

Music in Women's Words: Scholarship and Sensibility
in German Female Musicology, 1860–1895

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Abstract

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Histories of musicology have traditionally foregrounded the contributions of male scholars. Such narratives obscure the influence of research by women who actively contributed to the field during its earliest stages, including Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius (La Mara), and Anna Morsch. Although these women have received little modern recognition, their work played a significant role in shaping the discipline. Reassessing existing origin narratives of musicology, this study foregrounds women who received positive critical reception despite being forced to operate outside higher academic institutions. It explores themes of gender and authorship, illuminating how women wrote music histories within a patriarchal society that sharply defined gender roles. Critical responses often interpreted a distinct “feminine sensibility” in their writing, and their status as women affected both who they chose to write about and how they wrote about them. This work has important implications for feminist historiography and biography; by studying historical narratives written by women we can better understand how their perspectives would have influenced musicology had they been included in the discipline's institutional memory.

For Mel and Sheila

Music in Women's Words: Scholarship and Sensibility in German Female Musicology, 1860–1895

In 1868, Ida Marie Lipsius (1837–1927) published her *Musikalische Studienköpfe Erster Band: Romantiker* (Musical Study Portraits Volume One: Romantics) under the pen name La Mara.

This work was the first of what became five volumes and over 1800 pages containing biographical sketches of composers from the Classical and Romantic eras including Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Liszt, and Wagner. Notably, the fifth volume from 1882 was entirely dedicated to nineteenth century female composers and musicians. Lipsius's anthology, which collectively sold over 60,000 copies by the early 1890s, was repeatedly praised by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, earning the approval of contemporary musicological researchers and literary critics despite her status as a female author.¹ However, many reviewers could not forget this work's female authorship, as one Leipzig critic named Louis Köhler wrote to her: "When I read your charming books, I occasionally had a faint suspicion that the author might be a lady; for the manner of narration, in its kindly language, possessed so much of what is immediately natural, whereas men, when they write kindly, betray a hidden intention in doing so."² Köhler went on to describe his continuing confusion over the publication's androgynous tone, claiming that:

Yet because you also make your own observations and articulate them so decisively, I occasionally abandoned my suspicion and remained uncertain. Your new revised edition, which you present to me in so attractive an outward form...will in all likelihood have been so reworked that one will think neither of a gentleman nor of a lady.³

¹ Martina Bick, "Marie Lipsius," trans. David Babcock, Musik und Gender im Internet (MUGI), last updated March 14, 2018, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000496?lang=en#Editorial%20Details

² La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, vol. 1 (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917), 180.

³ "Als ich Ihre hübschen Bücher las, hatte ich zuweilen eine schwache Ahnung, dass der Verfasser eine Dame sein Könnte; den die Erzählungsweise hatte in ihrer freundlichen Sprache

This gendered language was entirely typical to the time and was not reserved to responses from men. Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, Liszt's longtime lover and a close friend of Lipsius, wrote to her in 1875 that:

Your literary work fills me with pride in my capacity as a woman. Without wishing in the slightest to deprive women of the realm of pure imaginative activity, in which they demonstrate such refined sensibility and powers of observation, it delights me to see you encourage them to venture upon paths to the benefit of the intellectual world [...] You have chosen a field in which she can indeed unite the gifts of observation and expression of feeling bestowed upon her by nature with a real, solid historical interest. You have done so without trespassing into that scholarly dryness in which a woman loses her best assets without gaining those of a man.⁴

In addition to noting this certain "refined sensibility" in Lipsius's work, responses also often centered on the particular emotional insight gained by her status as a woman. The wife of Adolf Henselt wrote to her that "The depictions of your Studies complete what is missing in the biographies of these great masters; you have, in a truly female manner, depicted them with your heart, not merely with your mind."⁵ Princess Carolyn von Sayn-Wittgenstein also noted to her that "Two [portraits] stand out as the most admirable: those of Franz [Liszt] and Brahms. In their

so viel un Natürliches, wogegen die Männer, wenn sie, freundlich schreiben, einen heimlichen Willen dazu durchfühlen lassen. Weil Sie auher auch zugleich eigene Beobachtungen machen und diese so bestimmt aussprechen, kam ich von meiner Vermutung zuweilen auch wieder ab und blieb schwankend. Ihre neue umgearbeitete Ausgabe, die Sie mir in so reizender, dem Werke mit Recht gebührender Ausstattung schenken, wird höchstwahrscheinlich eine derartige Umarbeitung erfahren haben, daß man dabei weder an einen Herrn noch an eine Dame denkt." La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 180. (All translations by the author unless otherwise noted).

⁴ "Ihre schriftstellerische Tätigkeit in meiner Eigenschaft als Frau mit Stolz erfüllt. Ohne den Frauen im geringsten das Gebiet reiner Phantasietätigkeit, auf dem sie eine so feine Empfindung und Beobachtung bekunden, entziehen zu wollen, entzückt es mich, sie durch Sie ermutigt zu sehen, sich auf Wegen zu versuchen wo sie zum Vorteil der Geisteswelt [...] Mit Glück haben Sie sich ein Gebiet erwählt, wo, ohne in die wissenschaftliche Trockenheit überzugreifen, in der die Frau ihre besten Vorzüge verliert, ohne die des Manns zu gewinnen, sie den ihr von Natur verliehenen Gaben der Beobachtung und des Gefühlsausdrucks sehr wohl ein reelles, solides historisches Interesse vereinigen kann." La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 127.

⁵ La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 206.

depiction, you have descended into psychological depths such as only a woman—I do not say to understand, but to interpret and to express—can achieve.”⁶

La Mara was not the only female musicological researcher of her day, nor was she the only one to receive this sort of gendered response to her work. Of Catherine Haaß, who published articles on Gluck, Mozart, and Beethoven and researched German folk song traditions, one *Klavier-Lehrer* reviewer wrote “Beneath the light garment of graceful storytelling lies a serious, in-depth study of history and its enduring truths.”⁷ While, on the one hand, the reviewer praises the quality of Haaß’s research, on the other he seems surprised that the “graceful” prose has substance and his choice of phrasing objectifies the author by figuratively looking underneath her garment. In a similar vein, Lina Ramann (1833–1912), one of the early biographers of Liszt, experienced resistance to publication that was no doubt partially due to her status as a young female writer. After she submitted an article titled “Über die Stellung der Frauen” (On the Position of Women) for publication by Franz Brendel in 1867, he smugly replied to her, “For years I have wanted to print my collected writings, without finding a publisher. You imagine that all of this is easier than it is and don’t at all know the steps that are required for you to take.”⁸ In spite of Brendel’s rebuttal, within a year after this Ramann had indeed found a publisher and her first collection of writings was released in 1868.

Even though women like Lipsius, Ramann, and Haaß prolifically published music history literature in the late nineteenth century, modern histories of the field have almost exclusively

⁶ La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 218.

⁷ Quoted in Anna Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen: Biographische Skizzen aus der Gegenwart* (Stern & Ollendorff, 1893), 31.

⁸ Unpublished letter from Franz Brendel to Lina Ramann, dated Leipzig, 10 September 1867. Quoted in James Deaville, “Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 21, 1-2 (2002): 7.

highlighted the contributions of male scholars who established musicology as an academic discipline. One of the most influential of these foundational figures was Adolf Bernhard Marx, a music theorist and critic who was appointed to the new post of professor of music at the University of Berlin in 1830. Marx was responsible for the formalization of three-part sonata form, and his publications included a four volume textbook on compositional theory from 1837 titled *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* along with a monograph of Beethoven published in 1859. A few decades later, Guido Adler became lecturer of musicology at the University of Vienna in 1882 and famously coined the term “Musikwissenschaft” in 1885. *Grove Music Online*’s article “Musicology” notes that “It was Guido Adler who, in a paper printed in the first issue of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (1885) – ‘Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft’ – codified the division between the historical and the systematic realms of music study and tabulated their substance and method.”⁹ This distinction between the historical and the systematic has persisted as a defining characteristic of the field since Adler’s publication, and represents one of his most recognized contributions to musicology.

Additionally, Ludwig Ritter von Köchel compiled the first thematic-chronological catalog of Mozart’s works in 1862, Alfred Christlieb Kalischer published Beethoven’s letters in 1906, and Robert Eitner founded the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (Society for Music Research) in 1868. The musicological publications of these early writers focused on establishing the reputation of composers like Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner as the defining forces in Western Art music.

⁹ Vincent Duckles, Jann Pasler, Glenn Stanley, et. al., “Musicology,” *Grove Music Online*, 29 May 2020.

Men like Marx and Adler have traditionally received primary credit for the development of academic musicology and for tabulating their “substance and method,” but this is partially due to nineteenth century social structures that barred women from participating in upper-level academic institutions. The right for girls and young women to participate in higher education had been a core issue for women's movements throughout the nineteenth century, but even though women's rights activists, including Helene Lange and Hedwig Dohm, argued passionately that educated wives and mothers could only benefit German society, it was not until 1900 that Baden became the first German state to allow female students to attend university. As Chris Weedon points out, “Educated, intellectual women, like their sexually active sisters, served as warning figures...Both were seen as betraying femininity and displaying manly traits.”¹⁰ Barred from the academic training provided by university education, women who desired to conduct research or publish their work were often forced to teach themselves or were privately educated by family members or tutors. The lack of social approval for highly educated women pushed many of them to adopt male pseudonyms or submit their work anonymously, or to abandon scholarly pursuits due to the pressures of motherhood and running a household. For example, Morsch too adopted a pseudonym at the beginning of her writing career, and her first publications appear under the name Albert Moser. Because of this prevalent use of pen names, it is impossible to know exactly how much women published in the nineteenth century, as many publications released under male names could actually have been written by female authors utilizing pseudonyms.

Although women have received little modern recognition as contributors to early musicology, female writers in Europe nevertheless played an important role in shaping foundational musicological models and pedagogical methods from outside of academic

¹⁰ Chris Weedon, *Gender, Feminism and Fiction in Germany, 1840-1914* (Peter Lang, 2006), 50.

institutions. It was more socially acceptable for women to pursue literary and historical fields of study in their free time, as opposed to mathematics or the sciences, and young ladies received encouragement to study music both privately and in conservatories. Many of these women later found socially acceptable work as music teachers, and they played a key role in establishing music history as a core component of music school curricula. Anna Morsch (1841–1916), a music teacher and an author of composer biographies, published an article in 1904 that appeared both in Berlin's *Der Klavierlehrer* and in London's *The Musical Standard* in which she argued,

The study of music from an historic standpoint is the only sure foundation for the positive understanding of musical works...With a clear idea of the historic development of music and of the various styles that have prevailed at different periods, it is possible to consider the older composers from the standpoint of their times, to recognize in those of today the progressive principle which is ever at work, seeking to develop and perfect expression.¹¹

Advocates like Morsch posited that it was only in understanding the history of the musical tradition that they perpetuated that students would be able to truly connect with repertoire and become fully rounded, cultured musicians.

Nineteenth century women also actively published their own research, and both in German-speaking lands and throughout Europe their work rivals that of their male counterparts. By analyzing the historical narratives written by these women we can better understand how their perspectives would have influenced musicology had they been included in the discipline's institutional memory. Nearly two decades before Adler's 1885 invention of "Musikwissenschaft," Lipsius had released all five volumes of her *Musikalische Studienköpfe*, Ramann had published her entire oeuvre of essays and biographies, and Anna Morsch was already lecturing on Palestrina at the Victoria Lyceum. In England, the first edition of Grove's

¹¹ Anna Morsch, "The Study of Musical History," *The Musical Standard* (October 29, 1904): 277.

Dictionary of Music and Musicians from 1880 includes entries written by eight women.¹² Its accompanying *Index to the Four Volumes* was compiled by Adela Wodehouse (credited under her husband's name as "Mrs. Edmond R. Wodehouse"), who also received praise from George Grove in the preface to Volume IV for her contribution of the entry on "Song."¹³ Additionally, in 1861 the French pianist and composer Louise Farrenc worked with her husband to publish a twenty volume collection titled *Le Trésor des Pianistes* (The Piano Treasury), which contained keyboard music spanning nearly four centuries accompanied by extensive historical context and instruction on topics like lost styles of ornamentation.¹⁴

Writers like Lipsius, Haaß, Ramann, Morsch, and Wodehouse achieved publishing success and received positive critical responses to their work in musical press, and analysis of the work of these women has important implications for feminist historiography and biography. In response to the perceived absence of early female musicologists, Ruth Solie has theorized about how dominant narratives of music history such as composer-centric hero-narratives might have been different if women had played a part in establishing more community-oriented histories. Marcia Citron has also questioned whether there can be a specifically female point of view in early music criticism, basing her arguments on the perceived absence of material published by

¹² The names of these eight authors were Mrs. Hon. Burrell, Mrs. Walter Carr, Mrs. Julian Marshall, Miss L. Middleton, Mrs. R. Newmarch, Miss C. Phillimore, Miss Bertha Thomas, and Mrs. Edmond R. Wodehouse. With the exception of Adela Wodehouse and Miss Bertha Thomas, their first names are not recorded.

¹³ Mrs. Edmond R. Wodehouse, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Index to the Four Volumes and Catalogue of Articles Written by Each Author* (MacMillan and Co., 1890). And George Grove, "Preface," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign*, vol. 4, ed. Sir. George Grove (MacMillan and Co, 1890), v.

¹⁴ Aristide Farrenc and Louise Farrenc, *Le trésor des pianistes; collection des oeuvres choisies des maitres de tous les pays et de toutes le époques depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'a la moitié du XIXe ... Recueillies et transcrites en notation moderne par Aristide Farrenc avec le concours de Louise Farrenc. Préliminaires* (Cramer, Beale et Chappell, 1861).

nineteenth century female authors.¹⁵ However, perspectives like those of Solie and Citron have resulted from the loss, rather than the lack, of nineteenth century musicological sources written by women. The presence of significant, overlooked voices who wrote about both men and women in music indicates that musicology does not have to simply try to imagine what women's histories might have looked like. They existed—we have simply forgotten about them.

Androgyny and the Musical Genius: Lina Ramann and Liszt

Paying attention to who nineteenth century women biographers wrote about provides a glimpse into the unique motivations that distinguished them from male writers. German musical culture in this century placed heavy emphasis on the towering figures of Beethoven and Wagner, but while male musicologists devoted special attention to these composers women writers more commonly assigned prominence to Franz Liszt. Given Liszt's popularity with women during his performing career, that female authors who were ardent fans of his desired to write about him both during and after his life is not surprising. Multiple women he interacted with throughout his life wrote about their experiences with him, including his longtime romantic partners the Countess Marie d'Agoult and the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein as well as several of his female students including Lina Schmalhausen and Amy Fay. Given the barriers to publication that many nineteenth century women still faced, much of this existed primarily within the private sphere in the form of unpublished diary entries or letters. This large body of literary work represents a significant portion of the surviving accounts of Liszt's life and indicates what women perhaps

¹⁵ See Marcia Citron, "Reception," in *Gender & the Musical Canon* (Illinois University Press, 1993): 165–89; and Ruth Solie, "Sophie Drinker's History" in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (University of Chicago Press, 1992): 23–43.

might have published if given more freedom. However, there were some women were able to release their work on Liszt publicly, and considering what female authors chose to include when crossing the threshold from private to published writing opens a window onto their priorities. Lipsius, a longtime friend and advisee of Liszt's, included a chapter on the composer in her *Musikalische Studienkopfe* along with compiling and publishing his letters in eight volumes titled *Franz Liszt's Briefe*. These were followed by three volumes titled *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt* (Letters from Outstanding Contemporaries to Franz Liszt), and an additional volume titled *Franz Liszt und die Frauen* (Franz Liszt and Women).¹⁶

The number of surviving accounts of Liszt's life from the women who knew, loved, and learned from him demonstrates that women not only enjoyed his performances but also maintained interest in his life. Ulrike Müller notes that, "on the one hand, Liszt reinforced the prevailing gender stereotypes through the genius cult that had grown up around him, and, on the other hand, through his devoted appreciation, he promoted the acceptance of new heterogeneous perspectives of women's roles and promoted female emancipation."¹⁷ Müller also notes that both Liszt and the salonnières and female writers who spent time with him consistently behaved outside of traditional gender norms. In contrast to the biographies of composers like Beethoven, which were characterized by masculine hero narratives, accounts of Liszt's life often fixate on his seemingly supernatural abilities to influence the emotions and sensibilities of his audiences. These traits, in combination with his strength as a performer and his creative brilliance, gave him

¹⁶ See La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, 8 Bde. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1893-1905); La Mara, *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, 2 Bde. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1895); La Mara, *Liszt und die Frauen* (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1911). She also published his correspondence with his mother, Hans von Bülow, Carolyn Sayn-Wittgenstein, Carl Alexander, and Charles Alexandre.

¹⁷ Ulrike Müller, "Liszt, Women and Salon Culture" in *Liszt in Context*, ed. Joanne Cormac (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 118.

a reputation as a musical genius that was interconnected with both masculine and feminine characteristics. While genius had traditionally been solely attributed to the male mind since ancient Rome, Christine Battersby notes that “by the nineteenth century, however, the rhetoric of genius was different: the ‘passivity’ of the creator was stressed.”¹⁸ Further, Peter Kivy utilizes the terminology of “possessor” and “possessed” genius, wherein the Beethovenian concept of possessor genius is an active creating role, or “the ability to achieve sublimity in writing,” while the Romantic Lisztian possessed genius is seized by something outside of the self which is then channeled through composition and performance.¹⁹ Thus, a certain level of androgyny was associated with Romantic concepts of the creative genius, inspired by the necessity to be able to display masculine agency and creativity while simultaneously acting as the passive, or feminine, channel of intense emotions and sensibilities.²⁰ Liszt embodied both sides of this form of genius, and his reputation as a passionate performer led to direct accusations of this same sort of possession. It was potentially these associations with feminine qualities, along with his willingness to perform for and uplift women, that made him a more attractive biographical subject for female writers.

Of the women who published writing on Liszt, Lina Ramann has perhaps received the most recognition for her work. Ramann, who was born in the small town of Mainstockheim, Bavaria, was the second of six children born to a middle-class wine merchant. Her status as an older daughter of a large family of limited means, combined with living in a small town without

¹⁸ Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Indiana University Press, 1989), 73.

¹⁹ Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius* (Yale University Press, 2008), 14

²⁰ For more on the Romantic era’s perceptions of androgyny, see Diane Long Hoeveler, *Romantic Androgyny: The Woman Within* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).

access to the schooling available in larger cities, meant she was largely responsible for her own musical and literary education. In spite of this, by the age of eleven she had taught herself to study science, read sheet music, and play the piano. After her parents moved to Leipzig with she was a young teenager she became acquainted with Lysinka and Franz Brendel, and in her biographical sketch of Ramann Morsch recounts that “Here, a new world opened up to the knowledge-hungry girl, and the Brendel couple devoted themselves with particular dedication to this intellectually ambitious, individually developed pupil.”²¹ By the time she was around twenty she was supporting herself through teaching music lessons and providing concerts, and after a brief tenure in as a concert pianist in Philadelphia she returned to live in Germany for the rest of her life.

In addition to introducing her to the musical social circles of Leipzig, the Brendels also encouraged her to develop her writing abilities, and in 1868 she published a collection of thirteen essays in her *Aus Der Gegenwart: Aufsätze über Musik* (From the Present: Essays on Music). Just over a decade later, in 1881 and 1887, she notably authored the first biography of Liszt to be released after his death in her two volume *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* (Franz Liszt Artist and Man) which Morsch notes the press described as “a masterwork.”²² Additionally, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* is one of the only nineteenth-century female-authored German texts that is readily available in an English translation, which she authorized in 1882 in order “to win sympathies for, and gather friends round, the master’s muse.”²³ As Allan Keiler has pointed out, Liszt had used the press throughout his life to craft his public image in order to

²¹ Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 25.

²² Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 27. Ramann also alludes to positive press response from “*The Times*, *Athanaeum*, and others” in Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt, Artist and Man. 1811-1840*, vol. 1, trans. E. Cowdery (W.H. Allen & Co., 1882), ix.

²³ Ramann, *Franz Liszt, Artist and Man*, xv.

promote his ideas about music and society, and although Ramann's biography was the first to follow his death, many accounts of the composer's life had appeared throughout his career.²⁴ Joseph d'Ortigue's was the first, as he published a biographical article in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* on June 14, 1835, when Liszt was only 23 years old. Benjamin Walton notes that "The Liszt of d'Ortigue's biography is a true romantic protagonist, fashioned according to a variety of intellectual influences, which are combined to create a young Franz who shows musical genius in all necessary ways."²⁵ This was one of several biographies of the still-living Liszt that appeared during his virtuoso years, which included essays by Ludwig Rellstab, Johann Wilhelm Christern and Gustav Schilling—all of whom were on friendly terms with Liszt, who frequently served as an advisor and editor on these projects.

The uniformly worshipful prose that characterized early biographies of Liszt heavily influenced social perceptions of the composer both during and after his life. Liszt, always conscious of the public perception of his image, had authorized Ramann to release her biography with the instructions "My biography is more to be invented rather than written after the fact."²⁶ The modernist revisionist Ernest Newman argued in 1934 that this permission for Ramann to take creative liberties resulted in a hagiographic account of the composer's life that simultaneously romanticized his artistry and smoothed over more tumultuous episodes in his life,

²⁴ Allan Keiler, "Ludwig Rellstab's Biographical Sketch of Liszt," in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher Gibbs and Dana Gooley, trans. Vincent Giroud (Princeton University Press, 2010), 342.

²⁵ Benjamin Walton, "The First Biography: Joseph d'Ortigue on Franz Liszt at Age Twenty-Three," in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher Gibbs and Dana Gooley, trans. Vincent Giroud (Princeton University Press, 2010), 304.

²⁶ Joanne Cormac, "Life-Writing," in *Liszt in Context*, ed. Joanne Cormac (Cambridge University Press; 2021): 296.

such as his affair with Marie d'Agoult.²⁷ Her prose is indeed heavily laudatory, but in the preface to the English edition she defended herself:

In [Liszt's] case...error springs less from material grounds than from mental reasons, which must be sought for in the organization of the mind and in the bias of the epoch in which the individual lived. So we must derive light and shadow for our portraiture, and only when throwing both combined on the man shall we fully understand the innermost nature of the artist.²⁸

While her account was certainly influenced by Liszt's editing and her own deeply felt esteem for her subject, her interaction with and frequent correspondence with her subject while he was still living lends authority to her account of his life. Significantly, her status as author of the original full-length postmortem account of Liszt represents one of the few instances in which female musicological authorship has not been entirely forgotten, as she is not infrequently mentioned in modern Liszt scholarship.²⁹ Alluding to her ongoing reputation, Dana Gooley has argued that "until recently nearly all studies of the virtuoso Liszt emerged from the biographical tradition established by Lina Ramann."³⁰

The Perception of Feminine Sensibility: La Mara

For women who published music history literature in the late nineteenth century, a gendered cultural climate both impacted their lived realities and imposed binary filters through which readers accepted their work. As a result, a study of their publications' impact should account for

²⁷ This could also have been part of Newman's efforts to promote his own biography of Liszt, which he claimed promoted "an impartial record of the sober truth." Ernest Newman, *The Man Liszt* (Cassel and Co. Ltd., 1934), 5.

²⁸ Ramann, *Franz Liszt: Artist and Man*, x.

²⁹ See Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 201; Ulrike Müller, "Liszt, Women and Salon Culture"; and Rena Charnin Mueller, "From the Biographer's Workshop: Lina Ramann's Questionnaires to Liszt," trans. Susan Hohl, in *Franz Liszt and his World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley, (Princeton University Press, 2006).

³⁰ Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 3.

the factors that caused contemporary readers to perceive certain feminine sensibilities within their texts. This must be done carefully, as analyzing female creative output in search of a quantifiable female authorial voice can easily stray into essentialism, where the work is assigned value simply because it was written by a woman. In addition, classifying biographical literature as specifically female-coded—perhaps because it emphasizes emotional or relational dynamics of the subject’s life—can be just as problematic as labeling the weaker, dominated secondary theme in sonata form as “feminine.”³¹ In spite of this, as Marcia Citron points out, “What might be feasible and meaningful, indeed, is a theory that considers gendered style mainly as an outgrowth of certain cultural factors [...] aspects of socialization, subject position, ideology, and historical traditions play a major role in the connections between women and musical conventions.”³²

As mentioned previously, critics heavily gendered their responses to Lipsius’s work, and her own reflections on her life repeatedly emphasize how her womanhood affected her lived experience. She recounted that, “It was the vexation of my early childhood that I was not allowed to be a boy like my brothers, and only late did I reconcile myself to my girl-nature.”³³ Born in 1837 in her lifelong home of Leipzig into an intellectually rigorous and wealthy household, Lipsius’s early life was marred by the loss of her mother when she was only five years old. Her father, who was a respected scholar and rector of the Thomasschule, took great care in cultivating his children’s scholarly talents: “Our family life, the relationship of my brothers to

³¹ See James Hepokoski’s arguments against A.B. Marx’s gendering of sonata form’s primary and secondary themes in James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 200–3.

³² Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 160.

³³ La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Deinste des Ideals*, 10.

our all-fatherly counselor, their partly scholarly, partly artistic studies, brought daily conversations about the questions that occupied them, and with them a wealth of instruction in which even I might quietly share.”³⁴ Although Lipsius could not aspire to attain the same academic laurels of her three brothers—Adelbert and Hermann earned PhD degrees and Constantin became a respected architect—she attended finishing school and from an early age displayed literary, poetic, and musical talents that her family wholeheartedly cultivated.³⁵ Such endeavors presented socially appropriate opportunities for her to pursue education and accomplishment, and from a young age she distinguished herself in the musical societies of Weimar as a solo pianist and accompanist.

Lipsius's social connections allowed her access to the intellectual and musical circles of Leipzig, wherein she met many of the composers and performers who she would one day biographize in her writings. Her most notable connection was Liszt, who her family friend Richard Pohl introduced her to in 1856. Of this meeting she later wrote, “I heard Liszt play, and my whole soul opened itself to music,” and she wrote often of enjoying afternoons playing music with the composer and listening to his performances.³⁶ She credits him as the friend and faithful advisor who first pushed her to take up her pen as a writer of more than simple verses, and her first published essays on Liszt, Schumann, and Chopin appeared in *Westermann's Monatshefte* in 1867. She chose the pen name La Mara, a combination of her own name and her beloved sister-in-law Laura Pohl's name, because her father had expressed before his death that he did not want to see her embarking on a writer's career.³⁷ “I was therefore loathe to appear in public under his

³⁴ La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 43.

³⁵ Morsch *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 24–5.

³⁶ Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 25.

³⁷ Even before Laura Pohl married Lipsius's brother, the two had been close friends and her brother, Richard Pohl, was the one who introduced her to Liszt. There is also some evidence

name, although this would have surely facilitated this important step for me,” she wrote, referencing the opportunities that might have been opened to her given her father’s status as a respected scholar.³⁸

Even without the help of her father’s name, the success of these three essays led a publisher to approach her, unsolicited, and in 1868 her *Musikalische Studienköpfe Erster Band: Romantiker* (Musical Study Portraits First Volume: Romantics) was published in its first of nine editions by Leipzig’s Schmidt und Günther. Lipsius went on to famously publish five volumes of her *Musikalische Studienköpfe*, which each consisted of around five to seven chapters on the lives of individual composers. Martina Bick notes how Lipsius’s positive reception is reflected in the number of reprintings that each volume underwent: “Amongst the collected volumes, the first volume of the romantics was the most successful, with nine printings. The volumes of the “Foreign Masters” [Vol. 2, 1871] and the musicians of the “Recent Past and Present Day” [Vol. 3, 1875], as well as the “Classics” [Vol. 4, 1881] were somewhat less in demand, with seven and four printings respectively. The anthology “Women in Present-Day Musical Life” [Vol. 5, 1882] only achieved three printings.”³⁹ Additionally, most of the portraits were republished individually by Breitkopf & Härtel, which led to the chapters from the *Erster Band: Romantiker* being ultimately reprinted seventeen times by the time of Lipsius’s death in 1929.⁴⁰

“Studienköpfe,” which literally translates to “study of heads” was a term that had previously only been used by artists to refer to sketches of heads or faces either for practice

from Lipsius’s memoirs that she had been an object of romantic sentiment for Lipsius, as she indicates her deep disappointment and jealousy that it was her brother who would marry Laura. The inclusion of her friend’s name in her pseudonym is a testament to their close relationship.

³⁸ La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 67.

³⁹ Martina Bick, “Marie Lipsius,” MUGI.

⁴⁰ Following her death, all reprintings of her various volumes immediately ceased.

drawing anatomy or in preparation for larger works.⁴¹ The introduction to the 1893 fourth edition of the *Musikalische Studienköpfe Erster Band* reflects the artistic origins of the title, as Lipsius claimed that “When I first sent these sketches out into the world several years ago, I did not address them to artists, but to lovers of art. My aim was to bring the German people closer to an understanding of the life and work of some of their greatest masters—especially of the post-Beethoven musical era.”⁴² While Lipsius seems to have been the first to introduce the literary genre of biographical sketch to musicological writing, Paul Murray Kendall writes that “From antiquity until the present—within the limits of the psychological awareness of the particular age and the availability of materials—this kind of biographical literature has had as its objective what Sir Edmund Gosse called ‘the faithful portrait of a soul in its adventures through life.’”⁴³ Perhaps following in her footsteps, Carl Reinecke, the long-time conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, published his *Gedenkblätter an berühmte Musiker* (Memorial Leaves for Famous Musicians) in 1900, which followed the same tradition of character-driven “portrait studies” popularized by Lipsius.

Lipsius's *Musikalische Studienköpfe Erster Band* and its successive four volumes enjoyed immediate success, which led to widespread curiosity concerning the true identity of La Mara. Like many women writers in the nineteenth century, a pseudonym protected Lipsius from social stigmas against educated women, and her choice of an androgynous title afforded her with greater success in the eyes of critics who took the work of a man more seriously. Indeed, the quality of her research and writing led many of her readers to speculate that La Mara was a man.

⁴¹ See Werner Busch, “Die Studienköpfe Balthasar Denners (1685-1749),” in *Verfeinertes Sehen* (Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 168.

⁴² La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Erster Band: Romantiker*, Vierte Auflage (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1868), vii.

⁴³ Paul Murray Kendall, “Character Sketches,” *Brittanica*.

Even after her identity was revealed, she wrote: “Yet even so, for many years thereafter, reviews of my works still spoke of “Herr La Mara,” and some unknown friends whom I had won held so firmly to the belief in such a “Herr” that they could be convinced of my womanhood only by my portrait, which my publisher had requested from me.”⁴⁴ Evidently, the perceived lines which separated masculine and feminine authorial voices were not clearly delineated, and in the case of La Mara they seem to be somewhat reliant on whether or not the respondent knew beforehand that the writer was a woman.

In contrast to reviewers who insisted on the existence of a “Herr La Mara,” there were readers did claim to see evidence of a woman’s point-of-view in Lipsius’s writing.⁴⁵ Some, like Louis Köhler and Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein, identified a feminine grace and emotionality in Lipsius’s writing, and the specific characteristics that inspired these conclusions can be better understood by comparing her authorial voice to that of Lina Ramann. August Stradel, in his 1912 biography of Ramann, mentions Ramann’s “oeuvre that was born by a masculinely strong spirit,” which can perhaps be discerned in her authoritative, non-idealized portrayal of Liszt.⁴⁶ As James Deaville writes, “In comparison with La Mara's feminine speaking to the heart and portrayal of psychological conditions, Ramann's masculine treatment of Liszt became [according to Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein] ‘the dry recounting of dates and events.’”⁴⁷ The Princess’s reaction indicates that a primary difference in the nineteenth century’s perception of the feminine vs. masculine

⁴⁴ La Mara, *Durch Musik Und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 94–5.

⁴⁵ For more on the perception of feminine qualities in Lipsius’ writing, see Deaville, “Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology,” where he compares La Mara’s biography of Liszt with that of Lina Ramann, whose work was interpreted by readers like the Princess von Wittgenstein as having a distinctly masculine tone.

⁴⁶ Stradal, “Lina Ramann,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 79 (11 April 1912), 206. Quoted in Deaville, “Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology,” 90.

⁴⁷ Deaville “Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology,” 91.

biographical voice depends on how strong a spotlight the author casts on the relational or emotional experiences of their subject, as opposed to focusing on objective, factual evidence and achievements. This distinction appears in the reflections of twentieth century writers including Ian Watts, who claimed that “feminine sensibility” allowed female writers like Jane Austen particular insight into “the intricacies of personal relationships” and Virginia Woolf, who pointed out that “all the literary training that a woman had in the early nineteenth century was training in the observation of character, in the analysis of emotion.”⁴⁸

A close reading of Lipsius's *Musikalische Studienköpfe* reveals that she did place a certain amount of emphasis on composers' emotions and relationships, but in this area her writing does not drastically differ from the Romantic prose of contemporary male musicologists. In her chapter on Wagner, Lipsius frequently speculates on his psychological state, writing of the young composer that “Numerous external impressions and a natural exuberance of youth created in him a cheerful, sensual worldview which, transferring itself to the realm of art, exchanged the profound seriousness that otherwise filled him for frivolity.”⁴⁹ Likewise, when discussing audience disappointments over the 1845 premier of *Tannhäuser*, she describes how he was overcome with “a feeling of deepest inner isolation,” because “he remained misunderstood in all his efforts.”⁵⁰ Lipsius's emphasis on relationships and emotional feeling is also reflected in her essay on Chopin, where she frequently references his lifelong longing for his homeland and places great emphasis on describing his tumultuous relationship with George Sand. Her account of the long illness that eventually resulted in the composer's death details how it was the rupture

⁴⁸ See Ian Watts, *The Rise of the Novel* (University of California, 1957); Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1929), 50.

⁴⁹ La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Erster Band*, 285.

⁵⁰ La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Erster Band*, 304.

of his relationship with Sand that led him to despair, believing he would never recover. This subject matter was not unique to her as a female writer, however, as Wagner's own writings frequently emphasize his emotional experiences. In addition, the first edition of Grove's Dictionary from 1879 similarly emphasizes Chopin's relationship with Sand, with Edward Dannreuther, Esq. noting his heartbreak when she "left him after some eight years of sentimental amenities to his cough and his piano."⁵¹ Further, Joseph Bennet's biography of Berlioz from 1884 comparably centers on understanding the composer's psychological experiences and relationships. He often described the composer being moved to tears, and recounted an episode wherein "[Berlioz] experienced a singular emotion in conducting the *March au Supplice* and *Scène aux Champs* as performed by, among the rest, his old guitar-master, whom he had not seen for twenty years."⁵² While there are characteristics of both Lipsius's and Ramann's writing that seem to indicate certain gendered approaches, these examples demonstrate that nineteenth century writers of both sexes transversed these boundaries when necessary.

Women in Nineteenth-Century German Musicological Debates

While female writers were heavily defined by their gender in nineteenth century society, the value of their scholarly contributions extends past their status as women. As Matthew Head notes in regards to Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel scholarship: "It is reductive to attribute the individuality of a female-authored work to the sex of the composer alone, and there is a danger of false syllogism, namely: 'the work is by a woman, the work differs from (our conceptions of)

⁵¹ Edward Dannreuther, "Frederich Chopin," in *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol. 1, First Ed., ed. George Grove, D.C.L. (MacMillan and Co., 1879), 350.

⁵² Joseph Bennett, *Hector Berlioz* (Ewer and Co., 1884), 71.

the norm, therefore the work represents a specifically female negotiation of convention’”⁵³

Head's argument is that gendered models are essential hermeneutical tools, but that female-authored musical works should also be considered based on how they meaningfully engage with their time and place. This intervention is highly relevant to interpretation of nineteenth century scholarship by women. While these authors approached their subject matter as women existing in a binary society, they actively contributed to the broader musicological conflicts, conversations, and trends that developed around them.

The schism between conservative advocates of absolute music and proponents of the New German School dominated musical publications from nineteenth century Germany, and female writers actively contributed to this so-called “War of the Romantics.” Erika Quinn describes how this debate raged throughout German lands, as the progressives under the leadership of Liszt “hoped to reinvigorate musical production and audiences, leading them to unity, discernment, and innovation” while adherents of the symphonic tradition like Brahms and Eduard Hanslick “insisted on art music’s non-exegetical essence and claimed it existed for its own sake, rather than functioning as a tool of aesthetic and/or moral development.”⁵⁴ For women, there was even more at stake, because this debate also hinged on whether music would move towards a future where they could participate more fully or backwards to a time when their musical activity was extremely limited.

Lipsius and Ramann’s motivation to advocate for the progressive front of the War of the Romantics, which perhaps stemmed from their close interactions with Liszt, is evident within their writing. Shortly after Marie Lipsius published the first volume of her *Musikalische*

⁵³ Matthew Head, “Genre, Romanticism and Female Authorship: Fanny Hensel’s ‘Scottish’ Sonata in G Minor (1843),” *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 4, no. 2 (2011): 71.

⁵⁴ Erika Quinn, *Franz Liszt: A Story of Central European Subjectivity* (Brill, 2014), 148–9.

Studienköpfe, a similar work titled *Musikalische Charakterbilder* (Musical Character Paintings) was released by Otto Gumprecht, a prominent German musicologist, composer, and music critic who wrote for Berlin's *Nationalzeitung*. Comparing these two works reveals the priorities that motivated both the young progressive woman and the seasoned conservative. She recounts in her autobiography *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals* (Through Music and Life in the Service of the Ideal):

The series of portraits in both our books included Weber, Schubert, and Mendelssohn. That Gumprecht, looking backwards, added to these the portraits of Rossini, Auber, and Meyerbeer, while I, looking forward, gladly aligned myself with the great ones of the present and future, Schumann, Chopin, Liszt, and Wagner.⁵⁵

Her statement reveals that she believed her choice of subjects to be aesthetically progressive, and she went on to acknowledge her intentional efforts to take part in this ongoing debate: "Of this I had no doubt: that in steadfast conviction of serving a great cause, I had ventured far, even without polemic, by bringing the burning musical question of the time before the tribunal of the broader public."⁵⁶ Her comparison of their two editions also indicates that she believed herself to be being on equal standing with a man, enough that it was worth mentioning in detail within her autobiography. She went on to note that the release of Gumprecht's volume initially reduced the sales of hers, but that eventually comparisons of their works only added to her success.

While the structures of Lipsius's *Musikalische Studienköpfe* and Gumprecht's *Musikalische Charakterbilder* have much in common—they consist of six and seven chapters, respectively, of comparable length that describe the lives of composers in highly laudatory

⁵⁵ "Unser beider Bilderreihe umfaßte Weber, Schubert und Mendelssohn. Dass Gumprecht, rückwärts gewandt, diesen die Vorträts von Rossini, Auber und Meyerbeer zur Gesellschaft gab, indes ich, vorwärtschauend, mich mit Schumann, Chopin, Liszt und Wagner freudig zu den Großen der Gegenwart und Zukunft bekannte." La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 94.

⁵⁶ La Mara, *Durch Musik und Leben im Dienste des Ideals*, 94.

prose—the motivations behind their publications differed considerably. For example, in his chapter on Felix Mendelssohn, Gumprecht can only praise the conservative favorite with statements like “Mendelssohn presents himself as the noblest model of a North German artist, and at the same time as the one whose works most faithfully mirror the modest yet still pure radiance of music’s silver age.”⁵⁷ Lipsius is more critical. While she also praises Mendelssohn, her chapter is laced with comments such as

Delicacy and chasteness of feeling, fineness and nobility of expression: these are the most striking characteristics of his creative manner. Though that delicacy may at times seem heightened into sentimentality, that chasteness into Puritanism, that nobility into a certain elegant mannerism which betrays the creator’s hand even to the most fleeting glance. Yet the innate refinement of his nature expresses itself in all his works, however diverse their kind.⁵⁸

Through these subtle critiques, Lipsius portrayed the conservative front as sentimental and Puritanical, which contrasts heavily with her laudatory praise of the forward-thinking Wagner and Liszt. She was clearly aware of the implications of her pointed inclusion of the controversial champions of the New German School, and despite her status as a female writer, she did not shrink from adding her voice as a critic to this ongoing debate.

Ramann’s writing also addressed issues related to the War of the Romantics, and as a biographer of Wagner and Liszt, she similarly fell on the progressive side of the debate. That she held these views is not surprising, as her alignment with contemporary German women’s

⁵⁷ Otto Gumprecht, *Musikalische Charakterbilder, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Weber, Rossini, Auber, Meyerbeer*, (Adolf Gumprecht, 1869), 70.

⁵⁸ “Zartheit und Keuschheit der Empfindung, Feinheit und Moblesse des Ausdrucks sind die hervorstechenden Eigenthümlichkeiten seiner Schaffensweise. Mag jene Zartheit auch immerhin zur Empfindsamkeit, jene Keuschheit bisweilen zum Vuritanismus gesteigert, jene Noblesse zu einer gewissen elegantin Manier geworden schienen, die die hand ihres Schöpfers auch dem flüchtigen Blick verräth; —die Vornehmheit seiner Natur spricht sich in allen seinen Werken aus, mögen dieselben auch dem verschiedensten Genre angehören.” La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe Erster Band*, 131.

movements led the leading German feminist Louise Otto-Peters to describe her as a “trailblazer.”⁵⁹ In *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch* Ramann describes in detail the history of the Romantic vs. Classical conflicts, extolling Berlioz in particular for his influence on Liszt and his spearheading of the development of programmatic music. She argued for music influenced by the new generation, which, “free from the bonds of classical form, free from the stereotyped structure of phrases, free from the chain of harmonious formality, should spring unconstrainedly from the fancy.”⁶⁰ Like Lipsius, Ramann identified Mendelssohn as a more conservative musician who “called forth in Germany the hope of a musical reform in a classical sense” and she additionally described Schumann as “an artist who labored conscientiously against the ruling, empty forms and frivolous nature of the productions of the day.”⁶¹ The presence of these female perspectives provides exceptions to Citron’s conclusions that “the absence of women [as critics] has meant the absence of a female voice and a female point of view.” Although, as she rightly observes, “the critical establishment has been overwhelmingly male,” uncovering the perspectives of women who saw themselves as active participants in critical debate means that there are surviving examples of a discernable female point of view.⁶²

Female Involvement in the Cause of German Nationalism

The late-nineteenth century also saw the emergence of nationalism as a crucial topic in German intellectual discourse, which inspired writers including Richard Pohl and Friedrich Nietzsche to praise composers like Wagner for their creation of a national musical style. Female writers were

⁵⁹ Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 24.

⁶⁰ Ramann, *Franz Liszt, Artist and Man*, 293.

⁶¹ Ramann, *Franz Liszt, Artist and Man*, 316–7.

⁶² Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 181.

equally ardent admirers of Wagner's music, and in Ramann's essay from *Aus der Gegenwart* on Wagner's *Ring* Cycle she praised the nationalistic benefits of a libretto based on Germanic mythologies, concluding that "from the entire presentation it shines forth that this artistic creation of the great tone-poet is a work such as we have not yet possessed in the dramatic-musical realm."⁶³ Otto-Peters also condemned the lack of taste in opera librettos, enlisting opera in the cause of nationalism: "A people must be national before it can be politically great... Thus, we also need, first and foremost, a national opera—for it too is called upon to contribute and assist in building Germany's great temple of the future."⁶⁴ In addition, Alexandra von Schleinitz, daughter of the Prussian president and a student of philosophy at the University of Zurich, published several articles in the 1880s praising Wagner, including "Das Bayreuther Bühnenweibfestspiel" (The Bayreuth Festival Stage Woman), "Erläuterungen zur Parsifalsage" (Explication of the Parsifal Legend), and "Wagner's Tannhäuser in Sage, Dichtung und Geschichte" (Wagner's Tannhäuser in Legend, Poetry, and History).⁶⁵

Lipsius also reserved specific praise for German composers, and in her *Musikalische Studienköpfe* chapter on Wagner she called him "Denkmal deutschen Geistes" (Monument of the German Spirit).⁶⁶ In fact, her nationalism did not stop at praise for Wagner. In her sketch of Chopin she elucidated:

Chopin has never truly become at home on German soil; he still appears, with his foreign *tournure*, more as a guest than as one of our own among the circle of our great musicians. Is this perhaps because his creations, for all their richness of feeling and

⁶³ Lina Ramann, *Aus der Gegenwart. Aufsaße über Musik für Musikfreunde* (Wilhelm Schmid, 1868), 72.

⁶⁴ Louise Otto-Peters, "Die Nibelungen als Oper," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 23 no. 13 (August 12, 1845): 50.

⁶⁵ The title "Bühnenweibfestspiel" is cleverly derived from "Bühnenweihfestspiel," or "Sacred Festival Stage Play;" a term Wagner used instead of opera to describe *Parsifal*.

⁶⁶ Marie Lipsius, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Erster Band*, 359.

passion, lack that one element which makes the German truly German and so distinctly sets us apart from all other nations—the *Gemüth* [mind].⁶⁷

While Lipsius's tone might seem exaggerated, it reflected pervasive social sentiments that closely aligned with the politics surrounding Otto von Bismarck's unification of German speaking lands in 1871. It also reflects the subtle gendered nature of German nationalism, as the more feminized, emotional Chopin is the Polish other who does not possess the masculine intellect of the German self. As the socially esteemed wives and mothers of the German people, many women played an active role in promoting these ideals, and writers like Ramann, Otto-Peters, von Schleinitz, and Lipsius frequently included nationalistic language within their musicological writing.

Female Perspectives on “The Woman Question”

While nineteenth century women throughout Europe achieved success as writers and musicians, a pervasive discourse which endured well into the twentieth century claimed that men had sole access to musical genius—and therefore creativity—while it was the feminine destiny only to imitate.⁶⁸ Because of this, as Judith Tick points out, “Within music history, female composers vanished from narratives of stylistic periods represented by great men [...] In his widely known *Illustrierte Musikgeschichte* (1880-85), known in England and the USA as *History of Music*, Emil Naumann write that ‘all creative work in music is well-known as being the exclusive work

⁶⁷ “Recht heimisch geworden ist Chopin niemals auf Deutscher Erde; noch immer erscheint er, mit seiner ausländischen Tournüre, mehr al sein Gast, dann al sein Zuunsgehöriger in dem Kreise unserer großen Musiker. Liegt dies veilleicht daran, daß seine Schöpfungen bei allem Reichthum an Empfindung und Leidenschaft doch jenes einen Elementes entbehren, das den Deutschen zum Deutschen macht und uns so bestimmt vor allen andern Nationen Kennzeichnet—das Gemüth?” La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Erster Band*, 222.

⁶⁸ Paula Higgins, “Historical Women Composers,” in *Cambridge Companion to Women Composers*, ed. Matthew Head and Susan Wollenberg (Cambridge University Press, 2024), 20.

of men.”⁶⁹ Gumprecht, in an essay titled “Die Frauen in der Musik” (Women in Music) from his 1876 *Neue Musikalische Charakterbilder* (New Musical Character Paintings) (a follow-up volume to his previously discussed *Musikalische Charakterbilder*) similarly claimed that imagination “belongs among the innate prerogatives of the male spirit,” and contended that “one may confidently assert that our composing ladies have exerted not the slightest influence on the manner and progress of artistic development; that even the best of them have been able to offer only mediocrity.”⁷⁰ The critic then proceeded to name several well-known female composers, including the seventeenth century Electress Louise Henriette of Brandenburg, Johanna Kinkel, Clara Schumann, and Fanny Hensel, upholding their music as examples of the “sensitive,” “modest,” “good humored,” songs that were best suited for cheerful household festivities. Aline Hundt, who dared to compose orchestral works and then conduct them in concert herself, he described as “a most curious spectacle.”⁷¹

Not limiting his opinions on women musicians to composition, Gumprecht also weighed the success of female performers vs. male, concluding that while women had the upper hand as vocalists: “In the long procession of concertizing piano virtuosas that passes through the author’s memory, more than one expressive figure arrests the glance...Long experience has nevertheless shown that, taken as a whole, on the piano the deeds of the fair sex in competition with those of the strong tend to win only the second prize.”⁷² By the late nineteenth century, the “cult of the virtuoso” was largely defined by the dazzling technical abilities and showmanship of performers like Liszt and Paganini, and while Gumprecht acknowledged Clara Schumann’s “discipline of

⁶⁹ Judith Tick, “Historiography,” *Grove Music Online*.

⁷⁰ Otto Gumprecht, “Die Frauen in der Musik,” in *Neue Musikalische Charakterbilder* (H. Haessel, 1876), 6 and 10.

⁷¹ Gumprecht, “Die Frauen in der Musik,” 10.

⁷² Gumprecht, “Die Frauen in der Musik,” 28.

feeling” he contended that “it is not only a question here of lesser capacity in sinews and muscles; a spiritual hindrance also comes into play, grounded in the tightly self-contained emotional life of women, which for the most part seizes only upon what lies nearest with warmer participation.”⁷³

Given Lipsius’s awareness of Gumprechts earlier work, speculating that she read his “Die Frauen in der Musik” is not unreasonable. In what was potentially a response to Gumprecht’s 1876 diatribe, she published *Musikalische Studienköpfe Fünfter Band: Die Frauen in Tonleben der Gegenwart* (Musical Study Portraits Fifth Volume: Women in the Musical Life of the Present) in 1882, which she dedicated to Franz Liszt. In her introduction she wrote: “In the realm of free creative activity, however, the female genius may boast only of modest successes...No female composer has ever effected anything epoch-making or even trailblazing; none has marked her path through imperishable deeds.”⁷⁴ Although by making this claim Lipsius repeats some of the ideology of her day related to the female lack of creative ability in composition, she refuses to entirely deny either musical success or the gift of invention to women. More significantly, she goes on to almost directly respond to Gumprecht’s perspectives on female performers:

As fateful as it may appear for women to stretch out their hand toward those highest-growing musical laurels, a far more fruitful field of glory presents itself to them as performing artists. In the mastery of voice and individual instruments, they share full rights with the stronger sex. And at the piano in particular, the modern favorite

⁷³ Gumprecht, “Die Frauen in der Musik, 28.

⁷⁴ “So wenig dankbar es aber für die Frauen erscheint, ihre Hand nach jenen am höchsten wachsenden musikalischen Lorbeeren auszustrecken, ein um so ergiebigeres Ruhmesfeld bietet sich ihnen als ausübende Künstlerinnen dar. In die Herrschaft über die Stimme und einzelne Instrumente teilen sie sich vollberechtigt mit dem starken Geschlecht, und am Klavier zumal, dem modernen Lieblingsinstrument, auf dem sie selbständiger und unabhängiger als auf jedem andern ihre Kunst geltend zu machen vermögen, ringen sie vereint mit jenem um die Palme.” La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Fünfter Band: Die Frauen in Tonleben der Gegenwart* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882), viii.

instrument, upon which they are able to assert their artistry more independently and autonomously than on any other, they contend alongside men for the palm.⁷⁵

Lipsius states here one of her primary goals with this volume: to prove that women could be as excellent—or even more so—as men when it came to musical performance. Her arguments push back against contemporary gendered divisions of labor between composition and performance, wherein composition required original ideas generated by the mind (masculine) whereas performance merely mediated those ideas through the body (feminine). As the passive mediator, the performer was a steward or caretaker for the composer's work and sat below him in the creative hierarchy. In contrast, Lipsius argued that virtuosity should not be considered secondary to composition, because “upon its breath depends the life and death of the entrusted written artwork.”⁷⁶ In the volume's proceeding chapters she used the lives of performers like Mary Krebs and Ingeborg von Bronsart to make the case that women were highly capable as virtuosic performers, without whom the great compositions of men would be useless. Instead of setting out to prove to thinkers like Gumprecht that women could, in fact, be creative, she took an alternate route by leveling the ground between composer and virtuoso.

An entire publication related to the achievements of women in music was unprecedented at the time, and the *Musikalische Studienköpfe Fünfter Band*'s twenty-four chapters contain biographical sketches on women composers and performers. In referencing the reasoning as to why she compiled this fifth volume, Lipsius wrote that, “If among all the arts of space and time music is without question the most favored of the present age, then it should come as no surprise that women too, whom our progressive era grants increasing participation in public life, have

⁷⁵ La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Fünfter Band*, viii.

⁷⁶ La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Fünfter Band*, ix.

recently begun to take diligent part in its cultivation.”⁷⁷ Although in other volumes she wrote about male composers from as early as the Classical era, all of Lipsius’s subjects in *Die Frauen in Tonleben der Gegenwart* were her contemporaries; though the oldest subject was Clara Schumann, born in 1819, most of the women in question were born between the 1830s and the 1850s. Even though Lipsius’s introduction later downplays female creativity she still celebrates the compositional abilities of several artists including Schumann and Ingeborg von Bronsart, writing of the latter that “her creative talent stirred the interest of Anton Rubinstein even more than her interpretive ability” and noting that, in her later life, “Since Frau von Bronsart renounced her pianistic activity as a profession, she has placed the focus of her artistic work on composition and has also achieved many beautiful successes in this regard.”⁷⁸ Even so, her biographical content focuses heavily on performance success, writing of Mary Krebs that “In truth, an honored place among our best female virtuosi is not to be denied to her. Complete mastery of technique and an almost infallible certainty of hand, unassailed by moods and nervous agitation, attest her artistry.”⁷⁹ With this language Lipsius distances Krebs, who suffered from ill health throughout her life (partially due to over-scheduled performances), from the nineteenth century associations of the feminine with unstable emotions and nervous breakdowns. Instead, she highlights her mastery and infallibility, traits which would more commonly have been associated with the masculine.

⁷⁷ La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Fünfter Band*, vii.

⁷⁸ La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Fünfter Band*, 140.

⁷⁹ In contrast to La Mara’s extended chapter on Krebs, the first edition of Grove devotes a paragraph to her, entered under her father’s name, which merely lists the cities she had performed in and notes “her repertoire is large, and embraces all the acknowledged classical, orchestral, chamber, and solo pieces, and others of such exceptional difficulty as Schumann’s Toccata (op. 7) of which she has more than once given a very fine rendering.” George Grove, “Krebs,” *Dictionary of Music and Musicians by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign*, vol. 4, ed. Sir. George Grove (MacMillan and Co, 1890), 71.

Ten years after Lipsius published her volume on women in music, Morsch published a similar work titled *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen: Biographische Skizzen aus der Gegenwart* (German's Female Musicians: Biographical Sketches from the Present Day). Both collections feature biographical sketches of women musicians, but Morsch chose to include slightly shorter chapters on over 120 women, divided into sections dedicated to “Komponistinnen und Musik-Schriftstellerinnen” (Composers and Music Authors), “Opern und Konzert-Sängerinnen” (Opera and Concert Singers), “Virtuosinnen” (Virtuosos), and “Direktorinnen und hervorragende Padagoginnen” (Directors and Outstanding Educators). Notably, after paying homage to the musicianship of Princess Friedrich Carl and Princess Alexandrine of Prussia, and an extended chapter on Clara Schumann, she placed the section on composers and authors of music history first, before either singers or performers. Akin to Lipsius, her research primarily consisted of firsthand communication with her subjects, and the resulting book was an offshoot of the *Tonkünstlerinnen-Album* which she compiled during her tenure as part of the German Women's Committee for the Chicago World's Fair, for which she prepared the German music section of The Women's Building. Unlike Lipsius's, Morsch's work does not construct a hierarchy of composer vs. virtuoso, but simply states that her academic purpose was “the collection of biographical material on our most significant living female musicians—those who create, teach, and perform.” Rather than engage in the cultural debate on whether women could be creative or not, she simply presented evidence of creative women.

Of the many women that Lipsius and Morsch each wrote about, they had seven in common—Clara Schumann, Ingeborg von Bronsart, Mary Krebs, Pauline Fichtner-Erdmannsdörfer, Laura Kahrer-Rappoldi, Amalie Joachim, and Therese Vogl—which allows the

opportunity to compare their varied approaches to female biography.⁸⁰ In fact, enough similarities exist between the two chapters that is not unlikely that Morsch may have drawn on the earlier work by Lipsius, given the parallel verbiage and repetition of specific anecdotes. For instance, both recount a humorous episode from von Bronsart's childhood where, upon composing an admirable fugue during a lesson with Adolf Henselt when she was eighteen years old, he expressed surprise at her brilliance by telling her "you don't look the part at all"—to which she responded "well, I'm quite glad I don't look like a fugue."⁸¹

An examination of Morsch and Lipsius's parallel chapters on Clara Schumann reveals that both writers employ a reverent, almost worshipful tone in discussing her that celebrates both her strength as a performer and her faithful qualities as a wife and mother. Lipsius writes that Schumann is "still revered as the first among her kind, who—surrounded by the double nimbus of being the surviving wife and artistic companion of one of our most beloved tone poets—still exercises her profession with undiminished strength and energy," while Morsch similarly praises "the un-dethroned queen of the pianists...the unsung one, who has remained, amid all homage and triumphs, always the simple, truthful, genuine woman, the self-sacrificing mother."⁸² In contrast, there are a few notable differences. Specifically, Morsch devotes a higher percentage of her work to Schumann's compositions than Lipsius, who discusses Schumann's creative pursuits and includes a list of her published and unpublished work but spends more of her time describing notable performances and concert tours. While there is overlap in content and tone, the

⁸⁰ The fact that all seven of these women appeared in both anthologies indicates that they were relatively well known in the 1880s-90s. Unfortunately, only Schumann's name is widely recognized today.

⁸¹ Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 17; La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe Fünfter Band*, 129.

⁸² La Mara, *Musikalische Studienköpfe, Fünfter Band*, 4; Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 13.

significance of these two works—one with greater detail on fewer musicians and one with less detail on many more—cannot be overstated, as they provide a unique first-person glimpse into the German female musical world of the decade between 1880-1890.

Writers and Pedagogues – The Emergence of Music History in Music Education

The published works of female music historians are noteworthy for their contributions to academic and cultural conversations, but the impact of these writers expanded through their efforts to bring music history into conservatory classrooms and private lesson spaces. By the early nineteenth century, Romantic sentiments related to nostalgia for the past had increased social interest in historical music, inspiring initiatives like the resurrection of Bach's music by the Mendelssohn family. Concurrently, as major conservatories like those at Paris, Berlin, and Leipzig established rigorous academic study as a core element of performance education, both music theory and music history became mainstays of advanced music education throughout Europe and the United States.⁸³ While the practical work of introducing musicology to academia was largely due to the efforts of male scholars, women played a key role in advocating for its importance to music education at all levels. Although social conventions barred them from participating in upper-level education, women like Ramann who supported themselves providing private music lessons and teaching in all-girls schools were able to freely implement the reforms they promoted in the press.

Morsch was specifically active in advocating for pedagogical change, as after receiving her musical education in Berlin as a pupil of Carl Tausig and Louis Ehlert and pursuing

⁸³ Bjørnar Utne-Reitan, "Music Theory Pedagogy in the Nineteenth Century Comparing Traditions of Three European Conservatories," *Journal of Music Theory* 66 no. 1 (April 2022): 63–91.

counterpoint and composition studies, she went on to work as a music teacher in Berlin throughout her life, founding her own music institute in 1885. As a writer she regularly contributed to the pedagogical music journal *Der Klavier-Lehrer*, the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, and the *Musikalische Jugendpost, Frauenberuf*, for which she regularly provided music-historical articles. In the winter of 1885, she gave her first cycle of “music-historical lectures” to women studying to be music teachers at the Victoria Lyceum. These lectures on early church music, which later appeared in book form under the title *Der italienische Kirchengesang bis Palestrina* (The Italian Church Songs of Palestrina) received extraordinary favor from the critics and earned her a reputation as one of the leading German experts on Palestrina.⁸⁴

Morsch’s growing reputation led her to deliver further lecture cycles including “Berlin’s Musical Life in the Past” and “The Art Song and Franz Schubert,” presented to the Association of Music Teachers in Berlin, of which the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* noted:

The speaker vividly and engagingly described the early efforts of Reichardt, Zelter, Berger, and Klein to elevate the Lied from the meager and sober realm of the folk song of the time into a higher artistic domain. She then sketched a portrait of Schubert’s life and circumstances, and finally elaborated on the brilliant and distinctive talent of the great master of song. Her presentation [...] received enthusiastic and widespread applause from the audience.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See Edmund Rochlich, review of *Geschichte der Musik*, by Otto Keller, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 91 pt 1 (January 9, 1895), 17.

⁸⁵ “Die Rednerin schilderte in lebendiger und fesselnder Darstellung zunächst die Versuche Reichardts, Zelters, Bergers und Kleins, das Lied aus der dürftigen und nüchternen Welt des damaligen Volksliedes in eine höhere Kunstregion emporzuheben, entwarf dann ein Bild von Schuberts Lebensgang und seinen äußeren Verhältnissen und verbreitete sich schließlich über die hochgeniale und eigenartige Begabung des großen Liedermeisters [...] eine umso höhere Belebung und erweckten in der Hörerschaft großen und allgemeinen Beifall.” “Vermischtes,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 91 pt. 1 (May 1, 1895), 214.

In another edition of published lectures titled “German-Protestant Church Song,” she provided an overview of Western Music that traced “the development of Roman Catholic church song, as it blossomed forth from the beginning of Christianity, in connection with the structure of Christian worship in Rome and the papal singers’ college founded by Gregory the Great, up to its perfection with Palestrina in the 16th century.”⁸⁶ As the founder of a Music school and a university lecturer, Morsch was particularly concerned with music history as a pedagogical tool and confidently claimed that, “music and the study of music history should be understood as a cultural power; only thereby could the latter be made serviceable to the striving for depth and finally find the broader interest that it still so often lacks.”⁸⁷

This emphasis on music history as a pedagogical tool extends to the work of Lina Ramann, who continued to work as a music teacher throughout her writing career. Morsch notes that she first instituted her ideas of pedagogy reform after founding an “Institute for World, Art, Literature, Music, Church, and Religious History” in Glückstadt, but she was most influential after she moved to Nuremburg and opened the Ramann-Volkmann Music School with her romantic partner Ida Volkmann.⁸⁸ Although Morsch describes Volkmann as Ramann’s “faithful collaborator” or “friend,” Deaville notes that “Although Ramann's relationship with Volkmann was known throughout the German musical world, as attested by entries in her autobiographical *Lisztiana* and references in the musical press, it was a public secret.”⁸⁹ The two women ran their music school for over twenty-five years, and although she did not directly publish on the merits of teaching music history her reputation as a writer of music histories doubtless influenced her

⁸⁶ Anna Morsch, *Der italienische kirchengesang bis Palestrina. 10. vorträge gehalten im Victoria-Lyceum zu Berlin, 1885* (Stern & Ollendorff, 1891), 7.

⁸⁷ Morsch, *Der italienische kirchengesang bis Palestrina*, vi.

⁸⁸ Morsch, *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen*, 25.

⁸⁹ Deaville, “Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology,” 92.

pedagogical practices, which she described at length in her *Die Musik als Gegenstand des Unterrichts* (Music as a Subject of Instruction).

Remembering Music in Women's Words

The strong presence of female writers amongst late nineteenth century music history scholars inspires significant questions about why their work has had such limited longstanding impact on the field. Largely because of the effects of first wave feminism, women like Lipsius, Ramann, and Morsch successfully published their research in biographies and critical essays during the last few decades of the nineteenth century. During these years their volumes sold tens of thousands of copies, they received respectful acknowledgment as experts in the press, and they held influence over pedagogical practices throughout Europe. However, with the rise of a more conservative era in the wake of the World Wars, this window of opportunity shut, their contributions all but forgotten. Following this backlash, a few women published musicological research in the 1950s, such as Sophie Drinker in the United States, but it was not until the 1970s that women once again began to be taken seriously as musicologists.⁹⁰

Matthew Head and Susan Wollenberg discuss this phenomenon of erasure as it related to female composers, positing that in response to the cultural debate over whether women could be creative, “the male authors of musicological publications closed ranks, systematically excluding women as composers from their still emerging discipline.” They argue that this was a “pattern of sidelining” that “proved foundational for the identity of both the discipline of musicology and

⁹⁰ A pioneer of pre-1970s research on women in music, Drinker published several books including *Music and Women: The Story of Women in Their Relation to Music* (Coward-McCann, Inc., 1948), and *Brahms and His Women's Choruses* (S. Drinker: Under the auspices of Musurgia Publishers, A.G. Hess, 1952).

narrative constructions of 'music history' for much of the next century."⁹¹ This meant that, although women like Cécile Chaminade, Louise Farrenc, and Augusta Holmés successfully published large scale orchestral works in the late nineteenth century, the men who wrote the early twentieth century's widely circulated music history textbooks did not mention them. For example, in Curt Sachs' 1948 *Our Musical Heritage*, a music history survey textbook assigned at the university level in the United States during the 1950s-60s, Clara Schumann is the only woman composer mentioned, and then only in her capacity as Robert Schumann's wife.⁹² It seems that women writers succumbed to the same fate, poignantly illustrated by the fact that the first volume of Lipsius' *Musikalische Studienköpfe*, which had consistently been republished in new editions since its first release in 1868, suddenly went out of print shortly before her death in 1927. Afterwards, academic music history gave next to no indication that women had been involved in writing music history until the twenty-first century, when Ramann began to receive recognition for her Liszt scholarship.

Refocusing on the work of nineteenth century women biographers has more relevance to modern musicology than merely providing it with a more holistic history of the discipline. As music historians continue to broaden the lens they are turning towards musical cultures of the past, increasingly considering the impact of figures who acted outside of the public sphere, they must also bring attention to amateur authors excluded from formal academic spaces. Indeed, the longstanding influence of men like Marx or Adler is largely due to the fact that they occupied

⁹¹ Matthew Head and Susan Wollenberg, "Prologue," in *Cambridge Companion to Women Composers*, ed. Matthew Head and Susan Wollenberg (Cambridge University Press, 2024), 4.

⁹² Curt Sachs, *Our Musical Heritage* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), 282. Head and Wollenberg go on to note that "Vicki D. Baker, citing Atterbury, identifies a 'cycle of ignorance', noting that Paul Henry Lang's *Music in Western Civilization* (1941) contained not one female composer, while the first three editions of Grout-Palisca's *History of Western Music* (1960, 1973, 1980) contained one." Head and Wollenberg, *Prologue*, 4.

professorial positions within academic institutions, not because their research was of higher quality than that of writers who did not. Conversely, the amount of free time and resources that higher class women like Lipsius enjoyed meant that they had the means to research their subjects in intimate detail, both through firsthand communication and extensive archive exploration. The pianist and composer Bettina Walker wrote of Lipsius that “The choicest libraries have been accessible to her, and she has spared neither time nor labor in getting hold of every detail which relates to the great masters of whom she speaks.”⁹³ Walker went on to recount that Leipzig’s Professor Eist, a “professor of high standing,” said of Lipsius that “she was more thoroughly acquainted with her subject than almost any living author who wrote about music.”⁹⁴ Illuminating these forgotten voices provides the opportunity to elevate an early form of public musicology conducted by nineteenth century independent scholars working outside of formal institutions, who nevertheless cultivated a reputation of respect for their academic rigor.

Reading the work of female authors also offers the chance explore the nineteenth century from a perspective that differs considerably from that of their male counterparts. This perspective does not essentialize their writing as valuable simply because it was written by women, nor does it imply that there is some inherent difference in the output of a female mind. Instead, acknowledging the distinctly feminized experience of nineteenth century women must also highlight their extraordinary achievements as respected, largely self-taught scholars. Because of the nineteenth century’s entrenched gender binary, their status as female authors recognizes that their lived experience varied greatly from that of men. Women listened to and performed music in a way that was unique to them, which influenced their perceptions of the composers they

⁹³ Bettina Walker, *My Musical Experiences (on La Mara)* (Scribner, 1893), 279.

⁹⁴ Walker, *My Musical Experiences*, 280.

wrote about as well as how they wrote about them. Although social expectations cut them off from higher education and their access to professional spaces was limited, they also acted as the primary consumers of much of the music that was being composed around them and had direct influence on the development of salon culture. Because it contains the thoughts and values of women who were deeply involved in German music circles, their published writing represents an as-yet largely untapped resource for understanding the undercurrents that influenced the development of nineteenth century musical tastes. Additionally—contrary to impressions that feminist musicology only brought female musicians into serious musical conversations in the late 1980s–90s—female researchers had published histories of women composers and performers almost a century before the New Musicology. In celebrating the lives and experiences of nineteenth century women musicians without demeaning their achievements, this body of work stands as an important early example of feminist musicology.

In her meditation on the writings of the mid-twentieth century musicologist Sophie Drinker, Solie posed the question “I want to ask what it would take—how canonic practices and values would have to be different—in order for the participation and experience of women to appear in the history of Western music.”⁹⁵ In a similar vein, it is revealing to consider how canonic histories and perceptions would be different if the voices of late-nineteenth century women scholars had had a more lasting influence on histories of Western music. If musicology had stemmed from the writing of female historians from the 1800s—or at least incorporated them—instead of basing the foundations of the field solely on the work of men, maybe it would not have taken until the 1980s for music scholars to begin to consider the work of female composers with a renewed seriousness and urgency. As a thought experiment, this involves a

⁹⁵ Solie, “Sophie Drinker’s History,” 23.

certain level of speculation, but it is difficult not to wonder how the history of women in music might have been affected if Lipsius's *Musikalische Studienköpfe* Volume five or Morsch's *Deutschlands Tonkünstlerinnen* had been mainstays of the academic canon, perhaps filling the gulf between the 1880s and the 1980s with a century of scholarship on women composers. Of course, there is no way to know for sure how things might have been different. Yet considering the implications of these questions is essential if we are to avoid repeating the same mistakes in modern music scholarship.

In response to conservative ideologies that relegated women to the private sphere, limiting their abilities, Mathilde Franziska Anneke argued in 1869 that allowing women increased social mobility would actually benefit men as well as women: "The moral idea of the state struggles for that fulfillment in which all individuals shall be brought into a union that shall augment a millionfold both its individual and collective forces. Therefore, don't exclude women, don't exclude an entire half of the human family."⁹⁶ In a sense, excluding early female musicological voices has excluded an entire half of the family of minds that contributed to the development of Western music history. But while bringing attention to publications by women authors has specific relevance to feminist musicology and histories of women, the value of their female perspectives extends beyond historical revisionism or simple reinsertion of women into the narrative of the discipline's origins. Rather than being dismissed because of their gender, women like Morsch, Lipsius, and Ramann received critical approval in their own time for their research and demonstrated full engagement with contemporary musical conversations. And while it was largely the efforts of male scholars that brought musicology into universities,

⁹⁶ Mathilde Franziska Anneke, "That Which You Can No Longer Suppress in Women," in *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. II, eds. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Mathilda Joslyn Gage (Charles Mann Printing Co., 1881), 392-394.

women like Ramann and Morsch played a key role in the incorporation of music history as a core element of European conservatory training. Instead of being absent from nineteenth century academic life, women were deeply involved as writers, thinkers, and teachers of music history. Twenty-first-century scholars can do much more than imagine what their experiences would have been like. They did exist—and now we must remember them.

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