonia Walpurgis also played a formative role by mentoring young musicians and encouraging their artistic development.

2. Did female composers know of one another, even if they hailed from different countries? Did they study and draw inspiration from each other's compositional styles and build upon them?

The first chapter demonstrates that although female composers were not always personally acquainted, they were often aware of each other's work. This is clear in the cases of Josina van Boetzelaer and Maria Rosa Coccia, both of whom were familiar with Martines's compositions despite the geographic distance. Boetzelaer appears to have been inspired by Martines's style, while Metastasio's mention of Martines's admiration for Coccia suggests an exchange of ideas across borders. Boetzelaer's dedication to Maria Teresa Agnesi further reflects artistic awareness among female composers.¹

Later chapters do not emphasize reciprocal influences to the same extent, though Harriet Wainwright's reference to Harriet Abrams's "Crazy Jane" indicates some level of mutual recognition within the London network.²

3. Did any of these women mentor other female musicians and their male counterparts? Or did they engage in competitive dynamics?

The profile sketches show clear patterns of both mentorship and competition. Martines mentored Marianne and Cecilia Davies, while Maria Antonia Walpurgis supported Elisabeth Mara. In Vienna, Martines's network appears collaborative, with frequent joint performances among Josepha Auernhammer, Josepha Müllner, and Teresa Rosenbaum.³

¹ See Chapter 1.

² See Wainwright's profile sketch Chapter 2.

³ See Rosenbaum's sketch in Chapter 1.

Mara's network reveals a rich web of support among female musicians and patrons. Her mentorship of Minna Brandes, the friendship between Elizabeth Billington and Elizabeth Clendining, and the collaborative London environment involving Harriett Abrams, Nancy Storace, and Billington all underscore the prevalence of cooperation. Yet the amicable rivalry between Mara and Luísa Todi illustrates the competitive tensions that also shaped these networks.⁴

The Swedish network demonstrates robust reciprocal influence and occasional rivalry. Collaborations between amateurs such as Margareta Hedvig Alströmer and Marianne Pollett and professionals such as Caroline Müller show how frequently these women worked together. Mentoring relationships—Müller with Franziska Stading, or Müller with Marianne Ehrenström—highlight how women supported each other's artistic development. Rivalries, such as those between Charlotta Eckerman and Elisabeth Olin or Caroline Walter and Catharine Frydendahl, could both hinder and propel careers.⁵

Direct evidence of mentorship or rivalry within Marie-Antoinette's network is sparse. However, Cléry's work for the royal family suggests a nurturing role, and Julie Candeille's dedication to Montgeroult hints at mutual respect.⁶

4. Alternatively, did the women stand out as unique, relying solely on the men surrounding them for inspiration and instruction?

Martines's network alone challenges the notion that women were isolated figures dependent solely on male mentors. Her connections with the Davies sisters and the mutual respect among Agnesi, Walpurgis, and Martines demonstrate that women actively engaged with one another's work. Martines's academies for women and Maria Theresia Paradis's music school for the visually impaired demonstrate their broader societal influence and commitment to education.

While male mentors and patrons were important in Elisabeth Mara's career, the second chapter emphasizes the autonomy of Mara, Storace, Billington, and others. Their collaborations with female colleagues and partnerships with male musicians reveal a more reciprocal dynamic than a purely dependent one.

Similarly, the Swedish network reveals women who operated with considerable independence. Collaborations with male colleagues like Christofer Karsten were

⁴ See Chapter 2.

⁵ See Chapter 3.

⁶ See Chapter 4.

partnerships rather than hierarchies. Although Gustav III influenced many careers, most women built and maintained their networks on their own terms.

In France, women such as Brillon de Jouy, Bayon Louis, Cléry, and Wuiet were active participants in their musical circles, engaging with both female and male colleagues. Montgeroult's relationship with Viotti may suggest male influence, but this influence was likely mutual.

Overall, these networks demonstrate that eighteenth-century female musicians navigated complex social and professional webs, ranging from mentorship to competition, with varying degrees of geographic reach. Further research will undoubtedly continue to refine our understanding of these dynamics.

Quantitative inquiry

Eliminating male figures from each network map enables a more precise identification of the primary, secondary, and potential connections among the female musicians. To answer the quantitative research questions, I isolated the female connections in each network to determine:

1. Whether networks of female musicians, composers, and patrons existed;
2. What their nature was;
3. Whether they were geographically or geopolitically confined;
4. Whether female musicians across regions were aware of one another.

The resulting analyses reveal a rich tapestry of relationships that frequently transcended regional and national boundaries, highlighting the significant—often underappreciated—role of women in eighteenth-century musical life.

Marianna Martines's female network

Martines's network demonstrates a high degree of interconnectedness across all three levels of connectivity. Her node, centrally positioned near Vienna, underscores her prominence. Surrounding nodes represent Viennese amateurs and professionals, their varying distances from the center indicating degrees of connectedness. Secondary clusters beneath Martines include Coccia and Agnesi, whose closer proximity reflects stronger ties mediated through individuals such as Maria Carolina and institutions like the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna. Even Elisabeth Mara, though an outlier, maintains

notable connections to Martines and the secondary clusters.

Figure 5.1, therefore, unveils a complex and multi-layered network in which both amateur and professional female musicians, composers, and patrons were intricately connected. While centered around Martines, this network extends well beyond her immediate geographic and cultural context, implying a broader scope of influence exerted by female musicians than might typically be expected from an amateur network.

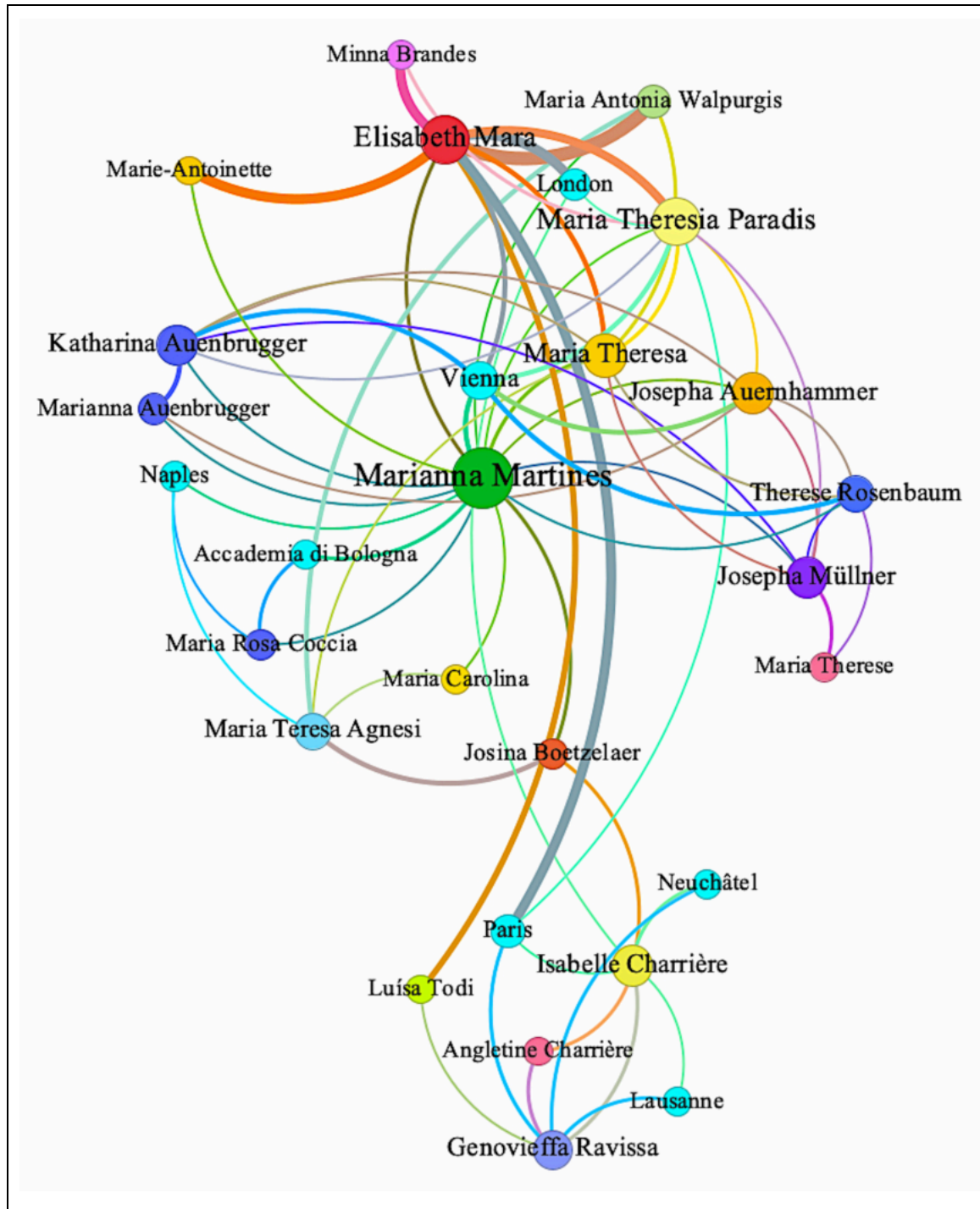


Fig. 5.1. Marianna Martines composite network of female musicians

This network analysis emphasizes the pivotal role of central figures such as Martines in sustaining these connections, while highlighting the importance of secondary figures and institutions in facilitating transnational ties across Europe. This network challenges the prevailing notion that the impact of female musicians was limited to their immediate surroundings, instead revealing their considerable influence on a wider, interconnected European stage. The examination of Martines's network thus provides not only deeper insight into her role but also a more comprehensive understanding of the interconnected world of female musicians in the eighteenth century.

Elisabeth Mara's female network

Elisabeth Mara's network further illustrates this interconnected community of female musicians. Even without male figures, the network in Figure 5.2 displays three distinct clusters centered around London, Paris, and Weimar. These clusters are clearly delineated and range from strong personal and professional relationships to tenuous potential links and sporadic interactions. Many musicians collaborated repeatedly, and female patrons—including Anna Amalia, Marie-Antoinette, Maria Carolina, and Queen Charlotte—played crucial roles in sustaining these relationships. Their involvement underscores the substantial support and interaction these women experienced, highlighting the critical role of patronage in facilitating and maintaining the connections among professional female musicians.

The nature of these networks is distinctly local and transnational, transcending geopolitical boundaries. While many interactions frequently occurred within specific cultural hubs such as Weimar or London, connections also extended broadly across Europe. For example, Mary Polly Barthélémon and Elizabeth Billington are linked to London, Paris, and Naples, with Billington also tied to Milan, as is Franziska LeBrun. Moreover, LeBrun is connected with Nancy Storace and Luísa Todi in Vienna, Paris, and London. Although the Weimar cluster appears more isolated, the overall network spans Western Europe, bridging Germanic and Austrian territories with Italy, France, and the United Kingdom. This widespread geographical distribution underscores the considerable travel undertaken by many of these women, highlighting a key distinction from the Martines network: professional female musicians were more mobile than their amateur counterparts.

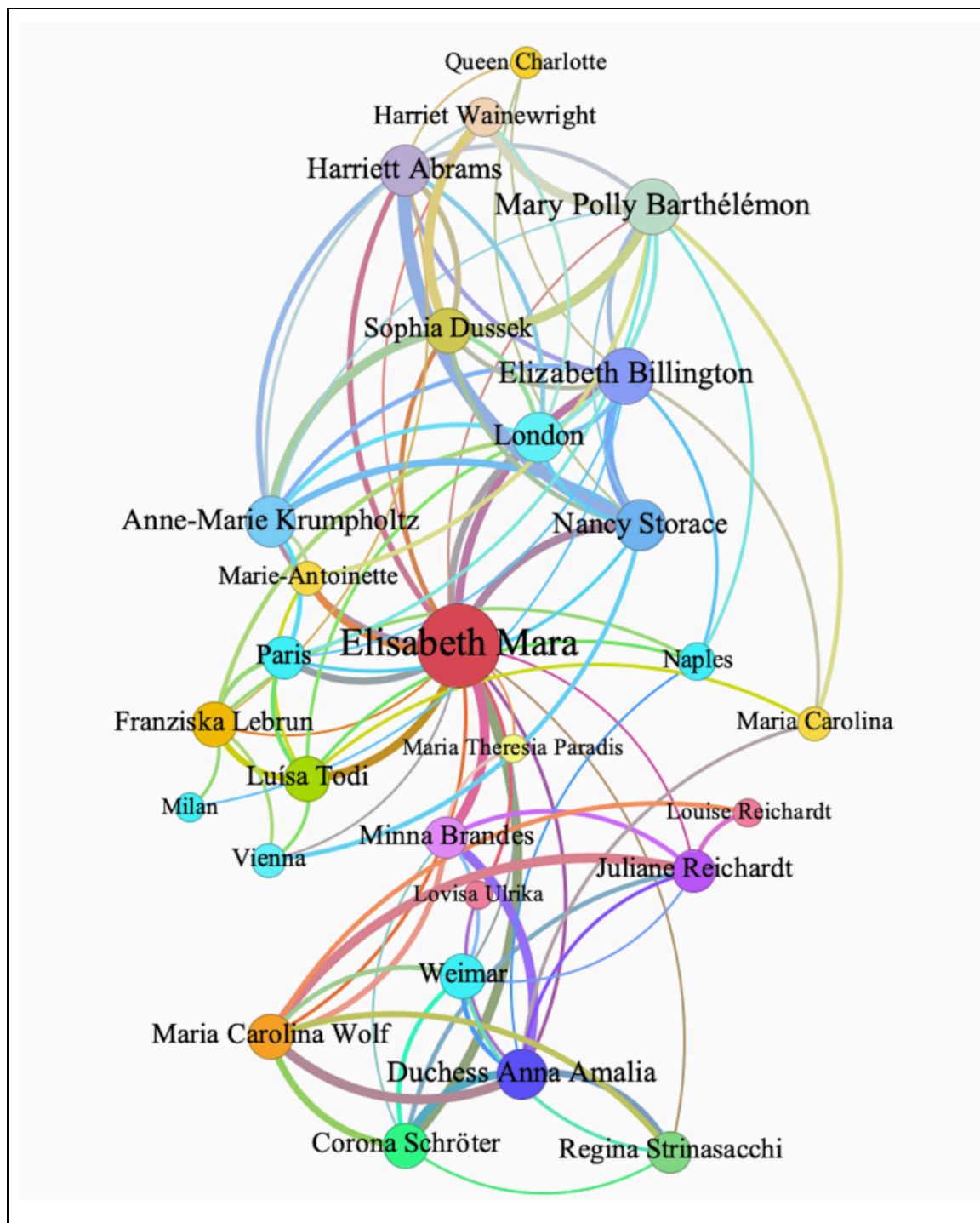


Fig. 5.2. Elisabeth Mara composite network of female musicians

The greater density and centrality observed in Elisabeth Mara's network can be partly attributed to the wealth of historical records available for professional musicians. This detailed documentation provides a clearer, more nuanced picture of their interactions and connections. Conversely, amateur musicians such as Martines often lack the extensive documentation that professional musicians have, leading to a disparity in visibility and historical recognition. As a result, Mara's network map demonstrates

greater complexity and detail than Martines's.

Gustavian Sweden's female network

The Gustavian Swedish network is distinguished by its unique and cohesive structure, characterized by prominent nodes, strong connections, and a markedly high density. These attributes differentiate the Swedish network from the Martines and Mara networks. The minimal impact observed when male figures are removed from the network in Figure 5.3 further underscores the significant autonomy of the female musicians within this network, suggesting that their professional and personal relationships were largely self-sustaining and less dependent on external influences.

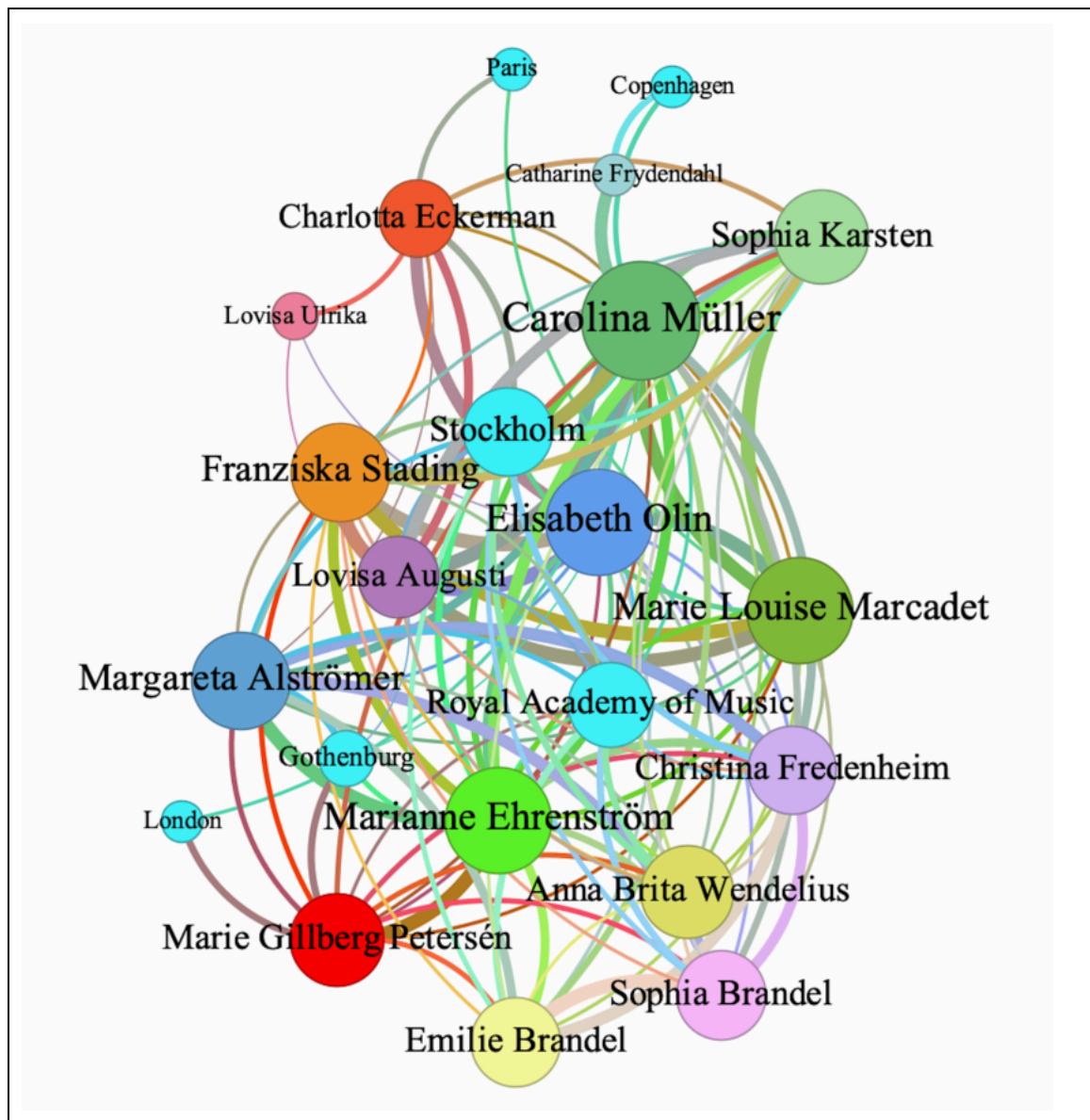


Fig. 5.3. Gustavian Sweden composite network of female musicians

The Swedish network predominantly emphasized local interactions rather than international exchanges, suggesting that the musicians in this network were more influenced by one another than by their global peers. The network's insularity indicates that, while these women were interconnected and mutually influential within their immediate cultural context, their exposure to and engagement with foreign female musicians was comparatively limited. This contrasts with the more extensive transnational networks of Martines and Mara, in which connections extended across national borders and facilitated a richer exchange of ideas and influences. However, it is essential to note that musicians such as Marie Gillberg Petersén and Carolina Müller, who maintained connections beyond Sweden, may have served as conduits for international influences, potentially introducing foreign elements into the Swedish musical landscape.

While strengthening internal connections and fostering a cohesive community, the Swedish network's insularity limited its members' exposure to the broader currents of European musical life. Although this insularity contributed to a strong internal network, it may have also limited Swedish musicians' capacity to engage with and contribute to the broader European musical landscape. As a result, while the Swedish network demonstrates considerable internal strength, it is less expansive and less integrated into the wider European musical networks than those of Martines and Mara.

Marie-Antoinette's female network

Like the Swedish network, Marie-Antoinette's network is characterized by a singular cluster, although it is not circular. Removing the male element from this network in Figure 5.4 appears to have a negligible effect on its structural integrity. While the network is geographically centered in Paris, this does not imply that female musicians in the area were themselves interconnected.

The only definitive network identified within this framework is Marie-Antoinette's immediate circle at Versailles. However, unlike the Martines and Mara networks, the central actor is not actually central. This network offers a valuable opportunity for further investigation, especially to explore the nature and extent of relationships within the court. Understanding these relationships could yield insights into how the interactions within the court influenced the broader Parisian musical scene. Thus, while centered on Versailles, the network around Marie-Antoinette is a pivotal area for

examining the interplay between courtly interactions and the evolution of musical culture in late eighteenth-century Paris.

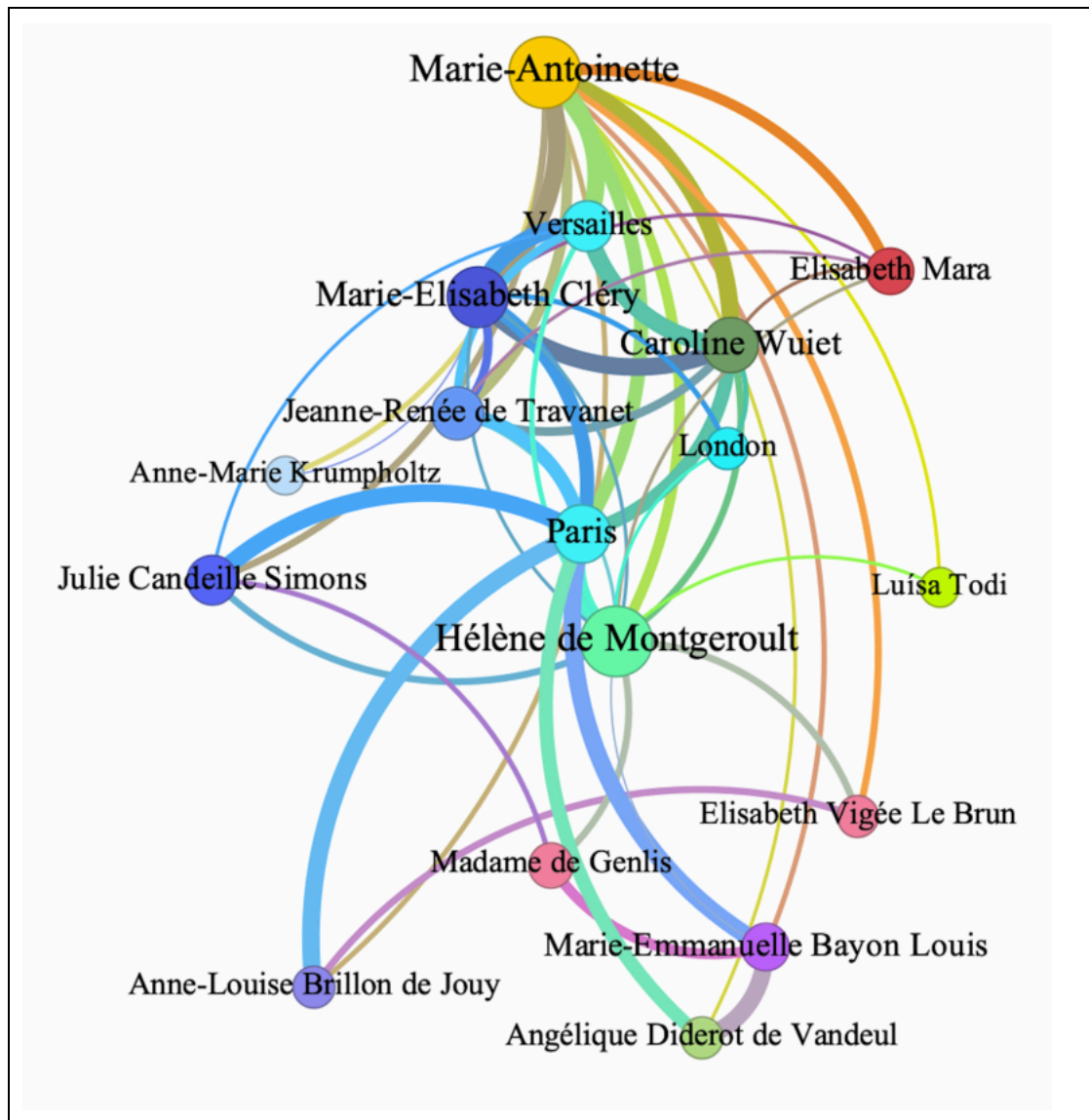


Fig. 5.4. Marie-Antoinette composite network of female musicians

Ultimate female musician network

The composite network in Figure 5.5 reveals a striking interconnectedness that is not apparent when each network is analyzed separately. The previously insular networks of Gustavian Sweden and Marie-Antoinette demonstrate a notable degree of interrelation within the broader composite network. The metaphorical “opera singer” shape underscores the multi-layered, dynamic nature of these relationships: the Weimar cluster represents the head. At the same time, London constitutes the right shoulder, with Paris holding a fan in the right hand. The Viennese cluster represents the left arm, and

Switzerland extends to form the hand and fingers. Finally, Marie Gillberg Petersén defines the waist, while Sweden shapes the skirt. This metaphor underscores the intricate and dynamic relationships among these networks, illustrating how the convergence of diverse elements creates a cohesive, multifaceted musical landscape.

At this point, I wish to emphasize the significance of my discovery and the merging of Marie Gillberg Petersén's three narratives to the field of gender relationship research, both in a broader scholarly context and specifically in relation to my own work. Although she might have been easily overlooked—given that respected historians had indicated that no further information was available regarding each of her three personas—my identification of her married name through targeted networking research ignited my curiosity. By subsequently tracing her journey in reverse chronological order—beginning with her activities in Sweden, moving through her performances in London, and ultimately reaching her origins in Munich—I was able to illustrate a momentous transformation.⁷ Initially a minor node at the periphery of the Gustavian Swedish cluster, Petersén has emerged as a central figure, acting as the lynchpin that reinforces the connections binding all the clusters together.

Although the composite network provides a synthesis of the preceding chapters, it too must be read as exploratory. Its structure highlights interconnections that were previously obscured, yet it remains a provisional visualization shaped by the evidence at hand. Future discoveries may alter its contours, underscoring the open-ended nature of this research.

Moreover, the composite map should be understood not as a definitive cartographic truth, but as a heuristic model that illuminates patterns otherwise difficult to discern through textual evidence alone. Its value lies in revealing structural tendencies—points of convergence, unexpected intermediaries, and geographic pathways of interaction—rather than asserting fixed or exhaustive relationships. The network reflects only what the surviving sources allow us to reconstruct; absent data, fragmentary documentation, and uneven archival preservation inevitably shape the contours of the visualization. For this reason, the composite network must be interpreted as an evolving representation, one that invites refinement as new sources surface or as future scholars pursue lines of inquiry beyond the scope of my present study.

⁷ See Chapter 3.

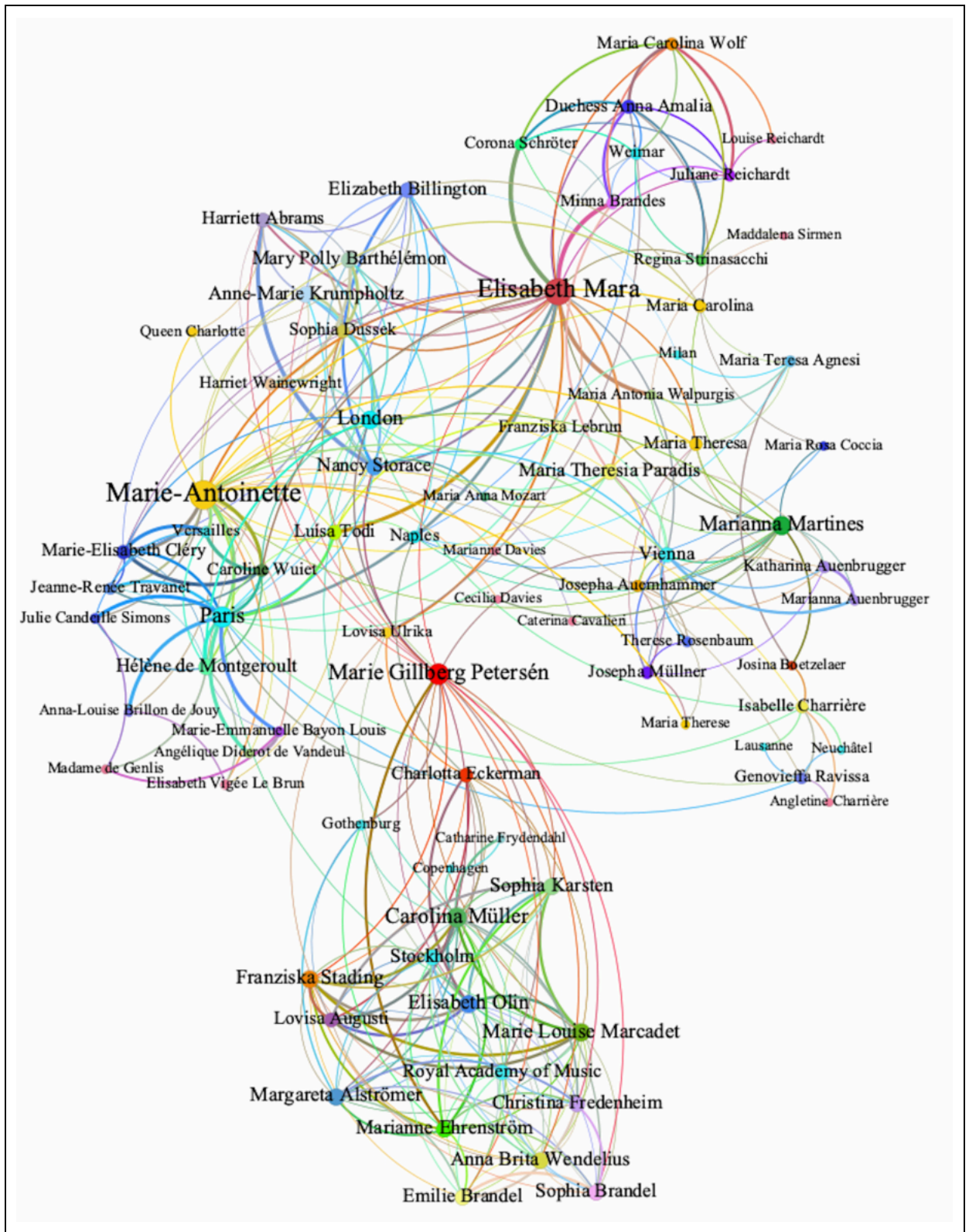


Fig. 5.5 Ultimate composite network of female musicians

— Summary and conclusions

By synthesizing profile sketches and network analysis, I have uncovered a vibrant, interconnected community of female musicians. My findings indicate that these women were not isolated in a male-dominated field but participated actively in a larger, transnational community that transcended geographic and geopolitical boundaries. The evidence, derived from a combination of qualitative insights and quantitative data, substantiates the existence of networks that included both professional and amateur female composers, musicians, and patrons.

These networks fostered mutual influence, support, inspiration, and, at times, challenges. Some networks extended across Western Europe, linking women from diverse backgrounds and nations. They were aware of each other's work, often drawing inspiration from one another, engaging in collaborative endeavors and, occasionally, competitive ones. Moreover, the mentoring relationships uncovered in my research highlight these women's pivotal role in nurturing future generations of female musicians. Through private instruction, founding music schools, hosting academies, and authoring influential educational materials, they were instrumental in passing on their knowledge and skills, thereby ensuring the continuity and evolution of their musical legacy.

As I conclude, it is clear that the lives and networks of eighteenth-century female musicians warrant further exploration. The findings presented here should inspire future research to delve deeper into the untold stories of these women, uncover more connections, and challenge the prevailing narratives that have long marginalized their contributions. This dissertation serves as both a celebration of and a call to action for further research into the lives and legacies of eighteenth-century female musicians. The interconnectedness and influence of these women have only begun to be fully understood. Future scholars must continue excavating the layers of history that have hidden their stories, using both qualitative and quantitative methods to reveal the full extent of their networks and contributions.

Let this work serve as a starting point for broader recognition of the impact these women had on the musical landscape of their time and beyond. By continuing to explore, document, and analyze their lives and works, we can ensure that their voices are not only heard but also celebrated as integral to the rich tapestry of music history.

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Appendix II: Musicians by Locale

#	Surname(s)	First name(s)	Birth	Death	Country
1	Auenbrugger	Marianna	1759	1782	Austria (Vienna)
2	Auenbrugger Zois	Katharina	1755	1825	Austria (Vienna)
3	Auernhammer Bessenig	Josepha	1758	1820	Austria (Vienna)
4	Gassmann Rosenbaum	Therese	1774	1837	Austria (Vienna)
5	Habsburg-Lorraine	Marie-Antoinette	1755	1793	Austria (Vienna)
6	Habsburg-Lorraine	Maria Carolina	1752	1814	Austria (Vienna)
7	Martines	Marianne	1744	1812	Austria (Vienna)
8	Müllner Gollenhofer	Josepha	1768	1843	Austria (Vienna)
9	Paradis	Maria Theresia	1759	1824	Austria (Vienna)
10	Halle Walter Müller	Caroline	1755	1826	Denmark (Copenhagen)
11	Møller Frydendahl	Catharine	1760	1831	Denmark (Copenhagen)
12	Abrams	Harriett	1758	1821	England (Devon)
13	Corri Dussek	Sophia	1775	1830	England (London)
14	Storace	Nancy	1765	1817	England (London)
15	Wainwright Stewart	Harriett	1766	1843	England (Liverpool)
16	Weichsell Billington	Elizabeth	1768	1818	England (London)
17	Young Barthélemon	Mary Polly	1749	1799	England (London)
18	Bayon Louis	Marie-Emmanuelle	1745	1825	France (Marcei)
19	Boyvin d'Hardancourt Brillon du Jouy	Anne-Louise	1744	1824	France (Paris)
20	Candeille Simons	Amélie-Julie	1767	1834	France (Paris)
21	de Bombelles de Travanel	Jeanne-Renée	1753	1828	France (Bitche)
22	de Nervo de Montgeroult	Hélène	1764	1836	France (Lyon)
23	Diderot de Vandeul	Marie-Angélique	1753	1824	France (Paris)
24	Garre Gail	Sophie	1775	1819	France (Paris)
25	Steckler Krumpholtz	Anne-Marie	1766	1813	France (Metz)
26	Talvaz-Duvergé Cléry	Marie-Élisabeth	1762	1811	France (Versailles)
27	Wuiet Auffdiener	Caroline	1768	1834	France (Reims)
28	Benda Reichardt	Juliane	1752	1783	Germanic (Potsdam)
29	Benda Wolf	Maria Carolina	1742	1820	Germanic (Potsdam)
30	Brandes	Charlotte (Minna)	1765	1788	Germanic (Berlin)
31	Danzi LeBrun	Franziska	1756	1791	Germanic (Mannheim)
32	Schmelling Mara	Gertrud Elisabeth	1749	1833	Germanic (Kassel)
33	Schröter	Corona Wilhelmine	1751	1802	Germanic (Guben)
34	von Sachsen-Weimar- Eisenach	Anna Amalia	1739	1807	Germanic (Wolfenbüttel)
35	Walpurgis	Maria Antonia	1724	1780	Germanic (Dresden)

Appendix II: Musicians by Locale

#	Surname(s)	First name(s)	Birth	Death	Country
31	Danzi Lebrun	Franziska	1756	1791	Germanic (Mannheim)
32	Schmelling Mara	Gertrud Elisabeth	1749	1833	Germanic (Kassel)
33	Schröter	Corona Wilhelmine	1751	1802	Germanic (Guben)
34	von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach	Anna Amalia	1739	1807	Germanic (Wolfenbüttel)
35	Walpurgis	Maria Antonia	1724	1780	Germanic (Dresden)
36	Agnesi	Maria Teresa	1720	1795	Italy (Milan)
37	Coccia	Maria Rosa	1759	1833	Italy (Rome)
38	Strinasacchi Schlick	Regina	1761	1839	Italy (Mantua)
39	Vignola Ravissa	Genovieffa Bernardina Maria	1745	1807	Italy (Turin)
40	van Aerssen Boetzelaer	Josina	1733	1797	Netherlands (Hague)
41	van Zuylen de Charrière	Isabelle	1740	1805	Netherlands (Utrecht)
42	Aguiar Todi	Luísa	1753	1833	Portugal (Setúbal)
43	Alströmer Cronstedt	Margareta Hedvig	1763	1816	Sweden (Alingsås)
44	Baptiste Marcadet	Marie Louise	1758	1822	Sweden (Stockholm)
45	Brandel	Emilie	1780	1863	Sweden (born Algiers)
46	Brandel	Sophia	1773	1858	Sweden (born Algiers)
47	Crux Gillberg Petersén	Marie Antoinette	1772	1811	Sweden (born Germanic)
48	Eckerman	Beata Charlotta	1759	1790	Sweden (Stockholm)
49	Hebbe Fredenheim	Christina Elisabet	1762	1841	Sweden (Stockholm)
50	Lillström Olin	Elisabeth	1740	1828	Sweden (Stockholm)
51	Pollett Ehrenström	Marianne	1773	1867	Sweden (born Germanic)
52	Ramklou Wendelius	Anna Brita	1741	1804	Sweden (Stockholm)
53	Salomon Augusti	Lovisa Sofia	1756	1790	Sweden (born Germanic)
54	Stading	Sofia Franziska	1763	1836	Sweden (born Germanic)
55	Stebnowska Karsten	Mariane Sophia	1753	1848	Sweden (born Poland)

Appendix III: Musicians by Generation

#	Surname(s)	First name(s)	Birth	Death	Country
1	Agnesi	Maria Teresa	1720	1795	Italy (Milan)
2	Walpurgis	Maria Antonia	1724	1780	Germanic (Dresden)
3	van Aerssen Boetzelaer	Josina	1733	1797	Netherlands (Hague)
4	von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach	Anna Amalia	1739	1807	Germanic (Wolfenbüttel)
5	Lillström Olin	Elisabeth	1740	1828	Sweden (Stockholm)
6	van Zuylen de Charrière	Isabelle	1740	1805	Netherlands (Utrecht)
7	Ramklou Wendelius	Anna Brita	1741	1804	Sweden (Stockholm)
8	Benda Wolf	Maria Carolina	1742	1820	Germanic (Potsdam)
9	Boyvin d'Hardancourt Brillon du Jouy	Anne-Louise	1744	1824	France (Paris)
10	Martines	Marianne	1744	1812	Austria (Vienna)
11	Bayon Louis	Marie-Emmanuelle	1745	1825	France (Marcei)
12	Vignola Ravissa	Genovieffa Bernardina Maria	1745	1807	Italy (Turin)
13	Schmelling Mara	Gertrud Elisabeth	1749	1833	Germanic (Kassel)
14	Young Barthélémon	Mary Polly	1749	1799	England (London)
15	Schröter	Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmine	1751	1802	Germanic (Guben)
16	Benda Reichardt	Juliane	1752	1783	Germanic (Potsdam)
17	Habsburg-Lorraine	Maria Carolina	1752	1814	Austria (Vienna)
18	Aguiar Todi	Luísa	1753	1833	Portugal (Setúbal)
19	de Bombelles de Travanet	Jeanne-Renée	1753	1828	France (Bitche)
20	Diderot de Vandeuil	Marie-Angélique	1753	1824	France (Paris)
21	Stebnowska Karsten	Mariane Sophia	1753	1848	Sweden (born Poland)
22	Auenbrugger Zois	Katharina	1755	1825	Austria (Vienna)
23	Habsburg-Lorraine	Marie-Antoinette	1755	1793	Austria (Vienna)
24	Halle Walter Müller	Caroline	1755	1826	Denmark (Copenhagen)
25	Danzi Lebrun	Franziska	1756	1791	Germanic (Mannheim)
26	Salomon Augusti	Lovisa Sofia	1756	1790	Sweden (born Germanic)
27	Abrams	Harriett	1758	1821	England (Devon)
28	Auernhammer Bessenig	Josepha	1758	1820	Austria (Vienna)
29	Baptiste Marcadet	Marie Louise	1758	1822	Sweden (Stockholm)
30	Auenbrugger	Marianna	1759	1782	Austria (Vienna)
31	Coccia	Maria Rosa	1759	1833	Italy (Rome)
32	Eckerman	Beata Charlotta	1759	1790	Sweden (Stockholm)
33	Paradis	Maria Theresia	1759	1824	Austria (Vienna)

Appendix III: Musicians by Generation

#	Surname(s)	First name(s)	Birth	Death	Country
34	Møller Frydendahl	Catharine	1760	1831	Denmark (Copenhagen)
35	Strinasacchi Schlick	Regina	1761	1839	Italy (Mantua)
36	Hebbe Fredenheim	Christina Elisabet	1762	1841	Sweden (Stockholm)
37	Talvaz-Duvergé Cléry	Marie-Élisabeth	1762	1811	France (Versailles)
38	Alströmer Cronstedt	Margareta Hedvig	1763	1816	Sweden (Alingsås)
39	Stading	Sofia Franziska	1763	1836	Sweden (born Germanic)
40	de Nervo de Montgeroult	Hélène	1764	1836	France (Lyon)
41	Brandes	Charlotte (Minna)	1765	1788	Germanic (Berlin)
42	Storace	Nancy	1765	1817	England (London)
43	Steckler Krumpholtz	Anne-Marie	1766	1813	France (Metz)
44	Wainewright Stewart	Harriett	1766	1843	England (Liverpool)
45	Candeille Simons	Amélie-Julie	1767	1834	France (Paris)
46	Müllner Gollenhofer	Josepha	1768	1843	Austria (Vienna)
47	Weichsell Billington	Elizabeth	1768	1818	England (London)
48	Wuiet Auffdiener	Caroline	1768	1834	France (Reims)
49	Crux Gillberg Petersén	Marie Antoinette	1772	1811	Sweden (born Germanic)
50	Brandel	Sophia	1773	1858	Sweden (born Algiers)
51	Pollett Ehrenström	Marianne	1773	1867	Sweden (born Germanic)
52	Gassmann Rosebaum	Therese	1774	1837	Austria (Vienna)
53	Corri Dussek	Sophia	1775	1830	England (London)
54	Garre Gail	Sophie	1775	1819	France (Paris)
55	Brandel	Emilie	1780	1863	Sweden (born Algiers)

Appendix IV: Musicians by Chapter

#	Surname(s)	First name(s)	Birth	Death	Region
1.1	Habsburg-Lorraine	Maria Carolina	1752	1814	Austria (Vienna)
1.1	Martines	Marianne	1744	1812	Austria (Vienna)
1.2	Coccia	Maria Rosa	1759	1833	Italy (Rome)
1.3	van Aerssen Boetzelaer	Josina	1733	1797	Netherlands (Hague)
1.4	van Zuylen de Charrière	Isabelle	1740	1805	Netherlands (Utrecht)
1.5	Vignola Ravissa	Genovieffa Bernardina Maria	1745	1807	Italy (Turin)
1.6	Agnesi	Maria Teresa	1720	1795	Italy (Milan)
1.7	Walpurgis	Maria Antonia	1724	1780	Germanic (Dresden)
1.8	Schmelling Mara	Gertrud Elisabeth	1749	1833	Germanic (Kassel)
1.9	Paradis	Maria Theresia	1759	1824	Austria (Vienna)
1.10	Auenbrugger	Marianna	1759	1782	Austria (Vienna)
1.10	Auenbrugger Zois	Katharina	1755	1825	Austria (Vienna)
1.11	Auernhammer Bessenig	Josepha	1758	1820	Austria (Vienna)
1.12	Müllner Gollenhofer	Josepha	1768	1843	Austria (Vienna)
1.13	Gassmann Rosenbaum	Therese	1774	1837	Austria (Vienna)
2.1	Schmelling Mara	Gertrud Elisabeth	1749	1833	Germanic (Kassel)
2.1	Schröter	Corona Wilhelmine	1751	1802	Germanic (Guben)
2.2	Brandes	Charlotte (Minna)	1765	1788	Germanic (Berlin)
2.3	von Sachsen-Weimar- Eisenach	Anna Amalia	1739	1807	Germanic (Wolfenbüttel)
2.4	Benda Wolf	Maria Carolina	1742	1820	Germanic (Potsdam)
2.5	Benda Reichardt	Juliane	1752	1783	Germanic (Potsdam)
2.6	Strinasacchi Schlick	Regina	1761	1839	Italy (Mantua)
2.7	Aguiar Todi	Luísa	1753	1833	Portugal (Setúbal)
2.8	Danzi Lebrun	Franziska	1756	1791	Germanic (Mannheim)
2.9	Steckler Krumpholtz	Anne-Marie	1766	1813	France (Metz)
2.10	Storace	Nancy	1765	1817	England (London)
2.11	Weichsell Billington	Elizabeth	1768	1818	England (London)
2.12	Abrams	Harriett	1758	1821	England (Devon)
2.13	Young Barthélémon	Mary Polly	1749	1799	England (London)
2.14	Corri Dussek	Sophia	1775	1830	England (London)
2.15	Wainwright Stewart	Harriett	1766	1843	England (Liverpool)
3.1	Lillström Olin	Elisabeth	1740	1828	Sweden (Stockholm)
3.2	Eckerman	Beata Charlotta	1759	1790	Sweden (Stockholm)
3.3	Baptiste Marcadet	Marie Louise	1758	1822	Sweden (Stockholm)
3.4	Halle Walter Müller	Caroline	1755	1826	Denmark (Copenhagen)
3.5	Møller Frydendahl	Catharine	1760	1831	Denmark (Copenhagen)

Appendix IV: Musicians by Chapter

#	Surname(s)	First name(s)	Birth	Death	Region
3.6	Pollett Ehrenström	Marianne	1773	1867	Sweden (born Germanic)
3.7	Crux Gillberg Petersén	Marie Antoinette	1772	1811	Sweden (born Germanic)
3.8	Alströmer Cronstedt	Margareta Hedvig	1763	1816	Sweden (Alingsås)
3.9	Hebbe Fredenheim	Christina Elisabet	1762	1841	Sweden (Stockholm)
3.10	Brandel	Emilie	1780	1863	Sweden (born Algiers)
3.10	Brandel	Sophia	1773	1858	Sweden (born Algiers)
3.11	Ramklou Wendelius	Anna Brita	1741	1804	Sweden (Stockholm)
3.12	Salomon Augusti	Lovisa Sofia	1756	1790	Sweden (born Germanic)
3.13	Stebnowska Karsten	Mariane Sophia	1753	1848	Sweden (born in Poland)
3.14	Stading	Sofia Franziska	1763	1836	Sweden (born Germanic)
4.1	Habsburg-Lorraine	Marie-Antoinette	1755	1793	Austria (Vienna)
4.2	Wuiet Auffdiener	Caroline	1768	1834	France (Reims)
4.3	Talvaz-Duvergé Cléry	Marie-Élisabeth	1762	1811	France (Versailles)
4.4	de Bombelles de Travanet	Jeanne-Renée	1753	1828	France (Bitche)
4.5	de Nervo de Montgeroult	Hélène	1764	1836	France (Lyon)
4.6	Boyvin d'Hardancourt Brillon du Jouy	Anne-Louise	1744	1824	France (Paris)
4.7	Bayon Louis	Marie-Emmanuelle	1745	1825	France (Marcei)
4.8	Diderot de Vandeul	Marie-Angélique	1753	1824	France (Paris)
4.9	Candeille Simons	Amélie-Julie	1767	1834	France (Paris)
4.10	Garre Gail	Sophie	1775	1819	France (Paris)

Appendix V: Nodes Dataset¹

Id	Label	Region	Id	Label	Region
1	Adriana Gabrielli	Italian	106	Lovisa Ulrika	Prussian
2	Aloysia Weber Lang	Germanic	42	Luísa Todi	Portuguese
3	Angélique Diderot	French	43	Maddalena Sirmen	Italian
167	Angletine de Charrière	Swiss	44	Magdalena Kurzböck	Austrian
170	Anna Brita Wendelius	Swedish	45	Margareta Alströmer	Swedish
4	Anna Bon di Venezia	Italian	46	Margarethe Danzi	Germanic
5	Anna Brillon de Jouy	French	64	Maria Anna Mozart	Austrian
6	Anna de Amicis	Italian	47	Maria Antonia Walpurgis	Germanic
7	Anne-Marie Krumpholtz	French	48	Maria Benda Wolf	Germanic
9	Carolina Müller	Danish	49	Maria Brizzi Giorgi	Italian
71	Caroline Wuiet	French	148	Maria Carolina	Austrian
10	Caterina Cavalieri	Austrian	50	Maria Hester Park	English
11	Catharine Frydendahl	Danish	51	Maria Marchetti Fantozzi	Italian
12	Cecilia Barthelemon	English	52	Maria Rosa Coccia	Italian
183	Cecilia Davies	English	53	Maria Teresa Agnesi	Italian
13	Charlotta Eckerman	Swedish	54	Maria Theresia Paradis	Austrian
169	Christina Fredenheim	Swedish	55	Marianna Auenbrugger	Germanic
14	Corona Schröter	Germanic	56	Marianna Martines	Austrian
15	Duchess Anna Amalia	Germanic	182	Marianne Davies	English
17	Elisabeth Hardin	English	57	Marianne Ehrenström	Swedish
16	Elisabeth Mara	Germanic	149	Marie Antoinette	Austrian
18	Elisabeth Olin	Swedish	58	Marie Bayon Louis	French
19	Elisabetta Gambarini	English	168	Marie Crux Petersén	Germanic
21	Elizabeth Billington	English	59	Marie Louise Marcadet	Swedish
20	Elizabeth Clendining	English	8	Marie-Elisabeth Cléry	French
172	Emilie Brandel	Swedish	60	Mary Polly Barthélémon	English
22	Franziska LeBrun	Germanic	61	Minna Brandes	Germanic
23	Franziska Stading	Swedish	62	Nancy Storace	English
24	Genovieffa Ravissa	Italian	63	Nanette Schaden	Austrian
25	Harriet Wainewright	English	65	Nannette Streicher	Germanic
26	Harriett Abrams	English	66	Pauline Duchambge	French
27	Hélène Montgeroult	French	67	Princess Anna Amalia	Prussian
28	Henriette Beaumesnil	French	68	Regina Strinasacchi	Italian
29	Isabelle de Charrière	Dutch	171	Sophia Brandel	Swedish
30	Jeanne-Renée Travanet	French	69	Sophia Dussek	Scottish
31	Josepha Auernhammer	Austrian	70	Sophia Karsten	Polish
32	Josepha Duschek	Bohemian	155	Sophie Gail	French
33	Josepha Müllner	Austrian	72	Therese Rosenbaum	Austrian
34	Josepha Weber Hofer	Germanic	73	Veronica Cianchettini	Bohemian
35	Josina van Boetzelaer	Dutch	83	André Grétry	French
36	Juliane Reichardt	Germanic	75	Anton Eberl	Austrian
37	Julie Candeille Simons	French	76	Antonio Rosetti	Bohemian
38	Karoline Bayer	Austrian	77	Antonio Sacchini	Italian
39	Katharina Auenbrugger	Austrian	78	Antonio Salieri	Italian
40	Louise Reichardt	Germanic	178	Benjamin Franklin	American
41	Lovisa Augusti	Swedish	79	Carl Czerny	Austrian

¹ The dataset was fluid as my research progressed and has been alphabetized by type for clarity.

Appendix V: Nodes Dataset

Id	Label	Region	Id	Label	Region
88	Catherine II	Russian	126	Josef Haydn	Austrian
80	Charles Burney	English	87	Joseph II	Austrian
81	Christofer Karsten	Swedish	127	Joseph Steffan	Bohemian
85	Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun	French	128	Karl Frieber	Austrian
180	Ernst Wolf	Germanic	84	Karl Theodor	Germanic
91	Esterhazy family	Hungarian	129	Karl von Zinzendorf	Austrian
92	Farinelli	Italian	132	Leopold Koželuch	Bohemian
93	Florian Gassmann	Bohemian	133	Leopold Mozart	Austrian
179	Francesco P. Ricci	Italian	134	Lorenzo Da Ponte	Italian
94	Francesco Uttini	Italian	135	Ludwig van Beethoven	Germanic
95	François Fétilis	Belgian	185	Madame de Genlis	French
96	Franz Anton Mesmer	Germanic	89	Maria Theresa	Austrian
97	Franz Benda	Austrian	136	Michael Kelly	Irish
98	Franz Bierfreund	Bohemian	137	Muzio Clementi	Italian
99	Franz Danzi	Germanic	138	Napoleon Bonaparte	French
86	Franz II	Austrian	139	Nicola Porpora	Italian
100	Franz Josef Fuchs	unknown	142	Patrick Alströmer	Swedish
130	Frederick II	Prussian	144	Peter Fuchs	unknown
101	Friedrich Kanne	Austrian	145	Philip Joseph Fricke	unknown
102	Georg Friedrich Richter	Dutch	146	Pietro Metastasio	Italian
103	Georg Joseph Vogler	Germanic	90	Princess Maria Therese	Austrian
104	George Friedrich Handel	English	147	Queen Charlotte	English
181	Giovanni Giornovichi	Italian	150	Saverio Mattei	Italian
143	Giovanni Martini	Italian	151	Thomas Arne	English
177	Giovanni Viotti	Italian	152	Tobias von Gebler	Austrian
105	Giuseppe Bonno	Austrian	153	Venanzio Rauzzini	Italian
131	Gustav III	Swedish	154	Vincenzo Righini	Italian
176	Gustav IV Adolf	Swedish	156	William T. Parke	English
107	Henriette Pereira-Arnstein	Austrian	157	Wolfgang A. Mozart	Austrian
108	House of Orange	Dutch	173	Copenhagen	Danish
109	Ignaz von Beecke	Germanic	174	Gothenburg	Swedish
110	Jan Ladislav Dussek	Bohemian	165	Lausanne	Swiss
111	Johann Adam Hiller	Germanic	162	London	English
112	Johann Adolf Hasse	Germanic	160	Milan	Italian
113	Johann Christian Bach	Germanic	159	Naples	Italian
125	Johann W. von Goethe	Germanic	164	Neuchâtel	Swiss
114	Johann Hummel	Austrian	161	Paris	French
115	Johann Kirnberger	Germanic	163	Stockholm	Swedish
116	Johann G. Naumann	Germanic	184	Versailles	French
117	Johann F. Reichardt	Germanic	158	Vienna	Austrian
118	Johann C. F. Rellstab	Germanic	166	Weimar	Germanic
119	Johann E. Riedinger	unknown	74	Accademia di Bologna	Italian
122	Johann P. Salomon	Germanic	82	Concert Spirituel	French
120	Johann B. Schenk	Austrian	141	Ospedale Mendicanti	Italian
121	Johann S. Schröter	Germanic	140	Ospedale Pietà	Italian
122	Johann A. Stein	Germanic	175	Royal Academy of Music	Swedish
124	Johann B. Streicher	Germanic			

Appendix VI: Cross-referencing Databases

“Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800.” <http://datatodata.com/in-concert/LC18>

“London Performances.” <https://bit.ly/HolmanLondonPerformanceCR>

“Operan Cross-reference.” <https://bit.ly/HolmanOperanCR>

“Original Database.” <https://bit.ly/HolmanOriginalDatabase>

“Timelines.” <https://bit.ly/HolmanTimelinesDatabase>

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¹ The bibliography is organized according to the epistemological function of sources, moving from primary documentary and musical evidence to secondary scholarship and finally to reference tools and digital media. Classification of sources reflects their role in this study, not date. Digital links are provided only for unique archival materials, iconography, and periodicals; standard monographs are cited in print editions, and RISM numbers suffice for musical scores.

² The holding institution, link, and access date apply to all subsequent individual issue citations listed beneath the entry, unless otherwise noted.

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