Laura Netzel's Works for the Flute: New Editions with Historical Context

Cassandra Lear

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Musical Arts

University of Washington

2025

Reading Committee:

Donna Shin, Chair

Anne Searcy

Mark Rodgers

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Music

University of Washington

Abstract

Laura Netzel's Works for the Flute: New Editions with Historical Context

Cassandra Lear

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Donna Shin

Department of Music

Romantic-era composer Laura Netzel ranked among the most-performed Swedish female composers during her lifetime but is now all but forgotten by scholars and performers. This dissertation examines how Netzel's social class, gender, choice of instrumentation, and choice of compositional genres situated her life's work outside of the repertorial and pedagogical musical canons. It also presents newly-edited versions of Netzel's works for the flute: Suite op. 33 for Flute and Piano, *Colibri* op. 72 for Flute and Piano, and a new adaptation of *Berceuse* op. 69 for Violin (or flute) and Piano. The new editions expand the flute repertoire of the Romantic period, which is the era with arguably the least number of solo flute pieces in the standard literature. Current canonical Romantic flute repertoire consists mainly of variations on popular themes, but adding these three pieces from different genres can broaden understanding of Romantic flute repertoire and provide a more complete picture of flute works written during the period.

Table of Contents

Introduction……1

The Life of Laura Netzel ……3

The Impact of Class on Netzel's Posthumous Legacy……9

Netzel at the Intersection of Gender and Nationalism……14

Laura Netzel's Works……20

Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33……20

Editing Netzel's Suite……21

Berceuse, op. 69 for Violin (or flute) and Piano……29

Colibri, op. 72 for Flute and Piano……36

Laura Netzel and the Romantic-Era Flute……38

The Low Point of the Flute: Characteristics of the Romantic Era……38

Netzel's Place in the Repertoire……43

Gender, Genre, and the Canon……46

Conclusion……50

Appendix A: Editorial Changes in Netzel's Suite……51

Appendix B: Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33 by Laura Netzel, edited by Cassandra Lear……54

Appendix C: Editorial Changes in Netzel's *Berceuse*……73

Appendix D: *Berceuse,* op. 69 by Laura Netzel, edited by Cassandra Lear……75

Appendix E: Colibri, op. 72 by Laura Netzel, edited by Cassandra Lear……86

Works Cited……97

List of Tables

Table 1: Word Count in Dictionary Entries of Swedish Female Composers…….12

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Word Count of Entries in Tobias Norlind's *Musiklexikon* (1916).....13

Figure 1.2: Word Count of Entries in the *New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (1994)..13

Figure 1.3:Word Count of Entries in Grove Music Online (2025).....14

List of Musical Examples

Example 1: Netzel, Suite op. 33, mm. 46-47…….…....22

Example 2: Netzel, Suite op. 33, mm. 127-128……..…...25

Example 3: Netzel, Suite op. 33, m. 33…..……...…….....27

Example 4: Netzel, Suite op. 33, m. 126…….…….....28

Example 5: Netzel, Berceuse op. 69, mm. 8-1…….……...…31

Example 6: Netzel, Berceuse op. 69, mm. 22-26…….……..32

Example 7: Netzel, Berceuse op. 69, mm. 45-48.……...…….34

Example 8: Netzel, Suite op. 33, mm. 38-42 and 143-146……..…...……..…….....44

Introduction

Laura Netzel (née Pistolekors) was a Romantic-era Swedish composer, concert organizer, conductor, pianist, writer, and mother of three children.[1] While she was one of the most-performed Swedish female composers during her lifetime, Netzel is under-represented in scholarly literature today compared with other Swedish women composers due to class-imposed social constraints. She composed close to one hundred works including two pieces for flute and piano, and one for violin and piano that the publisher also marketed for flute. This document will cover the biography of Netzel, her compositional output and the critical reception of her works, her posthumous legacy, and her works for flute. In the course of my research, I have created performance editions of all three of Netzel's flute works and will discuss considerations in editing and updating them.

In recent years there has been increasing interest in composers and musicians from underrepresented backgrounds. Music pedagogy, research, and performance have traditionally focused on works in "serious" genres by composers who are educated in the Western music tradition, showcase their work in the public sphere, make a living by writing and performing music, and subject themselves to outside criticism and journalism. For example, it is more common to study large-scale works with strict formal structures and to study string or piano repertoire than it is small-scale, formally loose works, or wind and brass solo repertoire. This means that traditional canons are often exclusionary; consequently, musicians are often interested in filling in the perceived gaps in their repertoire by uncovering, researching, and performing rarely-played or previously unknown works by underrepresented composers. This lack of critical

[1] For the sake of clarity, this document refers to Netzel's married name even when discussing her life before she married Nils Wilhelm Netzel (1834-1914) in 1866.

editions and historical research about pieces that are not part of the established pedagogical or repertorial canons poses problems when researching, performing, and teaching these pieces.

Netzel's works add breadth to the Romantic era flute literature—an era that has few flute works compared with other time periods. They also provide options for flute students to play music written by female composers. Many young flute students learn predominantly flute works written by men, and increasing gender representation in the pedagogical canon is beneficial for flutists.[2] In undertaking this project, I wanted to create reliable and readable editions of these pieces in order to make them more accessible for flutists of all ages. It is important to responsibly research and create performance editions of underplayed pieces because it challenges musicians' idea of the established canon and expands our opportunities to explore all existing works.

[2] There are currently few rigorous studies of the effects of gender representation in music education, but research suggests that female students in the sciences feel more engaged in material if they have majority female peers or a female instructor, and that female mentors are important for the long-term career success of female students. A 2018 survey of 225 female composers found that studying more diverse repertoire (in style, genre, and in gender of composer) during their education could have helped them be more prepared for professional opportunities. (Dawn Bennett, et. al, "Creating a career as a woman composer: Implications for music in higher education, *British Journal of Music Education* 35 no. 3, (2018), https://doi.org/10.1017/S0265051718000104.)

The Life of Laura Netzel

Netzel was born in 1839 in Rantasalmi, Finland, to Emelia Sofia Pistolekors (née Malm) (1811-1839) and Georg Frederik Pistolekors (1802-1872).[3] The Pistolekors family had distant connections to Finnish nobility.[4] Her mother died from complications of giving birth two weeks after Netzel was born, and her father remarried an aristocratic Swedish woman named Antoinette Jägerhorn af Spurila(1796-1877).[5] Early during her childhood Netzel and her stepmother moved to Malmvik, a Swedish town just outside Stockholm.[6] Because of the daily ferries to and from Stockholm, Netzel was easily able to travel frequently to the city, which allowed her to take both piano and voice lessons and to attend concerts and operas. These musical opportunities early in her life provided her not only with a course of study that she loved—Netzel mentioned later in interviews that she was always a driven and motivated practicer, even at a young age, and would spend hours every day working at the piano—but also allowed her to interact socially with members of the Swedish aristocracy and royal family at salon concerts. She took piano lessons first from Mauritz Gisiko, a well-respected German music teacher living in Stockholm, and later from Austrian pianist Anton Door. Netzel probably took lessons from Door both during his visits to Stockholm and during her trips to Vienna.[7] Netzel took voice lessons from opera singer Julius Günther. She was also mentored by Adolf Fredrik Lindblad, in whose music classes Netzel probably met members of the Swedish aristocracy and sisters Fredrika Andrée (1836-1880) and

[3] Camilla Hambro, *Laura Netzel*, Musikaliska Akademiens Skriftserie Nr 149 (Gidlunds Förlag, 2020), 17.
[4] Katherine Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment: Laura Netzel in Nineteenth-century Sweden," in *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in honor of William F. Prizer*, ed. Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2012), 272.
[5] Hambro, *Laura Netzel*, 21.
[6] It is unclear when Laura Netzel and Antoinette moved to Malmvik, but they were permanently residing in Malmvik before Netzel's sixth birthday. It is also unclear if the entire family moved to Malmvik at any point, but Laura Netzel's father and siblings most likely spent a good deal of their time at the previous residence in Rantasalmi. For a full discussion of the family's movements, please see Camilla Hambro's research beginning on page 22 of her book *Laura Netzel.*
[7] Hambro, *Laura Netzel, 41.*

Elfrida Andrée (1841-1929). Elfrida Andrée, who later attended the Swedish Royal Conservatory of Music and became a successful Swedish composer herself, was a lifelong friend, colleague, and confidante of Netzel.[8]

Netzel was an active musician all her life and performed often as a young woman. She played her first piano concerto with an orchestra at the age of 17, probably performing Ignaz Moschele's Piano Concerto in G Minor.[9] She was also a frequent musical guest in the Swedish royal court and premiered Elfrida Andreé's Piano Trio with members of the Royal Opera Orchestra in a concert held at Brunkebergs Hotel in her early twenties.[10] Reviews of her performances were often complementary, and prior to her marriage the press referred to her as "fröken P.," a term similar to "Miss" that was used for unmarried women in the nobility.[11]

In 1866, Netzel married Nils Wilhelm Netzel, a professor of gynecology and personal doctor to the Swedish royal family. Netzel was able to continue her close association with the Swedish nobility because of her husband's social connections. Her husband encouraged her to pursue both class-appropriate performances and to compose. She continued to perform at private venues and at society gatherings after their marriage.[12] Netzel wrote in her correspondence that she began to focus more on composition after she was married because it was not as proper for her to perform in public as it had been before she was married. Camilla Hambro notes that a high level of musical performance was expected from young women of the upper class, but that any aspirations of a career in music were to be "shelved upon marriage."[13]

The premiere of Netzel's first composition, a series of quartets for women's voices, took place at a voice recital held in Stockholm in 1875 when Netzel was 35 years old. This concert

[8] Hambro, *Laura Netzel*, 29.
[9] Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 272.
[10] Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 272.
[11] Hambro, *Laura Netzel, 35.*
[12] Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 275.
[13] Hambro, *Laura Netzel,* 27.

was organized for her voice teacher and Swedish royalty was in attendance. Reviews from this time indicate that Netzel's quartets were complex and difficult to sing. The compositions were probably never performed again. Hambro notes that this is not the only time that Netzel was criticized for writing intricate and complicated music, and that it often happened when her music differed from expectations—either those for female composers, or for the musical genres her works represented.[14] Netzel may have felt insecure about her lack of formal composition education. Powers notes that directly prior to the first publication of Netzel's works in 1885, Netzel asked Elfrida Andrée to review her manuscripts, and that Andrée reviewed and edited the music.[15] After this, Netzel began to take composition lessons from Wilhelm Heintz in Sweden, and she later traveled often to Paris to take lessons from Charles-Marie Widor.[16]

Netzel's composition teachers were both interested in French musical styles, and Netzel's compositions show her interest in the French style as well. Wilhelm Heintz (1849-1895) was a military orchestra director, popular organ performer, and composer. He attended the Royal Swedish Academy of Music and then lived in Stockholm from 1889 until his death in 1895. He was known to perform French organ works that were not usually heard in Sweden at the time, especially those by Charles-Marie Widor and Alexandre Guilmant.[17] Charles-Marie Widor (1844-1937) was a French organist, teacher, and composer famous for his Organ Symphonies. Widor taught both organ and composition at the Paris Conservatory, and was especially interested in introducing French music and culture to foreign locations.[18] He was instrumental in founding French educational institutions in Italy, an American school in France, and taught

[14] Hambro, *Laura Netzel,* 68.
[15] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 277.
[16] Hambro, *Laura Netzel*, 92.
[17] Levande Musikarv, "Wilhelm Heintze (1849-1895)," by Sverker Jullander, trans. Jill Ann Johnson, November 18, 2025, https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/heintze-wilhelm/.
[18] Grove Music Online, "Widor, Charles-Marie(-Jean-Albert)," by Félix Raugel and Andrew Thomson, November 18, 2025, https://doi-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30261.

students from all over Europe.[19] Netzel herself was interested in French music and her own style had many French elements.

All of Netzel's works that were premiered or published during this time were attributed to her chosen pen name N. Lago (sometimes just Lago). It is uncertain whether this pseudonym meant anything specific, but Camilla Hambro has written that Netzel may have picked "Lago" because it sounds similar to a contraction of Laura Constance, Netzel's two first names.[20] Interestingly, the pseudonym "N. Lago" inverts Netzel's initials. "Lago" also means "lake" in Italian, but there is no evidence that Netzel picked her pen name because of that meaning.

Netzel was hardly the only woman of the era to produce work under a pseudonym; literary examples include Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot), Aurore Dupin (George Sand), and the Brontë sisters (Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell). The first edition of *Frankenstein* was published anonymously; Mary Shelley's name only appears in the second edition. Musical examples include composers Fanny Hensel publishing under her brother's name, and Jane Jackson Roeckel publishing under the pseudonym "Jules de Sivrai." In Netzel's case, the necessity for professional anonymity had as much to do with her class as her gender: while members of the upper classes were encouraged to take an amateur interest in music and culture, it was seen as improper to appear to be paid for such work. Performing music for pay, appearing in public concerts, and publishing works was not within the standards of accepted behavior for upper-class women. Other Nordic female composers writing at the same time as Netzel, including Elfrida Andrée, Tekla Griebel Wandall(1866-1940), and Agathe Backer Grøndahl(1847-1907) used their full names on their compositions and in the press. These composers made a living from their musical work, while Netzel did not because she did not want to appear to need to work.

---

[19] John Richard Near, "The Life and Work of Charles-Marie Widor (France)," (PdD diss., Boston University, 1985), 271-272, ProQuest (8508920).
[20] Hambro, *Laura Netzel*, 75.

Even though Netzel wrote pseudonymously, the broad outlines of her identity were public knowledge. Newspaper reviews referred to her as "the well-known pseudonym Lago" or "a French-inspired composer who is Finnish by birth, but is married and lives in Stockholm."[21] On the rare occasions when her name appeared in print as a concert organizer or performer of her own music, the compositions themselves were credited to N. Lago. Despite her identity as a female composer being an open secret among journalists, critics, and audience members, Netzel's name was not publicly attached to her compositions until she chose to reveal it in an 1891 interview.

Netzel's interview appeared in the weekly Swedish women's magazine *Idun* and included a biography, photo, works list, unpublished score of a song, and information about her use of a pseudonym. It was a very complimentary interview, saying that her vocal work "Fjärlin," premiered in 1875, "so moved the audience that it had to be repeated," and that Netzel's works "testify not only to the sense of form that is innate to her but also to the application of harmonic and modulatory laws that a composer must follow," noting that her music was both beautiful and the result of good music education.[22] This was probably interesting and potentially inspiring for the intended audience of the article. *Idun* was aimed at upper middle class Swedish homemakers. It was released weekly from 1887 to 1963.[23] When it was initially published, the articles covered practical topics housewives might need to succeed in the domestic realm, but within five years the content shifted to include more public-facing topics including news, culture, and society.[24] It also began to cover more feminist topics and items concerned with women's growing

[21]Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 276. These quotes, translated by Katherine Powers, originally appeared in daily newspapers published in Stockholm between 1884 and 1886.
[22] *Idun*, ed. Frithiof Hellberg, 4:162, 1891. Article translated by Alyssa Morse-Salvati.
[23] Interestingly, the magazine was quite long lived. *Idun* merged with another weekly magazine in 1963, and that publication continued (less frequent) circulation until 2002.
[24] Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén, *The History of the Press in Sweden*, Nordicom-Sverige, 2010, 128.

independence in society, and Netzel's ability as a composer was described as notable and groundbreaking, if not yet successful.

> "Many therefore hastily draw the conclusion that the woman really does not have the ability to herself create anything of importance, in whichever art it may be. To be completely impartial, we must admit that the question has not yet received a satisfactory answer within the art of music; but on the other hand, it is allowed to hold the belief that the woman, with the same conditions as the man, shall be able to produce art works that compete with the best created by men. Every honest effort in this direction should be met with respect even by those who are skeptical regarding the final result of such attempts. Among those who seriously and passionately have taken on the task of contributing to solving this question within Swedish music, Laura Netzel occupies a notable place."[25]

Netzel later wrote that she chose to disclose her identity because she was tired of the bias against women and she wanted the public to know the truth: that Lago, an often-performed composer, was also a woman. In a 1921 letter to Elfrida Andrée she explained, "Yes, women's recognition as composers was indeed the driving force for my great step to venture out into the unknown with my best works."[26]

After the publication of the *Idun* interview, Netzel continued to use a pseudonym for her compositions, but it was more common for reviewers to identify her by name in printed articles. In a concert review in the daily Swedish newspaper *Dagens nyheter*, critic and reviewer Wilhelm Peterson-Berger explained "Lago, under which pseudonym, as is known, hides professor's wife Netzel."[27] The immediate period post-1891was the busiest part of Netzel's career. Not only was she composing and performing, but she also organized and directed a chamber music series and

---

[25] *Idun*, ed. Frithiof Hellberg, 4:162, 1891. Interview translated by Alyssa Morse-Salvati.
[26]Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 277. This original letter from Netzel to Elfrida Andrée, translated by Katherine Powers, is dated September 18, 1921 and is held in the Stenhammar-Andrée Archive in Stockholm.
[27] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 276. This quote, translated by Katherine Powers, originally appeared in the daily newspaper *Dagens nyheter* in January 1897.

hosted small salon concerts at her home. She continued this work until her semi-retirement in 1921 and performed her own compositions in Stockholm and in Denmark until 1926. Laura Netzel died in 1927.

The Impact of Class on Netzel's Posthumous Legacy

Many of the social norms that shaped Netzel's ability to perform in public or accept money for her compositions also prevented her from being viewed posthumously as a serious composer. Netzel was actually better-known (and her works more often performed) during her lifetime than after her death. Katherine Powers notes that references to Netzel lessened considerably over the last 100 years. Powers writes "with time… Netzel's work lost value in comparison to other women composers whose accomplishments are arguably similar," possibly due to the fact that Netzel never worked out of financial necessity and therefore wasn't seen as an "authentic composer" by some biographical writers.

Netzel was not the only female composer working in Sweden during her lifetime, but she was unique in being a member of the upper class. Other Swedish female composers of the period included Elfrida Andrée (1841-1929), Helena Munktell (1852-1919), and Valborg Aulin (1860-1928), all of whom attended the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, an institution Netzel could not attend due to her social standing. Andrée, Munktell, and Aulin belonged to a class of professional musicians who used proceeds earned from performing or composing music to pay for their day-to-day needs. Nancy Reich calls this group of people the "artist-musician class." She defines this as "a category which includes actors, artists, artisans, dancers, writers, and practitioners of allied professions. They had in common an artistic output and a low economic level. Above all, they depended on their work for a livelihood."[28] Reich notes that the

[28] Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (University of California Press, 1993), 125.

competition inherent in making a living from music provides scrutiny, criticism, education, and practice. This constant feedback can encourage artistic growth. Reich contrasts this "artist-musician" class with nonprofessional musicians, who perform only in private and cannot publish their works because social rules prohibit working for pay.

Netzel has characteristics of both professional and nonprofessional musicians as described by Nancy Reich. Netzel belonged to the upper class and was an amateur musician in that she never accepted payment from performing piano, teaching, or coordinating concerts. She most definitely did not suffer financially for her art. While she did not earn a living from her performing career, she did occasionally receive money for her works; she was paid by her publisher and also received monetary prizes for winning composition competitions. She donated this income to charity or used it to run her philanthropic causes to avoid the appearance of financial need. Every time she entered a competition, she intentionally subjected her music to the collegial judgment and criticism that Reich mentions as a primary benefit of the "artist-musician" class. Further exposure to the judgment of her peers came from her frequent public performances and the subsequent reviews in periodicals and journals. However, in many instances the journalists who reviewed Netzel's concerts were aware of her high social standing, and may have taken that into account when passing judgment.

Despite her professional success while she was alive, the dearth of posthumous research about Netzel and lack of preservation of her works after her death has affected her legacy. One reason that her works were quickly forgotten is that Netzel's compositions were more popular internationally than they were in Sweden. She did not study composition in Sweden, was never elected to the Royal Music Academy (*Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien)*, and was not published by the Music Art Association (*Musikaliska Konstföreningen*), unlike her female contemporaries

Elfrida Andrée, Helena Munktell, and Valborg Aulin.[29] The composition competitions Netzel won were based in Copenhagen and in Paris, her publishers were in Berlin, Paris, and Lyon instead of Stockholm, and therefore announcements about her work were geographically spread in a way unlike other Swedish female composers of the time. It may seem counterintuitive to say that a broader geographic reach would negatively impact a composer's posthumous legacy, but in Netzel's case the geographic spread of her career diluted public awareness of her work. Her popular publications and competition successes were not common knowledge in Stockholm, where most of the press coverage of her compositions appeared.

Because of her use of a pseudonym, the geographical spread of her publishers, compositional style, and social class, Netzel's name is missing from many of the newspaper articles and programs concerning her work. Katherine Powers mentions that the work of Andrée, Munktell, and Aulin "forms part of the public record" because their names are attached to news articles about their achievements and their names are present on their published works.[30] It may be that press about Netzel's achievements, compositions, and premieres were more difficult for scholars to confirm after her death because she withheld her name from publication for so long, and also because her name never appeared on any of her published works. Without these documents detailing Netzel's premieres and performances, it is difficult to find primary source information about her life and work outside of her correspondence. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Netzel's career and works have remained underresearched compared with those of her peers.

Early twentieth-century musicological surveys, written while Netzel was alive, include her as an important composer. Tobias Norlind's 1916 *Musiklexikon* entries on Netzel and Andrée are of similar length (the entry for Munktell is shorter). Katherine Powers mentions that entries

[29] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 281.
[30] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 283.

in similar Swedish collections published in the 1940s and 1980s have little or no information about Netzel.[31] Today, Andrée, and Munktell have longer entries in Grove Music Online than Netzel does.[32] Netzel's entry contains only a single paragraph and a bibliography with only one reference, while entries for the other composers have works lists and bibliographies with multiple sources. If a longer entry implies greater importance, a greater legacy, or that more research is available about each composer, then these entries show that Netzel's legacy relative to other similarly-regarded composers lessens over time.

	Laura Netzel	Elfrida Andrée	Helena Munktell	Valborg Aulin
Allmänt Musiklexikon by Tobias Norlind (1916)	170	180	145	170
New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers (1994)	145	298	238	113
Grove Music Online (2025)	158	253	186	144

TABLE 1: Word Count in Dictionary Entries

It is worth noting that Norlind's *Musiklexikon* is written in Swedish, while the other two dictionaries are in English. It is, therefore, unreasonable to compare Netzel's 170-word entry in the Norlind with her 158-word entry in Grove Music Online, but what is relevant is the overall difference in length between Netzel and the other composer's entries over time. Netzel and Andrée have similar-length entries in the Norlind, but Andrée's entry in Grove Music Online is significantly longer than Netzel's entry in the same resource (see Figure 1).

[31] Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 283.
[32] Word counts for the Grove Music Online articles were accurate as of September 2025.

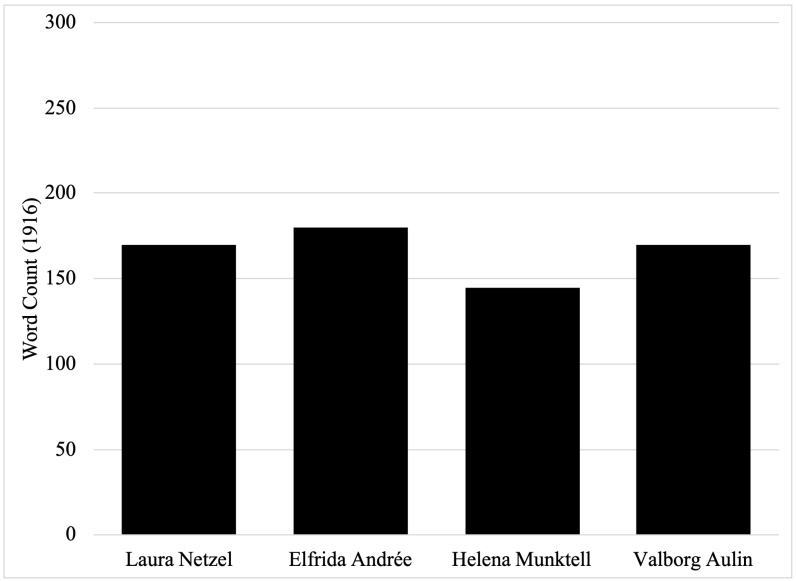


FIGURE 1.1: Word Count of Entries in Tobias Norlind's *Musiklexikon* (1916)

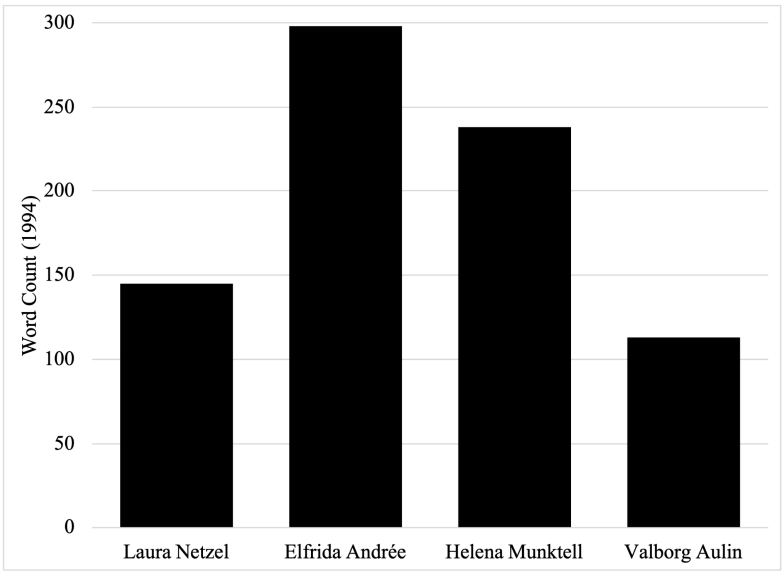


FIGURE 1.2: Word Count of Entries in *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (1994)

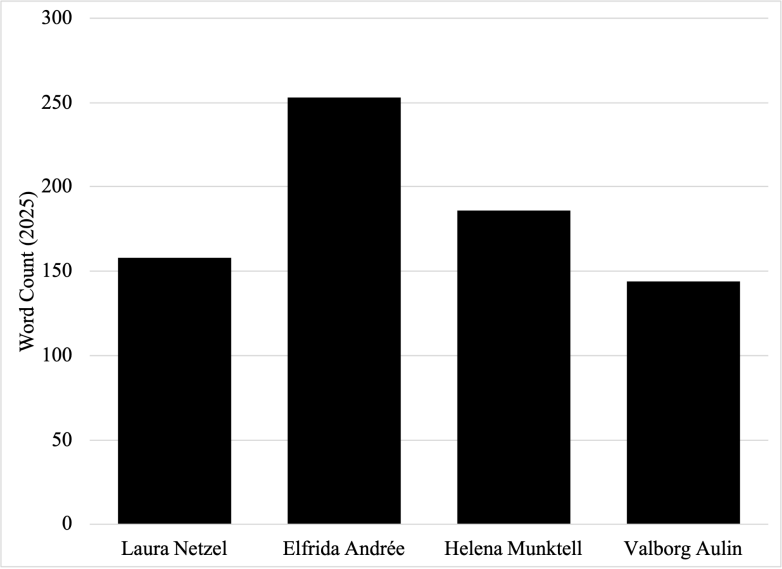


FIGURE 1.3: Word Count of Entries in Grove Music Online (2025)

Netzel at the Intersection of Nationalism and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Sweden

The growing sense of Swedish national identity in the nineteenth century and Netzel's identity as a female composer also negatively influenced her reputation as a composer, not only after her death but during her life as well. Her music was reviewed in Swedish music periodicals and daily newspapers, and often found to be lacking enough Swedish character, especially by critics who wanted the Swedish style to be closer to an Austro-German tradition and with fewer French influences.

A common theme explored in Swedish music journalism at the time was the influences of French and German style on Swedish music, and what, if anything, constituted a truly "Swedish" musical sound. Daniel Grimley, in his thorough discussion of nationalism in Nordic countries, suggests that this "invention" of nationalistic characteristics would be normal during this period. He notes that national identity was thought to be a logical and forgone outcome of social and scientific progress during the nineteenth century, and that it was often a conscious process by the

educated classes intending to symbolize the unique and traditional aspects of a modern nation.[33] Instead of nationalist characteristics arising automatically from groups living in a similar place and linked by ethnicity, culture, or language, nationalism in music could be a conscious "way of ordering experience, of looking at the world and making sense of one's place in it."[34] Through this lens, the constant discourse about the proper sound of Swedish music makes perfect sense for the time.

During the nineteenth century, there were roughly twenty Swedish music periodicals, many of which were only published for a short time. When they first started appearing in the 1820s, they primarily consisted of translated articles from other periodicals, with a few articles by one or two Swedish writers as well as reviews of Swedish performances and newly published music. The longer-running and more successful periodicals were published from the 1850s through the 1890s; these included submissions from multiple authors and contained fewer translated articles. The most influential of these was *Svensk Musiktidning*, which was published continuously from 1880 to 1913.[35] Musical criticism and concert reviews also appeared in Swedish newspapers such as the *Dagens nyheter*.

One Swedish critic, Wilhelm Peterson-Berger (1867-1942), disapproved of what he saw as an increasing prevalence of Swedish composers emulating French music. He described French music as an obsession of "lesser composers" who preferred salon music over larger works such as symphonies.[36] Peterson-Berger was a fan of large-scale works, grand theatrical productions, and wrote about how much he enjoyed Richard Wagner's orchestration.[37] He called Netzel "one

---

[33] Daniel M. Grimley. *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Boydell Press, 2006), 15.
[34] Grimley, *Grieg,* 16.
[35] Åke Davidsson and Veslemöy Heintz. "Swedish Music Periodicals of the 19th Century," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 33, no. 2 (April-July 1986), 205.
[36] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 281.
[37] "Wilhelm Peterson-Berger (1867-1942)," Levande Musikarv, accessed October 16, 2025, https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/peterson-berger-wilhelm/. Wilhelm Peterson-Berger translated many of Wagner's writings into Swedish and took many of Wagner's lessons to heart. While he disparaged his own

of Stockholm's music dilettantes' more hysterical and French-crazy patronesses," as well as calling her pieces "tedious" in 1897.[38] The choice of the word "hysterical" minimizes Netzel's impact because of her gender, and her "French-crazy" writing sets her outside the Swedish norm of the time. Peterson-Berger undermines Netzel further by calling her a "patroness"—again using her gender and also her status as an aristocrat against her—and a "dilettante." Powers remarks that Netzel was an amateur, not a dilettante; she was not a passionate but uneducated lover of music, as "dilettante" implies, but she was also not often paid for her work.[39] Peterson-Berger attempts to ostracize and deemphasize Netzel's work by reminding his reader that she isn't the ideal Swedish composer—she is instead a woman without traditional music education who doesn't make her living from music and is writing in the wrong national style.

While Netzel attempted to continue to create a career for herself as a composer despite the negative press, the risk of this sort of exposure and ridicule discouraged other Romantic-era female composers. Fanny Hensel (1805-1847), like Netzel, was a composer who can be viewed as both amateur and professional. She did not attend conservatory and was mainly educated privately along with her brother Felix Mendelssohn. Hensel wanted validation for her talents, especially from outside of her family, but she didn't want to risk exposing herself to the "censure of the world" and make herself less respectable.[40] Her brother wrote to their mother that "one should publish only if one is willing to appear and remain an author for one's life," a consequence that the Mendelssohn family felt was too risky for Hensel to undertake, but one that

---

salon music as "shavings from my workshop," he spent long hours composing large scale operas that used his own librettos. He wished to create a new Swedish romantic style. Peterson-Berger took leave from his *Dagens Nyheter* job in 1908-1910 to direct Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* and his opera *Arnljot* at the Royal Swedish Opera. His reviews of his colleagues' work and performances were often cutting and harsh, but he kept his job at the newspaper until he was encouraged to go on leave in 1920 because of his anti-Semitic views.

[38] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 281.

[39] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 281.

[40] Angela Mace Christian, "Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Amateur or professional? A closer look at the chronology of her compositional output," *Mendelssohn Studien*, 20 (2017): 158.

Netzel appeared to desire.[41] Hensel specifically wanted to avoid being seen as a dilettante, which, as seen in Peterson-Berger's quote above, was a real possibility when a woman presented herself as a professional. Angela Mace Christian writes "The main difference is that the professional women threatened the very moral and political fabric of society, while the dilettantes only risked their own vanity being put on ill-advised display at the least and degrading standards in art and literature at the worst."[42] Netzel was willing to risk this negative social image because she was frustrated with the Swedish musical establishment, writing in 1921 that she was "tired of seeing all those [men] who thought they were creative artists—young gentlemen with the academy's counterpoint studies in their pocket but little talent within."[43]

Netzel also did not attempt to mitigate any opinion that her music was too French, and her Swedish legacy may have suffered for it. Helena Munktell's obituary writers de-emphasized Munktell's French style of writing after she died.[44] Munktell was educated in Sweden, but also took private composition lessons from French composers Émile Durand, Benjamin Godard, and Vincent d'Indy. She wrote in a French style, but d'Indy encouraged her to include elements of Swedish folk music and mythological tradition in her compositions, and this probably helped her posthumous legacy as a composer. As mentioned earlier, Munktell wrote fewer compositions than Netzel, had fewer performances, and had fewer pieces published in her lifetime, but the word count in dictionary entries about her increased after her death. The word count in entries about Netzel decreased, and she was left out of some later Swedish dictionaries, while Munktell received multiple pages of biography and a full works list.[45]

---

[41] Christian, "Fanny Hensel," 156.
[42] Christian, "Fanny Hensel," 159.
[43] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 281.
[44] Levande Musikarv, "Helena Munktell (1852-1919)" by Anders Edling, trans. Neil Betteridge, October 18, 2025, https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/munktell-helena/.
[45] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 283. Powers refers here to the *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (which began in 1918 and reached the letters N and M in the 1980s).

Albert Rubenson, a Swedish musicologist and music critic, wrote in 1858 in the periodical *Tidning för teater och musik* that melodies that were originally French had been co-opted as Swedish, implying that other Swedish composers had mimicked French melodies but lacked the musical training to harmonize them in a uniquely Swedish style. Rubenson espoused composing in a Swedish idiom that prioritized strong formal harmonies, contained a "Swedish temperament," and highlighted Swedish folk music.[46] Disagreement over the superiority of French and German style and which combination of the two created the best nationalistic Swedish style continued in Swedish music periodicals throughout the time Netzel was performing and composing.

Netzel's compositional language was characterized by lyrical melodies, chromaticism, and unusual harmonies. Early reviews of Netzel's work were complimentary. In an 1884 *Stockholms dagblad* review of a concert featuring Netzel's first published works, the reviewer wrote that the songs "have earned a deserved reputation, and we have noted the quality of these works..[the writer] takes, for example, *Lofsång* and finds it to be exquisite…a fitting melody and brilliant accompaniment."[47] Critic Adolf Lindgren (who edited *Svensk Musiktidning* and was known for being a fair and educated reviewer) wrote about the same works, "These creations of a new female composer reveal (with the exception of the aria, which is weak) an unusual talent, of a knowledge that one would almost swear was entirely French, if not…" and here he identifies where the text-setting makes correct French pronunciation difficult "... but in any case, even if the composer is Finnish, the mood and style are predominantly French."[48] Lindgren's decision to call Netzel "Finnish" is a cutting remark. Not content merely to suggest that her music was too

[46] Levande Musikarv, "Albert Rubenson (1826-1902)," by Ulrik Volgsten, trans. Jill Ann Johnson, October 16, 2025, https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/rubenson-albert/.
[47] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 278.
[48] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 289.

French to be Swedish, Lindgren wanted to suggest to the reader that Netzel herself lacks Swedish sensibilities. She was often criticized in Swedish reviews and news articles for composing in too light and too French a style. In 1884 the *Stockholms dagblad* described her writing as an "elegant new French style."[49] Despite many journalists' displeasure at Netzel's French style, some Swedish reviews noted that the audience reception to her pieces was positive. An unsigned review from 1885 reported that her music "awakened lively response," was "applauded most," and that the "[audience] response after led to a repeat of the work."[50]

Netzel's compositional style was also sometimes considered too complex or technical for a female composer of the time. Hambro notes that reviewers in Stockholm, especially Adolf Lindgren, thought that Netzel had "a genuine horror of being simple and clear," and that her music was "too intricate," as well as "somewhat prolix and therefore none too lucid."[51] Netzel's harmonic language and melodic structure are actually similar to that of other Romantic era pieces, however she did often write the piano parts for herself to perform and they can be quite virtuosic. Some of her music is difficult—the Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33, discussed later in this document, is challenging for both performers—but the end result is worth the work. Hambro notes that complex or challenging writing is more accepted in compositions written by men.[52]

In contrast to the articles in the Swedish press, some French and Belgian newspaper articles about her works were favorable. Her Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33 was well received by French critics who appreciated the Scandinavian folk music references they noticed throughout the piece.

---

[49] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 280.
[50] Powers, "Class, Gender, and Accomplishment," 279.
[51] Levande Musikarv, "Laura Netzel (1839-1927)," by Camilla Hambro, trans. Roger Tanner, October 16, 2025, https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/netzel-laura/.
[52] Levande Musikarv, "Laura Netzel," by Camilla Hambro.

Laura Netzel's Works

Netzel wrote that she composed 92 works during her lifetime, but researchers have only been able to locate approximately 80.[53] Netzel's oeuvre includes many works for voice and piano, her two main instruments, as well as other small chamber works for violin, cello, or flute and piano. She also wrote several large-scale works for orchestra, including a fully orchestrated piano concerto and her *Stabat Mater* for orchestra and choir with vocal soloists. Netzel wrote three works featuring the flute. Two were explicitly written for flute and piano; the last is a piece published as being for "violin (or flute)" with piano.

Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33 (1899)

Netzel's Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33 was published by Hachette, her Paris publisher, in 1899. The manuscript of this work is lost and the only copy in existence is the 1899 Hachette version. Netzel's Suite is dedicated to Paul Taffanel and was premiered in 1899 by Philippe Gaubert and Netzel in Paris. It can be assumed that Netzel wished Paul Taffanel to premiere the work; he served as professor at the Paris Conservatory from 1894 to 1908, and is often cited as the progenitor of the French School of modern flute playing. Philippe Gaubert was a student of Taffanel at the time of this premiere, and was not yet 20 years old. Later he also taught at the Paris Conservatory and played principal flute in the Paris Opera. Gaubert eventually became the conductor of that ensemble.

It was ambitious of Netzel to dedicate her first flute work to a figure of Taffanel's stature. He had founded the Society of Wind Chamber Music in Paris in 1879 and was one of the most respected musicians in Paris. He also inspired and commissioned many flute solo and chamber

[53]Powers, "Class, Gender, Accomplishment," 274.

works in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[54] Netzel may have dedicated her Suite to Taffanel in the hopes of gaining a wider audience and encouraging more performances. She may also have been following the example of her composition teacher, Charles-Marie Widor, who had dedicated his own Suite, op. 34 to Taffanel, who premiered it in 1884.[55]

The score of Netzel's Suite is accessible for performance today and is mostly readable, but provides several challenges to the performer and contains several potential errors. Two versions of the music exist: the original 1899 Hachette edition, which has been digitized and is available online both through the archive Levande Musikarv and the International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP), and a second version from IMSLP with several editorial markings added in 2014, which contains the logo of the Levande Musikarv. The changes made in the 2014 updated version clarify many of the performability challenges of the 1899 edition, but they do not address all the issues.[56] If the Suite is to be made more approachable for student flutists, a truly new edition aimed at maximizing performability is called for. Preparing such an edition necessitates changes in three broad categories: pitch clarification, rhythmic re-notation and clarification (especially with regards to ensemble alignment, meter, runs, and tuplets), and adding musical indications to the performers such as articulations, slurs, dynamics and suggested tempos.

Editing Netzel's *Suite*

The most obvious challenge for the flutist performing Netzel's Suite is deciding which pitches are accurate and which should be changed. There are two instances of upward or downward sweeping gestures that contain potentially erroneous notes. The first of these occurs in

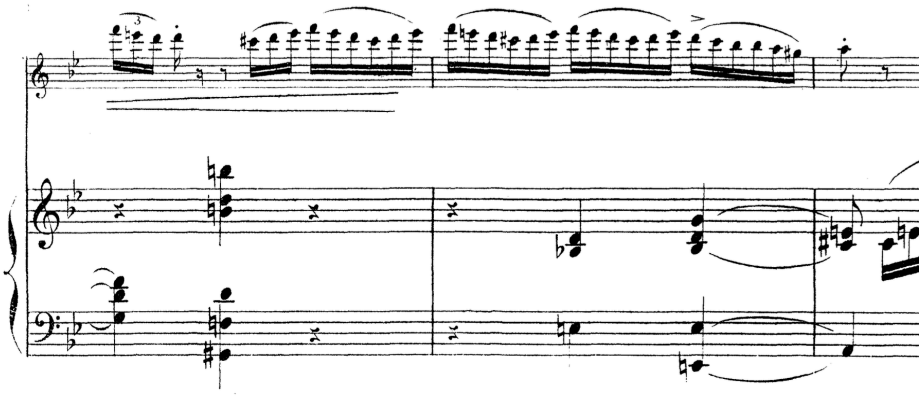
[54] Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 247.
[55] Ernst-Günter Heinemann, Preface to *Suite Opus 34 für Flöte und Klavier* by Charles-Marie Widor. (Munich: G Henle Verlag, 2013), iv.
[56] When queried in 2023, the archivists at Levande Musikarv were unaware of who created the 2014 version. The changes made are reasonable and sometimes similar to the ones explained in this document. The 2014 changes are superimposed over the original 1899 typeset edition, not renotated.

the third beat of measure 47, and concerns both the second and third sixteenth-notes of this figure (see Example 1). In the original 1899 version, the second note is a C♯3 because of the accidental earlier in the bar, but in the 2014 updated version, the piano score indicates that the Swedish editor has altered this pitch to a C natural.[57] The change to a C natural makes sense in melodic context—this C is part of a scale pattern leading downward, whereas the previous C♯ acts as a lower neighbor of two D naturals.

The third note of the figure also requires consideration. In both the original and updated versions, this note is written as a B ♭ , the same pitch as the following note; this necessitates the addition of an articulation on the fourth note (see Example 1c). This change poses little difficulty to the performer, but a more elegant solution is to alter the first B ♭ to a B natural. This allows for a fully scalar figure, which is both more musically convincing and more similar to Netzel's writing elsewhere (see Example 1d).

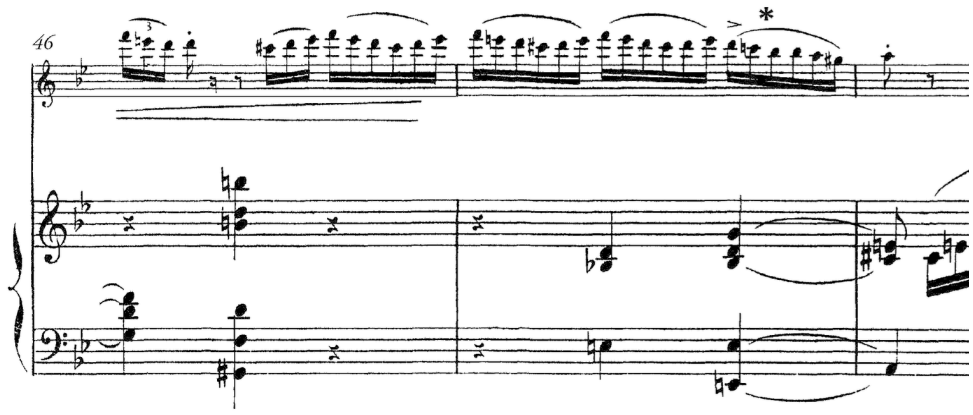
EXAMPLE 1. Netzel, Suite, op. 33 mm. 46-47.

a. 1899 Hachette Edition



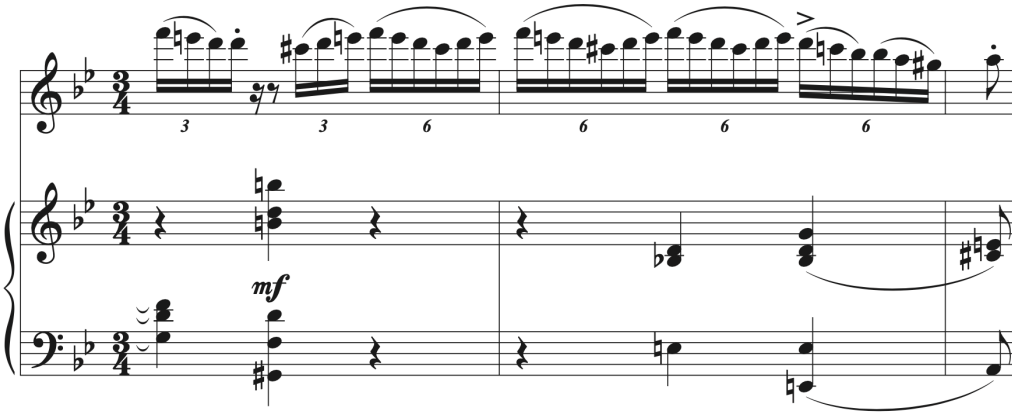
[57] This document refers to flute pitches by the octaves that they occur in the flute range; middle C is C1, the C in the treble staff is C2, etc.

b. 2014 Update to the Hachette Edition, with an editorial note informing the performer that a natural sign has been added to the C3 in the third beat of m. 47.

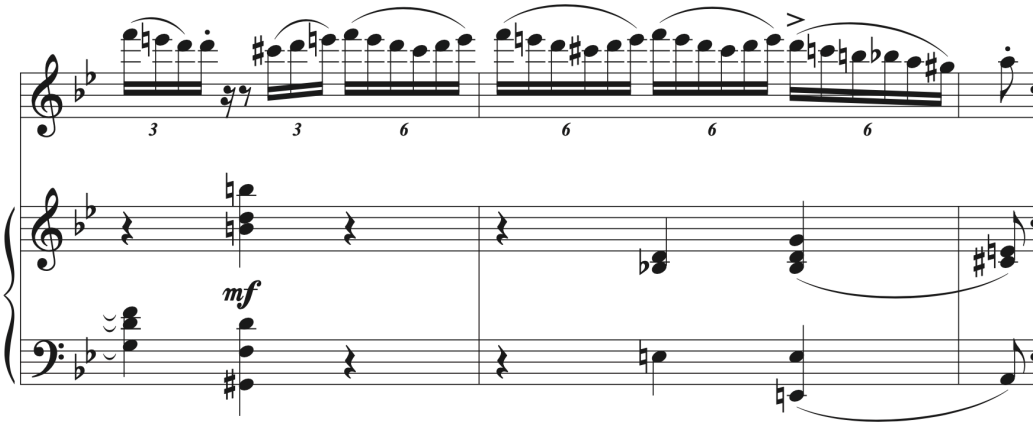


* Återställningstecken infört för c3.

c. Possible Performance Solution



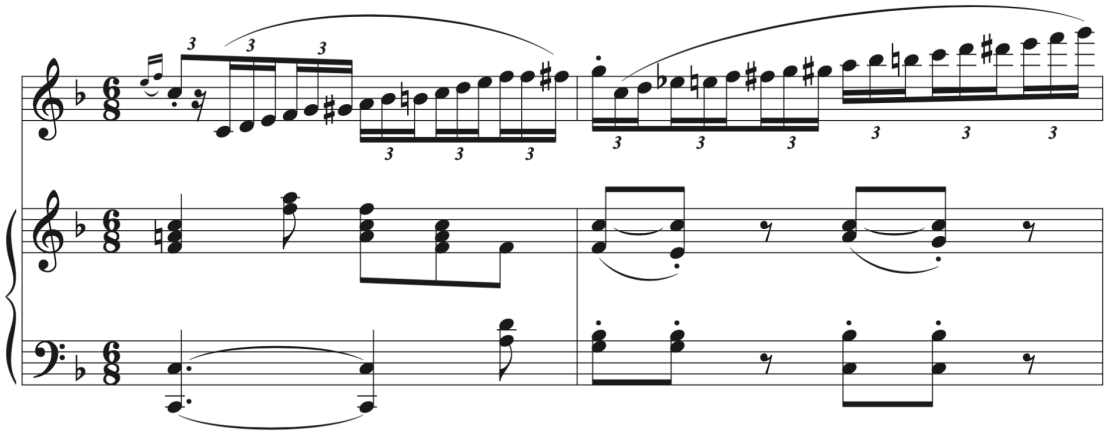
d. 2025 Lear Edition



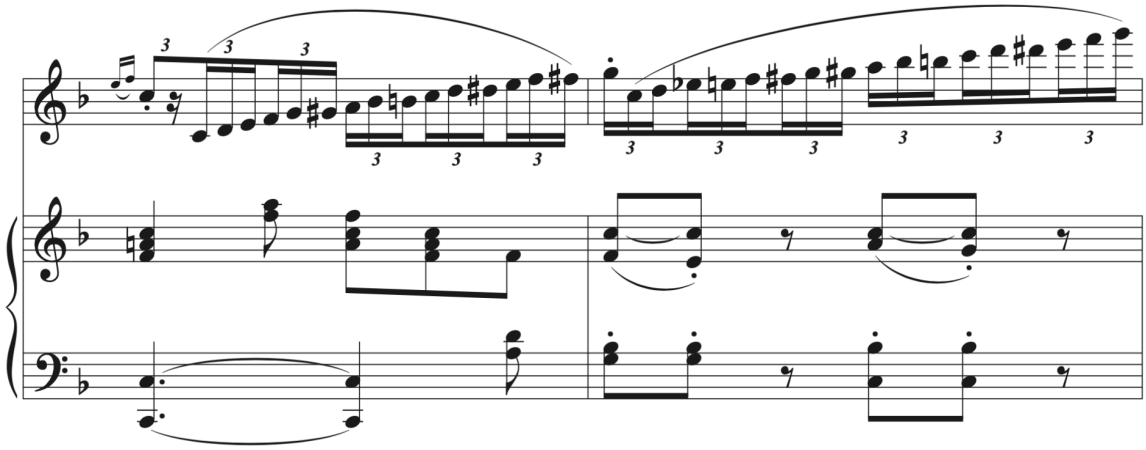
The second instance occurs in measures 127 and 128, when the flute performs a fairly chromatic upwards gesture from a C1 to a G2, then jumps back down to perform a similar gesture landing on a high A3 (see Example 2). The function of this passagework in the flute is to fly from a low register into a higher one before beginning a new series of flashy arabesques. The Hachette 1899 and updated 2014 editions are identical: the penultimate and antepenultimate notes in measure 127 are both notated as F naturals (Example 2a). Not only does this repetition have the effect of stalling the figure's upward motion, it is inconsistent with the similar gesture in measure 128. Therefore, it seems appropriate to alter the pitches in this run to maintain a more consistent upward melodic gesture (see Example 2b).

EXAMPLE 2. Netzel, Suite, op. 33 mm. 127-128.

a. Unedited, with repeated F naturals in measure 127



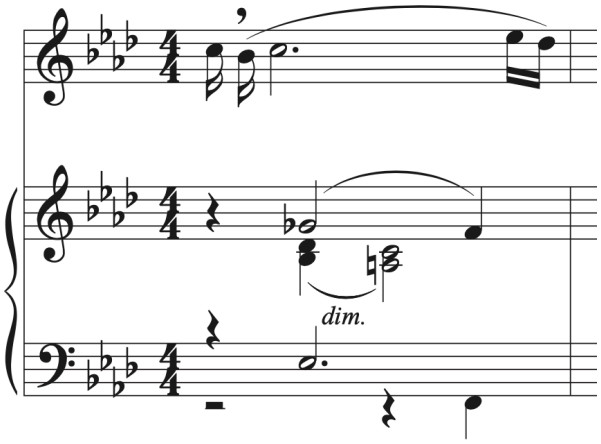
b. Edited to add more chromatic pitches in 127.



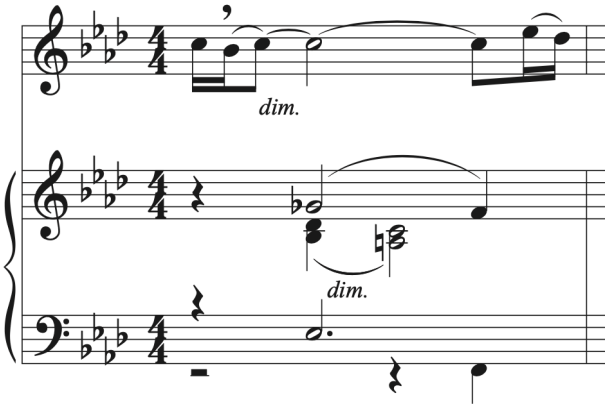
The second area where editorial corrections are warranted is rhythmic notation, specifically the re-notation of rhythms to allow for easier ensemble alignment. Much of the time these changes allow the flutist to count more easily while also providing a better visual example of how the flute and piano parts are intended to align. For example, in measure 33, the flute's rhythm was originally notated as two unbarred sixteenth notes, one dotted-half note, and two more sixteenths (see Figure 3a). The presence of a breath mark after the first sixteenth note suggests why Netzel chose to notate it in this way (stylistically, this is also a characteristic of much vocal music, the conventions of which Netzel was familiar with). The problem is that this notation makes this measure difficult to count correctly, as flutists are used to seeing sixteenth notes barred together. Moreover, the visual appearance of this notation misleadingly implies that the piano enters with the flutist's third note. Renotating this measure to add tied eighth notes clarifies the rhythm both for the flutist, who can now see at a glance where the quarter note beats fall, and for the pianist, who can more easily line up their entrance in the correct portion of the measure. This is not an error in the strictest sense of the word—both ways of notating this measure should sound the same in performance—but the change makes the rhythms more immediately obvious to both performers and reduces the risk of a rhythmic misinterpretation.

EXAMPLE 3. Netzel, Suite, op. 33 mm. 33.

a. Unedited, with the first two notes detached



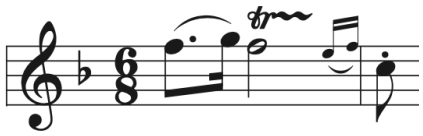
b. 2025 Lear Edition



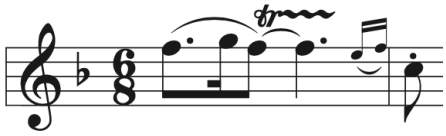
A similar scenario is presented in measure 126 of the flute part. In the 1899 edition and the 2014 updated edition, the 6/8 meter is rendered with note values and beaming that are more typical of 3/4 time, making it difficult to read the passage (see Example 4a). A simple rebarring allows the part to correspond more clearly with the printed meter (Example 4b). This is, once again, a notational change that will not change the way that the piece is heard, but that makes the rhythm more visually obvious to the performers and can be more quickly and easily understood.

EXAMPLE 4. Netzel, Suite, op. 33 m. 126

a. Unedited



b. 2025 Lear Edition



***Berceuse* op. 69 for Violin (or flute) and Piano**

Netzel's *Berceuse*, op. 69 in F♯ Major for violin (or flute) and piano was published in 1900. It is dedicated to Ovide Musin, a violinist who taught part time at the Liége Conservatory from 1889-1908. Netzel also wrote two other violin pieces with the same title, the *Berceuse* op. 59 in E Major (published in 1896 in Berlin) and *Berceuse and Tarantelle* op. 28 in G Major (published in 1889 in Paris). Because of this, it can be difficult to determine which work is being referenced on some violin programs of Netzel's music. Nonetheless, it seems probable that at least some of the listed performances do refer to op. 69. Although the edition published in Lyon in 1900 clearly states that it is intended for performance by either a flute or violin as the solo instrument, the piece is not particularly idiomatic to the flute. It is therefore likely that this flexible instrumentation was not Netzel's intention. It is probable, given the popularity of the flute among amateur players at the time, that the publisher added the indication "or flute" to the solo line in the interest of selling more copies, regardless of whether it was possible to perform the part.

The *Berceuse* grew in popularity during the late nineteenth century. Characteristics of the genre are a "rocking" accompaniment(using either compound time or the aural suggestion of compound time—3/4 meter or consistent triplets), a quiet dynamic level, and a tonic pedal in the bass. Kenneth L. Hamilton describes the genre as "a gentle song intended for lulling young children to sleep."[58] The most well-known work in this genre is probably Frédéric Chopin's *Berceuse*, op. 57(1843), for solo piano, but other popular *Berceuses* by Franz Liszt, Gabriel Fauré, and Benjamin Godard exist. Fauré's *Berceuse*, op. 16 was originally written for violin and piano and was premiered in 1880 by Fauré at the piano with Ovide Musin (the same violinist to

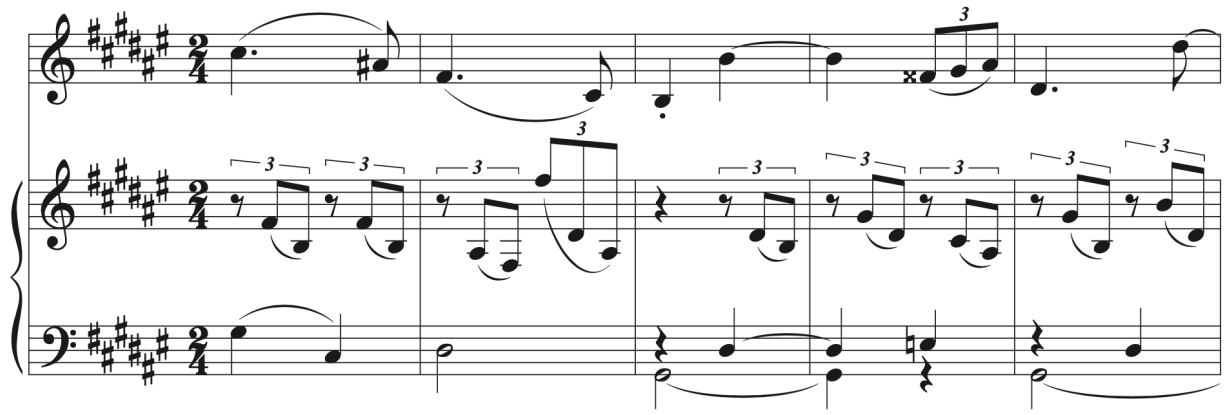
[58] Grove Music Online, "Berceuse" by Kenneth L. Hamilton, 20 January 2001, https://doi-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02749.

whom Netzel dedicated her *Berceuse*, op. 69) performing the solo line. This piece became wildly popular with both violinists and cellists shortly after its publication, and by the twentieth century had been adapted for flute and piano (as well as other solo instruments) as well. Because Fauré's *Berceuse*, op. 16 was so widely adapted for other instruments and has become a staple of the intermediate flute repertoire, it seems appropriate to produce a newly-revised edition of Netzel's *Berceuse*, op. 69 for flute.

Many of the melodic lines in the *Berceuse* op. 69 are written in registers where it is difficult for the flute to sustain pitches and to project over the piano; one includes a note that is unplayable on a standard flute. In the opening phrase of the solo part, the melody leaps from an F♯1 down to a C♯1 and then a B natural (Example 5). Although this low B is available on many modern flutes and is now considered standard in many parts of the world, at the time Netzel was writing it was considered an optional extension of the range. Most footjoints at the time only went as low as a low C.[59] Because the low B is still not completely standard across all professional instruments, and is often not included on student or pre-professional model instruments, a new edition intended for student performance must necessarily include the option to transpose any low Bs up an octave.

[59] An 1877 price list for Boehm and Mendler Flutes lists a default flute with a C foot priced at 375 marks; if the buyer wanted a B foot joint the price increased to 410 marks. Many orchestral flutists were using flutes with C foot joints because the added weight of the B foot was too inconvenient given the few low Bs that they needed to perform.

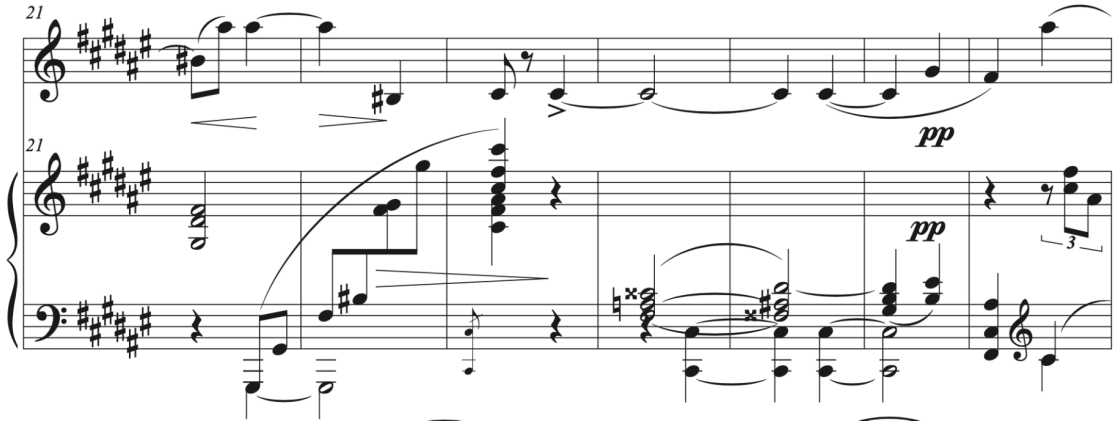
EXAMPLE 5. Netzel, Berceuse, op. 69 mm. 8-11.



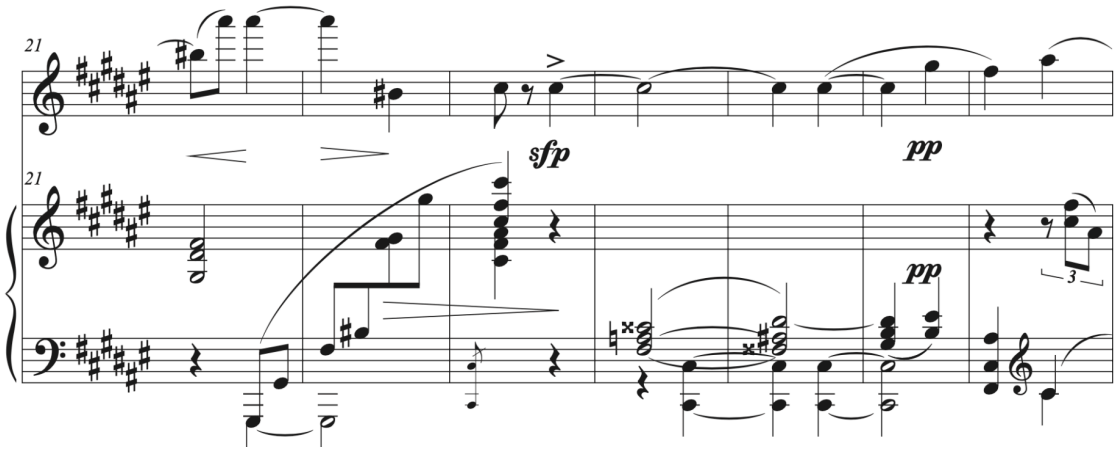
Similar problems are presented by sections of multiple measures where the solo instrument sustains notes below the treble staff. While a violinist would be able to perform the notated accents and dynamics in measures 22-26 (Example 6a) without particular difficulties, a flutist might struggle to match their ease and power in such a low register. The problem is compounded in beginner flutists, who often lack the air support and embouchure accuracy needed to accent and sustain the lowest notes in their ranges. Moreover, the piano chords in measures 24 and 25 are thickly textured and could easily overpower a student flutist's dynamic on a low C♯. By transposing this phrase up an octave, concerns about projecting the melodic line are alleviated without recourse to altering the piano part as originally written (Example 6b).

EXAMPLE 6. Netzel, Berceuse, op. 69, mm. 21-27.

a. Melody in the original octave



b. Adapted flute melody transposed up an octave

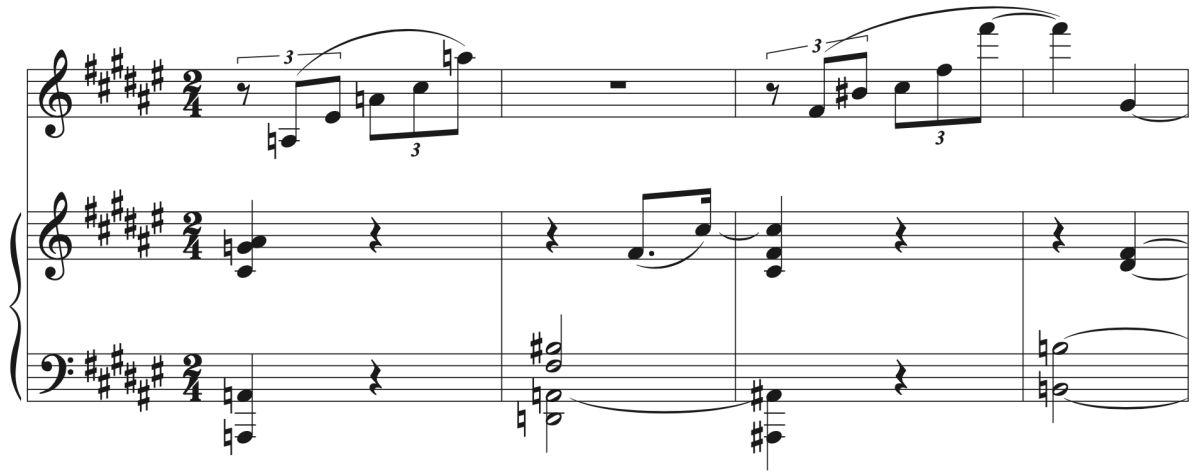


In measure 45, the solo part of *Berceuse* op. 69 descends to an A below the treble staff (Example 7a). This exceeds the playable range of the modern flute. While it is true that flutes manufactured in 1900 were not as standardized as they are today, they would not have been able to perform the low A either. Then, as now, standard Boehm-system flutes went only as low as C1 with optional B foot joints manufactured for extra expense. The low A in the solo part is the lowest part of an arpeggiated augmented triad and functions as more of a flourish than part of the

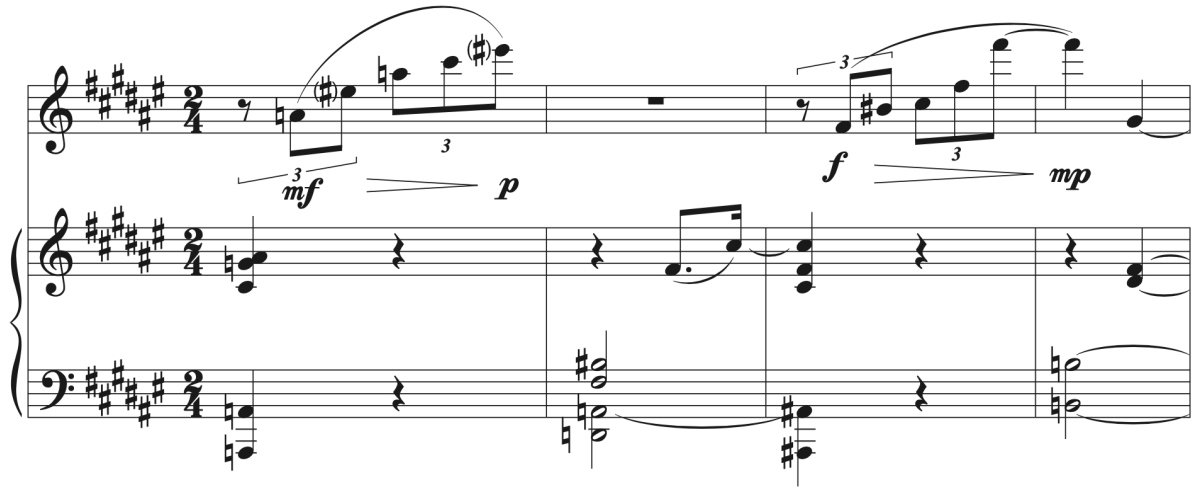
melody (Example 7a). Thus it poses little interpretational difficulty to move most of those notes up an octave and to change the pitch of the last note in measure 45 from an A natural to an E♯ (Example 7b). This does change that note from the root of the triad to the fifth, but its role as part of a flourish makes the aural effect mild if at all noticeable. Changing this pitch also preserves the prominence of the F♯ in measure 47-48. That F♯, tied over the barline, is the highest note in this section of the piece; simply moving every pitch in measure 45 up an octave would have resulted in the A natural at the end of measure 45 becoming the highest pitch in the piece and would have disrupted the build in both dynamic and pitch that ends at measure 47.

EXAMPLE 7. Netzel, Berceuse, op. 69, mm. 45-48.

a. Unedited melody line, with a low A in m. 45.



b. 2025 Lear edition, with the pitches changed in m. 45



In addition to the logistical reasons for transposing some of the solo pitches in the *Berceuse* outlined above, the musical and phrasing needs of the piece necessitate some transposition of surrounding pitches. The *Berceuse* is simple, repetitive, and songlike. Its first theme repeats twice, after which a brief transition leads to the second theme (which also repeats twice), a re-iteration of the first theme, and an ending coda. In the original edition, the first theme is written one octave higher when it repeats. In the newly prepared edition, both iterations of the

first theme are transposed up the octave to avoid the flute's problematic low register. To offset the potential lack of contrast between the two iterations, dynamics have been added to encourage the flutist to play the first one more intimately and the second one more strongly. As the problems inherent with writing in the low register of the flute occur only in the first theme, the second theme can remain untouched in its original register. This has the added benefit of enhancing the contrast between the two themes by use of the natural timbral changes between registers on the flute.

***Colibri* op. 72 for Flute and Piano**

Colibri, op. 72, written between 1900-1902, exists only in manuscript form. It is dedicated to E. F. Lamatte, flutist at the time with the *Opera Comique* in Paris. "Colibri" means "hummingbird" in both French and Italian. Netzel was familiar with the word; not only was she fluent in French, but she had previously written a song for voice and piano entitled *Colibri*, op. 46, in which she set a French poem to music. The text of that song uses the image of a hummingbird as a metaphor for the singer's emotions. *Colibri*, op. 72 for flute and piano cannot use text as a metaphor, so it relies instead on a more literal interpretation of the title: it is short, cheery, and makes use of quick harmonic rhythm, trills, and active flute runs. The new performance edition was based on a scanned copy of the manuscript that is currently kept in the Swedish Musical Heritage archive in Stockholm. In contrast to the changes and updates needed in the 1899 version of her Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33, no edits, pitch changes, or rhythm clarifications were needed in the flute part when converting Netzel's handwritten *Colibri* score to a modern version, as it is idiomatic to the flute and without any notable errors. Preparing a printed version was merely a matter of transcribing the original into a new digital version, with careful attention paid to ensure there were no awkward page turns.

Colibri has three main formal sections. The beginning and ending sections are charming, quick, and sound almost flippant because of Netzel's consistent use of lower chromatic neighbor notes slurred into the main melodic notes. The opening section begins with a dominant pedal before finally cadencing in the tonic of F Major in the ninth bar, when the first melodic material is introduced in the flute. This melodic material repeats several times, and Netzel rotates through several tonal centers using German augmented sixth chords, falling fifths progressions, and movement by mediant relationships, all common in music of the time. Netzel utilizes bass

movement by half-steps, which has the effect of making the music sound like it is always moving forward.

This work can remind listeners of nineteenth-century character pieces for piano, but is also similar to several Paris Conservatory exam pieces written in a similar time frame. *Colibri* is short and singly focused on one idea continually through the piece—the entire performance evokes the beating wings of a bird even though there are distinct sections of the work. This is unusual among Romantic-era flute pieces, although it is similar in style to many of the sight reading exam pieces commissioned annually by the Paris Conservatory. The musical and ensemble challenges to the performer are similar to those of the exam pieces written by Adrien Barthe (1828-1898) and Georges Marty (1860-1908), although the technical challenges of Netzel's piece are a bit more demanding. Netzel's piece is also a little longer than Barthe and Martys' works; Netzel's takes almost three minutes to perform, while the others are approximately half that length.

Laura Netzel and the Romantic-Era Flute

The Low Point of the Flute: Characteristics of the Romantic Era

Nancy Toff, perhaps the pre-eminent living historian of the flute, describes the Romantic era as the "low point in the history of flute music."[60] Despite the growing popularity of the flute in Romantic-era orchestral works, solo and chamber works written for the flute significantly decreased in the Romantic period. The third edition of Toff's *The Flute Book* includes a repertoire guide containing forty-six pages of Baroque era works, thirty-three pages of Classical era works, and sixty-five pages of Modern era works. In stark contrast, the Romantic era nets a mere twenty pages of works. She also mentions that the vast majority of Romantic flute literature was written by flutist-composers, including famous flute virtuosos and pedagogues such as Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865), Louis Francois Philippe Drouet (1792-1873), Anton Bernhard Fürstenau (1792-1852), Caspar Kummer (1795-1879), Heinrich Soussman (1796-1848), Giulio Briccialdi (1818-1881), Franz Doppler (1821-1883), Wilhelm Popp (1829-1902), Joseph-Henri Altès (1826-1895), Jules Demersseman (1833-1866), Johannes Donjon (1839-1912), Joachim Andersen (1847-1909), Paul Taffanel (1844-1908), and of course Theobald Boehm (1794-1881), the inventor of the Boehm system flute.[61] Fully a quarter of Toff's catalogued Romantic era literature are by either Boehm or Andersen, further highlighting the lack of variety in the Romantic flute repertoire.

One reason for the relative unpopularity of the flute in the Romantic era were the widespread differences of the instruments themselves. Classical and early Romantic era flutes were notoriously unreliable with regards to pitch and tone quality. Instrument design was not

[60] Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book: A Complete Guide for Students and Performers* (Oxford University Press, 2012) 235.
[61] Toff, *The Flute Book,* 246.

standardized and flutes varied in range, materials, number of keys, pitch, and the intonation scale of the instrument.[62] Flutes from 1750 to 1850 had anywhere from zero to nine keys, and could be made out of several different types of wood, crystal, glass, silver, and other materials. They had two to four joints and the size and position of the tone holes on the instrument were limited by the distance an average player's fingers could reach, resulting in hugely varied scales and pitches. The placement of tone holes on the instrument at this time had been designed to comfortably fit the human hand rather than selected for precise intonation. While there were successful touring virtuoso flutists and well-known orchestral players—and the instrument was immensely popular in amateur markets—flutes remained less popular choices for solo or chamber music instruments than strings or keyboards. When employed in these settings, flutes were prized for a soft, delicate, and adaptable sound.[63] The ability to easily change pitch by changing airspeed or tone hole coverage allowed for professional performers to raise leading tones and otherwise adjust for the intonational needs of just-tempered pitches.

It wasn't until after the wide adoption of equal temperament as a tuning system that a standardized chromatic flute could be created, and even then it took a long time for the idea to catch on across Europe and the United States. The first person to write about the need for an equal-tempered flute was organist Georg Andreas Sorge, and Johann George Tromlitz designed an experimental sketch for one in 1800.[64] However, it wasn't until 1854 that a chromatic mechanism finally became standard and widely available. Boehm's factory opened in 1828, began creating Boehm system flutes in 1832, and had fully standardized the Boehm system in 1854.[65] Boehm was inspired by the strong, even tone quality of the English flute virtuoso Charles

---

[62] Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, Yale University Press: 2002, 147.
[63] Powell, *The Flute, 145.*
[64] Powell, *The Flute*, 148.
[65] Toff, *The Flute Book, 50.*

Nicholson and strove to create instruments that could emulate Nicholson's powerful sound. In a letter to a friend, Boehm wrote "I did as well as any continental flautist could have done in London in 1831, but I could not match Nicholson in power of tone, wherefore I set to work to remodel my flute. Had I not heard him, probably the Boehm flute would never have been made."[66] Boehm desired to improve intonation, evenness of tone across the range of the flute, the ease of technical facility, the response of the extreme registers (both high and low), and to create more reliable workmanship—especially in springs that hold the keys closed—than previous instruments had employed.[67] Boehm flutes were made standard with a C foot, although a price list from 1862 lists D foot and B foot joints available upon request.[68]

Later Romantic era flute instruction books and articles appear to value the powerful sound of the flute while also reminding students to restrain themselves and not play outside the realm of good taste. Charles Nicholson instructed "quality and purity of tone should be the primary consideration of the pupil, and not loudness of sound, which is too frequently heard, and which may be termed *roaring*."[69] He preferred a sound that he described as a mix between the reediness of the oboe and the mellowness of the clarinet. In contrast to earlier styles, uniformity of sound across all registers of the flute was a new and popular style of tone. This louder, more even tone quality was especially popular among touring solo performers, who played many technical works full of brilliant and virtuosic variations on well-known opera melodies or national songs.[70]

As early as 1843, complaints were written that these popular fantasies on well-known themes were eclipsing more serious flute music.[71] Flutes were immensely popular amateur

[66] Powell, *The Flute,* 167.
[67] Powell, *The Flute,* 165.
[68] Boehm, *The Flute and Flute Playing,* 178.
[69] Powell, *The Flute,* 134.
[70] Powell, *The Flute,* 134.
[71] Powell, *The Flute*, 153

instruments, especially among young middle class men, and many flute pieces were written with the amateur performer in mind.[72] Boehm remarked "It is much easier to win applause by a brilliant execution, than to reach the hearts of the hearers through a cantabile," allowing that audiences were often won over by fast, brilliant, aggressively virtuosic performances.[73] However, he also valued the flute's ability to play serious, beautiful music, saying that a performer who can play an adagio well must be "a perfect master of his instrument."[74] Despite his desires to elevate the instrument, solo flute repertoire in the early nineteenth century was mostly a collection of opera reductions, variations on a theme, fantasias, nationalistic tunes, and other harmonically simple or light pieces.[75] In addition to amateur flutists, traveling virtuosos also played these types of pieces and added extensive and complicated technical variations or passages. Pieces that exemplify this trend include Franz Schubert's *Introduction and Variations* (1829), five variations on his own song *Trockne Blumen*; Freidrich Kuhlau's *Seven Variations on an Irish Folk Song* (1829), variations on "the Last Rose of Summer;" *Variations for Flute and Piano in E Major*, on "Non piu mesta" from Rossini's *Cenerentola* (c. 1829 or later; often falsely attributed to Frédéric Chopin); and François Borne's *Fantasia brillante sur 'Carmen'* (1880), among many, many others.

However, this new, easily-projecting sound that enabled performers of such virtuosic (if formally simplistic) works was not universally popular. Richard Wagner complained that orchestral woodwind sections were unbalanced, writing "a softly sustained *piano* is hardly obtainable from them anymore, particularly from the flutists, who have transformed their formerly so soft instruments into mighty shawms."[76] Germany was one of the last European

[72] Powell, *The Flute*, 144.
[73] Powell, *The Flute*, 146.
[74] Boehm, *The Flute and Flute Playing,* 146.
[75] Powell, *The Flute*, 140.
[76] Powell, *The Flute,* 191.

countries to adopt the Boehm flute because German orchestral players preferred the softer, more mellow sound of the old-style German flutes, a style that Ardal Powell mentions changed only at the advent of the recording era. France also adopted the Boehm flute, although the Paris Conservatory, the leading deciders of French flute taste and style during this time, initially voted against teaching the Boehm flute in the Conservatory because several flute professors preferred older flute models.[77] Boehm system flutes made by Louis Lot were sold at the Conservatory beginning in 1860. Prominent flutists including Paul Taffanel quickly bought these new Boehm system, silver, cylindrical bore flutes, which became standard in France.

Joseph-Henri Altès, professor at the Paris Conservatory between 1869 and 1893, wrote music and pedagogical materials for this silver Boehm-system flute and also officially introduced the standard of equal temperament into everyday flute playing. He wrote in his *Grand Method*, published in 1880, that all half-steps should sound the same and that the difference between chromatic and diatonic semitones was too small to hear. However, he also published fingering charts with multiple fingerings for each note in order to accommodate for the need to adjust for pitch differences required in various harmonic contexts.[78] While the new standard assumption was that flutes played in equal temperament, flutists still needed to adjust pitch depending on context, a style of playing that still continues today.

Paul Taffanel succeeded Altès as the flute professor of the Paris Conservatory in 1893. During his tenure public perception of the flute shifted from viewing it as an imperfectly tuned instrument best suited to playing brilliant theme-and-variations-style pieces to a "dreamy,

[77] Early nineteenth century Paris Conservatory flute professors Devienne and Hugot espoused a one-keyed and a four-keyed flute, respectively, although both of those teachers died suddenly in 1803. Berbiguer, a prominent Conservatory student and player, noted in his writings aimed at amateurs that the new playing styles, including double tonguing and strong low notes, did not sound good on a one-keyed flute. Jean-Louis Tulou, who was elected Professor in 1829, had his own flute factory and sold his five-keyed flutes to the Paris Conservatory.
[78] Powell, *The Flute,* 216.

sensitive, and subtle" instrument featured in works such as Claude Debussy's *Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun* (1894) and *Syrinx* (1912).[79]

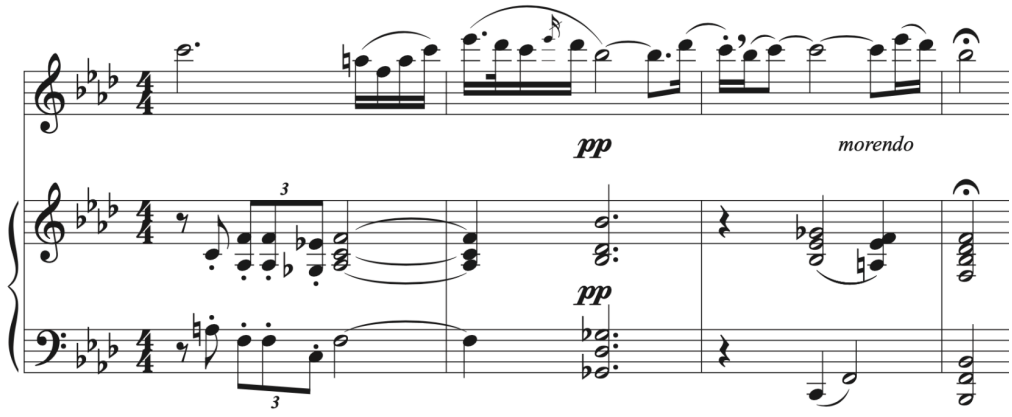
Laura Netzel's Place in the Flute Repertoire

The style of flute playing that Netzel would have been familiar with in the late nineteenth century would have been the powerful, even tone across all registers that was allowed by the silver Boehm system flutes and embraced by Joseph-Henri Altès and Paul Taffanel. She would have been familiar with the technically demanding styles of the time with their brilliant scalar passages and quick, wide leaps. Her Suite and *Colibri* fit somewhat into these categories; they are light, technically demanding, and require control of both a large low register and a flexible, supple high register. The Suite, in particular, begins with a dramatic introduction and then several themes followed by technical passages in different keys and time signatures. It does not make use of theme and variations form but is instead one cohesive work. Even though it contains three distinct sections, each section leads into the next and the piece is bookended by two iterations of the same melody which occurs once in measures 39-42, and again in measures 143-146.

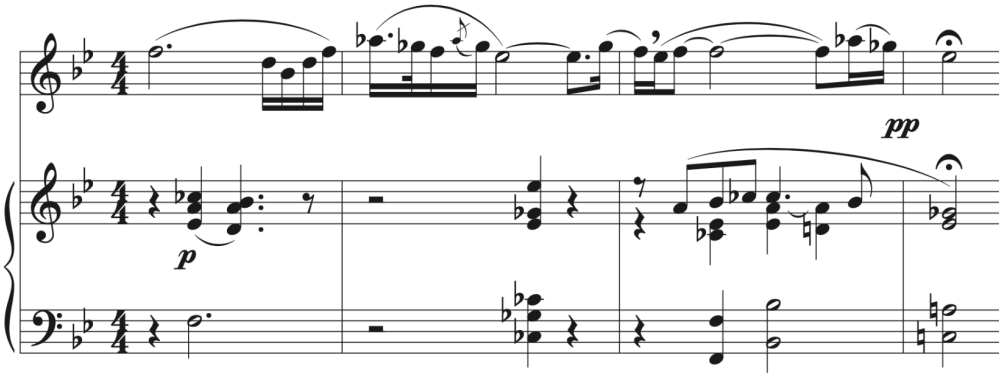
[79] Powell, *The Flute*, 217

EXAMPLE 8. Two iterations of the same melodic line in different sections of Netzel's Suite op. 33.

a. Netzel, Suite op. 33, mm 39-42.



b. Netzel, Suite op. 33, mm 143-146.



Netzel's was not the only flute work of this era to avoid the popular theme and variations form. Two prominent examples of such works for flute that remain in the performance canon are the Flute Sonata op. 167 "Undine" (1882) by Carl Reinecke and the Suite op. 34 (1877) by Charles-Marie Widor, a teacher of Netzel's. While other sonatas for flute and piano were published during this time (including those by Pierné and Kuhlau), the Reinecke is the one that is most frequently performed today.[80] It is often referenced by flute pedagogues as flutists'

[80] The Pierné Sonata op. 36 was originally published in 1900 for violin and piano, but transcribed by the composer for flute in 1909.

singularly important Romantic work; Kyle Dzapo calls it a "well-crafted, formally convincing piece" and Nancy Toff categorizes it as "one of the few true Romantic flute sonatas."[81] It formally resembles other Romantic sonatas and its four movements programmatically reference an emotionally turbulent popular story. The first movement is in a modified sonata form but with a mysterious and uncertain end to the recapitulation, leading to a scherzo-like *Intermezzo* second movement, a placid *Andante tranquillo* movement, and then a triumphant allegro *Finale* movement. In this sonata the flute line is sometimes given the melody in a significantly higher range than the piano accompaniment, but for much of the sonata the two instruments are equal musical partners. Widor's Suite also follows a familiar four-movement structure - a grand first movement, *Scherzo*, *Romance*, and then *Finale*. In contrast to the Reinecke Sonata, the Widor Suite references similar melodic motives in each movement. This melodic material, rather than the formal structure, links the piece together. In contrast to the Reinecke, in Widor's Suite the flute has a more distinct solo line and the piano serves as accompaniment; the instruments are not equal partners.

The formal designation of "suite" in the Baroque period originally referred to a collection of dances, but this definition had become rarer in the 1800s. By the end of the nineteenth century the word "suite" could describe a piece that combined a series of Romantic gestures into a complete work. These pieces were connected more by the melodic material than by the formal structure of the work.[82] Ernst-Günter Heinemann described Widor's Suite as "less a suite in the traditional sense than a sonatina with a basic motif linking the individual sections together."[83] Prior to the publication of Widor and Netzel's suites, Camille Saint-Saëns and Jules Massenet

[81] Kyle Dzapo, *Notes for Flutists* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 56; Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book*, 243. Neither author mentions the Widor *Suite* outside of Toff's index of compositions.
[82] David Fuller, "Suite," Grove Music Online, last modified 2001, https://doi-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27091.
[83] Ernst-Günter Heinemann, Preface to the 2013 edition of Suite op. 34 für Flöte und Klavier (Munich: G. Henle Verlag), iv.

had both written suites for a solo instrument and piano or orchestra. The Widor Suite was a popular piece to perform during this era—the composer even orchestrated the piano part of the third movement to enable performances in concert halls. This proved so popular that Georges Barrère repeatedly asked Widor to perform similar treatment on the other three movements before finally orchestrating the second movement himself. Today, however, the Widor is not considered as serious or important a piece as the Reinecke because of the genre. Netzel's Suite has suffered the same fate. Her piece has not been updated or performed not only because of her lack of legacy as a composer, but because she wrote for an instrument associated with middle-class amateur musicians and also in a genre that is not part of the academic canon or established flute repertoire.

Gender, Genre, and the Canon

Music history is different from scientific disciplines in that there is no one established methodological process used to gather information. This can lead to biased or incomplete historical research. As Philip Gossett explains, a work (or broader compositional style) can be studied as a discrete collection of notes and harmony without social implications, solely as a cultural experience, or anywhere on the spectrum between those two extremes.[84] Ruth Solie, paraphrasing Carl Dahlhaus, explains this dichotomy as being between "aesthetic experience and a piece of historical data," and remarks that Dahlhaus finally settled on a works-based method of making sense of music history.[85] This works-based approach to cataloging hundreds of years of history provides a consistent framework for comparatively organizing information, but it

[84] Philip Gossett, "History and Works That Have No History: Reviving Rossini's Neapolitan Operas," in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons,* ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 95.
[85] Ruth A Solie, "Sophie Drinker's History," in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons,* ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 28.

prioritizes composers, and especially those that have created works that were published and disseminated in the same ways. This canon can be exclusionary. Marcia J. Citron writes that the "author-function" system (a term she borrows from Foucault) of organizing musicological information favors "written documentation and the public arena" over "process, collaboration, community, the private, and oral transmission," in effect favoring the traditional musical spaces of men over those of women.[86] If a researcher employs traditional work-based methods to examine a piece outside of the established canon, any aspect of the piece—unusual pacing, harmonic structure, or even printing errors—could potentially exclude the piece from being worthy of research because it is not similar enough to other canonical works.

Under a works-based cataloguing method, the instrumentation, genre, and printing errors in Netzel's Suite would place that work outside of the canon. Works for smaller performing forces are often excluded from the canon in favor of larger orchestral works, and this excludes many female composers in the nineteenth century who wrote smaller-scale works for performance at home or in private settings. Netzel's Suite, as well as her other flute works and art songs, are written for instrumentation that is outside the canon—they aren't for orchestra, solo violin, or solo piano. Flute works in the Romantic era were often written for amateurs to perform at home, as previously discussed, and this realm of performance is not considered as serious or worthy of study (and consequently, of performance) today as pieces performed in larger or more professional settings. Netzel's choice to title the piece Suite places it further outside of the canon as well—Romantic suites don't match the Baroque formal structure of suites and, as a genre, are thought to be less important or worthy of study than other genres such as sonatas, symphonies, or concertos.

[86] Marcia J. Citron, "Women and the Western Art Canon: Where are We Now?" *Notes* 64, no. 2 (2007): 211.

While using traditional "author-function" musicological methodologies to examine non-canonical works is not the answer, using new or different methodologies can also pose a problem when attempting to validate a work, composer, or area of research. In her 1948 book *Music and Women: The Story of Women in Their Relation to Music*, Sophie Drinker combined many disciplines—musicology, anthropology, sociology, and the study of folklore, among others—in a style that Ruth Solie calls "so creatively and fruitfully that one is inclined to be grateful that she knew no better."[87] Drinker provides a way to situate the history of women and their music-making, although her approach lies far outside traditional "author-function" musicology. Early reviews of the book favorably mentioned her unusual approach of writing about music as cultural practice and dividing musical eras by social structures and the use of music in culture instead of by the lifetimes of canonically "great" composers.[88] While critical attention acclaimed her cultural and social approach to music history as a new and interesting way to look at the discipline, the book was quickly forgotten because the research and writing style lay too far outside the academic musicological realm.[89] Similarly, pieces of music are also performed less and quickly forgotten when they exist outside the established canon. Laura Netzel's flute works have not previously been updated, edited, or re-released because Netzel as a composer was too distant from the academic idea of a canonical composer.

Despite the challenges of researching composers, works, and musical function outside the canon, it is well worth taking the time to do so. Without this expanded research musicologists risk misrepresenting composers in the existing canon, abandoning potentially groundbreaking composers or works, and needlessly narrowing the canonical repertoire. For example, Philip Gossett's research recast Gioachino Rossini from a repetitive composer of only comic operas to a

[87] Solie, "Sophie Drinker's History," 24.
[88] Solie, "Sophie Drinker's History," 35.
[89] Solie, "Sophie Drinker's History," 29.

complex opera composer of both *opera buffa* and *opera seria.* Gossett's work creating critical editions of Rossini's serious operas permanently changed the canonical reputation of the Italian opera composer.[90] Flute music is traditionally left out of the Romantic canon, but researching and updating Romantic flute works can add to our understanding of the function of Romantic music in history and broaden flute repertoire to include more aspects of the instrument's history.

[90] Paula Morgan, "Philip Gossett," Grove Online, updated 25 April 2019, https://doi-org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11511

Conclusion

Laura Netzel is now all but erased from scholarly articles, but in her lifetime ranked among the most performed of Swedish female composers. She has been forgotten as a composer because she kept her name mostly out of the press and used a pseudonym on her published works due to the social restrictions regarding her gender and social class. The lack of newspaper articles, musical criticism, programs, and scores with her name contributed to her being forgotten after her death despite being a popular composer and performer during her lifetime.

The new editions of her three flute works add significantly to the Romantic flute repertoire, which is the era with arguably the least amount of flute solo pieces in the standard literature. Researching and updating these works makes more Romantic flute repertoire available to flutists of all ages. Current canonical Romantic flute repertoire consists of many variations on popular themes, but adding these three pieces from different genres can broaden our understanding of Romantic flute repertoire and provide a more complete picture of flute works written during the period. Editing these works with students in mind will enable them to perform serious flute works written by a woman and see themselves represented in music they play from all different historical periods.

Appendix A: Editorial Changes in Netzel's Suite

Following is a list of all the changes or edits I made in my edition that are different from the original 1899 edition, organized by measure number.

1: Added rests to piano to clarify rhythmic alignment

2: Added fermata in both parts

2: Removed pedal markings in piano to allow for individual performer preference

3: Added ***mp***

4: Changed beaming to reflect quarter note divisions instead of half note divisions

5: Added tuplet numbers to flute runs to allow for a more rapid understanding of subdivisions

6: Changed tuplet numbers from eighth divisions to quarter divisions in flute part

7: Removed redundant cresc. marking from flute high E ♭

9: Removed crescendo marking from static chords in piano; inserted graduated dynamic markings on subsequent chords instead

11: Added crescendo to flute line to match piano

18: Changed piano beaming to consistently reflect quarter note beats

19: Added tempo marking and suggested metronome tempo to mark the new section

19: Added dynamic in piano to match flute

27: Added dynamic markings in both parts to reestablish dynamic after several hairpins

33: Changed beaming in the flute to reflect the quarter note beat

37: Increased length of *decrescendo* marking in flute, pushed *dim.* back to the downbeat of 38 to better align the volume and tempo changes with the piano

41: Changed beaming in the flute to reflect the quarter note beat

45: Changed syncopated quarter note rhythms in the piano to tied eighth notes to better reflect the rhythm during sight reading

49: Added tuplet markings to piano to clarify the rhythmic subdivision

50: Added tuplet markings to flute to clarify sextuplets vs sixteenths

50: Changed beaming in the piano part to be consistent with quarter note pulses and clarify beats

52: Changed beaming in the piano part to reflect the meter

53: Changed beaming in the piano part to reflect meter and visually align entrance with the flute

58: Added tuplet markings to piano to clarify the rhythmic subdivision

64: Changed beaming in the piano part to reflect meter and visually align with the flute rhythm

68: Changed beaming in the flute part to reflect quarter note beats

69: Added *subito* between the diminuendo and abrupt ***mf***

74-76: Changed beaming in both parts to reflect quarter note pulse

81: Added tuplet markings to to piano to clarify rhythm

85: Changed octuplet sixteenth notes to thirty-second notes in the piano

87: Added suggested metronome marking in the *Piu vivo*

88: Added tuplet markings to the triplets in the flute part to distinguish from eighth notes

93: Added tuplet markings to the flute part to distinguish from sixteenth notes

97: Changed beaming in the piano to reflect the meter

106: Added fermata to accommodate ensemble transition

107: Added suggested metronome marking to the *Allegro*

114: Added direction in the piano part to follow the flute *ten.*

117: Switch *cres.* marking and *decreas.* symbol to hairpin

119: Added dynamic marking to piano to match flute

119: Added rests to the piano part to clarify multiple lines

120: Added tuplet markings to flute part to clarify rhythm

121: Added slur to flute to facilitate triplet and match previous articulation

124: Added slur to flute to match previous articulation

126: Rewrote rhythm in flute to match meter

127: Changed repeated F naturals to a more chromatic flourish

128: Changed piano tied eighth to quarter notes to establish melodic line

129: Moved ***p*** marking to the second eighth note for phrase consistency

133: Changed articulation in flute to increase technical facility

145: Changed beaming in flute to reflect the meter

148-149: Moved left hand treble line in piano into the bottom staff to increase visibility of runs

155: Moved left hand piano notes into bass clef staff

Appendix B: Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33 by Laura Netzel, Edited by Cassandra Lear

Performance Notes

Laura Netzel's Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33 (1899) is a dramatic, showy, and joyful piece in three movements, performed *attacca*. The first movement begins with an extroverted opening in F minor, full of dramatic statements by the flute. A more lyrical theme follows. This melody includes a unique and charming element that distinguishes the piece: two quick emphasized notes separated by a breath. This figure repeats throughout the work, and it resembles a stutter or moment of hesitation in a sentence, as if the melody has rushed forward in an overeager manner and is now reconsidering its actions. The second movement features graceful arpeggiated runs of sextuplets and a melody in G minor that is reminiscent of Scandinavian folk music. The last movement is a whirlwind dance. It combines virtuosic triplet ornamentation and a humorous dotted motive that makes a listener want to stomp their feet. After a brief return of the theme from the first movement, the piece ends with one last chromatic flourish and a satisfying F Major cadence.

The original manuscript of this work has been lost. The published 1899 edition is widely available digitally, but several editorial changes were needed to update this work for modern performers. The first priority in editing this work was to preserve Netzel's presumed intent, followed by updating type and layout options for ease of performance. The editor made changes in three broad categories: pitch clarification, rhythmic re-notation and clarification (especially with regards to ensemble alignment, meter, runs, and tuplets), and adding musical indications to the performers such as articulations, slurs, dynamics and suggested tempos. New suggested tempos and additional musical instructions have been enclosed in brackets in order to distinguish them from Netzel's original markings, but several pitch corrections and articulation corrections exist in this new edition that are different from the 1899 edition. Areas where pitch discrepancy and articulation were mismatched between similar sections have been edited with an eye to preserving Netzel's musical style.

Laura Netzel (1839-1927) began composition lessons only in her mid-40s although she had been performing for much of her life. She made her debut as a concerto soloist at age 17 and performed often in the Swedish royal court. She took composition lessons from both Wilhelm Heintz and Chareles Marie Widor, and wrote under the pen name N. Lago because working for

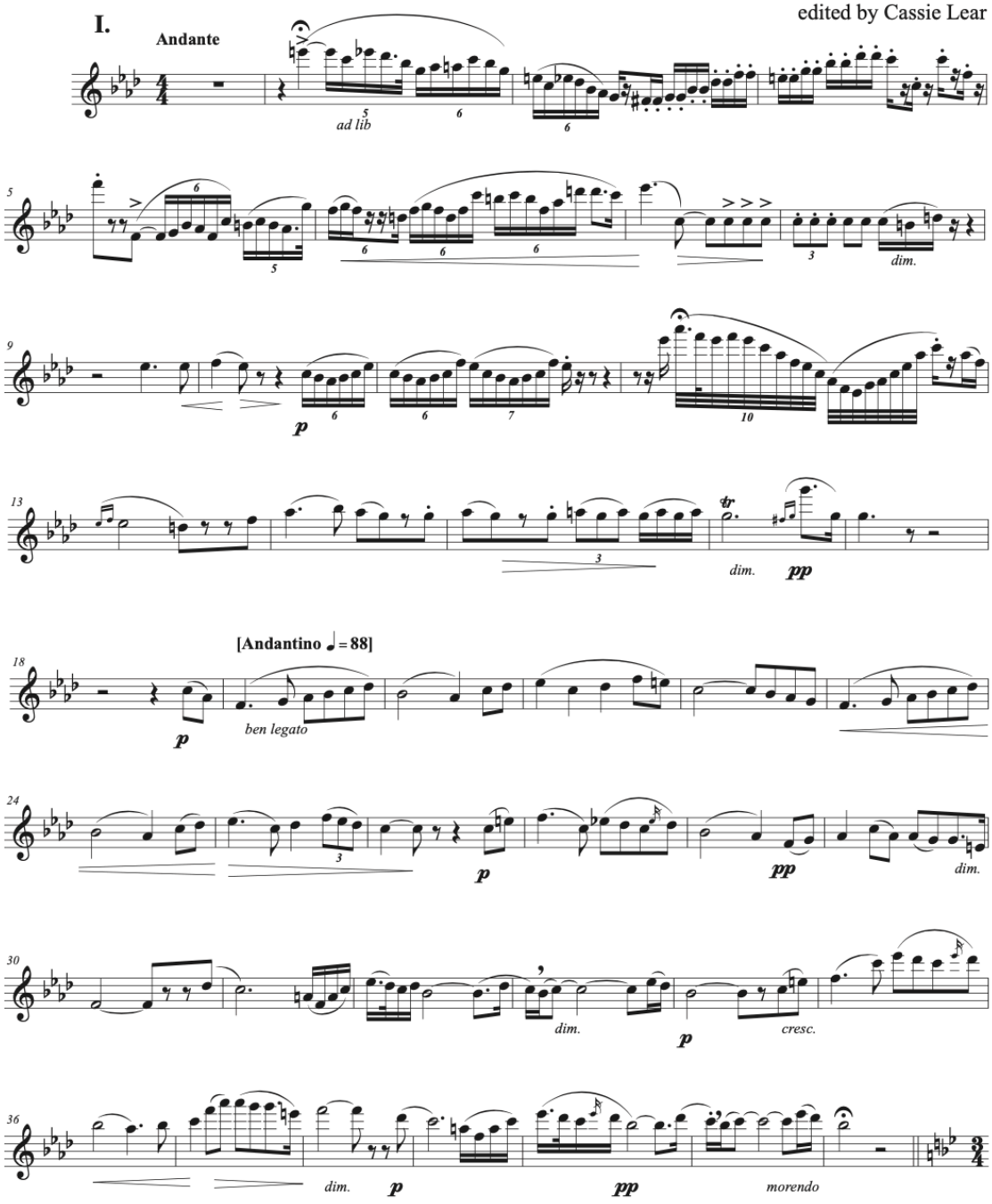
pay wasn't considered proper for a woman of the upper class. The broad contours of her identity were something of an open secret: newspaper reviews (most of which were very favorable) referred to her as "the well known pseudonym Lago" or "a woman from society," but Netzel initially preferred to stay nominally anonymous. Eventually she gave an interview to the Swedish women's magazine *Idun* and allowed her real name to be attached to her compositions in reviews and in programs. She wrote to friends that she chose to disclose her true identity because she was tired of the bias against women and she wanted the public to know the truth: that she, an active and often-performed composer, was also a woman. This was the busiest part of her career. Not only was she composing and performing, but she also organized and directed a chamber music series and hosted small salon concerts at her home.

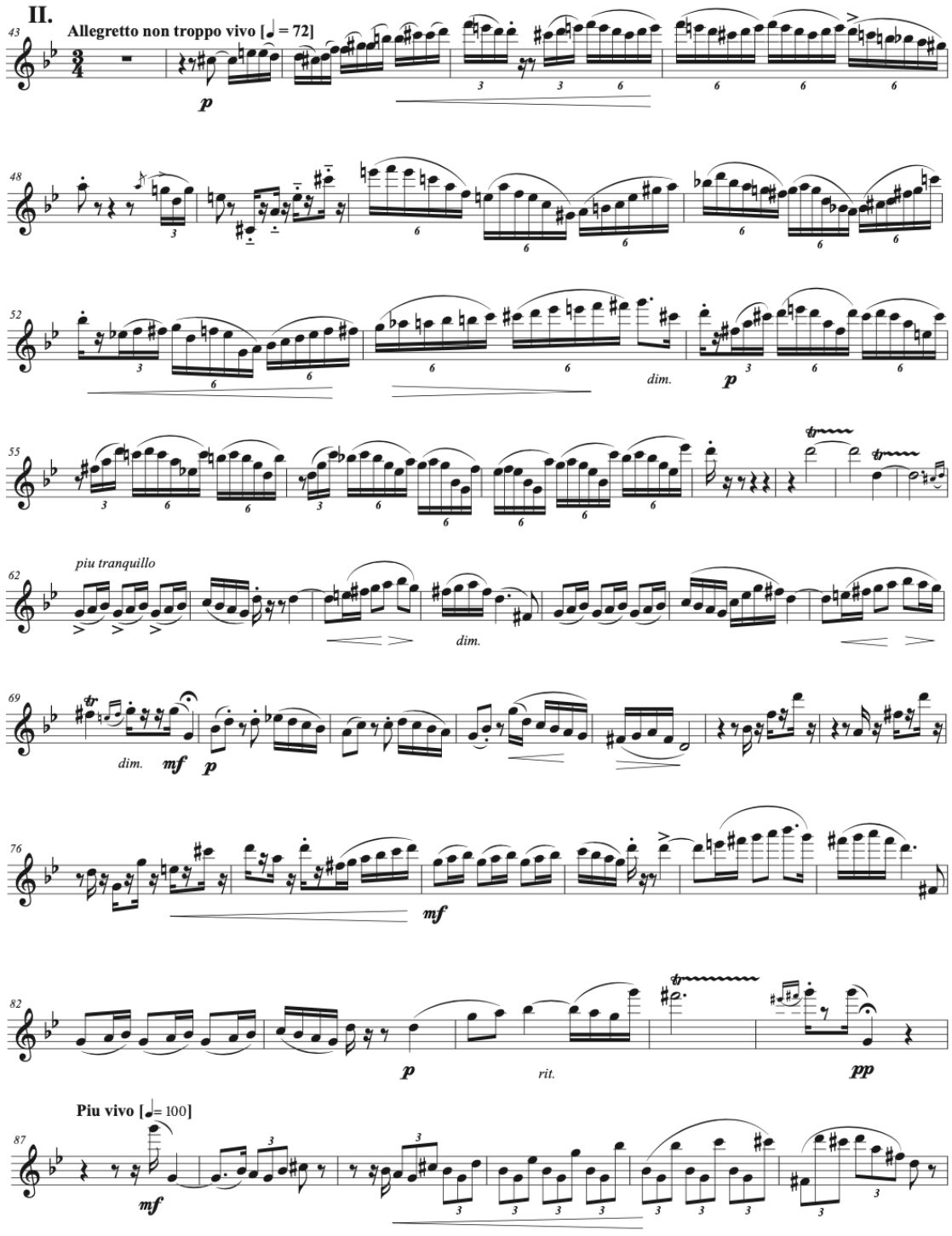
Flute

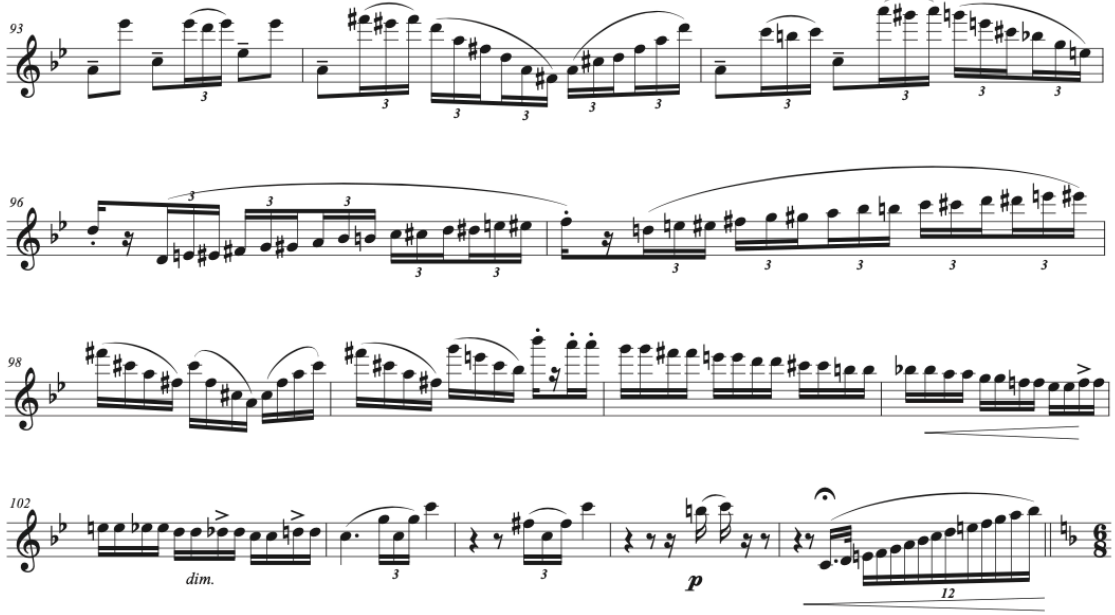
Suite for Flute and Piano, Op. 33

Laura Netzel (1839-1927)

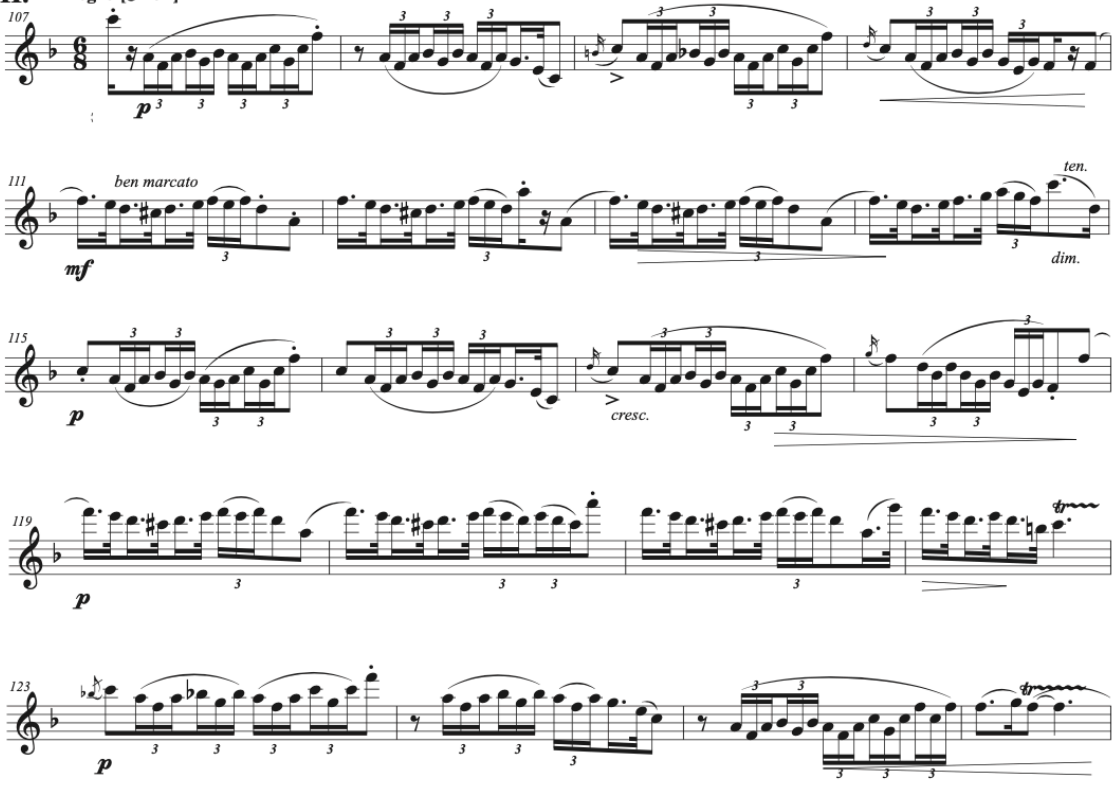
edited by Cassie Lear

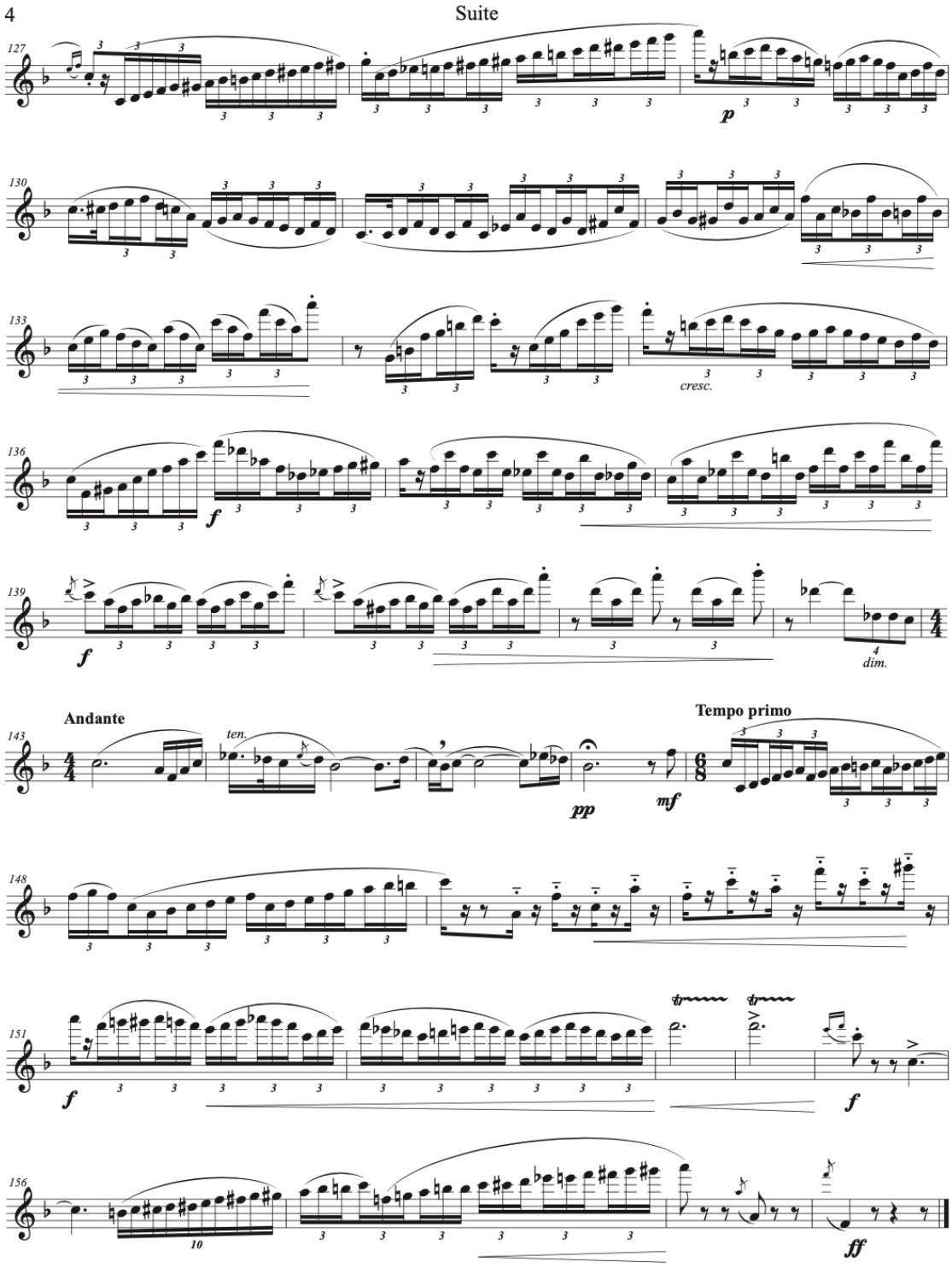



II.
Allegretto non troppo vivo [♩ = 72]
p
dim.
p
piu tranquillo
dim.
dim.
mf
p
mf
p
rit.
pp
Piu vivo [♩= 100]
mf



III. **Allegro [♩=54]**

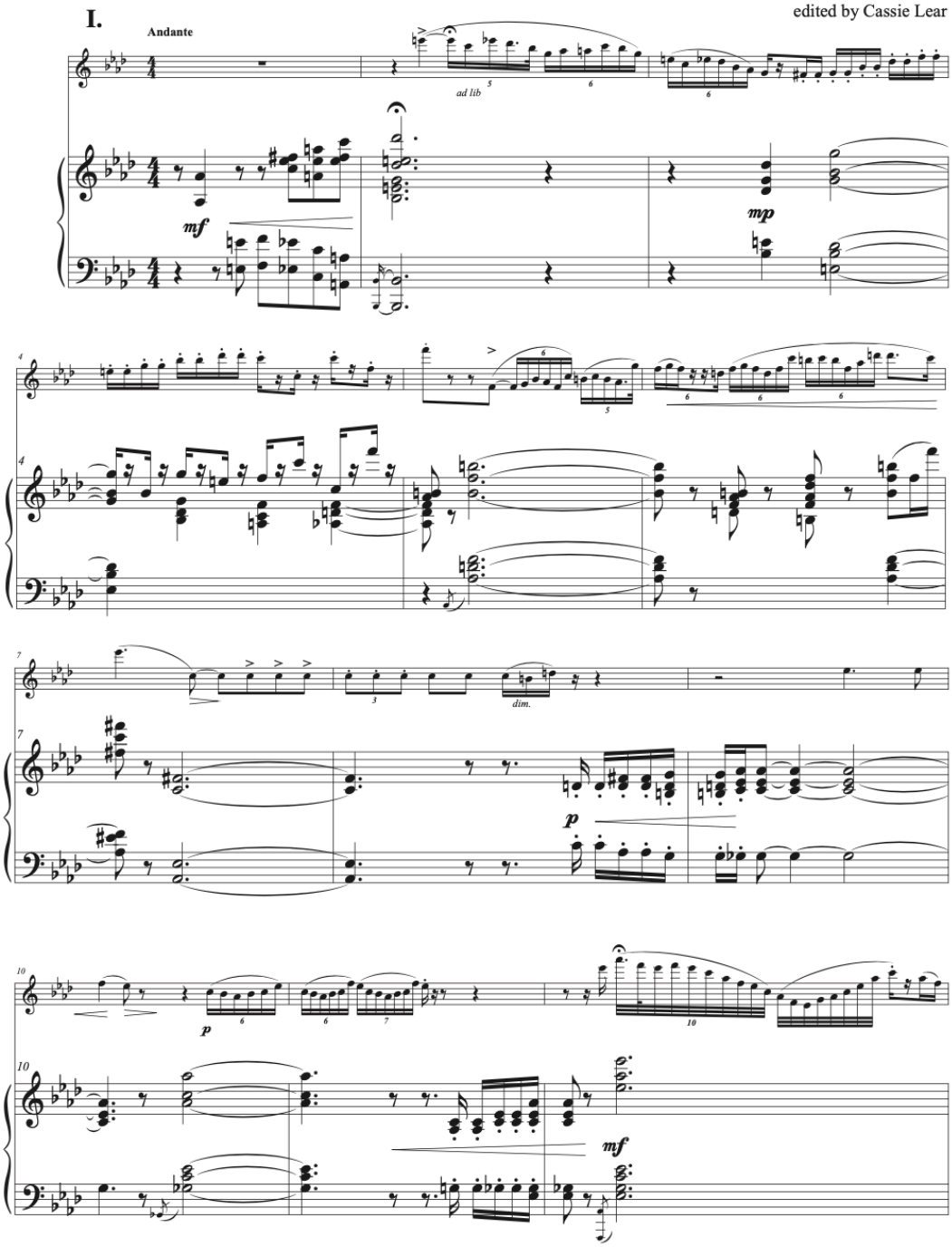


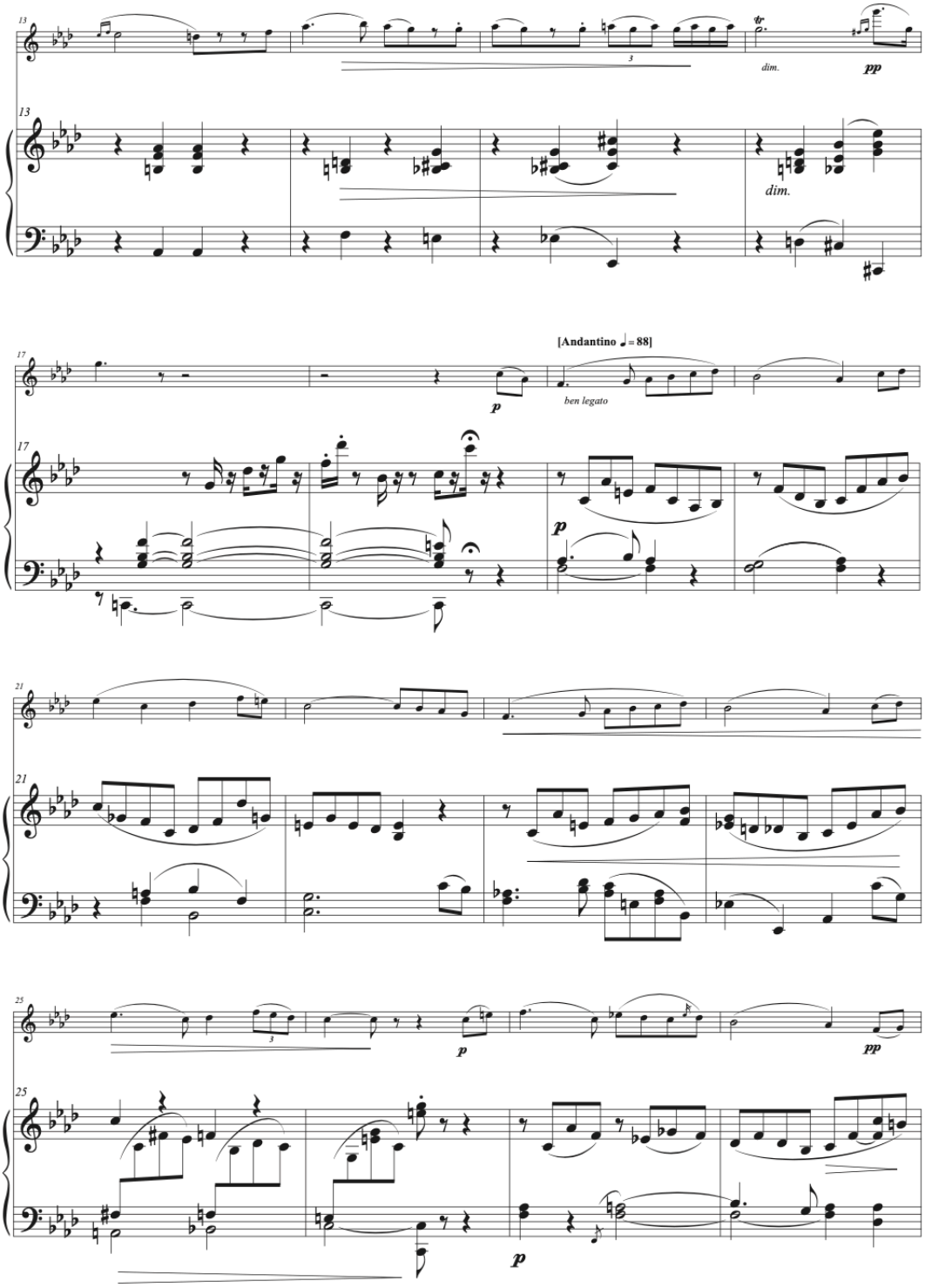

127
p
130
133
cresc.
136
f
139
f
dim.
Andante
143
ten.
pp
mf
Tempo primo
148
151
f
f
156
10
ff

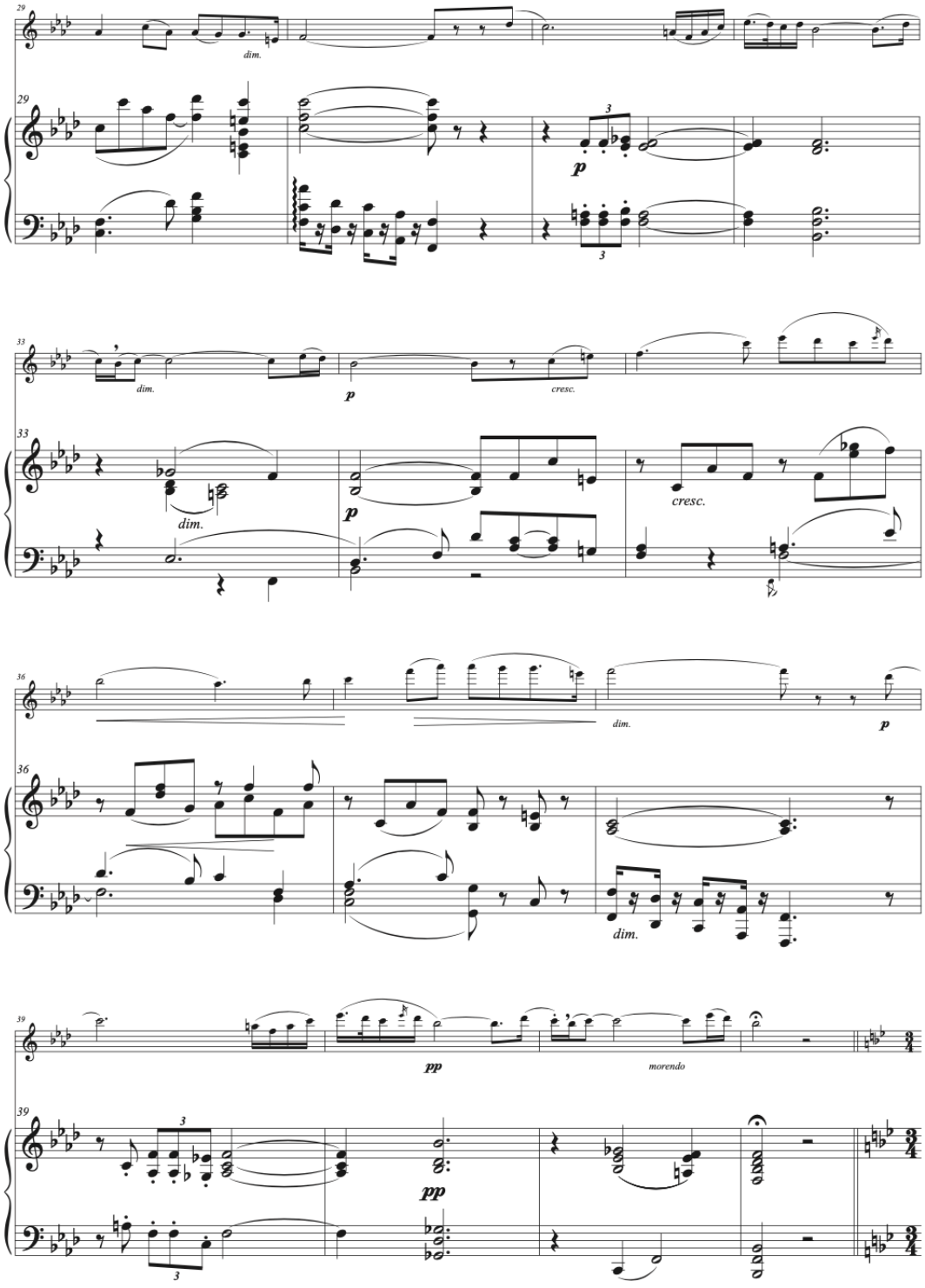
Score

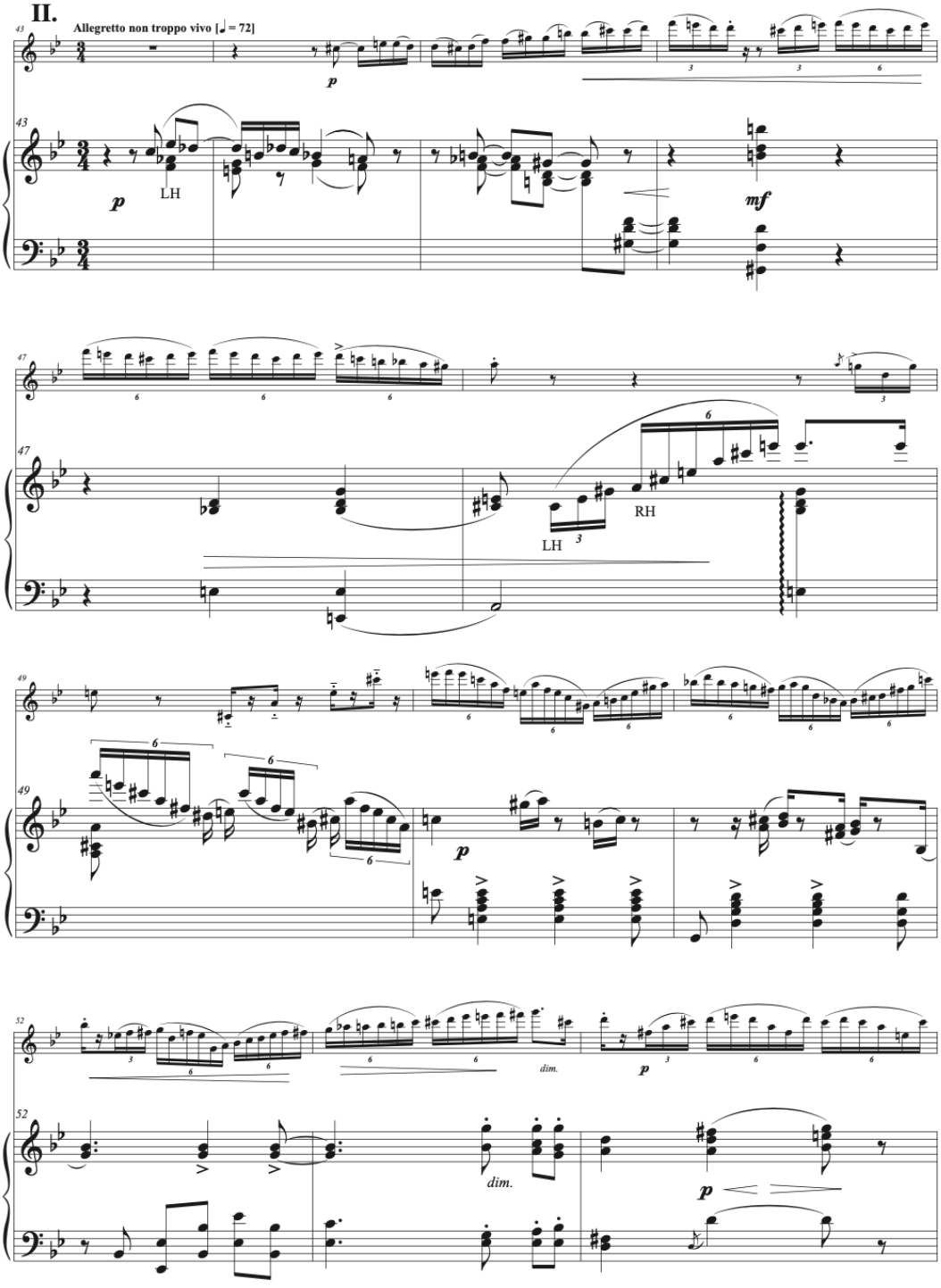
Suite for Flute and Piano, Op. 33

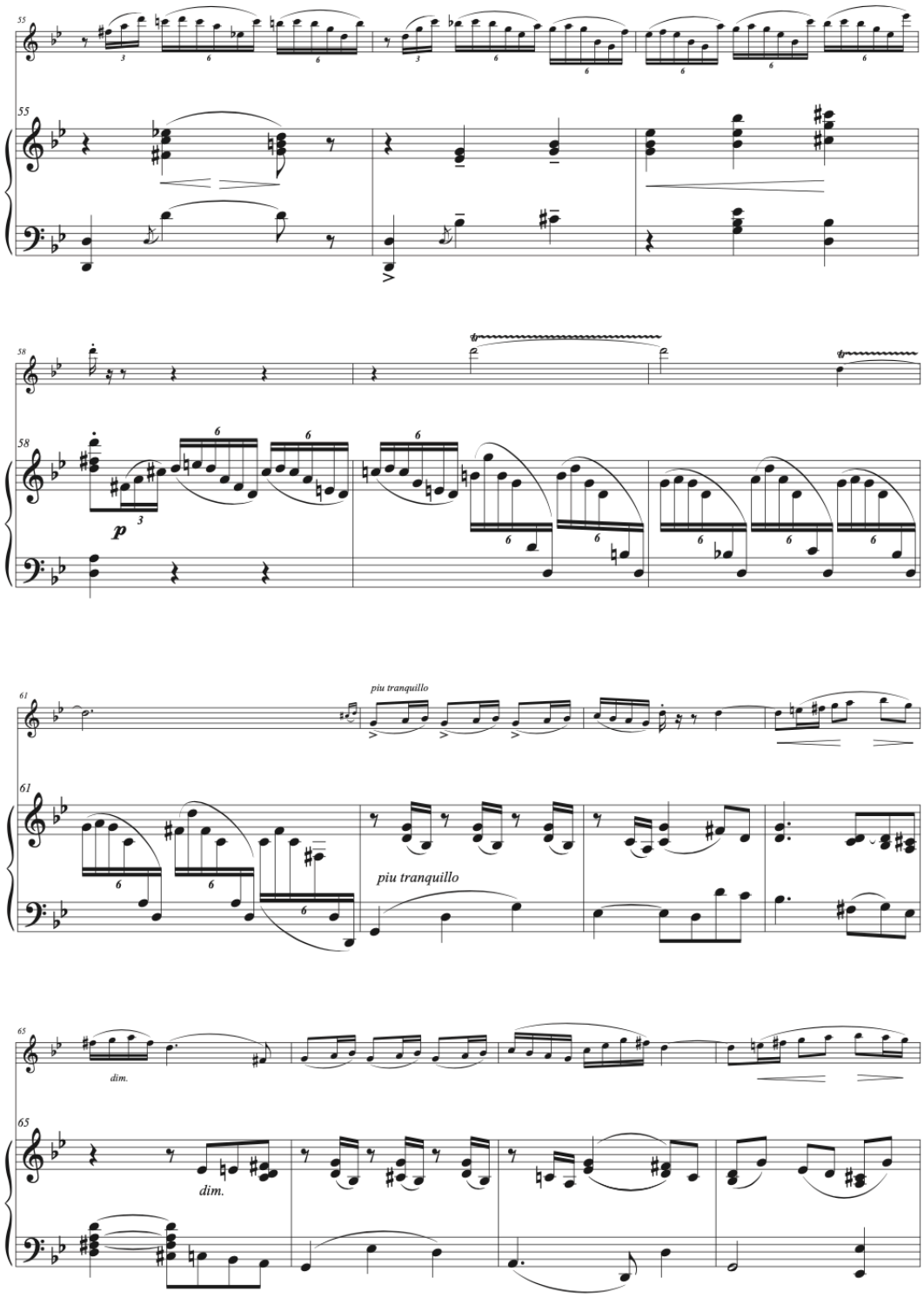
Laura Netzel (1839-1927)
edited by Cassie Lear

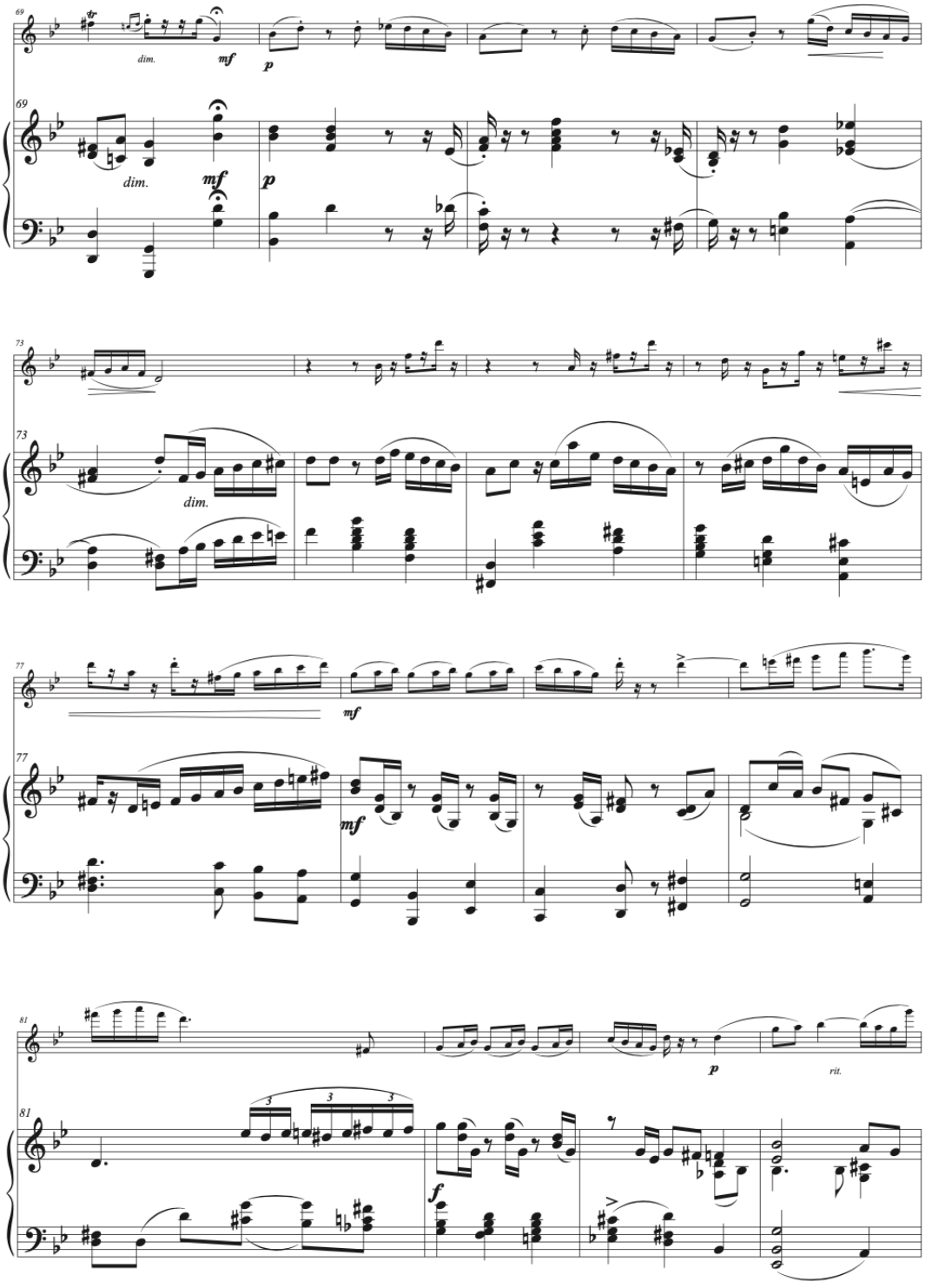


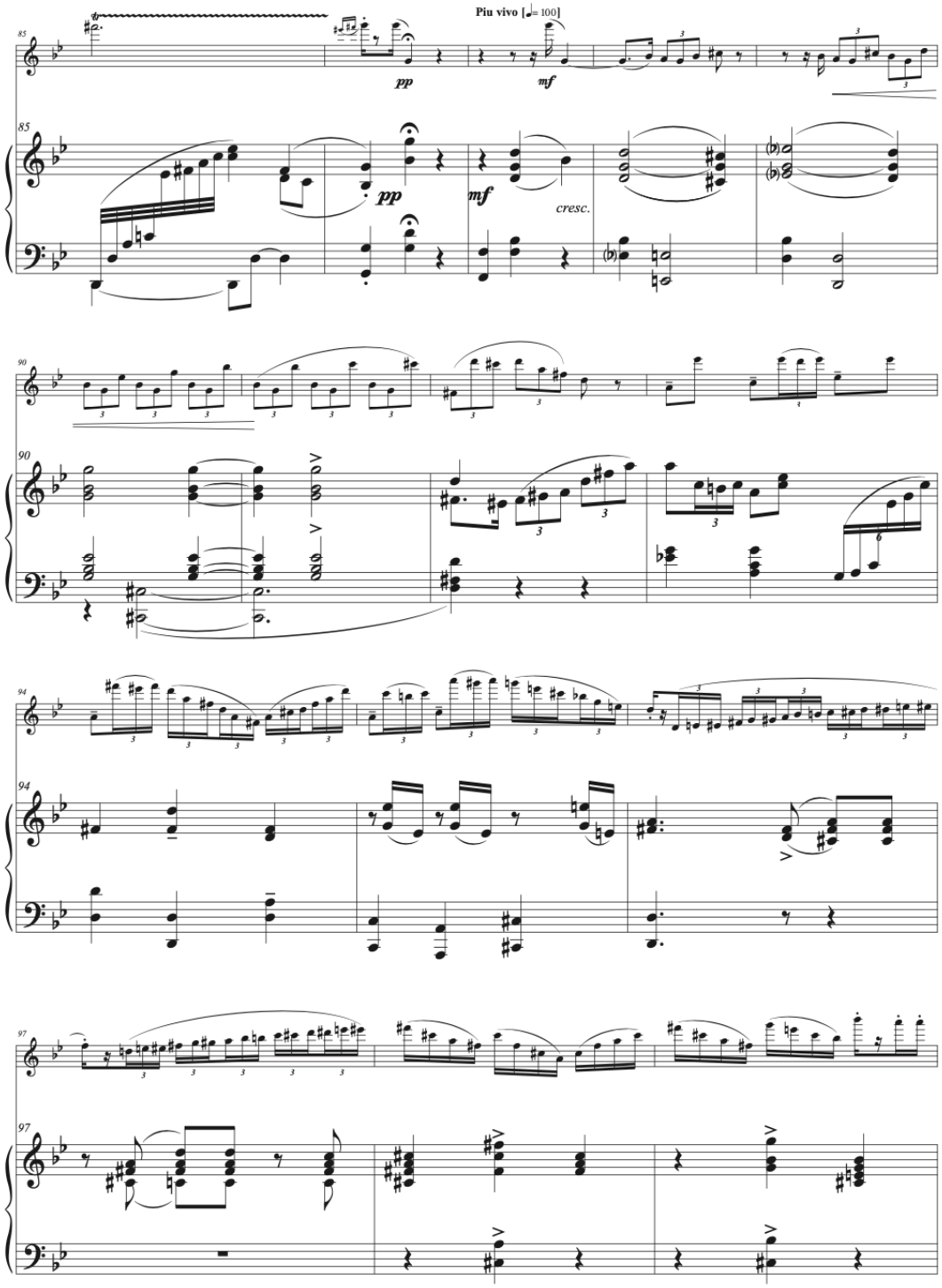

13
dim.
pp
13
dim.
17
[Andantino ♩= 88]
p
ben legato
17
p
21
21
25
p
pp
25
p

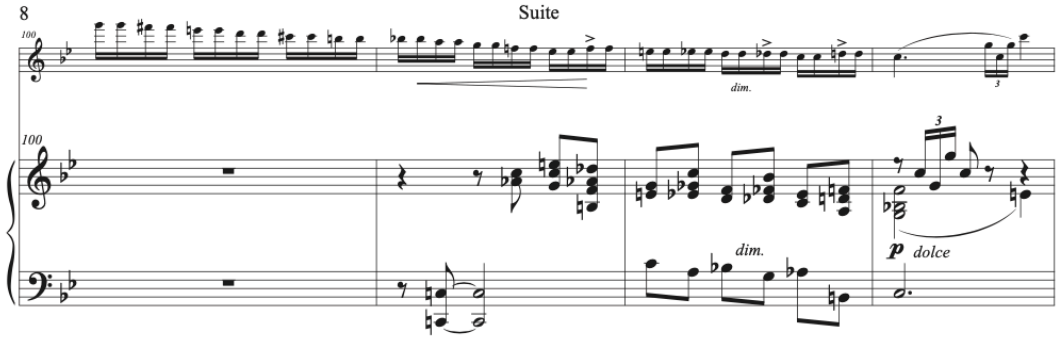

29
dim.
29
p
3
3
33
dim.
p
cresc.
33
dim.
p
cresc.
36
dim.
p
36
dim.
39
pp
morendo
39
3
pp
3

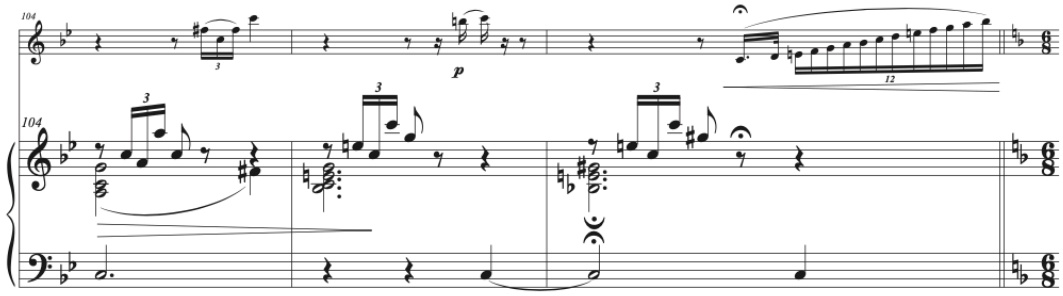

II.
Allegretto non troppo vivo [♩ = 72]
p
LH
mf
RH
dim.


55
55
58
58
p
61
piu tranquillo
61
piu tranquillo
65
dim.
65
dim.

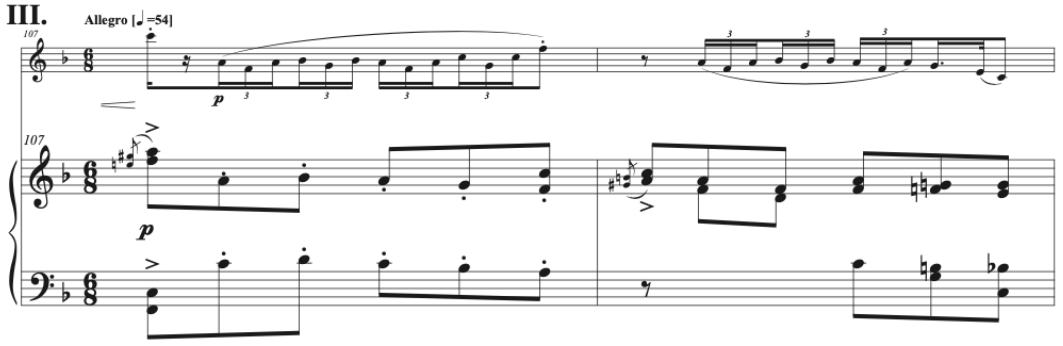

69
dim.
mf
p
69
dim.
mf
p
73
dim.
73
77
mf
77
mf
81
p
rit.
81
3
3
3
f

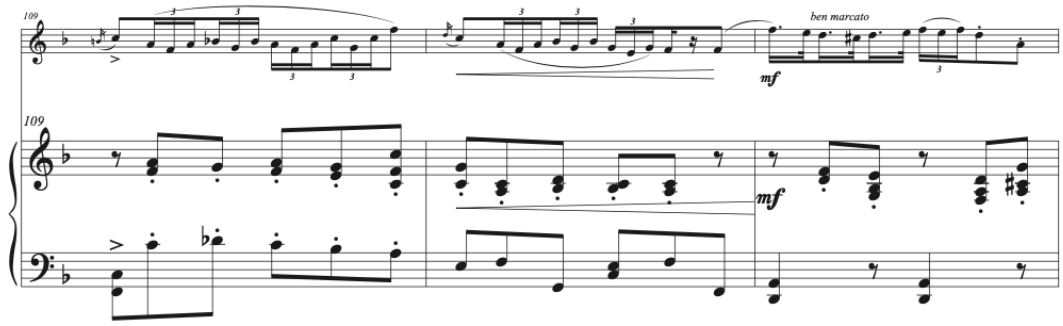

Piu vivo [♩= 100]
85
pp
mf
cresc.
90
94
97

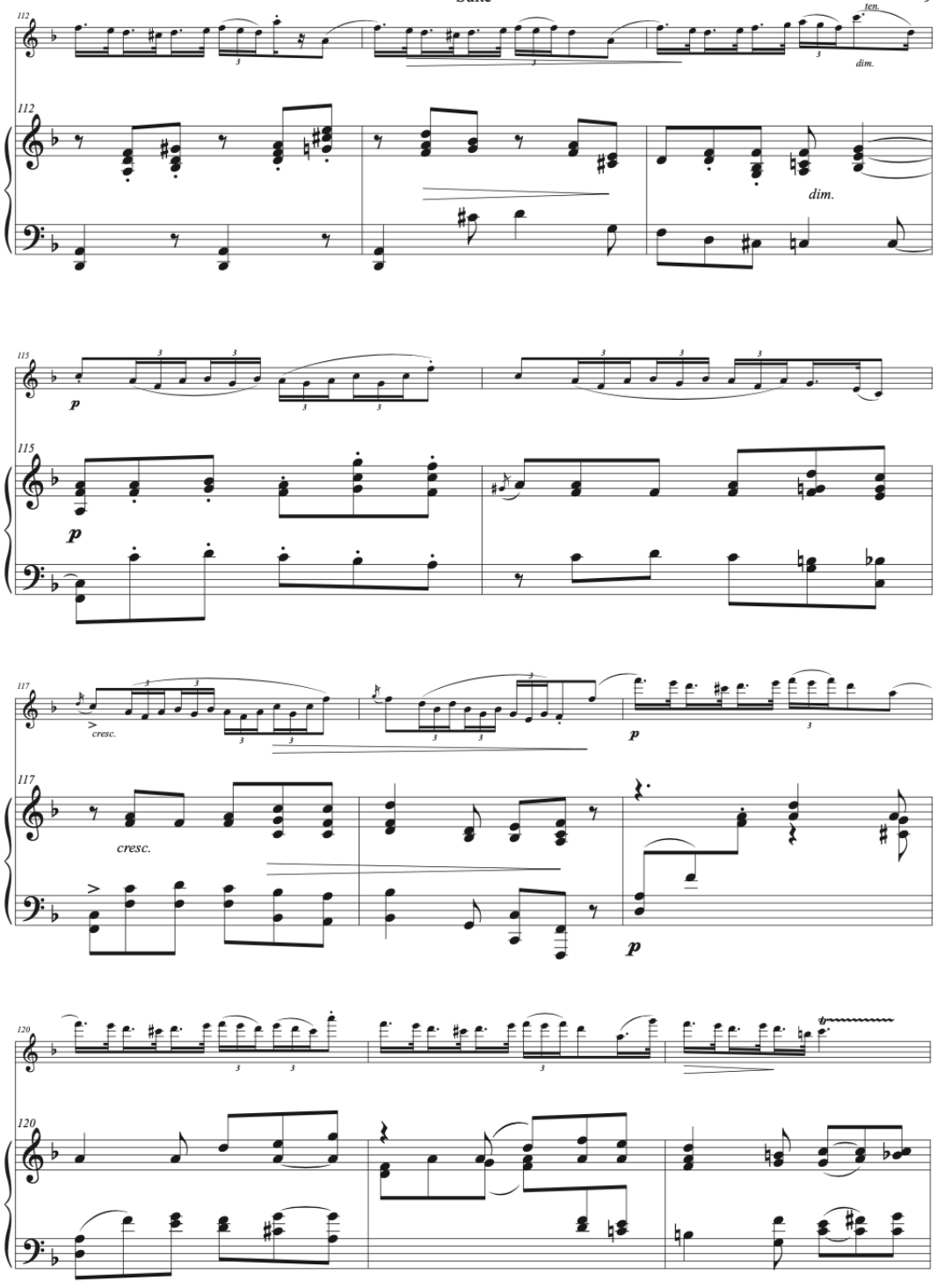


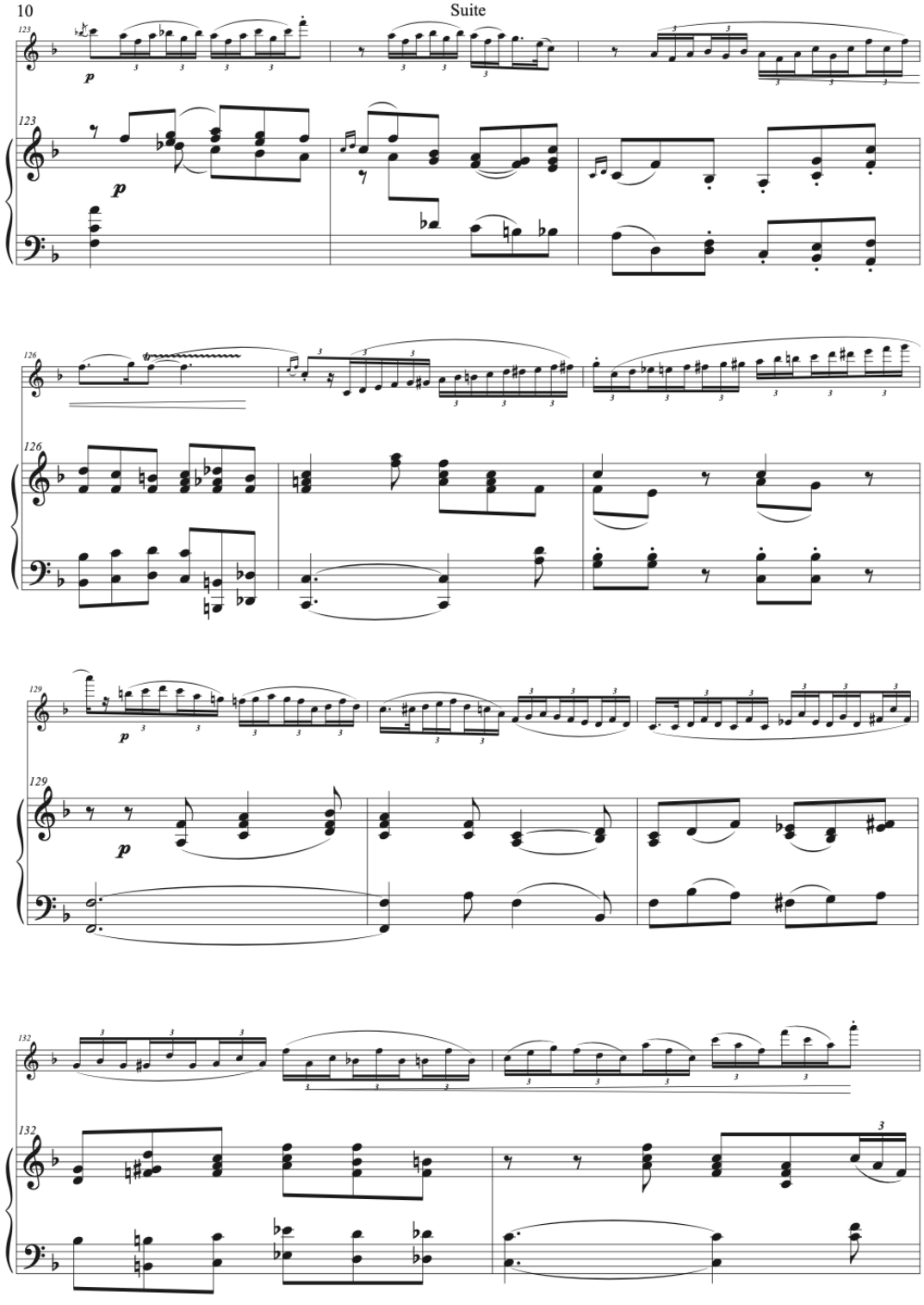


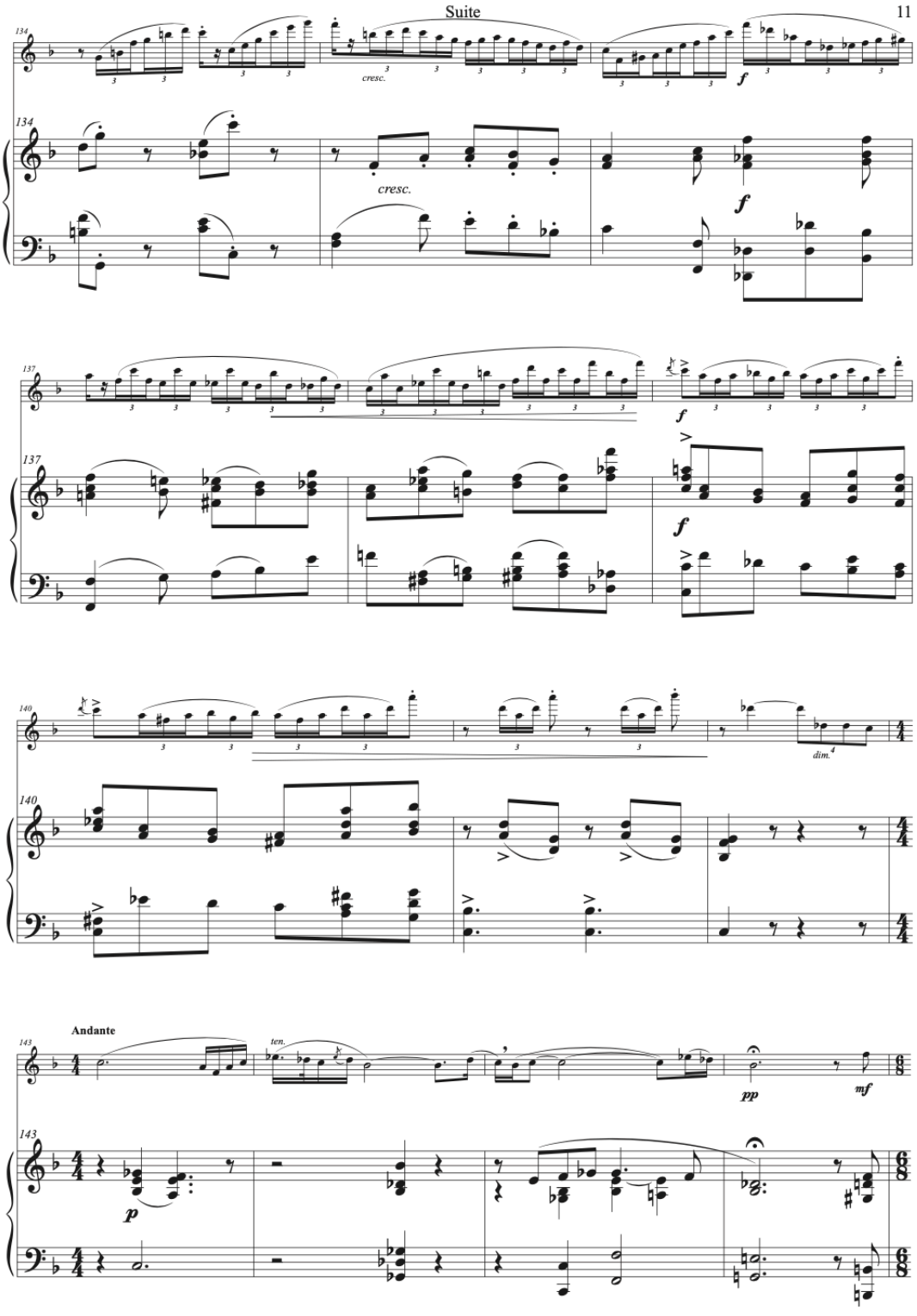
III. **Allegro [♩=54]**

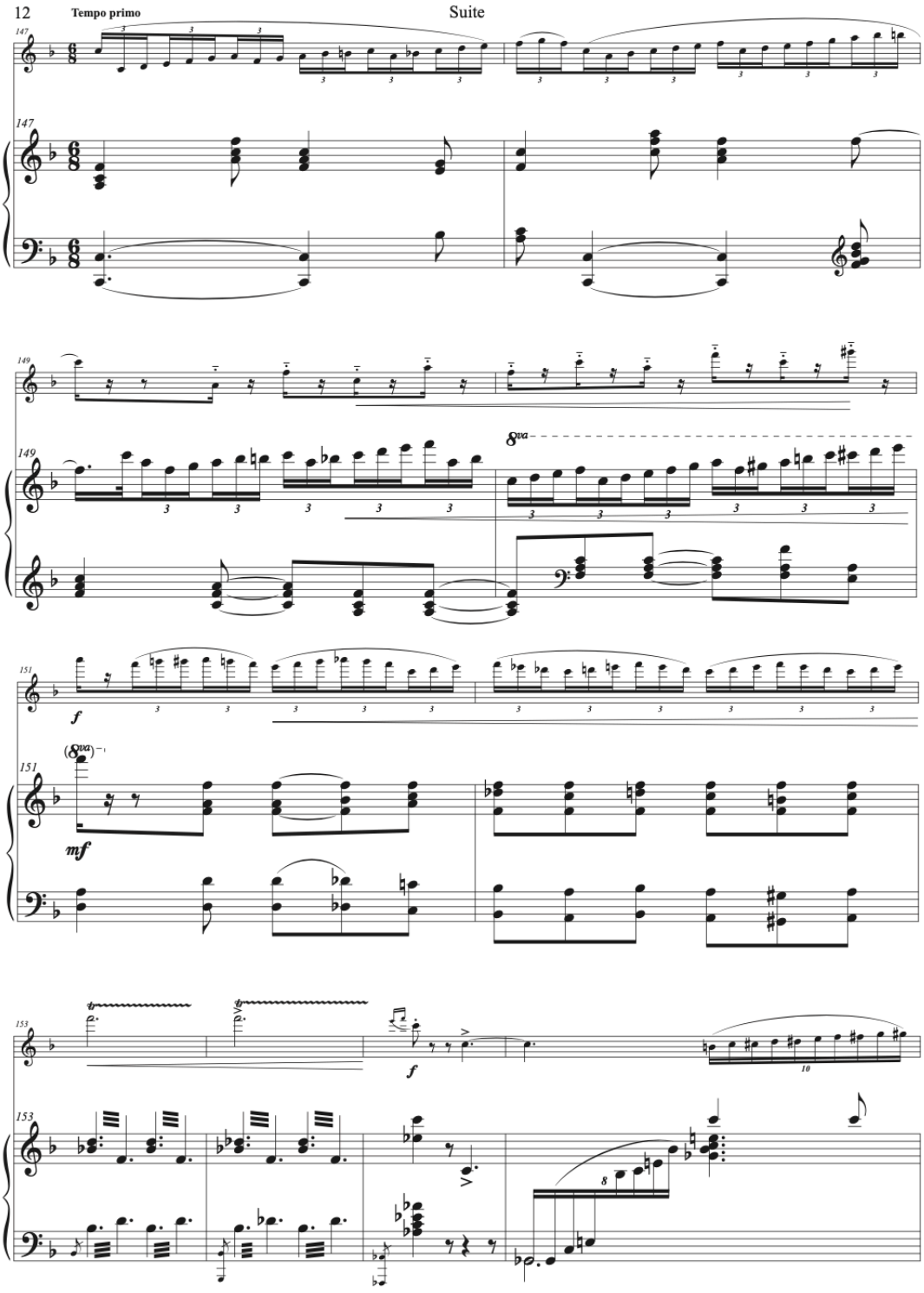


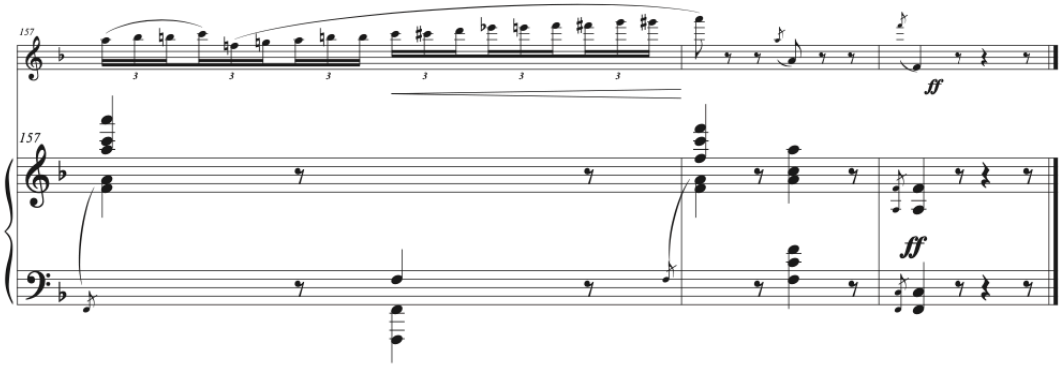



112
ten.
dim.
112
dim.
115
p
115
p
117
cresc.
p
117
cresc.
p
120
120


123
p
123
p
126
126
129
p
129
p
132
132


134
cresc.
f
137
f
140
dim.
Andante
143
ten.
pp
mf
p


Tempo primo
147
149
151
153
8va
(8va)
f
mf


157
157
ff
ff

Appendix C: Editorial Changes in *Berceuse,* op. 69

Following is a list of differences between the 1900 published edition of *Berceuse,* op. 69, and my new edition, organized by measure number.

1: Added suggested metronome marking

1-5: Transposed the right hand of the piano up an octave to mitigate the change of the solo line and to avoid the duplicated notes in measure 5.

1-11: Solo part 8va

1: Changed ***p*** to ***mp*** to encourage air support

13-27: Solo part 8va

23: Added ***sfp***

29-30: Adjusted slur to avoid barline

35: Added ***mf*** and *decrescendo*

37: Added mp on beat two

42: Added decrescendo

45: Adjusted first four solo notes 8va; changed the last A natural to an E♯, added ***mf*** *decrescendo* to ***p***

47: Added ***f*** *decrescendo* to ***p***

53: Added *decrescendo*, moved the dynamic marking to the end of the note

55: Changed dynamic to match the ***mp*** at measure 1

62: Added *crescendo*

59: Removed slur on beat one to match articulation in repeated theme in bar 78

73: Added *descrescendo*

78: Added slur on beat two to match articulation in previous theme in bar 59

83: Added *decrescendo*

89: Added ***mp***, hairpin, ending ***p*** dynamic

89-99: Solo part 8va

97: Added staccato to beat one to match previous articulation in bar 9

98: Added slur on beat two to match previous articulation in bar 10

101-108: Solo part 8va

105: Added crescendo

111-112: Adjusted slur to avoid barline

114: Moved *crescendo* back one bar

117: Adjusted initial dynamic of last note from ***pp*** to ***p***

Appendix D: *Berceuse,* op. 69 by Laura Netzel, edited by Cassandra Lear

Performance Notes

Originally written for violin and piano, Laura Netzel's *Berceuse*, op. 69 is a lyrical lullaby that has been adapted for flute as the solo instrument. The work is in 2/4 meter but has a compound feel due to the running triplets in the piano part. It has two main themes: a sweeping first theme that has been transposed up an octave from the original in order to accommodate for the flute range, and a more energetic and dancelike second theme that remains in the original octave.

This piece works well as both a beautiful light work to add to recitals and professional performances as well as a pedagogical work for intermediate students. While the F♯ Major key signature is not immediately friendly to student flutists, the songlike nature of the melody line allows for them to hear and quickly correct their pitch mistakes. If they practice with an ear to melody and direction, this work can help demystify the sharp keys that often give student flutists pause. Other pedagogical elements of this work include direction and continuity across long lines and maintaining ensemble with the piano even when the murmuring triplet texture of the accompaniment differs from the simple meter of the melody. Editorial changes to the work were made with the needs of intermediate flutists in mind; the melodic registers have been adapted from the original to be more easily accessible to flutists who do not yet have a strong low register.

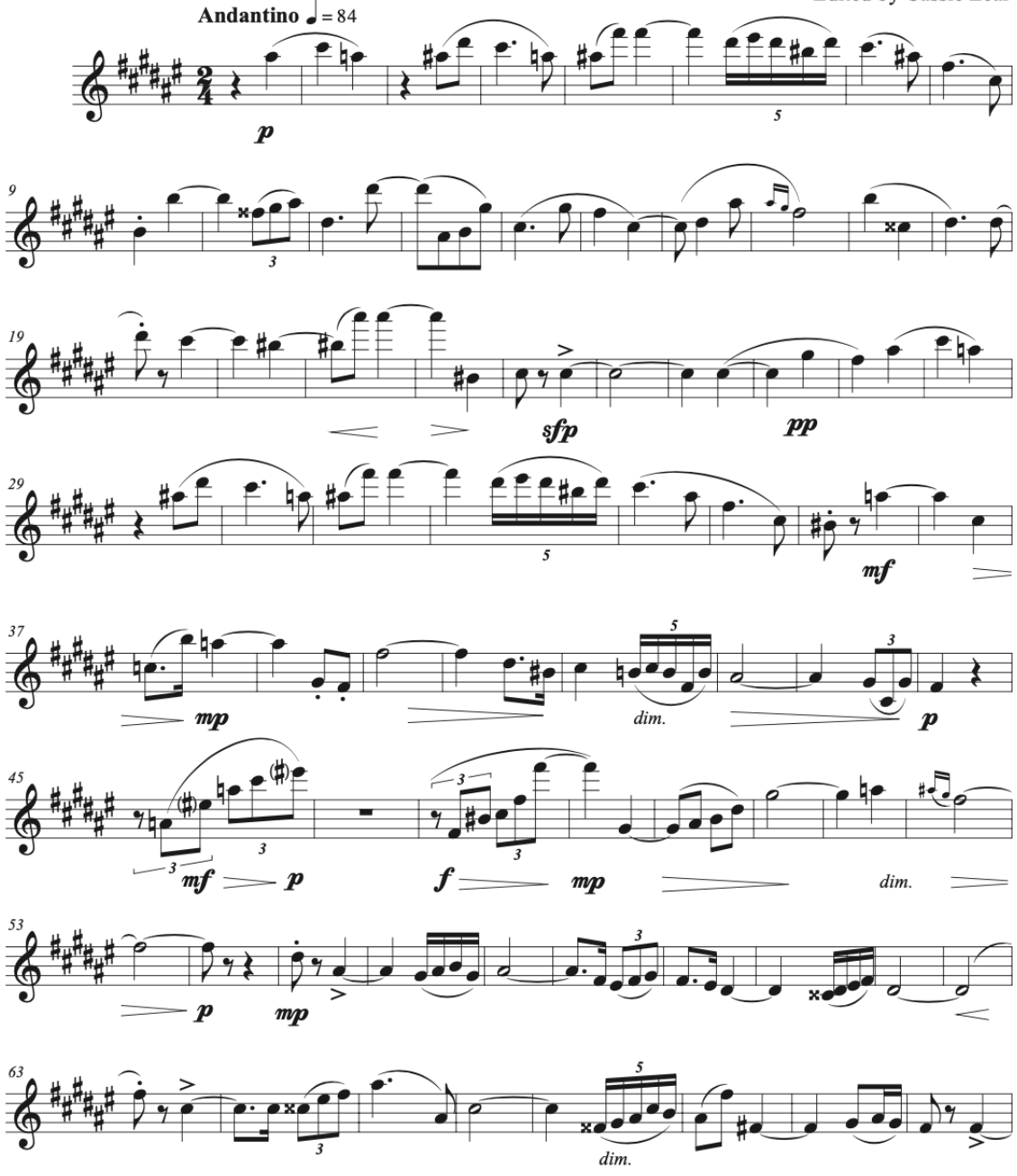
Laura Netzel (1839-1927) began composition lessons only in her mid-40s although she had been performing for much of her life. She made her debut as a concerto soloist at age 17 and performed often in the Swedish royal court. She took composition lessons from both Wilhelm Heintz and Chareles Marie Widor, and wrote under the pen name N. Lago because working for

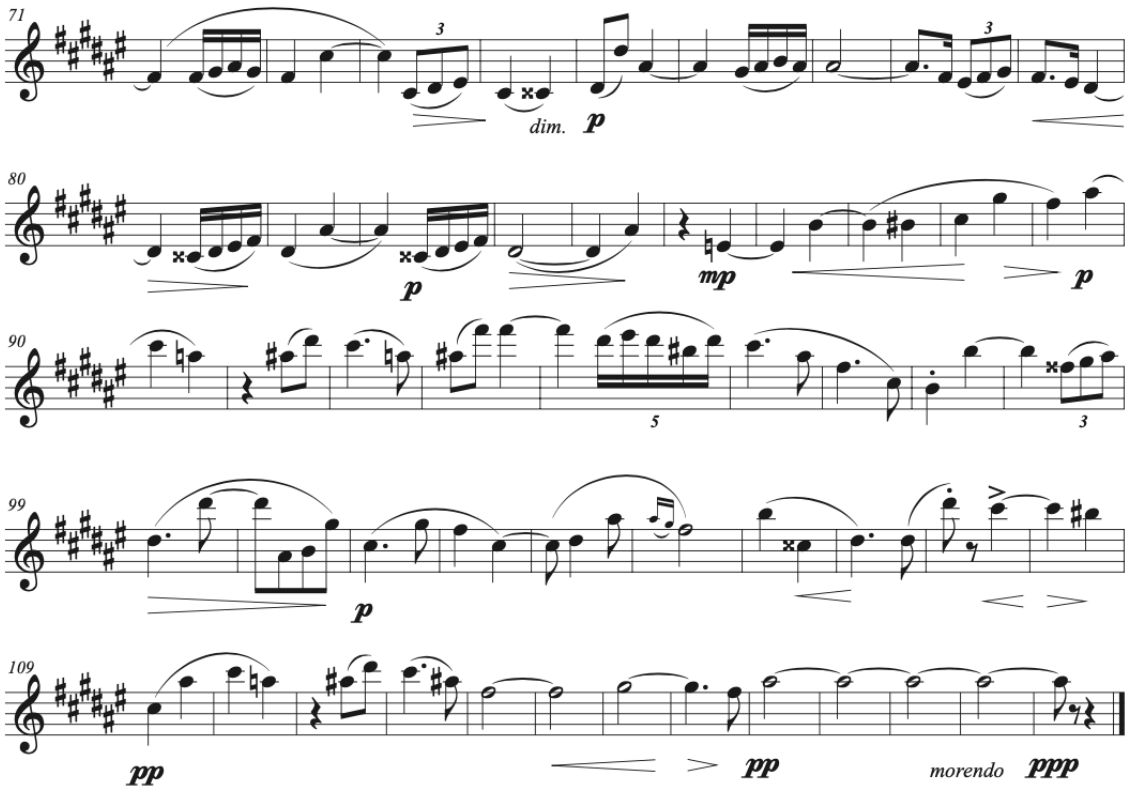
pay wasn't considered proper for a woman of the upper class. The broad contours of her identity were something of an open secret: newspaper reviews (most of which were very favorable) referred to her as "the well known pseudonym Lago" or "a woman from society," but Netzel initially preferred to stay nominally anonymous. Eventually she gave an interview to the Swedish women's magazine *Idun* and allowed her real name to be attached to her compositions in reviews and in programs. She wrote to friends that she chose to disclose her true identity because she was tired of the bias against women and she wanted the public to know the truth: that she, an active and often-performed composer, was also a woman. This was the busiest part of her career. Not only was she composing and performing, but she also organized and directed a chamber music series and hosted small salon concerts at her home.

Berceuse

for Flute and Piano

N. Lago (Laura Netzel), Op 69
Edited by Cassie Lear



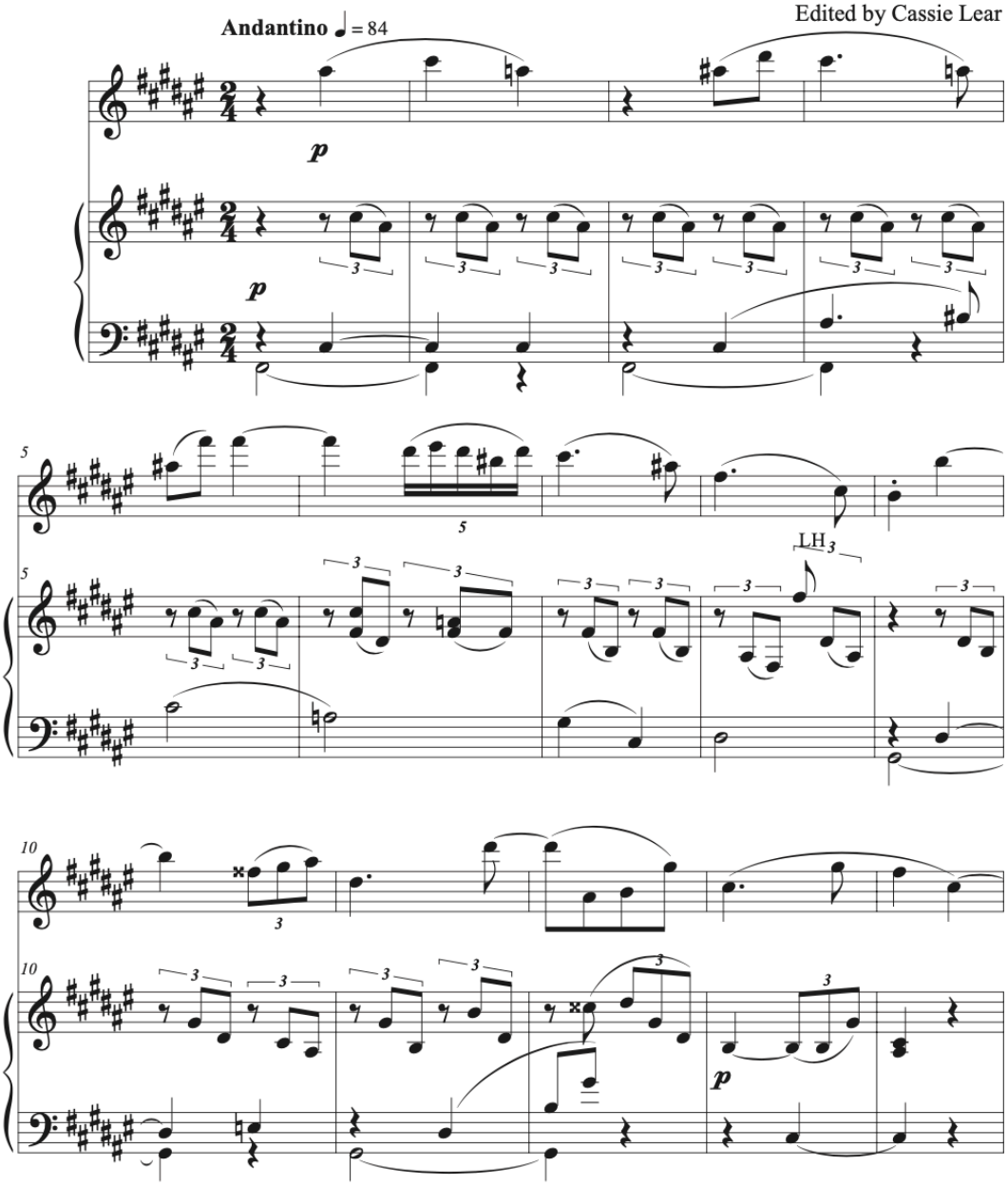

71
3
dim.
p
80
p
mp
p
90
5
3
99
p
109
pp
pp
morendo
ppp

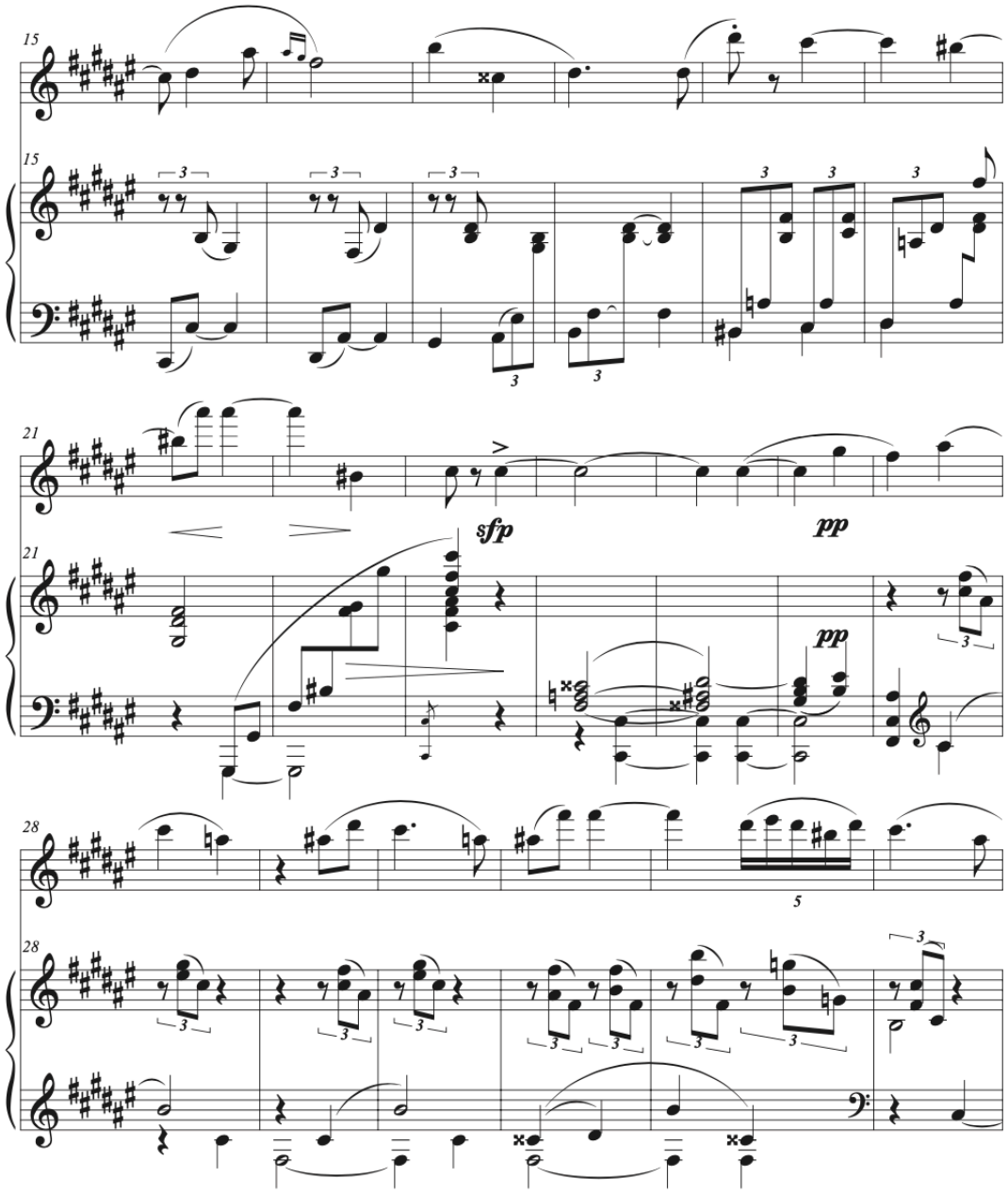
Berceuse

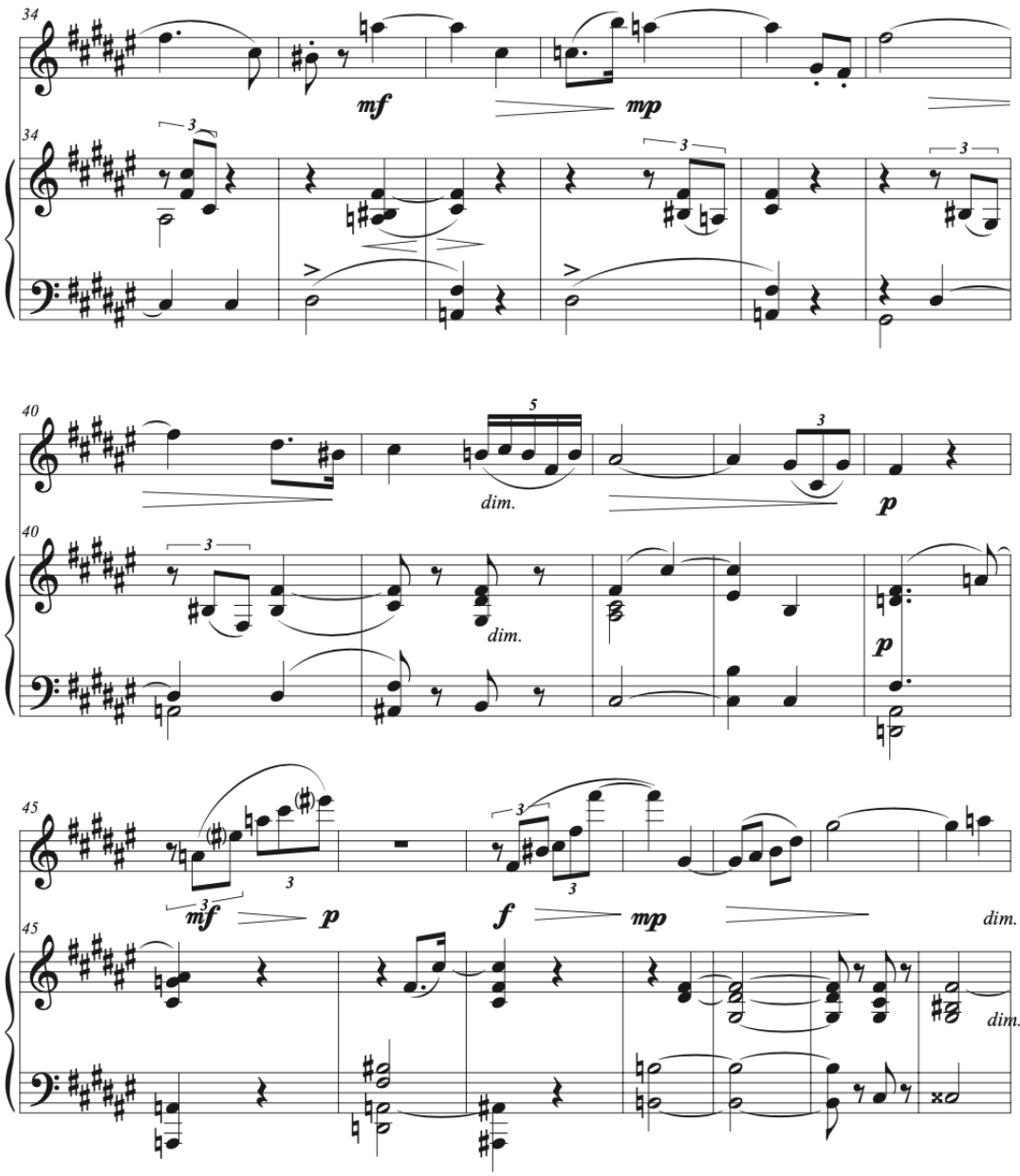
for Flute and Piano

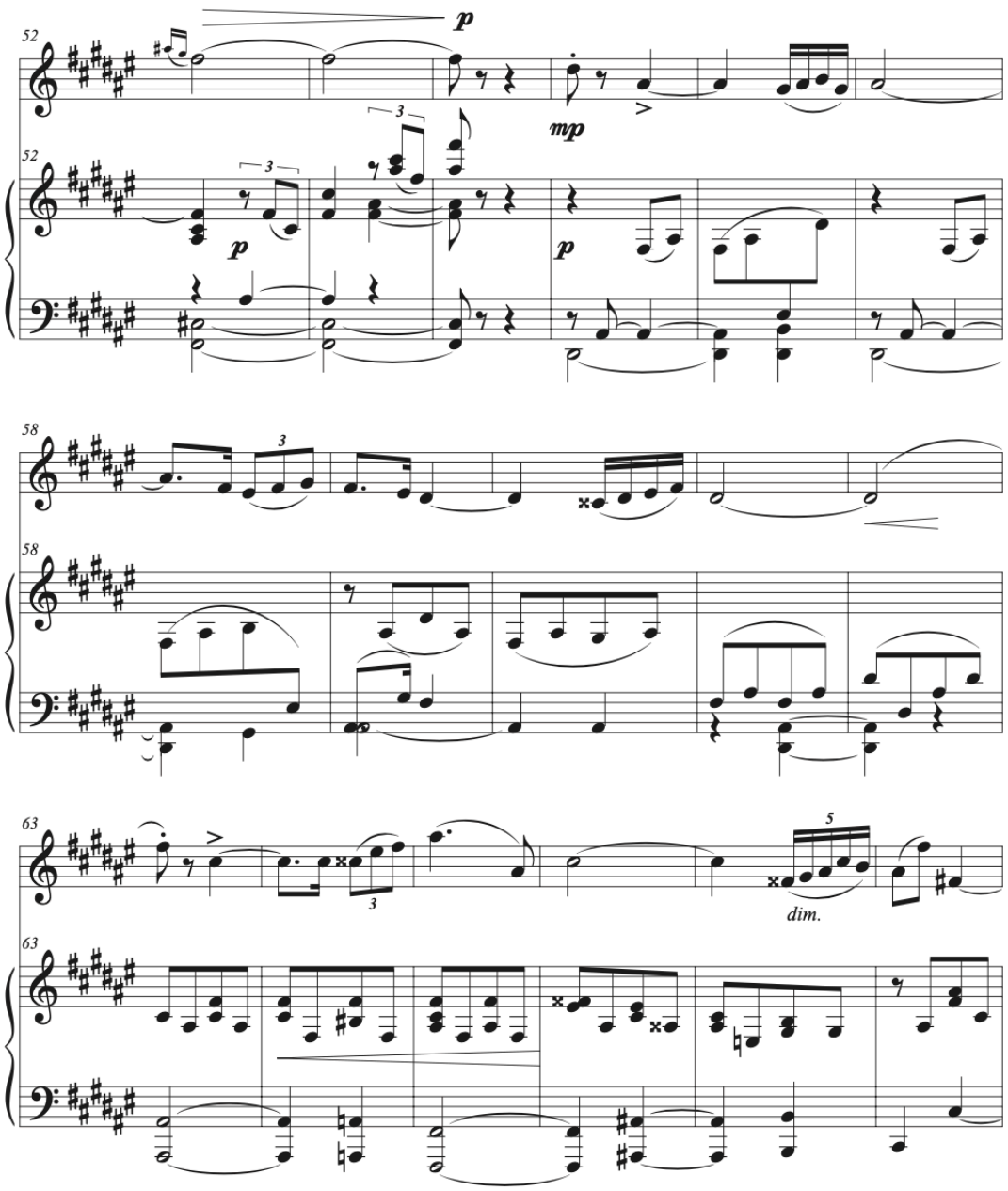
N. Lago (Laura Netzel), Op 69

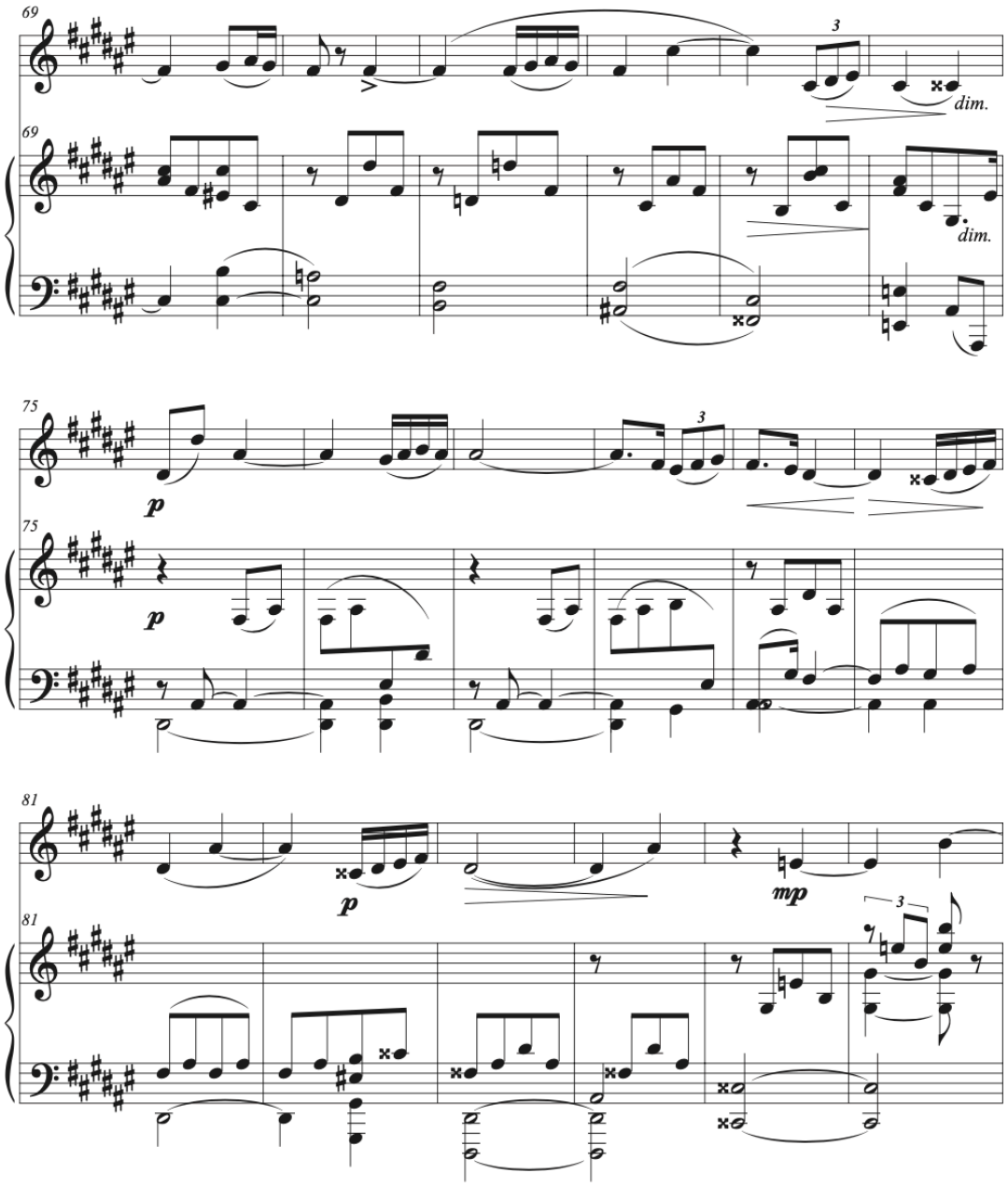
Edited by Cassie Lear

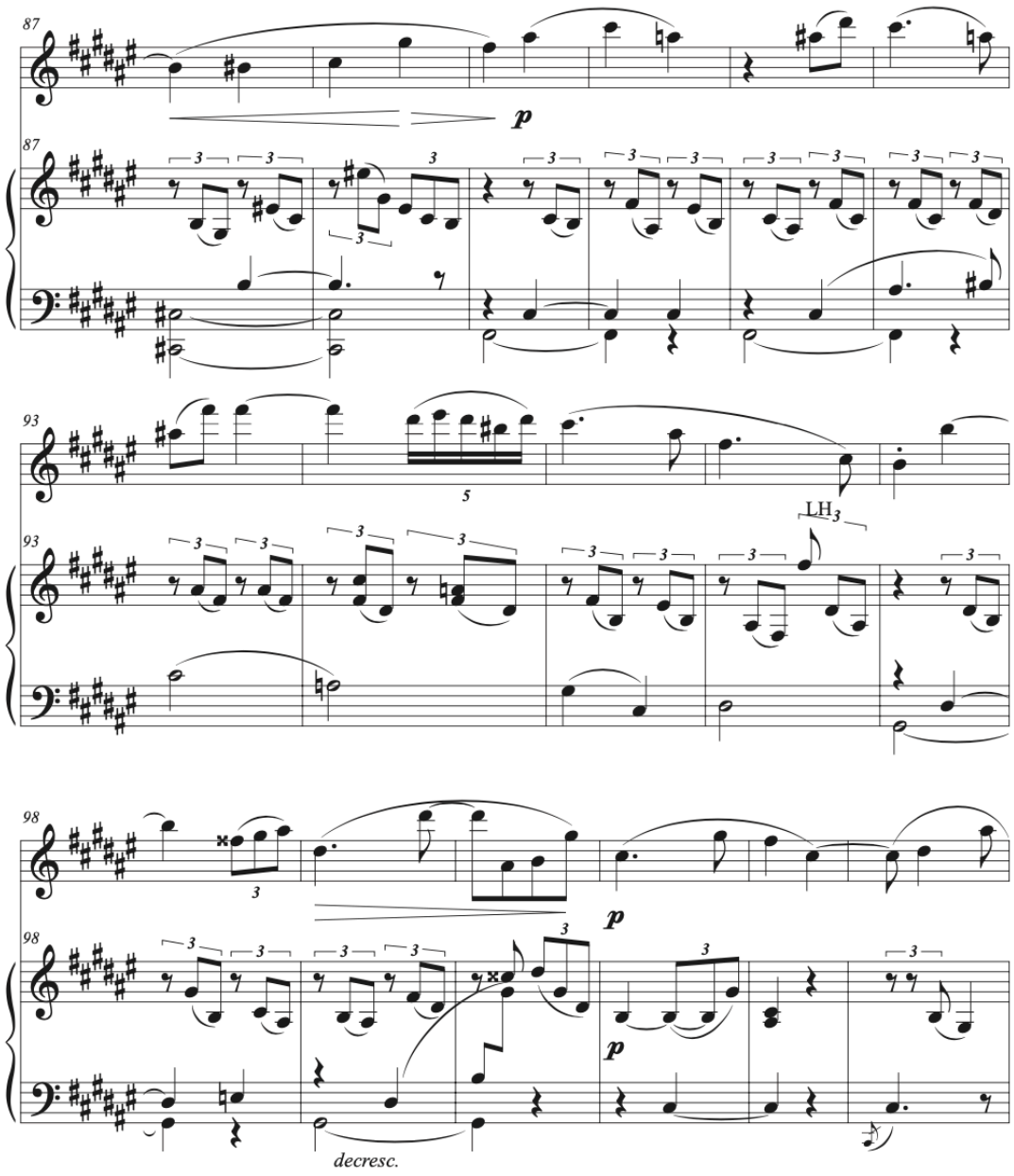


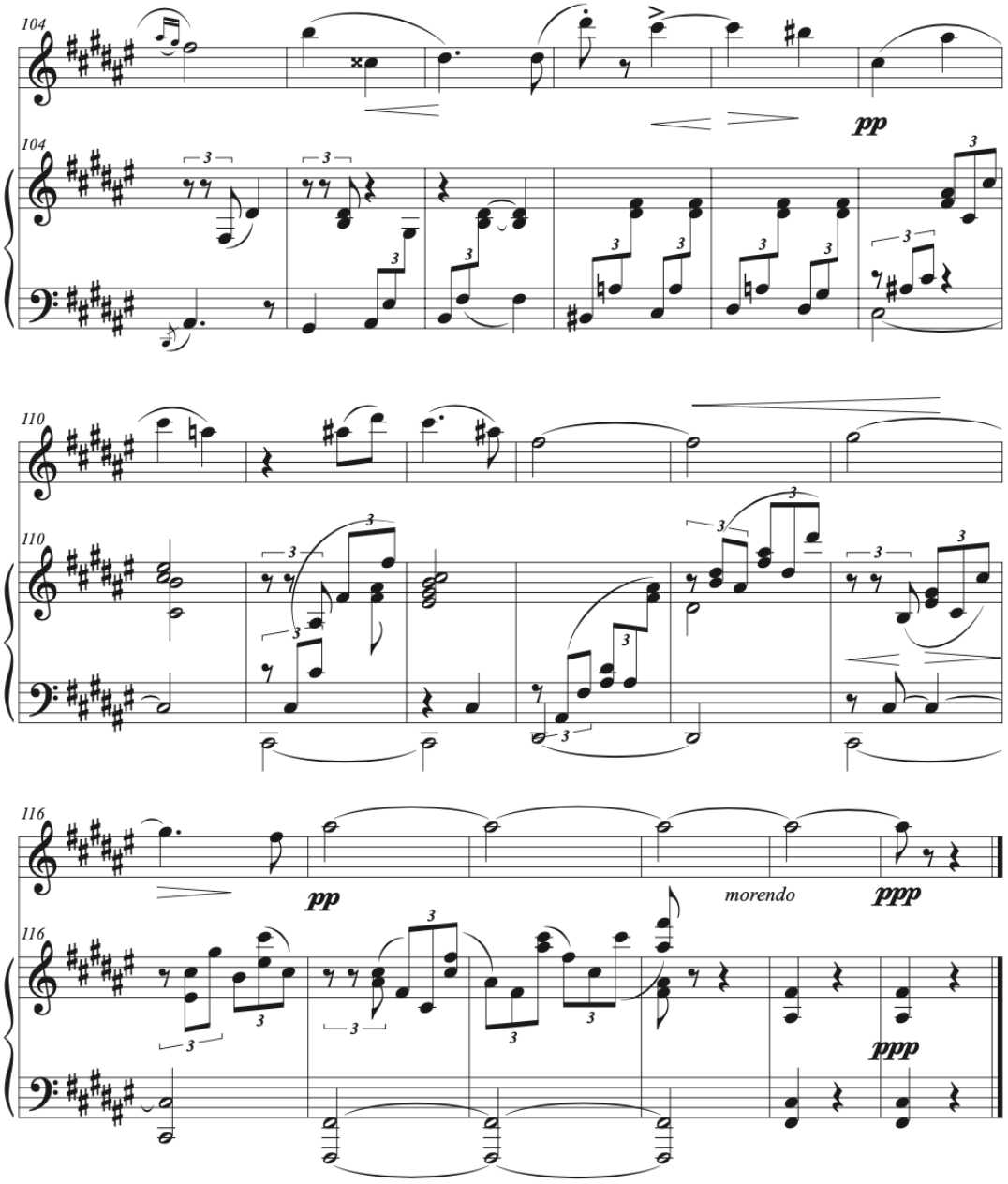

15
15
21
21
sfp
pp
pp
28
28


34
mf
mp
34
40
dim.
p
40
dim.
p
45
mf
p
f
mp
dim.
45
dim.


52
p
mp
52
3
p
p
58
3
58
63
3
5
dim.
63


69
3
dim.
69
dim.
75
p
3
75
p
81
p
mp
3
81


87
p
87
93
5
LH
93
98
3
p
98
p
decresc.


104
pp
110
116
pp
morendo
ppp
ppp

Appendix E: *Colibri,* op. 72 by Laura Netzel, edited by Cassandra Lear

Performance Notes

Colibri, op. 72 is a short and cheery piece of programmatic flute music that lives up to its name. "Colibri" means "hummingbird" and makes use of quick harmonic rhythm, trills, and active flute runs. The new performance edition was based on a scanned copy of the manuscript that is currently kept in the Swedish Musical Heritage archive in Stockholm. In contrast to Netzel's other flute works, *Colibri* needed no changes, updates, or edits to the flute part. The only considerations taken when creating the new edition were to convert the handwritten music to a typeset piece and set convenient page turns.

This piece is slightly more technically challenging than Netzel's *Berceuse*, op. 69, and more accessible than her Suite, op. 33. It is suitable for advanced students and would also make a great addition to a professional recital program. Pedagogical challenges in the work include performing different combinations of sixteenth notes correctly in triple meter. The flute and piano often combine to create constant running sixteenths in the 3/8 time signature, but neither part has consistent sixteenths and both performers must hear the beat hierarchy similarly in order to perform the piece in the light manner that it deserves.

Laura Netzel (1839-1927) began composition lessons only in her mid-40s although she had been performing for much of her life. She made her debut as a concerto soloist at age 17 and performed often in the Swedish royal court. She took composition lessons from both Wilhelm Heintz and Chareles Marie Widor, and wrote under the pen name N. Lago because working for pay wasn't considered proper for a woman of the upper class. The broad contours of her identity were something of an open secret: newspaper reviews (most of which were very favorable) referred to her as "the well known pseudonym Lago" or "a woman from society," but Netzel initially preferred to stay nominally anonymous. Eventually she gave an interview to the Swedish women's magazine *Idun* and allowed her real name to be attached to her compositions in reviews and in programs. She wrote to friends that she chose to disclose her true identity because she was tired of the bias against women and she wanted the public to know the truth: that she, an active and often-performed composer, was also a woman. This was the busiest part of her career. Not only was she composing and performing, but she also organized and directed a chamber music series and hosted small salon concerts at her home.

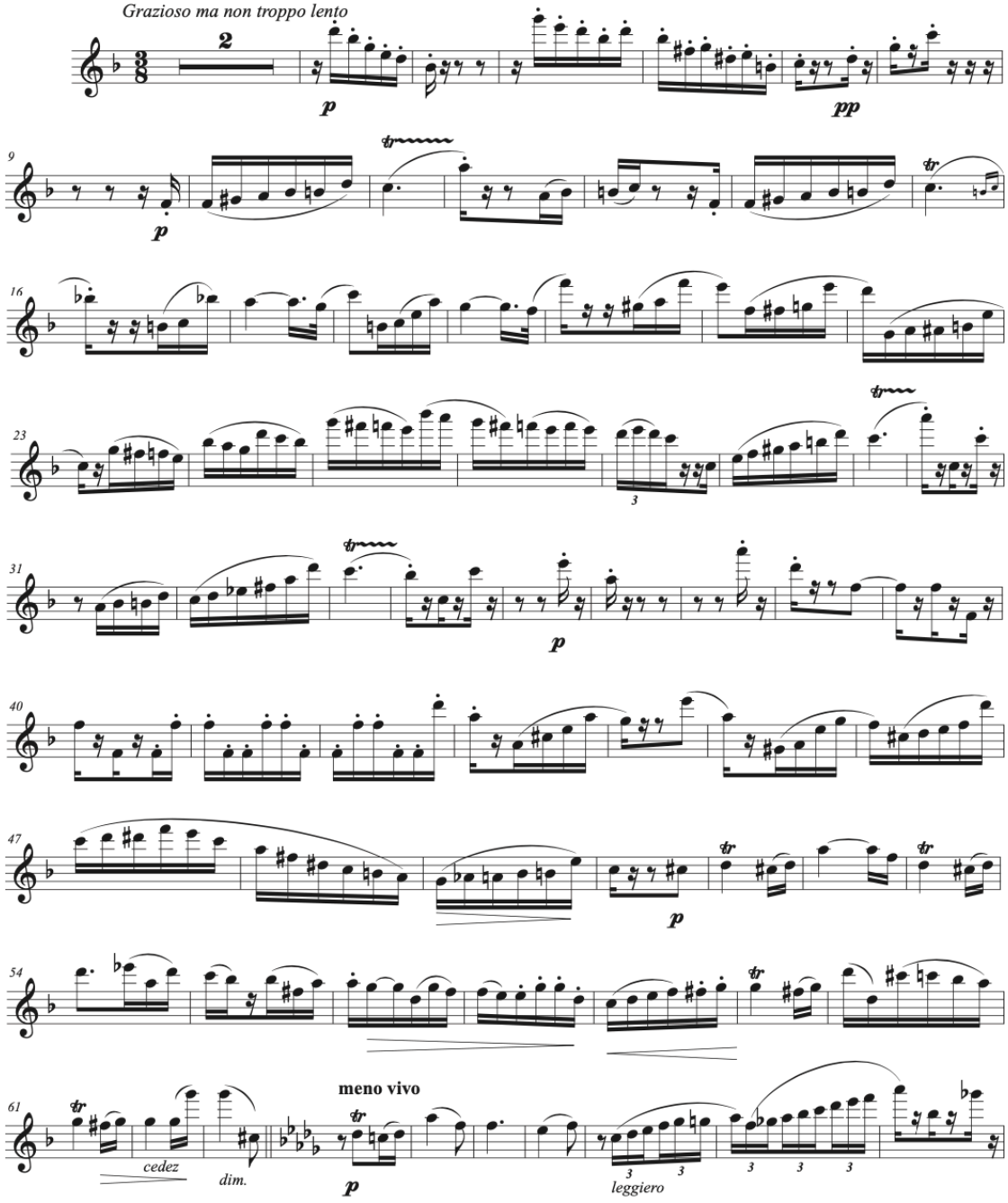
Flute

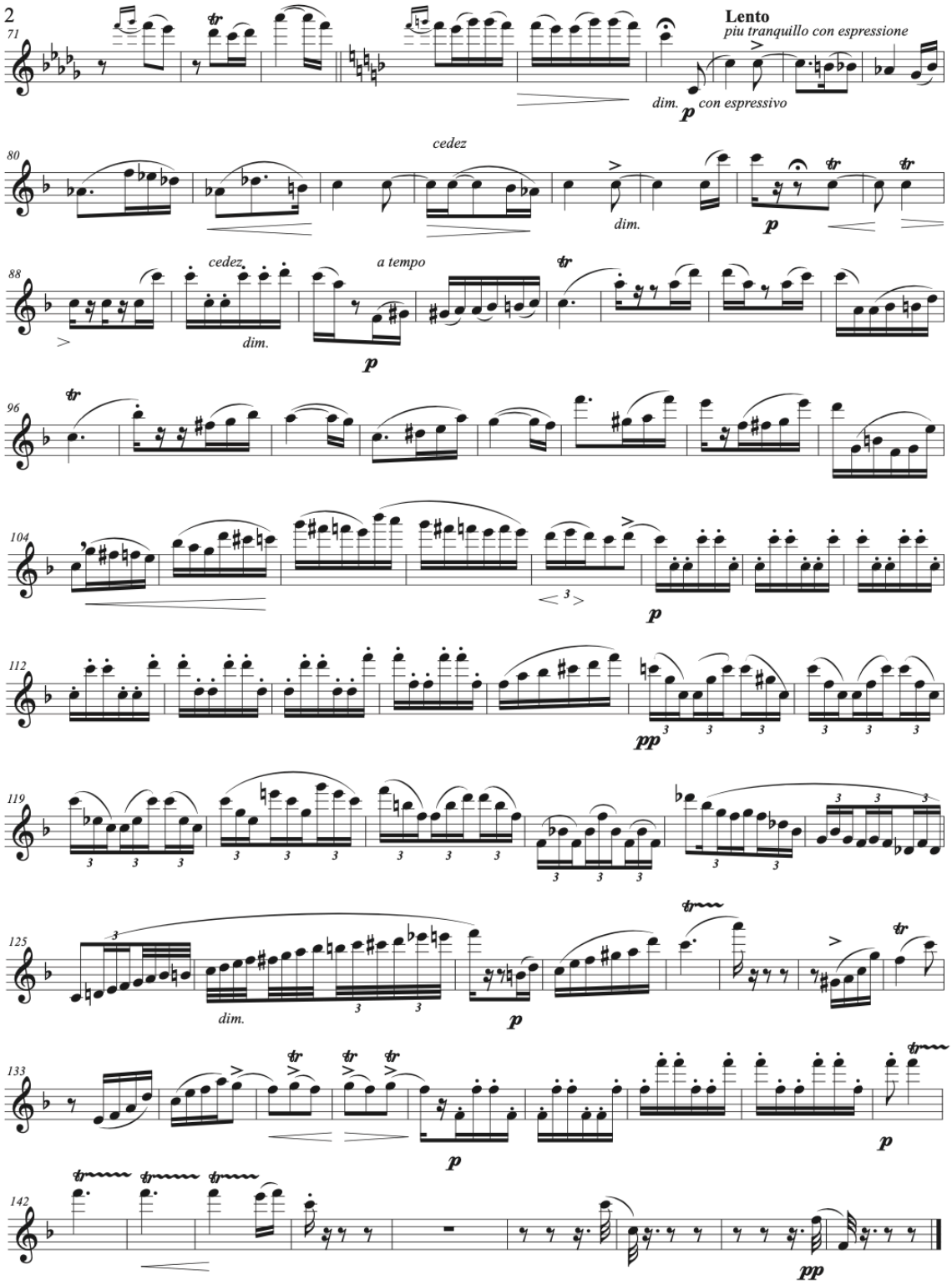
Colibri

For flute or violin and piano, Op. 72

N. Lago (Laura Netzel)

1912




2
71
Lento
piu tranquillo con espressione
dim.
p
con espressivo
80
cedez
dim.
p
88
cedez
dim.
a tempo
p
96
104
p
112
pp
119
125
dim.
p
133
p
142
pp

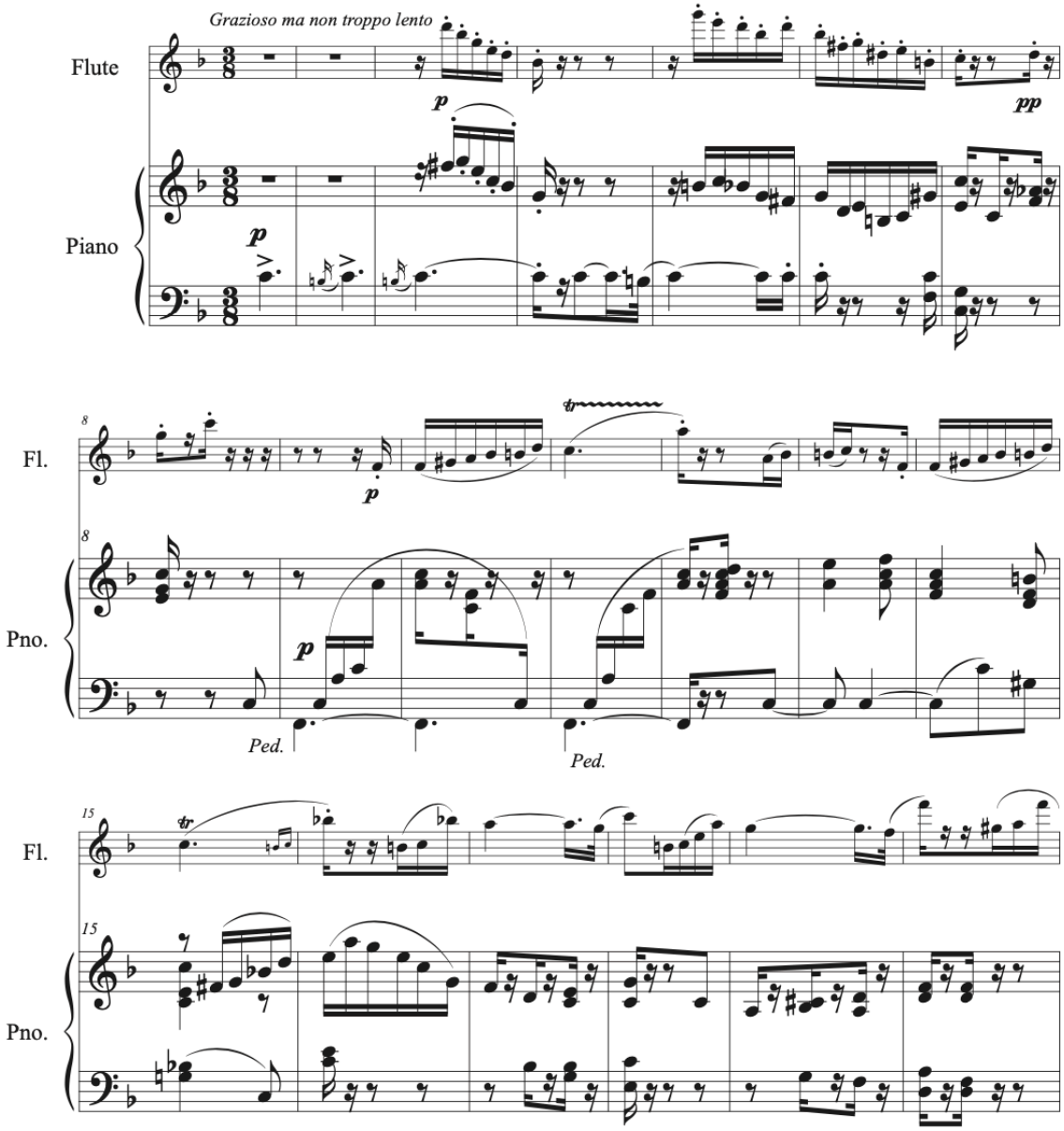
Score

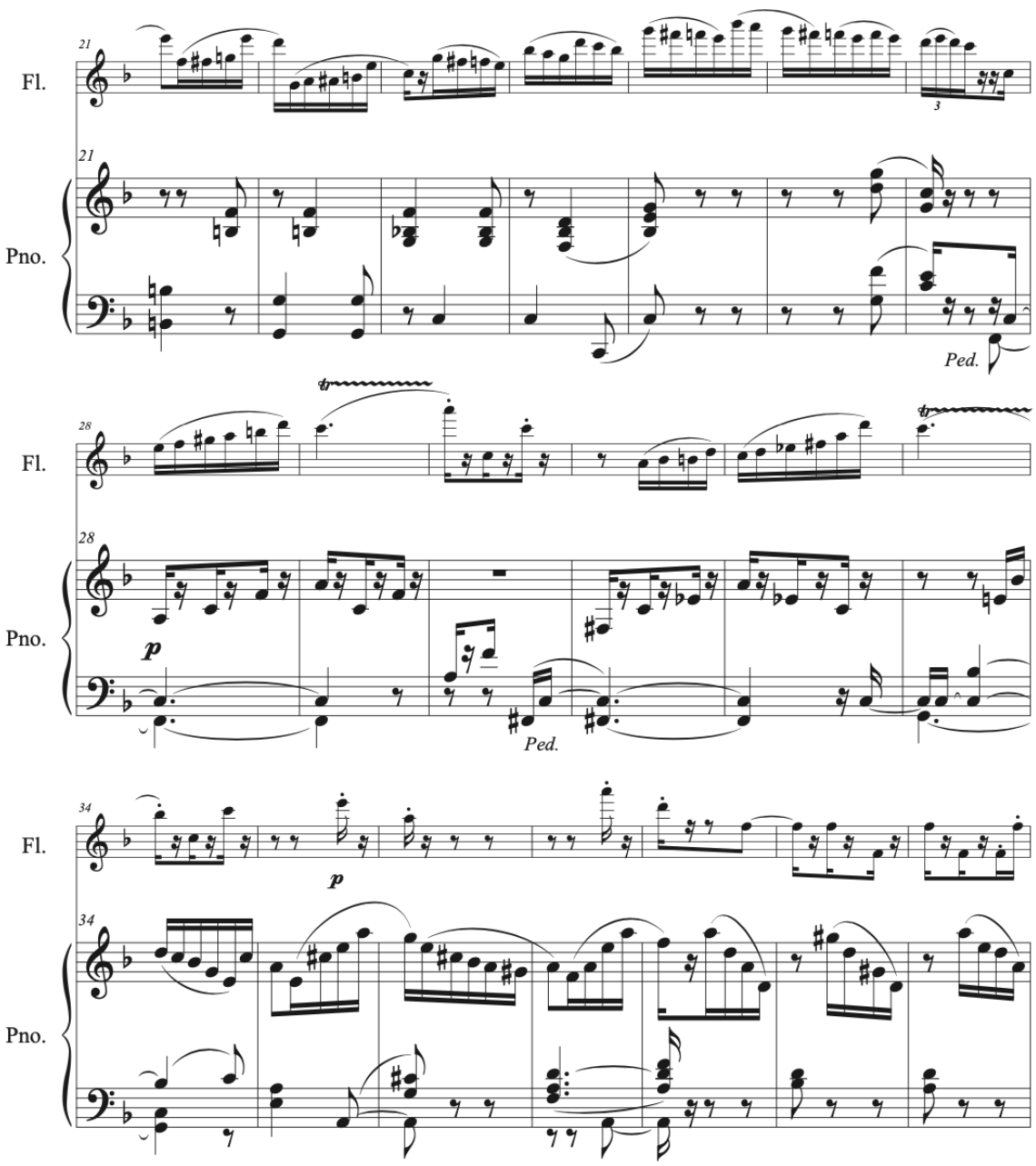
Colibri

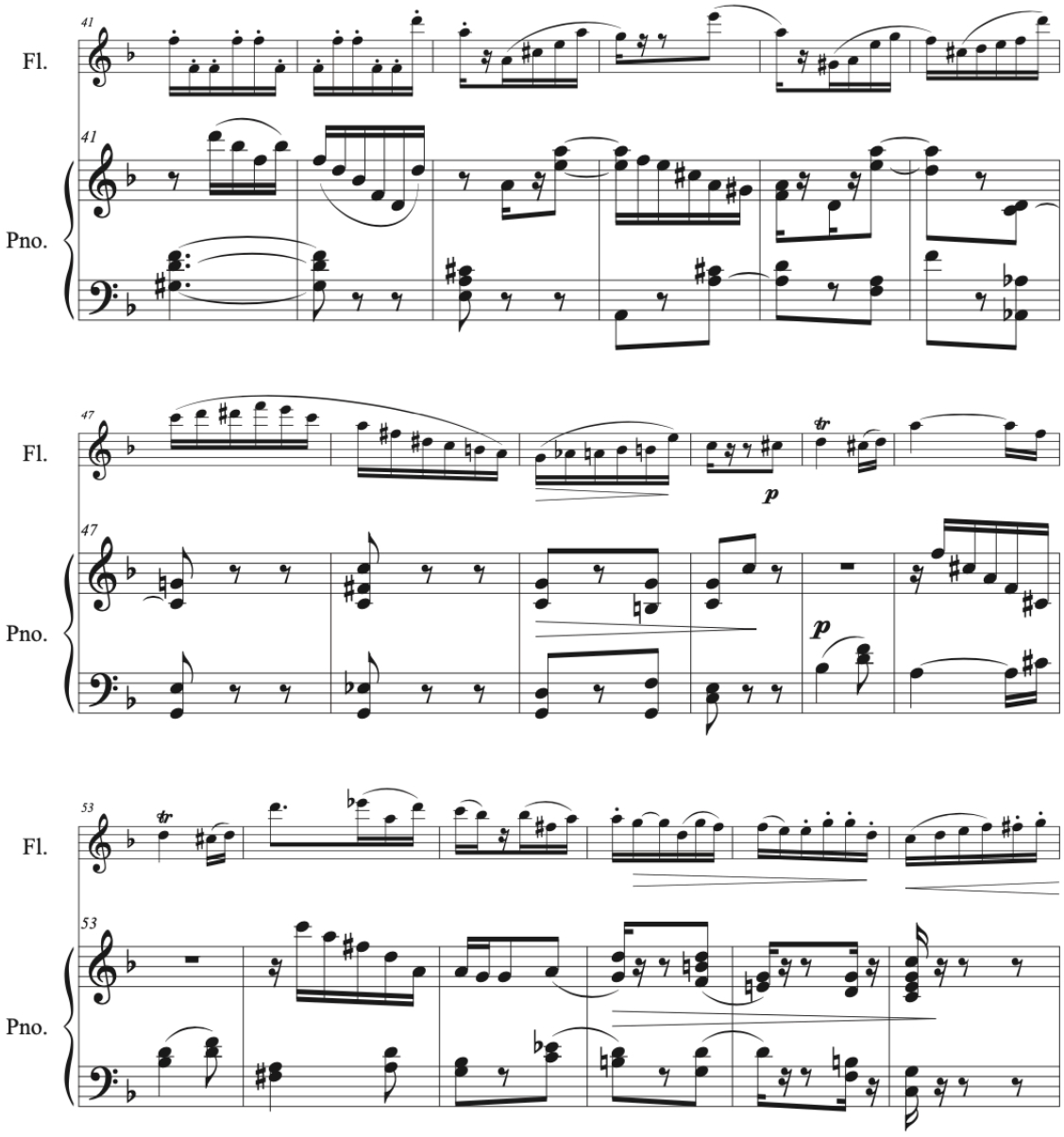
For flute or violin and piano, Op. 72

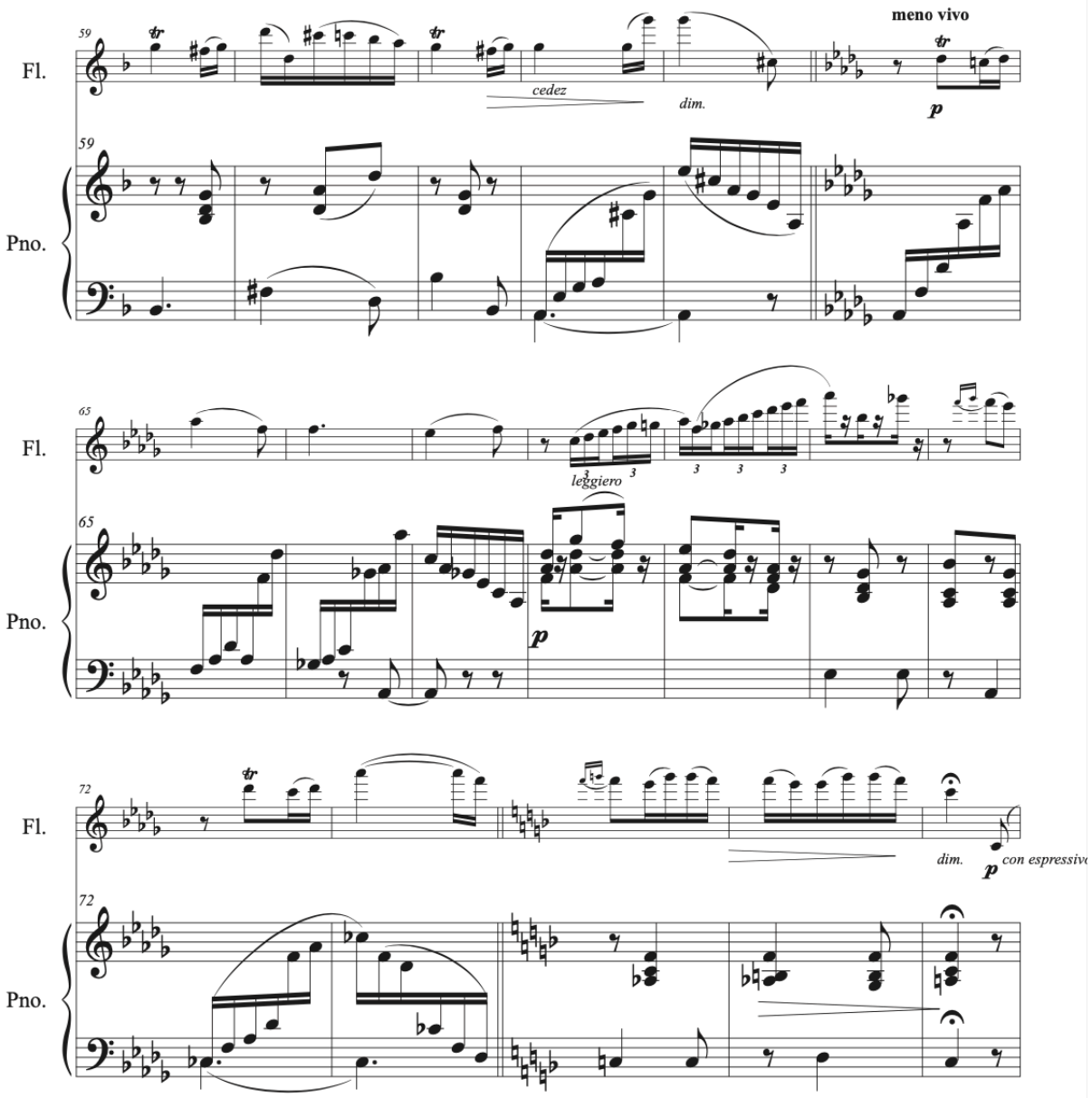
N. Lago (Laura Netzel)

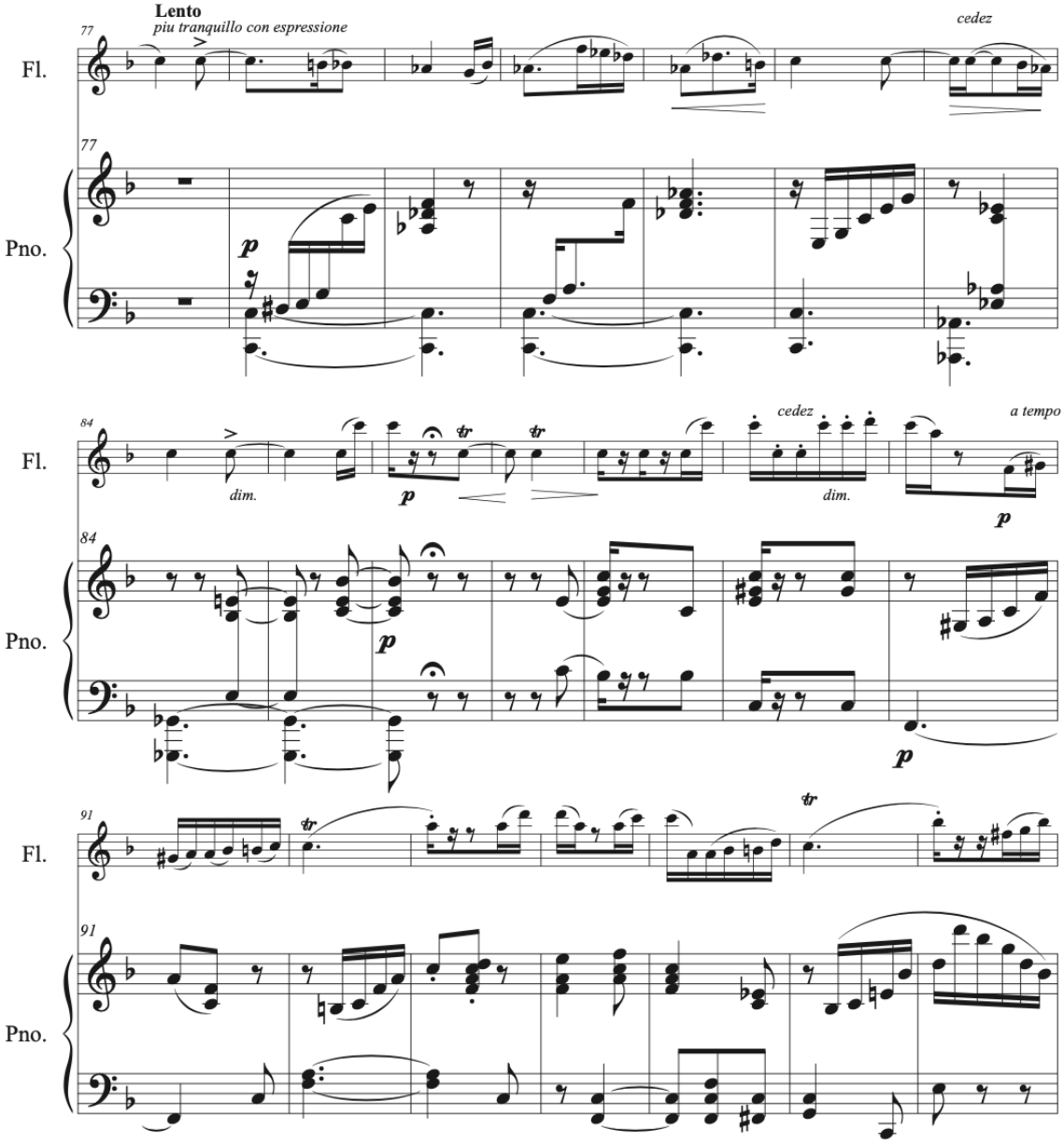
1912

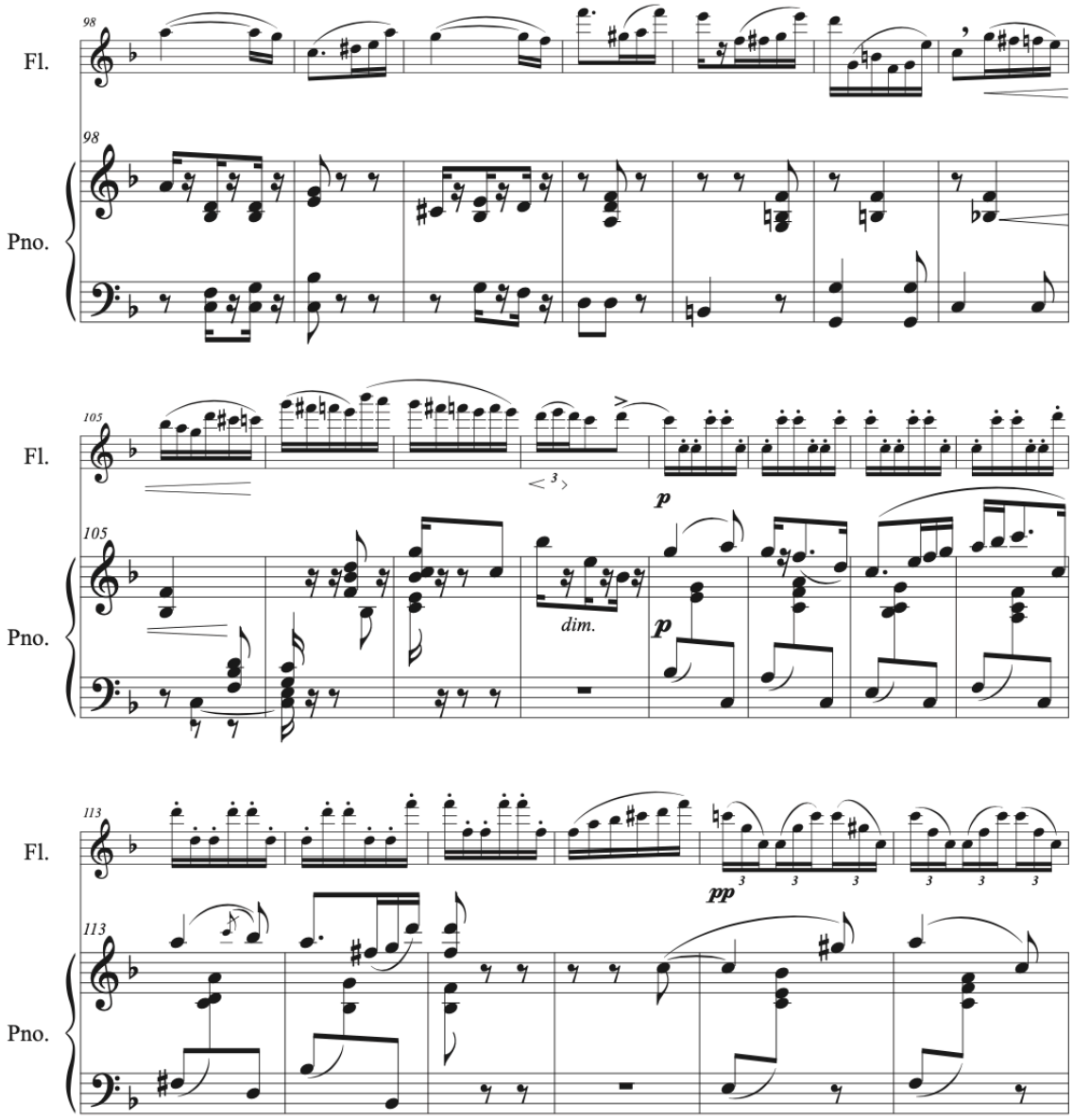


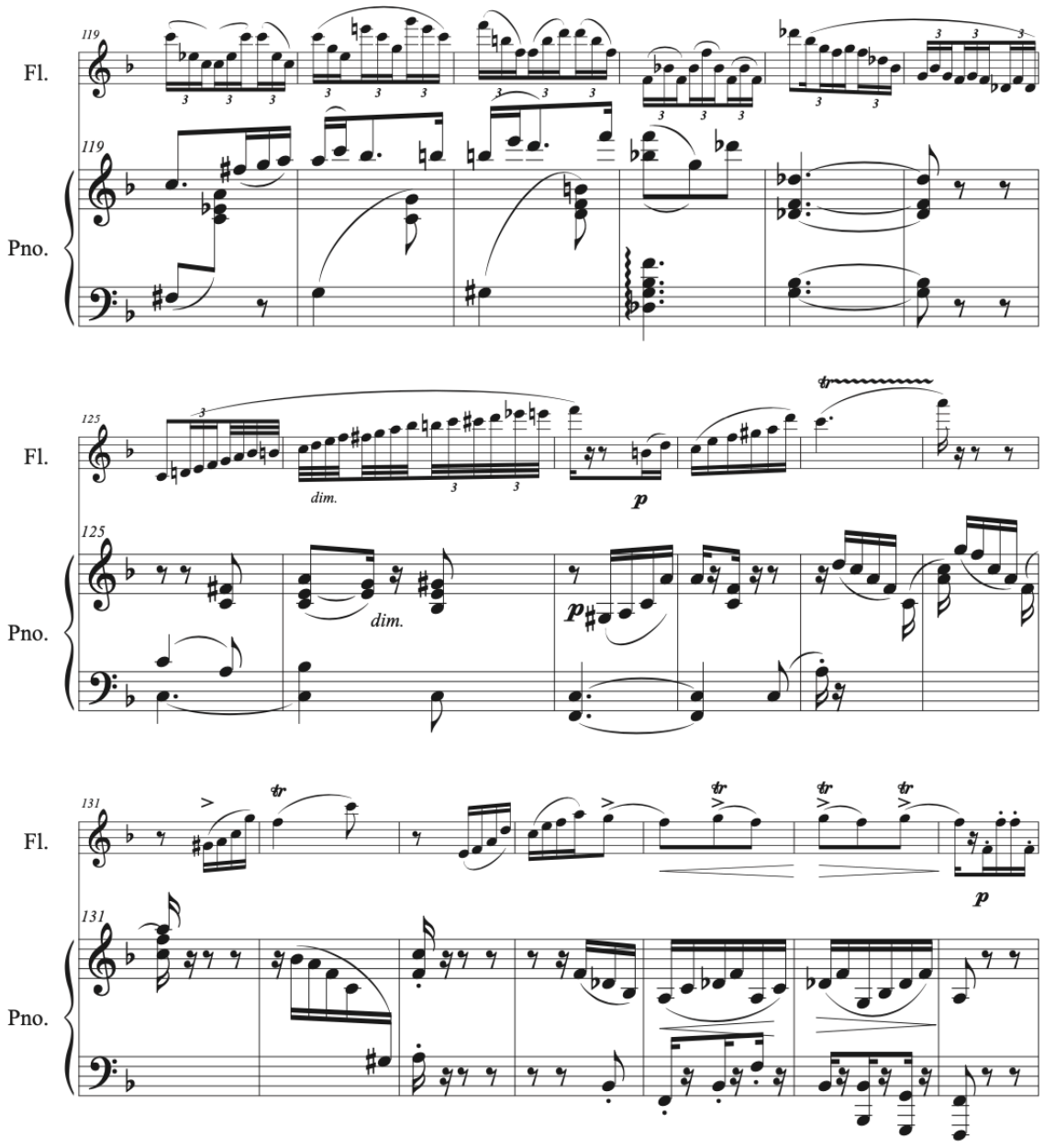

21
Fl.
21
Pno.
3
Ped.
28
Fl.
28
Pno.
p
Ped.
34
Fl.
p
34
Pno.

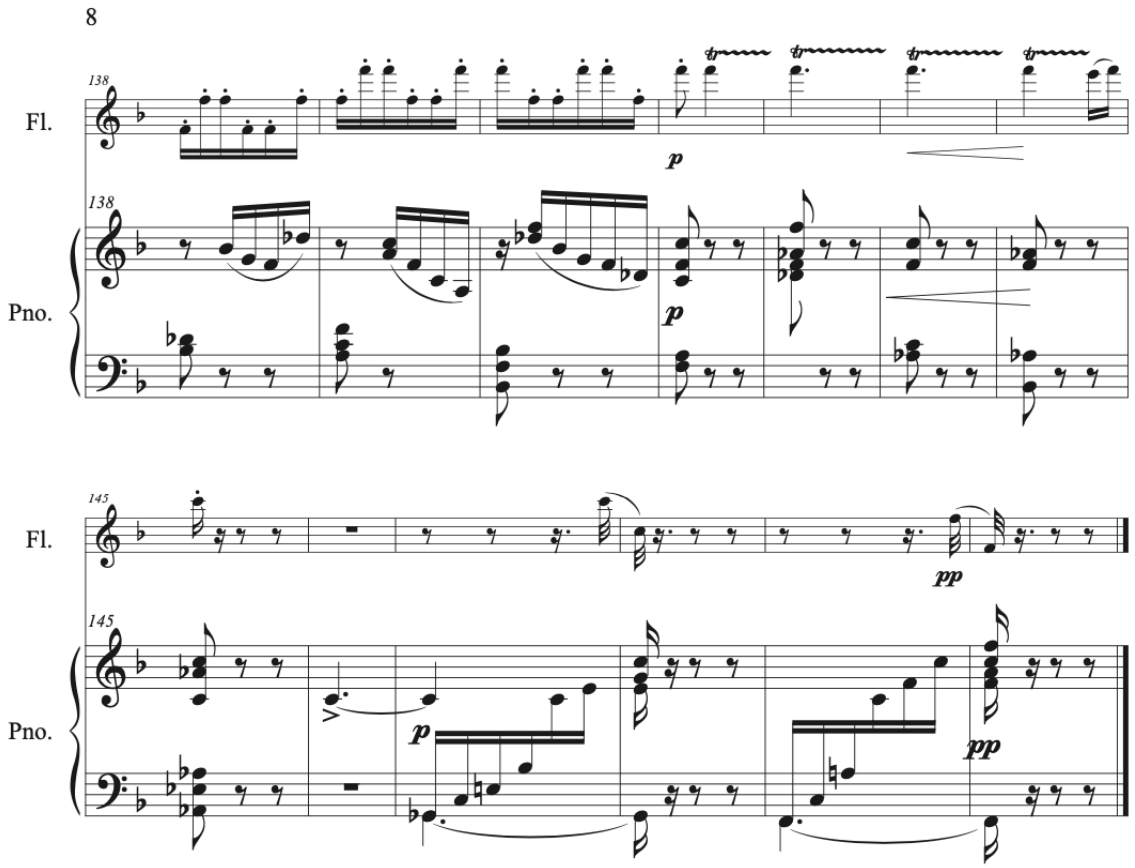

41
Fl.
41
Pno.
47
Fl.
p
47
Pno.
p
53
Fl.
53
Pno.


meno vivo
Fl.
Pno.
59
cedez
dim.
p
65
leggiero
3
3
3
3
p
72
dim.
p
con espressivo


Lento
piu tranquillo con espressione
77
Fl.
Pno.
cedez
p
84
dim.
tr
cedez
a tempo
91


98
Fl.
98
Pno.
105
Fl.
105
dim.
p
Pno.
113
Fl.
pp
113
Pno.


119
Fl.
119
Pno.
125
Fl.
dim.
dim.
p
125
Pno.
131
Fl.
p
131
Pno.


8
138
Fl.
138
Pno.
p
p
145
Fl.
145
Pno.
pp
p
pp

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Altès, Henry. Complete Method for the Flute. Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1906. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000001582956&seq=6. Accessed January 30, 2025.

Altès, Joseph-Henri. *Méthode de flûte, Op. 31*. Translated Paul de Ville. New York: Carl Fischer, 1918. https://imslp.org/wiki/M%C3%A9thode_de_fl%C3%BBte_(Alt%C3%A8s%2C_Joseph-Henri). Accessed January 29, 2025.

Berlioz, Hector. *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes, Op. 10*. Paris: Schonenberger, 1843. https://imslp.org/wiki/Grand_Treatise_on_Instrumentation_and_Modern_Orchestration,_Op.10_(Berlioz,_Hector). Accessed January 29, 2025.

Berlioz, Hector and Richard Strauss. *Treatise on Instrumentation*. Translated by Theodore Front. Garden City: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991.

Boehm, Theobald. *The Flute and Flute Playing in Acoustical, Technical, and Artistic Aspects.* Translated by Dayton C. Miller. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964.

Howard, Velma Swanston. "Music in Stockholm." *The Musical Courier*. March 15, 1905.

Idun. 1891. "Laura Netzel." January 23. Translated by Alyssa Morse-Salvati.

Netzel, Laura. *Suite for Flute and Piano, op. 33*. Paris: Hachette, 1899. Updated and digitized by the Swedish Royal Music Academy and the Swedish Historical Society at http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:statensmusikverk-147.

Secondary Sources

Christian, Angela Mace. "Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Amateur or professional? A closer look at the chronology of her compositional output." *Mendelssohn Studien* 20 (2017): 153-179.

Citron, Marcia J. *Gender and the Musical Canon*. University of Illinois Press, 2000.

Citron, Marcia J. "Women and the Western art canon: where are we now?" *Notes* 64, no. 2 (2007): 209-215. Gale Academic OneFile.

Davidsson, Åke and Veslemöy Heintz. “Swedish Music Periodicals of the 19th Century.” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 33, no. 2 (April-July 1986): 194-210.

Dzapo, Kyle J. *Notes for Flutists: A Guide to the Repertoire*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Hambro, Camilla. *Laura Netzel.* Musikaliska Akademiens Skriftserie Nr 149. Gidlunds Förlag, 2020.

Heinemann, Ernst-Günter. Preface to *Suite Opus 34 für Flöte und Klavier* by Charles-Marie Widor, ii-v.. Munich: G Henle Verlag, 2013.

Gossett, Philip. “History and Works That Have No History: Reviving Rossini’s Neapolitan Operas.” In *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons,* edited by Katherine Bergeron & Philip V. Bohlman, 95-115. The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Gould, Elaine. *Behind Bars: The Definitive Guide to Music Notation*. Faber Music Ltd, 2011.

Levande Musikarv. “Albert Rubenson (1826-1901).” Accessed October 15, 2025. https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/rubenson-albert/

Levande Musikarv. “Laura Netzel (1839-1927).” Accessed October 15, 2025. https://www.swedishmusicalheritage.com/composers/netzel-laura/

Near, John Richard. “The Life and Work of Charles-Marie Widor (France).” PhD diss., University of Boston, 1985. ProQuest (8508920).

Powers, Katherine. “Class, Gender, Accomplishment: Laura Netzel in Nineteenth-Century Sweden.” In *Sleuthing the muse: Essays in honor of William F. Prizer,* edited by Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith, 271-284. Pendragon Press, 2012.

Powell, Ardal. *The Flute*. Yale University Press, 2002.

Reich, Nancy B. “Women as Musicians: A Question of Class.” In *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, edited by Ruth A. Solie, 125-149. University of California Press, 1993.

Solie, Ruth. *Musicology and Difference: gender and sexuality in music scholarship.* University of California Press, 1993.

Solie, Ruth. "Sophie Drinker's History." in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons,* edited by Katherine Bergeron & Philip V. Bohlman, 23-43. The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Toff, Nancy. *The Development of the Modern Flute*. 1st Edition. Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc, 1979.

Toff, Nancy. *The Flute Book: A Complete Guide for Students and Performers*. 3rd Edition. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Walton, Chris. "Richard Wagner and the Art of Conducting." In *Richard Wagner's Essays on Conducting: A New Translation with Critical Commentary*, 145–274. Boydell & Brewer, 2021. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1f2s1q0.12.