Exceptions to the Rule: German Women in Music in the Eighteenth Century

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Women, in general, possess no artistic sensibility...nor genius. They can acquire a knowledge...of anything through hard work. But the celestial fire that emblazons and ignites the soul, the inspiration that consumes and devours..., these sublime ecstasies that reside in the depths of the heart are always lacking in women's writings. These creations are as cold and pretty as women; they have an abundance of spirit but lack soul; they are a hundred times more reasoned than impassioned.[1]

Jean-Jacques Rousseau penned these words in 1758, reflecting the general opinion of the talents of women in the eighteenth century. Rousseau's writings were influential across Europe, reaching beyond national boundaries. In 1793, an article appeared in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, in which the (male) author posed two important questions, based upon Rousseau's ideas. "Is this art [composing] too high, too difficult for the female capacity—which, in other respects, is not below ours—or does composing presuppose too much learning? Or is the situation more dependent upon other circumstances?"[2]

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the attitudes toward European women remained the same. Many prominent writers, including Rousseau, supported the idea that women did not command the intellectual and emotional capacity to learn and that knowledge was an unnecessary and even dangerous tool in the hands of women. Knowledge, according to these eighteenth-century figures, could only detract from a woman's true calling as wife and mother, and undermine her domestic role.[3] The pursuit of professional goals by women was considered detrimental to the domestic role women were expected to fulfill, as pointed out by Johann Campe in his statement regarding women in music:

"Among a hundred praiseworthy female composers hardly one can be found who fulfills simultaneously all the duties of a reasonable and good wife, an attentive and efficient housekeeper, and a concerned mother."[4] Given the cultural imperative discouraging women from engaging in music professionally, it is not surprising that there were few female composers in eighteenth century Germany. Even fewer of these women are recognized as significant composers in the music history textbooks of the twentieth century.[5] In fact, the great majority of these textbooks do not even mention the achievements of women in music until the nineteenth century; these texts ignore the presence of women in music who preceded the famous figures of Clara Wieck Schumann (1819-1896), Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847), and finally Alma Mahler (1879-1964).

Why are women composers of the eighteenth century neglected when there were a number of eighteenth-century women actively engaged in musical activities? Appendix A lists thirty women who were active in music during the eighteenth century. In 1784, there were more than three hundred and forty musicians working in the Germanic Empire. It is doubtful that these thirty women were included in this figure since women were not recognized as professionals. I argue that these women should be studied and evaluated with the same vigor that is applied to the study of male musicians. The purpose of this project is to examine briefly the vast amount of evidence that exists concerning the musical activities of women in the eighteenth century, and to point out that much remains to be done in this area.

Studies in the history of women, and their consequent role in what may be called "total history", are still a relatively new development. It has only been within the last twenty years that major works have appeared in the field of women's history. In order to present a balanced view of history, we must study not just the "great white men," but also the other players who added to the development of history. To exclude the contributions of women, for example, is to dismiss out of hand half of the population. Is it really safe to assume that all history—or even all music history—was guided by the actions and thoughts of only men? As Natalie Zemon Davis remarked in 1975,

> It seems to me that we should be interested in the history of both women and men....Our goal is to understand the significance of the *sexes*, of gender groups in the historical past. Our goal is to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change.[6]

The roles and activities of eighteenth century male composers have already been

studied. Yet women remain a relative mystery, despite the body of evidence that exists to show that they did play an active role in musical activity.

With the rise of "gender studies," new interest has begun to develop in the contributions of both sexes. One influential figure in the study of gender has been Joan Scott, who urged that gender be developed as a category of analysis just like class and race. It was Scott who concluded that "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[7] Thus, by examining the role of women composers in the eighteenth century and comparing them to that of their male counterparts, we may then make some assumptions about power and social relationships in the eighteenth century. True history must be total history. It must examine not just the outstanding figures, but also the smaller, more peripheral influences as well. This project strives to fill in some of the gaps in our historical fabric by providing information and raising important questions for further study about the contributions of a forgotten segment of the population—the eighteenth-century women musicians. In doing so, perhaps we may then redefine and enlarge the traditional notions of history.

Works dealing exclusively with women, or even including women, are still fairly new. Two important sources for this study are both biobibliographies of women composers. The first, published in 1978, is *Women Composers: A Handbook*, by Susan Stern.[8] Basically, this work is a compilation of women musicians and composers beginning in about the fifteenth century. Stern lists, where possible, the dates of the woman; the place of birth, death, or musical activity; and finally, each woman's profession and the types of music she composed. The second important biobibliography is called *Women in Music: A Biobibliography*, published in 1975.[9] It was compiled by Don L. Hixson and Don Hennessee. Though not as complete a listing as the later work, *Women Composers, Women in Music,* it is a good starting point for any examination of women in music.

Works on women in music are still not abundant. Among the most helpful sources is a book titled *Women Making Music*, edited by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick. Of course, no musical study would be complete without consulting the "bible" of musicology, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.[10] The articles in this set of volumes proved to be very valuable to this study. Of supporting value, particularly in determining the scope of research on women in music in general, were two other works, *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective*, edited by Judith Lang Zaimont, and *Women in Music; An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*, edited by Carol Neuls-Bates.[11] The mainstream music history textbooks were not of much help to this project, and in fact spurred on the interest in it, mainly because they simply do not discuss eighteenth-century women composers. Thus, I could not rely upon

traditional music history sources to find descriptions of the works by these women, but had to look elsewhere.

The purpose of this study is to investigate these forgotten women of the eighteenth century, and to demonstrate that these female musicians made significant contributions to the musical world of their age and deserve to be studied. Much work remains to be done in this field in order to present a balanced picture of the eighteenth-century musical scene. This examination will focus on the experiences of six representative women: Countess Maria Theresa Grafin von Ahlefeldt (1755-1823); Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia (1723-1787); Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar (1739-1807); Maria Margherita Grimani, court musician (fl. 18th century); Maria Theresa von Paradis, pianist (1759-1824); and Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmina von Schroter, court musician, soprano, and actress (1751-1802). These six women provide an illustrative cross-section of the women who became involved in music during this time, and they are also among the few women who have been recognized in the field of music history.[12] Primary sources embodying the eighteenth-century view of women and their "proper" roles were very helpful in researching this project. Chief among these sources were Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings, including *Emile*, which is considered a tract primarily concerning male education.[13]

Women's Education

Theoretically, by the end of the eighteenth century, contemporary sociopolitical trends were shifting, granting women equal status in education and legal rights, trends which were then reflected in an increase in women's participation in the world of bourgeois music making. Despite these theoretical gains, however, the women of the eighteenth century continued to face the strong traditional barriers to participation that had prevailed across Europe since the beginning of the century.

Rousseau discusses the education of women in his novel *Emile*. He asserts that women must recognize and attend the duties of their sex, and that "the search for abstract and speculative truths, for principles and axioms in science, for all that tends to wide generalization, is beyond a woman's grasp...." and that women should concentrate their studies on principles discovered by men and work "to make the observations which lead men to discover those principles."[14] Further, Rousseau asserts, women are not capable of genius, a trait which the eighteenth-century world believed was necessary to compose true art. Rather, Rousseau concludes, "Woman has more wit, man more genius; woman observes, man reasons...."[15] According to Rousseau, men and women embody different sets of characteristics that, when combined, form a complete being. Thus,

women are the perfect complement to men. Women possess inferior traits, however, and are subordinate to men in talent. Thus, women are not capable of the same level of creativity as men.

Male Composers and Musicians

Before examining the role of the women composers and their significance in the eighteenth-century musical world, I will examine the musical climate of the period. According to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, who was the first biographer of Johann Sebastian Bach, there were more than three hundred and forty composers working in the German-speaking European lands in 1784.[16] The vast majority of these musicians were employed in the various courts, and were master craftsmen of socially pleasing music to be performed mainly for royal patrons and guests at the court. These musicians were asked to do no more; they wrote music to order, and most of their work was "occasional music," which was literally music for the occasion, whatever that might be.[17] Their job was to write what music was necessary, when it was necessary. That meant writing masses, operas, symphonies, dances, or whatever might be requested at the direction of the patron. In return, the court supported the musicians. If a composer was lucky, he might be able to send his manuscripts to a likely patron and be compensated with money rather than trinkets like watches or snuff boxes.

The status of the court musician varied from court to court. He (for most were men) was quite simply an higher servant. In some courts, however, the composer might be able to become a favored higher servant, or even become so important to his patron that his salary would be increased and he would be granted an unusual amount of freedom, especially concerning his music.

Slightly higher on the scale was the *Kapellmeister*, (literally the master of the kapelle), who was in charge of the *Kapelle*, or court musical group. He was responsible for supervising not only the music and performance of the Kapelle, but also for supervising and determining the discipline, behavior, and good manners of his subordinate members. The Kapellmeister, however, had less freedom than the court composer, and was bound more tightly to the support of the patron.

The other members of the court musical circle were also indebted to the patron in some manner or another, and derived their means of support from the graciousness of the patron. These court musicians, who were always in attendance at the court, would perform any music the patron had commissioned or wished to have performed for him or her. Women did have a more significant role as the patrons of music, since there were females who reigned at many of the European courts. Of course, as mentioned above, the musical climate var-

ied greatly, and was dependent upon the character of the patron. While there is no strong evidence to support the claim that women patrons were more likely than men to select and support women musicians over their male counterparts, certain patrons apparently did. One such figure was the Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar, who often granted stipends to women singers who impressed her.

One important fact to be noted here is that before the middle of the eighteenth century, music in the German-speaking areas of Europe had served chiefly as the servant of religion; after about 1750, music became a social necessity in determining culture and by the end of the century, liturgical music had become merely a by-product of the Kapellmeister's activity. It no longer took precedence in the musical activity at court.[18] This transformation reflected changes not only in views on religion but also the growth and development of new instruments and musical genres, primarily the creation of orchestral music and the expansion of opera, neither of which was deemed appropriate for liturgical purposes. Music was increasingly identified not with pious worship, but rather with spectacle and pageantry. Thus, the demands made upon the court musicians reflected these changes.

Once the shift was made to secular music in the courts, the orchestra flourished, composed of flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, and strings. Orchestras came to be considered the commodity of the wealthy during this time, since the average city could not afford to support such a large musical organization without support from wealthy patrons.[19] As an obvious outgrowth of this trend, it was in the courts that musicians were able to experiment with instrumental forms and develop the classical symphony and concerto, although most of the German courts also sponsored large opera productions.

The court was thus the source of training and support for promising young musicians. Most, though not all, of the prominent musicians of the eighteenth century came from musical families, and gained much of their early training at home from their fathers. One noteworthy exception to this tendency is Georg Frideric Handel (1685-1759) whose father was a surgeon.[20] Once young boys had shown some promising inclination towards a musical instrument or demonstrated exceptional talent in singing, they were immediately placed in a choir or under the care of a wealthy patron. Boys who displayed great promise as singers were also castrated at a very early age, to guarantee the longevity of their pure and angelic sound. These singers became known as castrati sopranos, a practice that died out sometime in the nineteenth century (although not completely until the twentieth century) with the growing number of women who became active in the musical sphere of performance.

What the courts were able to provide, then, was a succession of practicing

musicians and composers, who then became available for public engagements.[21] By the end of the eighteenth century, a new public concert tradition would be in force and professional musicians would begin to outpace the amateurs. Wealthy patrons, as well, would become less frequent, replaced by collective sponsors and public support.[22]

The transitional period of eighteenth-century music was profoundly influenced by the patronage of one man: Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786). No ordinary patron, Frederick forms a solid foundation for music history in the eighteenth century. A talented musician and composer himself, Frederick was convinced of the importance of music, and sought to create his own musical dictatorship. He singlehandedly organized and regulated the structure of musical life in Berlin during the middle of the century, and he provided a strong influence on other musical patrons of the era.[23] Frederick was also instrumental in encouraging growing activity by women in the field of music, and urged both his sister and his niece to continue their musical training and activity to pursue more professional goals. Frederick himself served as music tutor for these women in their early years, and became strongly convinced that music and art were imperative for the formation of a truly cultured soul.

Why Were Women Excluded?

What was the role of women in the environment depicted above, and what part did they play in the musical world of the eighteenth century? Perhaps the most important factor in the exclusion of women from the world of music was the matter of professional training. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that music became an important part of the curriculum in both private and public schools, and despite this inclusion and the growing number of female performers, either vocalists or pianists, by the turn of the century, very few of the female singers were receiving professional training.[24] Johann Adam Hiller, an opera composer and pedagogue of Leipzig, was one of the first to champion professional training for female singers. One of his first students was Corona Schroter, who went on to compose a number of *lieder* (art songs) for voice. This inaccessibility of training for women is reflected in a report from the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 1798: "Until now only boys have been instructed in singing. But why should girls be excluded from singing? Are not the best voices often found among persons of the opposite sex, who moreover are not subjected to the male change of voice?"[25]

This lack of available professional training for women reflected society's views regarding the unseemliness of a woman performing in public.[26] This view extended not only to singers but to pianists as well. Such behavior—one could

scarcely call it a profession—might endanger the morals and character of a lady, and would most certainly damage her reputation. Further, women had few opportunities to achieve the level of training necessary to pursue a concert career, especially as a pianist, since piano was not taught in the schools until after 1800.[17] Yet, in spite of these obstacles, some women were able to become noted performers and teachers. The best example of such a woman is Maria Theresia von Paradis, who toured for only part of her professional life.

The conditions that prevented women from entering the public sphere of music were the very reasons that women began to focus their performing and creative abilities on music intended solely for the private spheres of the home or salon. The chief form found in these private spheres was the lieder, or art song.

It is important to note at this juncture that, although the female composers of this period did not engrave their names upon the profession, the literary sources and musical style of their lieder did not differ significantly from those of their male counterparts.[18] Yet in spite of the quality and skill of these compositions, even as late as 1844 a Viennese salon hostess, Caroline Pichler, revealed the depth of their obscurity:

> There still has not been a woman who has succeeded as a composer. There are successful female artists and female poets, and even though a woman has never excelled in any art or science as greatly as a man, they nevertheless have made considerable progress. Not so in music. And to be sure one would think that this art...would be the best means in which the female spirit could express itself.[19]

Why are these women unknown? The answer stems from two sides of a common source: that women's horizons and accomplishments in the eighteenth century were confined to the home. First, women's pieces were largely unpublished, since the publishing profession was run exclusively by men and, therefore, these pieces remained unknown to the majority of the musical audience. To combat this injustice, some later women composers began to publish their works under male authorship. For instance, Luise Reichart (1779-1826) included several of her early lieder in a collection of her father's songs; Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847) published three early songs under her brother Felix's name; and Clara Wieck Schumann (1819-1896) published jointly with her husband Robert, without distinguishing which Schumann composed each piece. Yet this was difficult to do, and in the mid-eighteenth century, views were still too conservative to challenge the system in such a manner.

In addition to remaining unpublished, however, most female composers did not travel or tour extensively as their male counterparts. Thus they lacked the

opportunity to perform for a wide variety of audiences and meet influential members of the musical and publishing communities, contacts which were essential to establish a reputation in the professional sphere.[30]

By the end of eighteenth century, however, women were becoming more vocal in their criticism of the existing system. Amalia Holst loudly proclaimed the rights of women in 1791:

> In the name of our entire sex I challenge men to show why they have arrogated to themselves the right to degrade a full half of the human race, to deny them the sources of knowledge....In the first duty of mankind, which requires that all our powers be developed to their highest perfection, we want to be free. Here we share rights equally....Before we are man or woman, citizen or citizeness, husband or wife, we are human beings.[31]

The attitude of Amalia Holst clearly echoes the sentiments of Scott and other prominent scholars in the new gender studies: the key here is the definition of social relationships and relationships of power. By excluding women from the profession sphere, and by condemning their work as inferior to that of their male counterparts, the men who controlled the world of music were thus empowered by the subjugation of females. If women were given equal rights in terms of education, opportunities, and remuneration, this male empowerment would disappear and women would gain at least seemingly equal footing. For the eighteenth-century world, such a thought was horrifying.

Countess Maria Theresia Ahlefeldt

Who were these women composers and musicians, and what was their musical experience like? To better answer this question, I will sketch the musical lives of six women. These six figures were chosen as representatives based upon the availability of materials once I had completed the initial search for women engaged in musical activity in the eighteenth century. From the names listed in Appendix A, I narrowed the list down by looking at women discussed in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, or in both, since that provided a foundation to build upon.[32] These are women who have been at least recognized as musicians by historians, although not yet acknowledged by main-stream musicology. These women also represent a cross-section of the musically trained portion of society, since it would not be until the late nineteenth century, with the implementation of compulsory public education, that music training would be accessible to even the lower classes of society.

Countess Maria Theresia Ahlefeldt was a German composer, writer, and pianist. Born the daughter of Prince Alexander Ferdinand of Thurn and Taxis, she spent her early years at her father's court at Regensberg. In 1780, she married the Danish diplomat Count Ferdinand Ahlefeldt. From 1780-1790 the couple lived at the court of the last Margrave of Ansbach, Karl Alexander. It was at this court that the Countess became active in musical and literary spheres.[33]

In 1791, after the court of Ansbach was dissolved, the Countess and her husband moved to Denmark, where Count Ferdinand became the superintendent of the royal theater in Copenhagen. He held this post from 1792 until 1794. Here, as at the Court of Ansbach, the Countess was able to pursue her musical activities. She came to public notice as a composer, and achieved a great deal of success with her four-act opera-ballet, *Telemak pa Calypsos Oe*, which she composed in 1792. She composed all the orchestral numbers for this work, as well as the vocal numbers found in Act Two.[34]

Telemak was based upon a libretto by Vincenzo Galeotti, who was a renowned Italian ballet master, and the ballet ran for thirty-seven performances until 1813 in Copenhagen alone. It was a tremendous success. Rooted in the period of *galanterie* and sensibility, *Telemak* also demonstrates the influence of operetta and, at times, has a classical shape reminiscent of Gluck.[35]

Other works by the Countess Ahlefeldt include: Incidental music for *Vaeddemalet* for which the manuscript has been lost; the libretto and music to *La folie, ou Quel conte!*, for which the music has been lost; various vocal pieces, including a cantata entitled *L'harmonie*; two symphonies, in F and D; and an operetta entitled *Romanice de Nina*, for voice and orchestra.[36]

Countess Ahlefeldt is typical of the women composers of the eighteenth century in many ways. She was of noble birth, and was given musical training as a child. Her father, most likely, was a patron of the arts, and the Countess assuredly had exposure to the Kapelle at her father's court.

The Countess then married a man of the musical world. Musicians were more likely to encourage their wives or daughters to pursue their musical abilities, at least as long as it did not interfere with their own career as a musician. In the case of the Ahlefeldts, obviously the Countess' talents and success could only add to her husband's success as superintendent of the theater.

The Countess is unusual in that she wrote major works, for orchestra and ballet, rather than concentrating on the composition of lieder. This trend may be explained, however, by her tremendous success in the public sphere, as well as the support given to her by her husband and father.

Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia

Like Countess Ahlefeldt, the second woman, Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia, also received encouragement of her musical talents from a family member. The younger sister of Frederick the Great, she received her general music training from him.[37] After her initial training, Anna Amalia studied with the Berlin cathedral organist Gottlieb Hayne.[38] Though Anna was not as talented as Frederick, she was a highly accomplished pianist and was also proficient as a flautist and violinist.[39]

Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia, is best known as a patron of music, and her "real significance", according to musicologists, lies in her music library. The Amalien-Bibliothek, as it is called, is one of the largest and most complete collections of eighteenth-century manuscripts, including important works by J. S. Bach such as the Brandenburg Concertos, the St. Matthew Passion, the B Minor Mass, and many cantatas and keyboard pieces. In all, Anna Amalia's collection includes over six hundred manuscripts and over eighty books or treatises on music.[40]

The Princess was also an amateur musician and composer. She did not begin serious study of music until she was in her mid-thirties, when she came under the tutelage of her Kapellmeister, J. P. Kirnberger in 1758.[41] She showed great talent for counterpoint, and she composed several works, including a setting of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* that preceded the most well-known one by C. H. Graun. This composition was so successful that Kirnberger later published part of it in *Kunst des reinen Satzes* as an example for professionals.[42]

Anna Amalia's other works include a few sonatas, marches, chorales, arias and songs. Her "Sonata for Flute," a Trio Sonata, and four Military Marches have been published. Much like her brother, Frederick, Anna Amalia found music to be highly significant in life and supported musical endeavors, as may be seen in her vast music library. She was intrigued by counterpoint and the old masters, however, and she saw no virtue in the newer styles.

Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia, then, was also a noble woman, able to pursue musical training as a child. With Frederick's tutelage, Anna Amalia was able to pursue her training even further and even achieved a great modicum of success through her work with Kirnberger. Despite her success, however, most of her works are meant for chamber groups or performance in the private sphere. The music of the private sphere referred to music to be performed in a salon or small chamber, usually piano solos or lieder, and was commonly heard only in private homes by members of the family and guests. Sometimes such music could be heard at small gatherings as well. This type of music, although not restricted to women alone, was usually the domain of the females since accom-

plishment in singing and on the piano was considered a sign of true femininity during the eighteenth century. Thus, many of the women who did gain recognition for their talents as composers or musicians did so in the realm of private music versus the much more public world of concert works such as orchestral pieces or operas.

Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar

Frederick the Great also had a great deal of influence on Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar (1739-1807). Anna was the daughter of Duke Karl I of Brunswick and Frederick the Great's niece. As a child, like the others above, Anna Amalia received a good musical education, no doubt at the prompting of Frederick. As a result of her upbringing, Anna Amalia truly believed that art, literature, music and the theater were indispensable elements in the life of anyone of cultivation.[43] She married Duke Ernst August Konstantin of Saxe-Weimar at the age of sixteen. After his death, two years later, until her eldest son Karl August was able to take the throne officially in 1775, Anna Amalia ruled as regent for the young Duke.[44] Despite the tremendous responsibility of her reign, Anna Amalia continued to pursue her musical and intellectual interests.

Anna Amalia engaged the leading musician in Weimar at that time, Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, to teach her composition and keyboard. Wolf would later become the court Kapellmeister. Anna Amalia also gathered around her an important group of both professional and amateur scholars, poets, and musicians, that has been dubbed the "court of the muses" by Wilhelm Bode, and included such famous figures as Herder, Wieland, and even Goethe.[45]

Anna Amalia was an important patron in eighteenth-century musical society. She played a significant role in joining the poetry and music of the time in what became known as the *singspiel* (German opera with spoken dialogue). Weimar witnessed the premiere of works such as Hiller's *Die Jagd*, dedicated to the duchess, and the 'first German opera', *Alceste* by Wieland.[46]

The theater at Weimar was destroyed by fire in 1774, but Anna Amalia continued the strong tradition of the singspiel in her own court theater with the production of her own compositions to texts of Goethe. Once she was free of the constraints of her regency, Anna Amalia was able to devote all of her time to her creative art. Anna Amalia's works include a singspiel on a text by Goethe, entitled *Erwin und Elmire*; a second work on a text by Goethe, *Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*, and several Divermenti for various instruments. Other works have been attributed to Anna Amalia, but authorship has not been fully established. One thing is certain, however, Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, played an important role in the rise of the German singspiel and in cultivating

the active literary and musical circles of Weimar during her reign.

Maria Theresia von Paradis

Thus far, the women that have been examined have all been members of the nobility and, as such, have had access to special musical training as children. Not all women, of course, were able to indulge in such luxuries. The next woman, Maria Theresia von Paradis, however, although a woman of title, did not have the same status or social position as the three women discussed above. Paradis, born in Vienna on 15 May 1759, was the daughter of an imperial court secretary, Josef von Paradis. She was also the goddaughter of Empress Maria Theresa, after whom she was named.[47] Although she was blinded at an early age, Paradis was able to complete her training for a career in music, and she studied with some of the most prominent musicians of her day. This training was due to the influence of the Empress Maria Theresa, who, like Frederick the Great, believed in the importance of music and literature. She studied keyboard with Kozeluch, singing with Righini and Salieri, dramatic composition with Vogler, and theory with Friberth.[48] She was able to build upon this training to become a virtuoso pianist, singer, composer, and teacher.[49]

After establishing a strong concert performance record in Vienna, in 1783 Paradis embarked on an extended European tour that included the musical centers of Paris, London, Hamburg, Berlin, Prague, and Salzburg. In 1775, the composer Salieri was so impressed with Paradis' talent that he dedicated an organ concerto to her. Mozart was also impressed with her playing, and he wrote a piano concerto, "Concerto in B-flat major, K. 456," for one of her Paris concerts. Unfortunately, the work did not reach her in time, and she never had the opportunity to perform it.[50]

Paradis completed her concert tour in 1786 and returned to Vienna, although she continued to perform until she was nearly fifty. She turned her attention instead towards composition, using a special pegboard system invented for her by Johann Riedinger, her friend and librettist.[51] Her works include songs, operas, cantatas, choral pieces, piano concertos, and chamber and keyboard works. Her works were performed publicly in Vienna and elsewhere, but only a handful of her songs were published during her lifetime. Many of her manuscripts are no longer extant.[52]

In 1808, Paradis founded a music school for girls in Vienna, and teaching became her primary musical activity. While Paradis obviously enjoyed a great deal of success in the public musical sphere, she never felt comfortable there. Her lack of professional self-confidence may be found in her comments as related by an anonymous writer in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1810:

> To my question as to why she has not published any of her pieces, she responded in jest: "Would male fellow-artists withdraw from me if I, as a woman—and especially as a blind woman—dared to compete with them?" When I told her that I am already acquainted with her settings of twelve exuberant German lieder and Burger's *Lenore*, she answered: "Oh, those are the fruits of youth, which are not present in maturity."[53]

Maria Theresa von Paradis was clearly one of the most successful women musicians of the eighteenth century. She was able to tour professionally and was recognized by musicians and critics of her own time. And yet, she felt inferior and doubted her own ability, so much so that many of her works are lost to the present generation. She was never quite able to overcome the stigma of being a woman invading a man's world—the world of music.

Maria Margherita Grimani

The final two women I will be discussing were both professional musicians. Maria Margherita Grimani, who flourished ca. 1713-1718, is a rather elusive person. Not much is known about her personal life or background. It is not even known whether Maria Margherita was a nun or if Grimani was her married name or her maiden name.[54] We do know that Maria Grimani was an important musical figure at the court of Vienna. Three of her works were performed in the Vienna court theater. The first of these, *Pallade e Marte*, premiered on 4 November 1713, was the first operatic work by a woman composer to be given there.[55] Her two oratorios, *La Visitazione di Santa Elisabetta* and *La Decollazione di S. Giovanni Battista*, were also performed at the court.

Grimani was the last of a line of female oratorio composers at the Viennese court including Maria di Raschenua, Catherina Benedicta Grazianini and Camilla de Rossi. It has been suggested that Maria Grimani probably came from the art-loving Venetian patrician family Grimani, but no substantiating evidence exists to support this claim.[56]

Grimani's surviving works were written for soloists and orchestra. They follow the pattern established by Alessandro Scarlatti, and employ *da capo arias*, often followed by short orchestral *ritornello* as interludes. The recitatives are all *secco*, and are schematic and uninventive.[57] They follow a set pattern and lack originality in composition.

Maria Grimani was the first woman to present an operatic work at the court of Vienna, where she was employed as a court musician. Grimani was one of the earliest women to become so completely involved in the professional musical scene, and she achieved a fair amount of success for her compositional efforts.

Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmine Schroter

Corona Elisabeth Wilhelmine Schroter was an accomplished actress, singer, composer, and pedagogue. She was trained in music by her father, Johann Friedrich Schroter, who was an oboe player.[58] In 1776, Corona Schroter was appointed *Kammersangerin* (Court Chamber Singer), granting her a lifelong stipend for her singing, by the Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar, and resided there from 1776 until her death in 1802.[59] Her activities in Weimar were divided between acting and singing until the last ten years of her life.

Schroter was a close friend of Goethe, having first encountered him while she was in her teens. She participated in many of Goethe's singspiele, most notably as Dortchen in *Die Fischerin* in 1782, for which she also composed the incidental music.[60] Schroter devoted her compositional activity mainly to lieder, and her incidental music includes several vocal pieces that fit very well with her lieder style.[61]

An obituary in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* included an assessment of Corona Schroter's compositional talents, the only real review of her work. It reads:

> Corona had too little proper training in composing, and was not able to discover, nor skilled enough to put on paper, what was in her soul; therefore her works are in no way to be disdained and not at all without traces of spirit; but one had to hear her perform them herself in order to discern precisely what was in them, or how much more should be.[62]

The review unfairly blames Schroter's lack of success in composing upon her inadequate musical education, a situation that faced most of the gifted women musicians at this time. It clearly reflects the contemporary rhetoric of the eighteenth century, and places Schroter at fault for her lack of success. And yet, what an unfair assessment of this woman's career! After all, she was named Kammersangerin to Anna Amalia, which meant that she was ensured an income for life, and in addition was very much involved in the development of the singspiel tradition of the Weimar court. And yet Schroter's talents would seem to go unnoticed by the majority of her contemporaries.

Schroter, unlike most of the women composers, did manage to publish some of her works. She produced two collections of lieder, one in 1785 and the other in 1794. A very telling comment was made by Schroter in *Cramer's Magazin* in 1785 as part of the announcement of her forthcoming lieder collection:

> I have had to overcome much hesitation before I seriously made the decision to pub-

> lish a collection of short poems that I have provided with melodies. A certain feeling toward propriety and morality is stamped upon our sex, which does not allow us to appear alone in public, nor without an escort. Thus how can I present this, my musical work, to the public with anything other than timidity? The work of a lady...can indeed arouse a degree of pity in the eyes of some experts.[63]

After the publication of her second lieder collection, Schroter, like Paradis, turned to teaching voice and drama for the last years of her life.

Conclusion

None of these women, even Schroter and Paradis, could truly consider themselves professional composers, since composing was neither their chief occupation nor their source of income.[64] And yet, the music composed by these women, and others like them, is good music. It stands to rival their male counterparts of the era. Certainly, the music of Paradis or Schroter is not in the league of J.S. Bach or G.F. Handel, but few men can claim that honor.

There were significant women composers in the eighteenth century. They made an active contribution to the musical world around them, and asked nothing in return. Women were, for the most part, restricted to the world of the parlor or salon, and forbidden by social constraints to cross over into the realm of public music. It is this separation which leads ultimately to the lack of public success of these women composers, since their music was seldom published or disseminated, and often was lost.

The point of this study is to demonstrate that music history has been one-sided in dealing with composers and musicians. By neglecting the creative works and accomplishments of women in the past, and in this case particularly in the eighteenth century, musicology has been incomplete. In order to fully understand the progress that music—and history in general—has made, we need to examine all aspects of that music. This includes the music produced by women, especially that of outstanding female musicians, which has long been ignored. Much remains to be done in the field of music history to uncover the work of such women. Perhaps we will discover that there were no female equivalents of J.S. Bach or W.A. Mozart; that would not be surprising. But we might discover some very talented women who contributed significantly to the existing body of music during the eighteenth century—women such as Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia or Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, both of whom worked with Goethe to develop the tradition of singspiel in Germany. In summation, it is important to delve into the total picture when exploring any period of history, and women certainly played a significant role in music in eigh-

teenth-century Germany. It was a much larger role, and a more significant role, than has hitherto been acknowledged by mainstream history or musicology.

Acknowledgments: I wish to thank my parents, Philip and Jane Colin, without whom none of my successes would have been possible.

Appendix A

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Women Composers in German-speaking Lands

An alphabetical listing of women and the types of music they wrote.[65]

Ahlefeldt, Maria Theresia, Grafin von. (1755-1823). Prague. 1 Opera, 1 Chorale, 1 incidental piece.
Amalie, Marie Charlotte, Duchess of Saxe-Gotha. (fl. 18th Century). Germany. Songs.
Amalie, Frederike Marie, Princess of Saxony. (1794-1870). Dresden. 14 Operas. Pen Name: Amalie Heiter.
Anna Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar. (1739-1807). Wolfenbuttel, Germany. Incidental music, Chamber works.
Anna Amalia, Princess of Prussia. (1723-1787). Berlin. Intrumental works, Choral pieces, Chamber works, and Pieces for Orchestra.
Aurenhammer, Josepha, Mme. Bosenhonig. (1776-1841). Vienna. Piano works.
Bachmann, Judith. (fl. 18th century). Vienna. Organ works.
Bauer, Catharina. (b. 1785). Wurzburg, Germany. Piano pieces.
Baur, Alexandrine Sophie, Comtesse de. (1776-1860). Songs.
Bayer, Mlle A. (fl. 18th century). Austria. Songs, piano works.
Brandenstein, Charlotte von. (b. 1750) Ludwigsberg, Wurtemberg, Germany. Piano pieces.
Brandes, Charlotte Wimhelmina Francesca. (1765-1788). Hamburg. Songs, piano pieces.
Cibbini, Katherina. nee Kozeluch. (1790-1858). Vienna. Piano works.
Danzi, Margarete. nee Marchand. (1768-1800). Piano works.
Drieburg, Louise von. (fl. 18th century). Germany. Songs.
Eberlin, Maria Cacilia Barbara. (b. 1728). Salzburg. Songs.
Eichner, Maria Adelheid. (1762-1787). German. Songs.
Grimani, Maria Margherita. (fl. 18th century). Vienna. Court musician. Choral works, Operas.
Kanzler, Josephine. (b. 1780). Tolz, Germany. Piano works, Chamber pieces, Songs.
Kauth, Maria Magdalena. nee Graeff. (fl. 18th century). Berlin. Pianist. Songs, Piano pieces.
Lebrun, Francesca. (Frau Ludwig August). nee Danzi. (1756-1791) Soprano, pianist. Chamber works.
Mara, Gertrude Elisabeth. nee Schmeling. (1749-1833). Songs.
Maria Charlotte Amalia, Duchess of Saxe-Gotha. (b. 1751). Songs.
Marie-Antoinette Amalie, Duchess of Saxe-Gotha. (b. 1752). Harpsichord pieces, Songs.
Mozart, Marianne Nannerl. (1751-1829). Clavecinist.
Muller-Gallenhofer, Josepha. (b. 1770). Vienna. Harpist. Harp pieces, 1 Opera.
Paradis, Maria Theresia von. (1759-1824). Vienna. Pianist, Singer, Teacher, Organist. 2 Operas, Piano works, Songs, Choral Works.
Schroter, Corona Elizabeth Wilhelmina von. (1751-1802). Germany. Soprano, Actress, Court Musician. Songs.
Sophie, Elisabeth. (1613-1676). Germany. Songs.
Walpurgis, Maria Antonia, Electress of Saxony. (1724-1780). Dresden. 2 Operas.

Notes

1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre a M. d'Alembert sur les Spectacles* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1758), 193n. Passage translated by Marcia J. Citron.
2. "Zwei Fragen an Aesthetiker," *Musikalische Wochenblatt*, Heft I, Stuck II (1793), 8.
3. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, *Women Making Music* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 226.
4. Johann Campe, *Vaterlicher Rat fur meine Tochter* (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1789), 39.
5. A listing of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women composers in the German-speaking lands may be found in Appendix A.
6. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European Cause," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Winter, 1975-76): 90.
7. Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42.
8. Susan Stern, *Women Composers: A Handbook* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1978).
9. Don L. Hixson and Don Hennessee, *Women in Music: A Biobibliography* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975).
10. Stanley Sadie, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 20 vols. (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd, 1980).
11. Judith Lang Zaimont, ed., *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984); and Carol Neuls-Bates, ed., *Women In Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982).
12. Individual articles on these women appear in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (see individual articles); references are also found Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*; Corona Schroter and Maria Theresia von Paradis are discussed in articles found in *Women in Music: An Anthology...*, edited by Carol Neuls-Bates; samples pieces by these women are also reprinted in the following two works: James R. Briscoe, ed., *The Historical Anthology of Music by Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); and Barbara Garvey Jackson, *Lieder by Women Composers of the Classic Era*, Vol. 1 (Fayetteville, AR: ClarNan Editions, 1987).
13. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile.*, trans. by Barbara Foxley, intro. by P. D. Jimack (London: Dent, 1986).
14. Rousseau, *Emile*, 349.
15. Ibid., 350.
16. Henry Raynor, *A Social History of Music: From the Middle Ages to Beethoven* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 290.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 303-4. As is the case in all eras of music history, there were some significant contributions by women made in sacred music prior to 1750 as well. One important example is the Abbess Hildegarde of Bingen. Well-known for her contributions to religion and her order, she is finally being given the recognition she deserves for her musical contributions as well. Other women composers of sacred music have not fared so well.
19. Ibid.
20. Percy M. Young, *The Concert Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 59.
21. Ibid., 58.
22. Ibid., 157.
23. Ernest Eugene Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* [1st ed] (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), xviii-xix.

24. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 227.
25. *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* I (1798), col. 187.
26. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 227.
27. Ibid., 227-8.
28. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 235.
29. Karoline Pichler, *Denkwurdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* [2nd ed], 2 vols. (Munich: Georg Muller, 1914), I: 1919. Similar comments appear on 295-297.
30. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 241.
31. Amalia Holst, *Über die Bestimmung des Weibes zu höheren Geistesbildung* 1791; reprint (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1802) as quoted in Hugh W. Puckett, *Germany's Women Go Forward* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 61.
32. Nicolas Slonimsky, *The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988).
33. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol 1, 439.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Even though the scores have been lost for certain pieces, references to works in diaries and other sources prove their existence. In some cases, the texts remain while the music has been lost.
37. Theodore Baker, *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* [7th ed] Revised by Nicolas Slonimsky (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), 60.
38. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 439.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Baker, *Baker's Biographical Dictionary*, 60.
42. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 439.
43. W. H. Bruford, *Culture and Society in Classical Weimar, 1775-1808* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1962), 18.
44. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 439.
45. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) were three of the most prominent German writers of the Romantic movement, and their poetry—Goethe's in particular—was often set to music in the *lieder* of the German musicians. Wieland also tried his hand at composing opera.
46. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 439.
47. Briscoe, *Historical Anthology of Music By Women*, 94.
48. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 230.
49. Briscoe, *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, 94.
50. Ibid.
51. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 14, 175.
52. Briscoe, *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, 94.
53. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (April 1810), col. 472.
54. Briscoe, *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, 77.
55. Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 7, 733.
56. Briscoe, *Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, 77.
57. Ibid.; Also see Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary*, Vol. 7, 733.
58. Slonimsky, *Concise Baker's Dictionary*, 1118.
59. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 233.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., 234.
62. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (April 1803), col. 473.

63. *Cramer's Magazin der Musik* (1785), 693.
64. Bowers and Tick, *Women Making Music*, 232.
65. This list is compiled from two sources: Susan Stern, *Women composers: A Handbook*, Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1978; and Don L. Hixon and Don Hennessee, *Women in Music: A Biobibliography*, Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975.

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