

CENTRO STUDI  
OPERA OMNIA  
*Luigi Boccherini*



**«WOMEN ARE NOT BORN TO COMPOSE»**

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**FEMALE MUSICAL WORKS FROM 1750 TO 1950**

**International Virtual Conference  
27-30 November 2020**



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

**«WOMEN ARE NOT BORN TO COMPOSE»:  
FEMALE MUSICAL WORKS FROM 1750 TO 1950**

Organized by

**Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca**

**Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française, Venice**

Virtual Conference

**27-30 November 2020**

**Programme Committee:**

ROBERTO ILLIANO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane)

FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

MASSIMILIANO SALA (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

MARIATERESA STORINO (Conservatorio di Musica ‘G. Rossini’, Pesaro)

SUSAN WOLLENBERG (Oxford University)



**Keynote Speakers:**

MARIATERESA STORINO (Conservatorio di Musica ‘G. Rossini’, Pesaro)

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## FRIDAY 27 NOVEMBER

### 10.45-11.00 **Opening**

- FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane)

### 11.00-12.30 **Composers, Musicians, Virtuosos**

(Chair: **Mariateresa Storino**, Conservatorio 'G. Rossini', Pesaro)

- DANIEL LIENHARD (Independent Researcher, Basel), *Chamber Music and Concertos for Horn/Horns by Female Composers – A Survey*
- MONIKA KOLENDA (University of Warsaw), *Polish Composers and Pianists: Nadia Boulanger's Legacy*
- MARIA STRATIGOU (Royal Northern College of Music), *Louise Farrenc's Piano Études: Dates, Purpose, Reception and Role*



### 15.00-15.45 **Keynote Speaker 1:**

- SUSAN WOLLENBERG (University of Oxford), *(Why) Do We Need 'Women Composers'?*



### 16.00-17.30 **Reflections on Women Composers' Position in the History of Music**

(Chair: **Susan Wollenberg**, University of Oxford)

- JOE DAVIES (University of Oxford / Maynooth University), *Clara Schumann as Composer: Reflections, Challenges, and New Directions*
- SIEGWART REICHWALD (Converse College, Spartanburg, SC), *Mendelssohn the Progressive: Narrative Strategies in Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel's Piano Trio Op. 11 and Felix Mendelssohn's String Quartet Op. 80*
- CHRISTINE FISCHER (Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, School of Music), *A Swiss Woman in Italy: Fanny Hünervadel on her Study Trip*

### 17.45-18.45

- FLORENCE LAUNAY (Cercle de Recherche Interdisciplinaire sur les Musiciennes, CREIM), *«She Is the First, She Is the only One of her Sex Who Has Vanquished the Operatic Stage»: the career of Sophie Gail (1775-1819) at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, 1813-1818*
- AMY E. ZIGLER (Salem College, NC), *«Perhaps what Men Call a Sin...»: An Examination of Ethel Smyth's «The Prison»*

## SATURDAY 28 NOVEMBER

### 9.45-11.15 Music Criticism and Politics

(Chair: **Étienne Jardin**, Palazzetto Bru Zane)

- FIORELLA SASSANELLI (Conservatorio 'Duni', Matera), *Playing Death and War to Resonate Peace and Hope: The Engagement in Music of Lili Boulanger (1893-1918)*
- ELSA CALERO-CARRAMOLINO (Universidad de Granada), «*You Lack Men's Creativity*»: *Music and Women's Protest in Franco's Prisons (1938-1948)*
- BARBORA VACKOVÁ (University of Huddersfield), «*You just Write at Night*»: *Careers, Lives and Professional Experience of Czechoslovak Women Composers after the 1948 Communist Coup*

### 11.30-12.30 Female Composers in the Twentieth Century (1)

(Chair: **Massimiliano Sala**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- ORLA SHANNON (Dublin City University), *Gentle Miss Ina Boyle' (1889-1967) and Gender (Mis)Representation in Ireland's Canon of Twentieth-century Art Song*
- PETER ASIMOV (University of Cambridge), *Yvonne Loriod, Avant-gardist*



### 15.00-15.45 Keynote Speaker 2:

- MARIATERESA STORINO (Conservatorio 'G. Rossini', Pesaro), «*She Is not a Woman Composer— Yet a Composer and also a Woman*»: *Female Creativity beyond Genders and Genres*



### 16.00-17.30 Gender, Identity, Emancipation

(Chair: **Mariateresa Storino**, Conservatorio 'G. Rossini', Pesaro)

- ORIETTA CAIANIELLO (Conservatorio 'N. Piccinni', Bari), *The Emancipation of Female Musical Writing in Post-Victorian England from Song-cycles to Phantasies: The Society of Women Musicians*
- STÉPHAN ETCHARRY (Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne), *Germaine Tailleferre face au quatuor à cordes : un manifeste d'émancipation féminine ?*
- LAURA K. T. STOKES (Brown University), *Fanny Hensel's Lied 'Der Fürst vom Berge' in Light of Contemporary European Politics*

### 17.45-18.45

- MARTINA BRATÍĆ (University of Graz), *Heritage without Tradition: Or on the Gist of Croatian Feminist Musicology*
- OZGECAN KARADAGLI (Independent Researcher, Edmonton, AB), *Women Musicians of the Ottoman Imperial Harem*

## SUNDAY 29 NOVEMBER

### 10.30-11.30 Religious Music

(Chair: **Susan Wollenberg**, University of Oxford)

- CECILIA DELAMA (Università di Trento), «*Gioventù femminile di Azione Cattolica*» and *Sacred Music in Italy in early 20<sup>th</sup> Century*
- HANNAH MILLINGTON (Dublin City University), *Renunciation and Redemption: Ethel Smyth's Mass in D*

### 11.45-12.45 Women Composers in Spain

- LIDIA IZQUIERDO TORRONTERA (Universidad de Granada), *Blanca Llisó y Marín: A Woman Composer in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*
- HELENA MARTÍNEZ DÍAZ (Universidad de Granada), *Training Silenced Composers: The Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and the Conservatory of Granada (1892-1936)*



### 15.00-16.30 Gender, Genre and Places

(Chair: **Étienne Jardin**, Palazzetto Bru Zane)

- BERTRAND POROT (Université de Reims), *Les compositrices d'airs et de cantates en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*
- SUSANNA VÄLIMÄKI (University of Helsinki) – NUPPU KOIVISTO (University of the Arts History Forum, Helsinki), *Art Songs by Finnish Women Composers, from the 1840s to the 1940s – A Historical, Feminist and Activist Research Project and Critical Edition*
- NATASHA HOLT FARNY (State University of New York in Fredonia), *Worthy of the Canon? Three Romantic Sonatas by Women for Cello and Piano*

### 16.45-18.15

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- ANN GRINDLEY (The Open University), *Sites of Empowerment: «Fin-de-siècle» Salon Culture and the Music of Cécile Chaminade*
- ANJA BUNZEL (Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences), *Countess Eliška Šliková (1790-1855): Salonnière, Patroness, Composer*
- MAŁGORZATA KUBALA (Fryderyk Chopin University of Music, Warsaw), *Pauline Viardot-García – Virtuoso and Composer. Transcriptions of Mazurkas by Fryderyk Chopin and Chosen Original Compositions as the Exemplification of Creativity and Development of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Belcanto Style*

## MONDAY 30 NOVEMBER

### 10.15-11.15 Female Composers in the Twentieth Century

(Chair: **Roberto Illiano**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- RHIANNON MATHIAS (Bangor University, Wales), *Grace Williams and Welsh Music: Triads, Orchestral Music and New Beginnings*
- ELISABETH KAPPEL (University of Music and Performing Arts Graz), *The Compositional Oeuvre of Two Viennese 'Higher Daughters': Else Réthi and Vilma Webenau (ca. 1900-1950)*

### 11.30-13.00

- ANGELA ANNESE (Conservatorio 'N. Piccinni', Bari), *Andrée Rochat, a Female Composer between Italy and Switzerland through the Twentieth Century*
- SAMANTHA EGE (Lincoln College, University of Oxford), *«It Takes Courage to Be Cheerful these Days»: Theodora Sturkow Ryder's Depression-era Chicago, 1928-1931*
- LISBETH AHLGREN JENSEN (Independent Researcher, Copenhagen), *Two Danish Women Composers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Hilda Sebested and Nancy Dalberg*



### 15.00-16.30 Organists-Composers

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- STEVEN YOUNG (Bridgewater State University), *«Les Organistes oubliées»: Forgotten Female Organists-Composers of France*
- GERO PITLOK (Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich), *«La plus grande de toutes les organistes»: How Women Shaped the Worldwide Organ Culture*
- ZANE PRĒDELE (Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music Research Centre), *The Pioneer Marija Gubene — The First Latvian Female Composer, Publicist and Organist*

### 16.45-17.45 Music Education, Training, Pedagogy

(Chair: **Massimiliano Sala**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- FAUVE BOUGARD (Université libre de Bruxelles), *Women and Composition Training in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: The Case of the Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles*
- JAN DEWILDE (Centre for the Study of Flemish Music / Labo XIX & XX - Royal Conservatoire Antwerp), *From the Conservatoire Classes for Girls (1867) to the 'Palais des travaux féminins' (1913): Reservations for Women Composers in Flanders?*





## KEYNOTE SPEAKER

### • **MARIATERESA STORINO (Conservatorio 'G. Rossini', Pesaro), «She Is not a Woman Composer – Yet a Composer and also a Woman»: Female Creativity beyond Genders and Genres**

The steady growth in published researches about women composers allows us to begin to pay attention to a broader range of issues. Among them the question about the musical genres practised by them. The genres are potent indicators of the social role of the composer; they have a specific value and a gendered appropriateness. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century women had a marginal position in musical culture, whereby they could aspire to be famous performers but not composers. Certainly they could delight in writing works like songs or piano miniatures but they were denied the opportunity to compose professionally; they were obliged to confine themselves to lighter, less demanding forms because of both the traditional view of the creativity as a process governed by the rationalized subjectivity of a man and their limited musical training, which could not permit them to develop musical ideas in large-scale works. Social, cultural and political changes between the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century affected the development of women composers, their production and the reception of their music. They began to have access to the composition classes at the Conservatoires and to enjoy both public success and the regard of their peers for their contribution to high culture musical genres (opera, symphony, sonata, trio and quartet). However, despite this contemporary appraisal, after their death most of their works disappeared from the repertory. What are the reasons for such an unequal posthumous denial? The aim of my keynote is to investigate this 'oblivion' on the basis of some case studies. A selection of forgotten 'ambitious' large-scale works of women composers in symphonic and chamber music will be analysed according to the same parameters applied to successful works of the repertoire in order to show that the construction of their path through musical language pursues the currents of their time. The next step for the revival of female creativity is not only to transform the growing interest of musicology towards their works into a long-term impact in concert life but also to promote analytical approaches for a better understanding of the aesthetic value of their production.

### • **SUSAN WOLLENBERG (University of Oxford), (Why) Do We Need 'Women Composers'?**

The kind invitation to give this keynote address offers a welcome opportunity to reflect on what has propelled the emergence of studies in women composers over the past few decades, and on the ways in which those studies have developed during

that time. It also gives me the chance to share some of my favourite quotations and illustrations from the miscellaneous collection that I have amassed in the process of teaching and studying women composers and their music, since my awareness of them began to take shape in the late 1980s. In the course of my talk I will want to pay tribute to some of the pioneers in the field, whose ideas continue to inspire my own work. Ideally, we should not be talking about women composers. The ideal would be to have the world of music populated by quite simply: composers, with no need to specify ‘women’ [or ‘female’, as some prefer] as a prefix to that status. However, women as composers form a special case – I would say a unique case in the historiography of Western art music – that makes them deserving of special treatment. In the second part of my keynote I will be exploring the supporting background to that assertion. I will then consider, under three main headings, what has changed as a result of their emergence from the shadows. First, I will examine how the growth of scholarship on women composers has refreshed and invigorated our approach to constructing music-historical narratives; secondly, I will suggest how our encounters with long forgotten, or overlooked, music composed by those outside the male mainstream have encouraged us to rethink ideas of value; and finally, I will survey the development of new approaches to the analysis of that music. Part I of my keynote will be somewhat autobiographical, though linking with the broader perspective that follows in Part II. In tracing my own awakening to the topic of women composers, I hope that aspects of my personal experience will chime with the interests and experiences of others in this sphere.

## CONTRIBUTORS

### **Composers, Musicians, Virtuosos**

#### **• DANIEL LIENHARD (Independent Researcher, Basel), Chamber Music and Concertos for Horn/Horns by Female Composers – A Survey**

Many people – even musicologists – think that female composers generally didn’t compose for brass instruments. It is true that female composers wrote much more music for the piano, the string instruments or the voice than for wind instruments. But if one is patient enough to search in libraries, archives and private collections one can find interesting compositions by female composers who were perhaps not as famous as Clara Schumann or Lili Boulanger but who absolutely knew how to create a convincing composition: Luise Hoffmann-Kern, Ethel Smyth, Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes and Jane Vignery, to name but a few. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, pieces for horn/s and harp were very fashionable at

many European courts. The «Trois Nocturnes» Op. 7 by the famous Parisian harpist Zoë de la Rue seem to be not only the most important contribution to the horn repertoire of this period by a female composer but for the whole 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the exception of the interesting horn quartet by Luise Hoffmann-Kern from Austria. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century things changed: There were not only much more successful female composers – especially in France and in England – but excellent and ambitious hornplayers as well. More or less all the important compositions for horn by women are dedicated to or at least written for one of them, e.g. Jean Devémy in Paris, Aubrey and Dennis Brain in London or Maurice van Bocxstaele in Ghent. The pieces show a considerable variety of styles but no obvious signs that they were written by female composers.

• **MONIKA KOLENDA (University of Warsaw), Polish Composers and Pianists: Nadia Boulanger's Legacy**

The presentation is focused not on Nadia Boulanger herself, but the impact of her personality and her teaching method on both, individual and professional development of Polish female composers. Not only did Nadia Boulanger familiarize Polish apprentices with a different composing and didactical ideas, but also emphasized the importance of piano competence for a fully-qualified composer. Summer scholarships she awarded Polish composers will be presented as an opportunity to meticulously analyze works of the apprentice during one-to-one lessons and seminars and will be studied on the ground of both, in-depth investigations and personal testimonies of the Boulanger's apprentices. In the first part of the presentation the formation of summer school in Fontainebleau in the between-wars period will be studied. Subsequently, it will let the analyzes proceed to Nadia Boulanger, herself, her contagious openness which led to mind-broadening of the circle of scholars. This part will present Nadia Boulanger as a wise mentor. Asking questions apprentices wouldn't have formed themselves and verbalizing obstacles and difficulties they didn't realize were coming through or had to overcome to fulfill a task they had put themselves into. The most extended part will cover the particular cases and testimonies of Polish celebrate female composers and pianists such as Grażyna Bacewicz. It is worthy to mention, Boulanger's apprentices became mentors and skillfully transmitted their legacy to next generations. The summary, will point out the impact of Boulanger's method and charisma as a crucial factor in shaping Polish female composers and pianists. It will also be a ground for the hypothesis which, apart of emphasizing Boulanger's impact on generations of composers and pianists, will present Boulanger's methods and perfectionism as element which have revolutionized process of career development and forged the modern definition of a competent, fully aware, experienced composer.

• **MARIA STRATIGOU (Royal Northern College of Music), Louise Farrenc's Piano Études: Dates, Purpose, Reception and Role**

Louise Farrenc (1804-1875) was a prominent pianist and piano professor at the Paris Conservatoire for 30 years. Her compositions are not limited to piano repertoire but also include orchestral works, chamber music and songs. She was praised for her compositions by Robert Schumann and won the Prix Chartier twice. With her husband Aristide Farrenc, she published *Le Trésor des pianistes*, a twenty-volume anthology of keyboard music containing pieces ranging from Frescobaldi to Chopin. Even before she started teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, Farrenc had already composed Op. 26, the first of her four sets of piano Études, comprising 30 Études in all major and minor keys. This set was composed based on compositional norms of preceding and contemporary composers, so that her students would be taught about other composers' styles while practising piano technique, as Bea Friedland suggests in her Ph.D. dissertation (1975). After their initial publication, the Études were included in several European Conservatoires' piano curricula. This paper aims to provide a more accurate account of the process of composition of Farrenc's Études' through the examination of the different types of paper used in the existing manuscript scores of her works and the paper watermarks. The investigation of the resemblances with other works, the performance practices of the time, as well as the technical issues they address, shall seek to define the purpose of their composition, and critical reviews of the time will demonstrate their critical reception during the nineteenth century. References to Farrenc's female students' compositions will present the level of her influence on their works and the opportunities they had for a professional training in composition. Furthermore, a detailed comparison of Farrenc's Études with those composed by her contemporary male composers will determine their role in the wider context of the Étude tradition.

**Reflections on Women Composers' Position in the History of Music**

• **JOE DAVIES (University of Oxford / Maynooth University), Clara Schumann as Composer: Reflections, Challenges, and New Directions**

«I once believed that I possessed creative talent, but I have given up this idea; a woman must not desire to compose – there has never yet been one able to do it. Should I expect to be the one?» (Clara Schumann, diary entry 1839). In recent years, scholars have made important strides towards bringing Clara Schumann from the peripheries into a more central position in musicological discourse. Much of this work has focused on uncovering details of her life, with particular emphasis given to her career as a performer and the creative relationships she cultivated with members of her circle (see, *inter alia*, Reich 1985, Borchard 1991 and 2019, Ferris 2003, and

Stefaniak 2017 and 2018). Inspired by this burgeoning body of scholarship, as well as by broader currents in scholarship on women and music, this paper takes up the opportunity to rethink our understanding of Clara Schumann as a composer – a topic that is ripe for further exploration. How, for example, might we contextualise her own views (such as those quoted above) of her compositional endeavours? To what extent do they subscribe to – or encourage us to problematize – contemporaneous views of women composers and notions of female creativity? And, moving to more recent times, in what ways have scholarly biographies of Clara Schumann, such as those by Reich (1985; rev ed. 2001) and Borchard (1991 and 2019), sought to challenge the sense of self-doubt that characterizes Schumann’s approach to composition? In addressing these questions, this paper aims not only to offer fresh perspectives on Clara Schumann’s personal and professional identity, but also to open up new ways of thinking about the nineteenth-century composer whereby women’s achievements are placed on an equal footing with those of their male contemporaries.

• **SIEGWART REICHWALD (Converse College, Spartanburg, SC), Mendelssohn the Progressive: Narrative Strategies in Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel’s Piano Trio Op. 11 and Felix Mendelssohn’s String Quartet Op. 80**

1846 was the most satisfying year of Fanny’s life. At age 40 Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel had become a published composer. Fanny had also found a new musical companion in Robert von Keudell, allowing her to step out of the artistic shadow of her younger brother. In her Piano Trio she created a coherent narrative through the employment of compelling and motivated content in favor of strict adherence to classical conventions. One of the work’s most unique features is the omission of a scherzo – her younger brother’s trademarks, causing Fanny’s son Sebastian to voice his concern about the overly serious nature of the work. In response, Felix quipped that she could include a «scherzo serioso». Undeterred, Fanny composed two connected, lyrical inner movements. The work reaches its climax with the return of the first movement’s secondary theme in the coda of the last movement. My reading of the musical discourse reveals Fanny’s self-reflective but confident persona asserting herself as an artistic voice independent from her brother. The piece expresses deep joy and contentment. 1847 turned out to be Felix’s worst year; he was worn out from a grueling concert season, and his beloved sister Fanny died unexpectedly. Felix commemorated Fanny’s life as a composer with the publications of several of Fanny’s works – including the Piano Trio, Op. 11. He also composed his last string quartet, in which he expressed his profound grief. Compositionally, Mendelssohn responded to his sister’s piano trio through motivic allusions, similar structural designs, and the inclusion of his own «scherzo serioso». Felix’s last major

composition is one of surprising immediacy of expression, in which the narrative and emotional contents shatter classical conventions, creating his most progressive and Romantic work.

• **CHRISTINE FISCHER (Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, School of Music), *A Swiss Woman in Italy: Fanny Hünérwadel on her Study Trip***

It is widely known that the Swiss composer and singer Fanny Hünérwadel (1826-1854) led an album in which, among others, Richard Wagner immortalized some notes and lines of text during his Zurich time. In the long run, however, this connection proved to be disadvantageous for the reception of her own creative work: Hünérwadel was counted among Richard Wagner's 'entourage' and described as a dilettante from a middle-class background, while the specific conditions of her music education were hardly examined further. The paper broadens the source base with regard to which Hünérwadel's work has been considered by including, in addition to the already known letters, her travel album, which is in private ownership and has hardly been examined so far, in the musical and cultural positioning of Hünérwadel as a musician. Seen in the context of her travels, the source sheds light on her relationship to Italian (musical) culture, especially to opera, which had a very specific function in the Protestant-dominated German-Swiss musical culture she grew up in. As one of the very few Swiss female composers of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, a new perspective on Hünérwadel thus becomes visible, classifying her musical work in current categories of gender research in between practices of composing and singing and thereby deconstructing recipient descriptions of past centuries.

• **FLORENCE LAUNAY (Cercle de Recherche Interdisciplinaire sur les Musiciennes, CReIM), *«She Is the First, She Is the only One of her Sex Who Has Vanquished the Operatic Stage»: the career of Sophie Gail (1775-1819) at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, 1813-1818***

In June 1816, the Parisian press signalled the appointment of Sophie Gail among the body of professors of the École royale de musique to reward in particular her «extensive research on Spanish music». The project testified to her high status in musical life since the stunning success in 1813 at the Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique of her comic opera *Les Deux Jaloux*. Sophie Gail's music was unanimously praised. The *Mémorial dramatique ou Almanach théâtral* wrote in 1814: «The music of this opera is a first attempt of a lady, but this first attempt can pass for a master stroke». Decades later, in 1847, the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* hailed Sophie Gail as «the only woman composer who has obtained a real success on the operatic stage». Her exceptional career shall be retraced – her life as a free woman in keeping with the spirit of the

*salonnières* of the former century; her successes with romances from 1800 onwards; her first attempts at operatic music; her studies of advanced composition with Fétis, Perne and Neukomm; her status as a learned woman which gained her the love and friendship of numerous scholars; and her five operatic works produced between 1813 and 1818 – a career prematurely ended by her death in 1819 at the age of forty-three. Lemontey, of the Académie Française, declared at her funeral: «She is the first, she is the only one of her sex who has vanquished the operatic stage, where no composer maintains himself if he does not possess at the same time the inspiration that finds the motives, the sensibility that animates them, the taste that puts them in their proper place, and the intellectual power which brings them together».

• **AMY E. ZIGLER (Salem College, NC), «Perhaps what Men Call a Sin...»: An Examination of Ethel Smyth's «The Prison»**

Dame Ethel Smyth's final masterpiece, *The Prison*, has received scant attention in comparison to her other works. Premiered in Edinburgh in 1931, it has been performed seven times in ninety years, and few scholars have examined it. However, the centennial of women's suffrage has highlighted Smyth's compositions, resulting in newly published scores and recordings. A facsimile of the manuscript score of *The Prison* was published in 2015, and G. Schirmer published a critical edition in 2018. That same year, conductor James Blachly and the Experiential Orchestra, along with singers Sarah Brailey and Dashon Burton, recorded the work in its entirety. That commercial recording, the first ever, was released in August of 2020. *The Prison* (1930) is a symphony for soprano, bass-baritone, chorus, and orchestra based on a text by Henry Brewster. Rather than set the entire book, Smyth quoted, and sometimes paraphrased, select passages from the original. Brewster's *The Prison: A Dialogue*, written in 1890, is a metaphysical dialogue that explores the concepts of sin, guilt, self-worth, and acceptance at the end of life. Unpublished letters reveal that he shared the proofs with Smyth in December of that year, and the text became a proxy by which they debated the controversial nature of their relationship. Forty years later, as Smyth was coming to terms with the end of her career brought on by increasing deafness, she returned to Brewster's text. Although he died in 1908, his writings and ideas stayed with her. Through an examination of the score, the recording, and private letters from the Hildebrand Brewster Archive in Florence, this paper explores *The Prison* within the context of their complicated and unconventional relationship, revealing a work that was both the culmination of her musical career and a loving tribute to him.

## Music Criticism and Politics

### • FIORELLA SASSANELLI (Conservatorio 'Duni', Matera), **Playing Death and War to Resonate Peace and Hope: The Engagement in Music of Lili Boulanger (1893-1918)**

On 5 July 1913, at the age of 19, and without a regular course of study due to illness, Lili Boulanger won the Prix de Rome for music and broke the male monopoly of composition. On 2 March 1914, travelling with her mother to the Villa Medici, the young woman stopped in Nice, determined to meet Maurice Maeterlinck to whom she asked permission to set to music the drama *La Princesse Maleine* which Octave Mirbeau called the masterpiece of Symbolist theatre. Despite the struggle against time, Lili Boulanger is unable to complete the composition of the opera (nor will her sister Nadia), yet even the sketches make *La Princesse Maleine* the culminating point of the feeling of death and war that marks all of Lili Boulanger's short but intense production. On 2 September 1915, Paul Gentien, representative of Ricordi in Paris, urged the composer on the moral duties of the artist, which in the meantime she pursued by natural disposition. Despite the limitations imposed by an illness that forces her to isolation, the composer is faithful to her commitment: despite the legitimate nationalistic rivalries at the time of the Great War, she aims at spreading a message of extreme hope. The dark colours, the moon, the shadows of the undergrowth are indeed the faithful companions of her music that a great ethical and human force sublimates into a lesson of hope: this happens in the melodic collection, *Clairières dans le ciel*, evoking a double loss, sentimental and existential, or, and this is the darkest case, in the melody *Dans l'immense tristesse*, where a dead mother consoles her son who fell asleep, exhausted by crying, on her grave. While, on an exquisitely humanitarian level, the composer is totally committed to the French musicians who have been sent to the front (in 1915 she founded, together with Nadia, the *Gazettes des classes du Conservatoire*), her latest compositions, *Vieille Prière Bouddhique*, the psalm *Du fond de l'abîme* and *Pie Jesu* appeal for mercy and peace.

### • ELSA CALERO-CARRAMOLINO (Universidad de Granada), **«You Lack Men's Creativity»: Music and Women's Protest in Franco's Prisons (1938-1948)**

The aim of this paper is to focus on the role played by women in the penitentiary soundscape of Francoism, both in the official and unofficial culture. With Franco's Victory, women were expected to represent the values promoted by Fascism: submission, obedience, tradition and religion. Franco's antifeminism politics reduced women, whether they were imprisoned or not, to their confinement to housekeeping and private tasks. They were not allowed to take part into public life. This suppression process required women getting involve in a specific teaching schedule. This issue



became the main purpose of the Feminine Section of the Falange which was in charge of the control and censorship of the activities and cultural products consumed by women in those years: music, literature, cinema, radio broadcasts and press. For instance, the musical practices appeared to the Regime as a re-educational instrument through which to instil the National-Catholic values to women in order to recover them to the nation's interests. For this reason, I propose a study of the methods across which music was articulated as a form of suppression over the inmates. In the first part of the communication I will analyse the institutions created by the State to re-educate women in prisons, musically speaking, and the tasks, means and methods established by the regime to accomplish these objectives. Secondly, I will present the reactions of females to these propaganda programmes and how they try to dupe the Regime by introducing their ideas of freedom by making use of the same institutions that Francoism had designed to suppress them.

• **BARBORA VACKOVÁ (University of Huddersfield), «You just Write at Night»: Careers, Lives and Professional Experience of Czechoslovak Women Composers after the 1948 Communist Coup**

With the communist coup d'état in February 1948, the musical life in Czechoslovakia underwent a profound change. All composers willing to have their music performed, recorded or published had to join composer unions as the state's official centralized platforms supervising and managing all musical activity in the country, and adjust both the style and content of their musical work to conform to aesthetic and political criteria in line with the cultural politics of the leading party. A question so far completely overlooked in scholarly study is how the new political arrangement with gender equality as one of its official agendas impacted women as a marginalized group in the historically male-dominated field of composition. Did they benefit from joining the composer unions? How were they perceived in the allegedly egalitarian society? Why did their numbers remain so low under communism (the list of the unions' members over the four decades evidences mere 13 women compared to literally hundreds of men)? In this paper, I argue that the official egalitarian agenda manifested itself as gender-blindness, discouraging critical examination of persisting gender inequalities and disabling the articulation of women's demands in a bottom-up manner. Moreover, I claim that despite women joining the workforce in great numbers under communism, the housekeeping and childrearing duties continued to rest almost exclusively on their shoulders, resulting in the so-called double-burden that effectively prevented them from dedicating sufficient amounts of time to their artistic practices. Discussing modes of women composers' participation in the public sphere in a political arrangement lacking in

civic society and feminist awareness, where all women's rights agenda had been, to use Hana Havelková's term, 'expropriated' by the leading party, my presentation shall contribute to the wider understanding of the lives of 20<sup>th</sup>-century women who wrote music outside of the Western capitalist world.

### **Female Composers in the Twentieth Century (1)**

#### **• ORLA SHANNON (Dublin City University), *Gentle Miss Ina Boyle' (1889-1967) and Gender (Mis)Representation in Ireland's Canon of Twentieth-century Art Song***

«I think it is most courageous of you to go on with so little recognition. The only thing to say is that it does come finally» writes Vaughan Williams to his student Ina Boyle (1889-1967) in May 1937. Boyle was one of the most prolific composers in Ireland during the first half of the twentieth century having composed in a wide variety of musical genres. She was the first Irishwoman to undertake a symphony (*Glencree*, 1927), a concerto (*Violin Concerto*, 1935), and a ballet (*Virgilian Suite*, 1930-31), yet most of her works were never performed or published. Her accomplishments defied gender norms of the last century, most notably when she became the first woman to have been selected for publication by the prestigious Carnegie United Kingdom Trust Competition, 1920 – a fact which made several newspaper headlines in London. This presentation will deliberate the reasons why Boyle's compositional identity has been overlooked in Ireland's history of art music. A biographical evaluation will identify the various socio-political upheavals the composer faced during her lifetime, and how these obstacles impacted the development of her compositional career as well as her posthumous reception. Using Peter Stacey's model on text-setting and musico-poetic rhetoric, this paper will also reappraise her earliest song cycle – *Five Sacred Folksongs of Sicily* (1930) – to illustrate the nuances of her writing style and contextualise her contribution to the development of Irish art song more broadly. Subsequently, the aims of the paper are two-fold; to provide a case study on the rehabilitation of women composers in the canon of twentieth-century Irish art music, and to present Boyle as a role model for contemporary female composers seeking representation in Ireland and abroad.

#### **• PETER ASIMOV (University of Cambridge), *Yvonne Loriod, Avant-gardist***

Yvonne Loriod (1924-2010) became famous not as a composer but as a pianist, earning a reputation for her formidable technique and fearless appetite for new music and its ever-greater challenges. She transformed the keyboard writing of Olivier Messiaen when she became his student in the early 1940s, and championed the most abstruse and challenging piano works of classmates and peers (e.g., Pierre Boulez and Jean Barraqué) in the 40s and the 50s. Meanwhile, research on Loriod

has been mainly remained on the margins of scholarship on Messiaen, whom she married in 1961. Yet Loriod's archive reveals her to have been an active and adventurous composer during the 1940s, as a student of Milhaud and Messiaen and as a member of 'Les Flèches'. Loriod withheld these manuscripts from publication under pressure from her accelerating performance career championing Messiaen's works. In this paper, I revisit the 1940s European avant-garde with Loriod as my guide. First, I offer an overview of Loriod's compositional activity over the first half of this decade, focusing in particular on two completed cycles – *Pièces africaines* (1943) and *Grains de cendre* (1946). With their imaginative combination of ethnography, performance art, and electronics, these works situate Loriod among a web of avant-garde *musiciennes* who combined academic ethnomusicology with experimental composition. Moreover, my preliminary research suggests that Messiaen himself even borrowed liberally from her manuscripts in his own sketches and compositions during the same decade. Second, I examine Loriod's transition toward a performance career, drawing attention to distinctly gendered dimensions of her self-fashioning – as she once declared, «There's no point composing bad music when you're the wife of a great man». I conclude by suggesting that even as a performer, Loriod contributed to post-war modernism in creative and innovative ways which have eluded musicological recognition.

### **Gender, Identity, Emancipation**

#### **• ORIETTA CAIANIELLO (Conservatorio 'N. Piccinni', Bari), *The Emancipation of Female Musical Writing in Post-Victorian England from Song-cycles to Phantasies: The Society of Women Musicians***

The role of the Society of Women Musicians (SWM), operating in London between 1911 and 1973, whose first president was Liza Lehmann – and whose honorary vice-presidents included such illustrious names as Cécile Chaminade and Nadia Boulanger – was fundamental to the emancipation of women's musical writing. From the very beginning of its activity, SWM's aim was to change the cliché that confined women to the role of 'parlor music' composers, thus giving new instruments and objectives to successive generations of English women composers. Most of them successfully managed to emancipate themselves from the stylistic constraints they had been confined to in the previous socio-political context, when they didn't have access to a musical education based on gender equality. The strong propulsion given by associationism and the virtuous collaboration between composers, performers, and institutions brought women out of the creative isolation in which they had previously found themselves, making them fully visible to the musical society of the time. They engaged in a creative and performing activity that

had no records in English and European musical history, giving rise to a season of fervent activism, in which concerts and educational activities flourished and a large number of musical compositions were produced. A conspicuous number of documents based on primary and secondary sources have allowed us to follow the events: articles, concert programs, and, above all, the Society's annual reports collected in the Society's dedicated collection, kept in the Royal College of Music Library, London. Not to be overlooked, in addition to the results obtained by SWM in its main musical productivity, are the many social campaigns perpetrated in relation to trade union rights, the admission of female instrumentalists to orchestras and examining juries, destined to progressively modify the features of a system strongly based on gender differentiation.

• **STÉPHAN ETCHARRY (Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne),  
Germaine Tailleferre face au quatuor à cordes : un manifeste d'émancipation  
féminine ?**

En repartant d'un récent article qui dressait une sorte d'inventaire des jugements genrés portés sur l'œuvre de Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983) et sur son statut de compositrice (Etcharry, 2019), le présent travail propose de s'atteler à une étude de cas, son *Quatuor à cordes* (1917-1919), afin de passer du discours à « ce qu'une certaine musicologie a appelé, dans les années 1990, “la musique elle-même” (“the music itself”) » (Deutsch, 2020). Nous projetons de vérifier si les grilles de lecture plus ou moins consciemment élaborées par les critiques, les musicographes et les compositeurs de son temps s'avèrent pertinentes et s'appliquent effectivement à une telle œuvre, ce qui contribuerait ainsi à affermir les contours d'une musique « sans prétentions », d'une « musique de jeune fille [...] qui “sent bon” » – pour reprendre les propres termes particulièrement misogynes de Darius Milhaud qualifiant la production artistique de son amie. Après avoir bièvement replacé cet unique quatuor à cordes dans le catalogue musical de la compositrice, dans son contexte général de création et, plus particulièrement, dans celui de l'histoire du Groupe des Six – très précisément depuis la constitution du premier noyau des « nouveaux jeunes » qui donnaient des concerts depuis juin 1917 –, il conviendra de placer la créatrice face à ce genre si emblématique de l'histoire de la musique savante occidentale, d'interroger le sens d'un tel choix générique et d'un tel geste esthétique en prenant notamment en considération sa condition de femme. Enfin, il sera particulièrement opportun de pénétrer les arcanes mêmes de son langage musical afin de mesurer, plus en profondeur, les écarts ou, au contraire, les adéquations avec le discours communément répandu sur son œuvre, discours le plus souvent émaillé de préjugés sexistes.

• **LAURA K. T. STOKES (Brown University), Fanny Hensel's Lied 'Der Fürst vom Berge' in Light of Contemporary European Politics**

In 1839-1840, the composer Fanny Hensel, her artist husband Wilhelm, and their son Sebastian traveled to Italy. As a memoir of their time in Italy, Fanny and Wilhelm created the *Reise-Album*, a collaborative compilation of artwork, compositions, and texts (SBB-PK MA Ms. 163). The lied 'Der Fürst vom Berge', with music by Fanny and text and pencil vignette by Wilhelm, is the sixteenth of eighteen musical works contained in this album. The text and music present an ambiguous picture of a princely ruler: one who glories in his power and makes seemingly arbitrary decisions about who among his subjects will meet with happiness and honors, or punishment and disgrace. Although the martial rhythms of the central motif suggest the monarch's dignity, Hensel's adventurous harmonic language, paired with a fading ending, indicate capriciousness and precariousness rather than certainty and stability. In his edition of this lied, Hans-Günter Klein notes that the chronology of the trip and the mountain motifs in the drawing indicate that this work was likely composed during, or in remembrance of, the Hensels' travel in the Alps during their return to Berlin in 1840. Fanny Hensel's journal entries from that time offer clues to a potential interpretation of this lied. She discusses two contemporary political figures: the new king of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who had reinstated the standing of the disgraced scholars known as the Göttingen Seven, and, in a different vein, the nobleman and revolutionary Federico Confalonieri, whom the Hensels had met in Bellinzona, Switzerland, and who had been exiled from his native Italy. The Hensels' lied thus offers insights into the complex politics of the time, as well as into the nature of the artistic collaboration between husband and wife.

• **MARTINA BRATIĆ (University of Graz), Heritage without Tradition: Or on the Gist of Croatian Feminist Musicology**

The story of Dora Pejačević (1885-1923) in every possible sense is one successful – story. A woman who overcame the potential threats of gender insensitivity, discrimination and historical blindness, who harvested her laurels as *The* female composer, eventually developing into a true national export product. Protected by a cloak of aristocratic security, safely navigating the balance of active composing and noble leisure; as a figure close to a permissible *female creative activity in the vicinity of male genius*, and ultimately, politically indifferent (and that through the aegis of *artistic cosmopolitanism* [Iveljić 2018, p. 38]), Dora Pejačević was by no means seen as a threat. She was not a threat to the eminently male profession and music production of that time, nor to the Pantheon of the Croatian (male) musical canon, whilst still contributing to the national musical heritage. Ivana Lang's (1912-

1982) historical situatedness, on the other hand, is poles apart. Polarized with the figure of Dora Pejačević – a *national musical princess* (Rožić 2008) – Ivana Lang is the woman warrior; not exotic, every-day, a *one of us*-woman. Even though she represents the first female composer's output in the context of recent Croatian music, with a considerable and versatile oeuvre, for many reasons Lang played a role in a less fortunate story, in one that has not yet been told. What does such polarization and such a truncated *continuation line* mean for the women's composing tradition in the Croatian context, and could those earliest biographical efforts of Croatian musicology have been able to direct that female line elsewhere? Could we have a more complete, more inclusive history of Croatian music and whether Croatian contemporary women composers can follow or continue any *female tradition* today – are some of the issues my presentation addresses.

• **OZGECAN KARADAGLI (Independent Researcher, Edmonton, AB), Women Musicians of the Ottoman Imperial Harem**

This paper investigates the neglected area of women musicians and composers in the Ottoman musical tradition. The West has largely equated the Imperial Harem with primarily sexual desire and sensuality. This very orientalist constructed view persisted until recently through the literature and the eroticism in the nineteenth century visual representations of the Imperial Harem. The royal women – wives, sisters, slaves, and concubines – were carefully trained in various areas, including music. Some even reached the master position in the Palace music tradition and served both as performers and composers. Before westernization occurred in the Ottoman Empire, their women orchestras consisted of traditional instrument players. After westernization, they trained in both traditional Turkish and Western art music. Although many of the Harem members were trained and spent most of their lives in the Imperial Harem or the special mansions, they opened the doors to middle class urban Muslim women of the Empire to access music, art, and performance easier, as the regulations for Muslim women were stricter than those for non-Muslims, as all artistic developments happened under the permission of the Sultan, the Islamic Caliph. The paper argues that the Harem women were not just entertaining, sexualized objects but were well-trained musicians, composers, and dancers, deserving attention and respect. This paper explains the harem system, its hierarchy, and the artistic input and contribution of these women to Turkish music, showing that by the end of the nineteenth century women had become a natural part of music making as musicians, composers, actresses, and singers. Nineteenth century composer Leyla Saz Hanim serves as an exemplar of these female Harem musicians significance.

## Religious Music

### • CECILIA DELAMA (Università di Trento), «Gioventù femminile di Azione Cattolica» and Sacred Music in Italy in early 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Music and religion are both traditionally not particularly attentive to involve women in roles of responsibility. However, there are some aspects in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, not yet studied enough, in which women could take part in both fields. In 1933, for the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Pope Pio x's *Motu proprio Inter pastorales sollicitudines*, the Gioventù Femminile di Azione Cattolica and Associazione Italiana Santa Cecilia offered to the Pope the book: *L'apostolato armonioso: vademecum per la formazione liturgico-musicale della delegata per il canto*, preface written by Armida Barelli. Every association of the Gioventù Femminile had a special teacher, who was commissioned for the sacred music, organ and plain chant teaching. The *delegata nazionale*, the delegate in Italy for this teaching was Giuseppina Angelini from Trento, where she taught music, organ and harmonium in the Istituto Diocesano of Sacred Music. She was also the author of *L'apostolato armonioso*, a manual written for the girls of the Gioventù femminile for the self-learnig of music theory, plain chant, harmonium and liturgy. Especially after the Cecilian Reform and after the *Motu Proprio* (1903) women in Italy began to participate more actively in sacred music teaching: in 1941 the national Azione Cattolica proposed a competition to all domestic servants in order to compose a hymn. Many women from all Italy participated to this competition as poets and also as composers. The documents presented, come from Giuseppina Angelini music collection, which is kept in the Vigilianum Library in Trento.

### • HANNAH MILLINGTON (Dublin City University), **Renunciation and Redemption: Ethel Smyth's Mass in D**

Dame Ethel Smyth (1858-1944) was an English composer, writer, and social activist. While best known for her six operas, Smyth also composed a rich body of chamber music, piano pieces, choral works, and songs. During her service to the Women's Social and Political Union, Smyth wrote 'The March of the Women' (1911), which became one of the most popular suffrage anthems of the period, and has helped to keep Smyth part of the public discourse. Aside from this, however, she remains an under-explored figure in music history and deserves greater attention. Smyth's first large-scale work was her Mass in D, composed in 1891 and dedicated to her Catholic friend, Pauline Trevelyan. This dedication has been the focal point of much research to date, and scholars have interpreted the Mass as both a mark of Smyth's fleeting religious fervour and her affection for Trevelyan. However, these readings overlook other biographical details that might offer an explanation as to why Smyth chose to compose a mass at this point in her life. This paper considers the broader compositional

context of Smyth's Mass in D, with particular reference to her religious views and to other key figures in her life. It puts forward an alternative reading of this significant work, suggesting that the Mass may offer an answer to Smyth's own question: 'how can you best save your soul?'

### **Women Composers in Spain**

#### **• LIDIA IZQUIERDO TORRONTERA (Universidad de Granada), *Blanca Llisó y Martínez: A Woman Composer in the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century***

The scarcity of women's studies in the Spanish music scene is evident and still abundant today, even more so if the chronology is reduced to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, most are focused on the role of women as a performer, especially as pianists or singers. Despite this, research in this area is not new. Among the few known examples of female composers in Spain, the figure of Blanca Llisó y Martínez (1869-?) stands out: pianist, composer and teacher born on 23 January 1869. Outstanding student completed her Composition studies at the Escuela Nacional de Música y Declamación with Emilio Arrieta. So far five scores have been located – some with dedications – that could be classified as a salon piano repertoire. A careful analysis of these compositions – the first of which, she composed at the age of thirteen – reveals an original composer, who escapes from the hackneyed salon pieces, performing an important contribution to the keyboard music repertoire in Spain. Her teaching occupation in institutions such as the Madrid Athenaeum, her relevant interventions as an interpreter in the presence of personalities such as Infanta Isabel, her early trip to Mexico accompanied by her mother and the qualifications with which the press referred to her, also stand out. Through written sources such as: periodicals, feminine, specifically musical, narrative, literary writings, scores... Four objectives are set: to draw a brief biographical profile to understand the conditions to which her professional career was subjected; to study briefly her role as interpreter and pedagogue; to focus on the cataloguing and study of her work to analyze the main characteristics of her compositional work; and to place her contributions and figure within the musical composition in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Spain as a precedent to open a new and difficult field of study in Spanish musicology.

#### **• HELENA MARTÍNEZ DÍAZ (Universidad de Granada), *Training Silenced Composers: The Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and the Conservatory of Granada (1892-1936)***

The aim of this paper is to analyse the incorporation of women into musical training, and their success as composers, in Granada (Spain) at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the 'Escuela de Música para señoritas' [Music School for Young Ladies] of the *Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos*



*del Pais* and the Conservatory of Music. It also aims to rescue from silence and make known the career and work of some of these composers. In 1892 the 'Escuela de Música para señoritas' was created aimed at teaching solfeo, piano, violin, choral singing and harmony, which constituted an excellent pool of pianists, conservatory teachers and composers. For its part, the Royal Conservatory of Music of Granada, created in 1921, was a feminized space from its beginnings because the teaching and performance of music opened cultural, social and professional possibilities to young middle class women without this being a complete break with its gender role. However, women used to have access to subjects and instruments that were related to the 'ornamental' education of women: piano, singing and, less frequently, violin. Access to other instruments and advanced subjects, such as composition, were often limited to male students. Fortunately, we find women who, despite the difficulties in accessing this type of advanced training, and the silence and oblivion to which they have been subjected for decades, achieved recognition as composers in their time. This was the case of the two women I am analysing in this paper, Rosa Bertucci, the youngest daughter of a well-known family of artists from Granada, and María Esteban, the first student enrolled in the Conservatory of Granada whose work has reached our days in a collection published after her death.

### **Gender, Genre and Places**

#### **• BERTRAND POROT (Université de Reims), *Les compositrices d'airs et de cantates en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle***

En raison d'interdits et de préjugés genrés, la majorité des compositrices du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle se sont adonnées à l'« air sérieux », l'« air à boire », la cantate ou la cantatille. La plupart de leurs œuvres se présentent dans des recueils collectifs ou encore dans le journal *Le Mercure*. Ces médias forment une sorte de territoire moins genré où il est concédé que les femmes puissent apparaître. Un petit groupe de compositrices accède toutefois à une relative consécration en publiant des recueils. Au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous avons ainsi relevé les publications de quatre compositrices : Julie Pinel (1737), Hélène-Louise Demars (ca. 1752), Madame Pellecier-Papavoine (1756) et Adélaïde Félicité Paisible (ca. 1766). Leurs œuvres et leurs carrières ont été très peu étudiées jusqu'à présent et nous nous proposons de le faire avec les problématiques suivantes : quelles ont été leurs stratégies en publiant leurs compositions ? Quelles ont été leurs aides et allié-e-s pour le faire ? Quelle est la teneur de leur musique ? Adélaïde Paisible est la seule qui donne des arrangements en collaboration avec son frère pour des airs en vogue, la plupart de l'opéra-comique. Pour les trois autres, on note plusieurs points communs : toutes sont des musiciennes professionnelles, œuvrant dans des cercles privés liés à de hauts personnages. Elles se sont consacrées

à la composition de cantatilles, plutôt en raison de contraintes éditoriales et sociales que d'un véritable choix. En effet, leurs cantatilles témoignent d'une influence importante de l'opéra ou de l'opéra-comique plus que du genre français de chambre, autant dans l'instrumentation proposée – deux violons et continuo pour Pellecier-Papavoine –, que dans l'écriture vocale (récitatifs et airs), voire dans le langage harmonique – très fouillé et audacieux pour Demars. C'est sans doute cette attirance pour des genres qu'elles ne peuvent pas atteindre, qui donne toute leur originalité aux pièces qu'elles nous ont laissées.

• **SUSANNA VÄLIMÄKI (University of Helsinki) – NUPPU KOIVISTO (University of the Arts History Forum, Helsinki), *Art Songs by Finnish Women Composers, from the 1840s to the 1940s – A Historical, Feminist and Activist Research Project and Critical Edition***

This paper explores the position of art song within the works of Finnish women composers during the long nineteenth century. Because of discriminatory practices in music history, women's crucial role in the Lied tradition in Finland has been overlooked. As part of our research project on nineteenth-century Finnish women composers, we aim to challenge these prejudices by publishing a critical edition of selected art songs. Our presentation will consist of three parts. After a short introduction, an outline of Finnish women composers and the art song will be sketched. In the second section, we will present two case studies – Alexandra Brandt-Edelfelt (1833-1901) and Ida Moberg (1859-1947). The third and final part will deal with the practical questions of publishing a critical edition of these forgotten songs. Methodologically, our project is based on feminist, intersectional, and activist approaches. Although the key publication resulting from our project will be an academic encyclopaedia of nineteenth-century Finnish women composers, promoting their work via editing sheet music and collaboration with musicians, concert organizers, and other musical institutions, form an equally important part of our research. Our goal is to make these marginalised composers seen and heard – as a living part of our sonic heritage. All in all, we argue that nineteenth-century women composers had a profound impact on the art song culture in Finland – and, consequently, on the musical landscape of the country. In addition, the composers' works were marked by transnational influences. Since the composers actively engaged in public musical and social activities such as concert organising and women's movements, their songs should not be labelled simply as *Hausmusik* – nor should they be considered less valuable than orchestral pieces. Thus, paying attention to these art songs may help us to redefine and uncover hidden power structures in Western art music.

• **NATASHA HOLT FARNY (State University of New York at Fredonia), *Worthy of the Canon? Three Romantic Sonatas by Women for Cello and Piano***

In 1882, Luise Adolpha Le Beau won the first prize in an international competition in Hamburg, surprising the judges by her unexpected gender. Music journalists began publishing biographies of her across Germany, she received an honorary membership at the Mozarteum in Salzburg, and her opera *Hadumoth* was performed in Baden-Baden in 1894. A decade later in 1903, Ethel Smyth became the first woman composer to have a work performed at the Metropolitan Opera, not to mention breaking their box office record of that year. She was knighted by the King of England in 1922 and received honorary doctorates from several universities including Oxford. Countess Dora Pejačević, who died in childbirth at age thirty-eight, is notable as the first Croatian to produce a symphony. Despite such honors and breakthroughs during their lifetime, these composers are all but unknown in today's Classical music world. This paper will investigate the start of their careers, when, as it happens, they each wrote cello sonatas at the age of twenty-eight. Like many women of their era, their education was more circumscribed than their male peers, and thus we may expect that the work they produced at this age might still be judged as juvenilia. This paper will investigate whether, despite gender-related disadvantages, the early sonatas of these women are worthwhile for study and performance. I will look at whether each work broke new ground for the era and what level of challenge it brings to performers. A key element in my study will include how the composers might have rated their own works in comparison to their overall output.

• **ANN GRINDLEY (The Open University), *Sites of Empowerment: «Fin-de-siècle» Salon Culture and the Music of Cécile Chaminade***

Cécile Chaminade's reception has become intrinsically linked with *fin-de-siècle* salon culture, which Marcia J. Citron argues has damaged her reputation. Although Citron presents an evidenced and valid argument, I feel that the issue is more complex, and requires further investigation and analysis. Aligning my research perspective with that of recent revisionist research on *fin-de-siècle* salon culture, by academics such as Sylvia Kahan, Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg, Jann Pasler, Anja Bunzel and Natasha Loges and Jeanice Brooks, I hope to prove that salons were sites of empowerment for Cécile Chaminade, as they were for other women in the arts who had no other platforms or opportunities available to them. Thus, this paper will present a pressing counter-narrative to that proposed by Citron. The developing body of revisionist research that has appeared on *fin-de-siècle* salon culture over the last decade has not, as yet, considered Chaminade, thus this research contributes significantly to this current revisionist research trend. Additionally, despite Chaminade's success during her own

lifetime, and beyond Citron's work and Cécile Tardif's French-language study *Portrait de Cécile Chaminade* (Montréal, 1993), Chaminade has attracted very little academic attention. Therefore, my research presents a timely reappraisal of this leading *fin-de-siècle* French composer.

• **ANJA BUNZEL (Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences),  
Countess Eliška Šliková (1790-1855): Salonnière, Patroness, Composer**

Countess Eliška Šliková spent her entire life in Prague. She is known for her generous financial and social support of artists both resident in Prague and travelling to and through Prague. Among them are Alexander Dreyschock, Franz Liszt, Johann Friedrich Kittl, Clara Schumann, and Louis Spohr. Šliková welcomed both Clara and Robert Schumann when they travelled via Prague to Vienna in 1847, during which they also met with Kittl and a number of other cultural protagonists in Prague. Robert Schumann notes in his diary on 24 January 1847 that Clara had joined Countess Šliková for «many visits within the haute volée» («viele Besuche in der haute vaulée»). In a different entry, he writes: «In the morning [we went to] Countess Schlick, strange sociability, but a very friendly woman» («Früh zur Gräfin Schlick, curiose Wirtschaft, aber sehr freundliche Frau»). It is obvious that Šliková acted as both a host of social events and a mediator between artists and other important cultural protagonists. However, she was also active within creative and interpretative realms. A former student of Kittl's, she was an excellent pianist. Furthermore, she composed Lieder and short piano pieces, some of which were published by Jowien in Hamburg and Glöggel in Vienna. She also wrote poetry – Kittl and Diederich Krug set to music some of her poems. Despite her strong impact on Prague's cultural scene during the first half of the nineteenth century and her contemporary international reputation as a musical patroness, relatively little is known about her today. Following on from biographical considerations by Milena Lenderová and Jana Sekyrová, this paper focuses on Eliška Šliková's compositional activities, more particularly her Lieder collections Op. 1 and Op. 9. I will first contextualise these songs within their own performance and reception contexts and will then offer a close reading of selected Lieder.

• **MAŁGORZATA KUBALA (Fryderyk Chopin University of Music, Warsaw),  
Pauline Viardot-García – Virtuoso and Composer. Transcriptions of Mazurkas  
by Fryderyk Chopin and Chosen Original Compositions as the Exemplification  
of Creativity and Development of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Belcanto Style**

Pauline Viardot-García (1821-1910) belonged to the group of Chopin's closest friends. Her father was Manuel García, a Spanish singer and composer, her sister, Maria Malibran, a famous prima donna. Pauline enjoyed the opinion of an eminent

interpreter. As a singer she was renowned not only in France, where she was born, but also in England, Germany, Russia and Poland. After finishing her vocal career she became a vocal teacher of international fame. She also published her own compositions, most of them appeared during her lifetime. Among them we can find small scenic and instrumental works and also over 100 songs. A frequent visitor to George Sand's estate in Nohant she studied Chopin's works under his personal guidance and transcribed several of his mazurkas for voice and piano. Although Chopin didn't really accept any reworks of his pieces, he allowed Pauline to sing them and accompanied her during their common concerts in Paris and London. For her side Viardot was so found of Polish composer that she studied Polish to sing original Chopin's songs in Warsaw during her concerts in 1857 and 1858. However, not only transcriptions but also the compositions of Viardot show her creativity and executive capabilities. In her songs she adapted and developed different forms like: Spanish tonadilla, French melodie or German Lied. Viardot, just like her brother, Manuel Patricio García, was a great continuator of bel canto school established by their father. The significance of her achievements is therefore enormous both in the field of development of musical forms and genres as well as vocal performance and technique.

### **Female Composers in the Twentieth Century**

#### **• RHIANNON MATHIAS (Bangor University, Wales), Grace Williams and Welsh Music: Triads, Orchestral Music and New Beginnings**

When the Welsh composer Grace Williams (1906-1977) was asked to contribute to 'A Short Symposium of Women Composers', she provided a 'triad' of things she coveted from a man composer (*Composer*, vol. VI, 1961, p. 21): «1) His larynx. I like to sing when I write and I'd dearly love to be able to run the gamut from basso profundo through counter-tenor to falsetto soprano. To be given a starting point halfway up is a maddening handicap. 2) His ability to eat a good square meal immediately before a performance. Composers' wives, observing my inability to do this, are apt to whisper, "My dear, you're just like us!" 3) His freedom to write a *molto barbaro* movement and have it regarded as just part of his nature and not in any way abnormal». Williams's acknowledgement of some of the 'handicaps' of having been born a woman in a man's musical world is revealing – particularly, her third point. She belonged to one of the first generations of professional composers to emerge from Wales, and in the 1930s and 40s quickly gained a public profile for her orchestral works – at a time in Britain when an orchestral suite, a concerto or a symphony composed by a woman was still considered to be an oddity in a predominantly male profession. Williams is today probably best known for pieces such as the *Fantasia on Welsh Nursery Tunes* (1939-40) and *Penillion* for orchestra (1955), but her position as one of the principal originators of

a tradition of composition at a professional level in Wales is less widely acknowledged. This paper examines Williams's oeuvre up to 1950, and reflects on the way in which she contributed to the founding of a new, professional musical tradition in Wales.

• **ELISABETH KAPPEL (University of Music and Performing Arts, Graz), *The Compositional Oeuvre of Two Viennese 'Higher Daughters': Else Réthi and Vilma Webenau (ca. 1900-1950)***

In Austria, admission to higher education for women was gradually approved from 1897 onwards. However, women were still denied artistic training, which is why studying composition was almost exclusively possible with private teachers. Two of these privately trained female composers in Vienna were Else Réthi and Vilma Webenau. Vilma (von) Webenau (1875-1953) was born into an aristocratic family. She was an excellent pianist who also performed internationally but decided to be a composer and became Arnold Schoenberg's (1874-1951) first student. Webenau's oeuvre of around 100 works included many genres of vocal and instrumental music: She composed seven operas, numerous songs and melodramas as well as some works for orchestra, chamber music and piano. Else Réthi (1886-1970), daughter of a well-known Austrian doctor and also a classically trained pianist, studied composition with Joseph Marx (1882-1964), among others. She composed more than 160 works, including a large number of orchestral and chamber music works as well as one opera. In some respects, Webenau and Réthi corresponded to the stereotype of women composers of the past centuries: Born into Austrian upper-class families, they were so-called 'higher daughters' with a certain social status and financial security. However, they successfully entered the at the time male dominated field of composers by 'not only' composing songs and piano sonatas. The aim of this paper is to investigate the work of Vilma Webenau and Else Réthi, focusing on their symphonic and operatic compositions. In addition, reviews, personal correspondence and other archival materials are consulted to illuminate their individual artistic identities. The results will provide insights into the Austrian musical landscape of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and contribute to the ongoing research on the musical, cultural and social role of women composers.

• **ANGELA ANNESE (Conservatorio 'N. Piccinni', Bari), *Andrée Rochat, a Female Composer between Italy and Switzerland through the Twentieth Century***

A student of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and Marcelle Cheridjian-Charrey at the Geneva Music Conservatory, Andrée Rochat (Geneva, 12 January 1900 - Zürich, 8 January 1990) lived and worked in Milan from 1922 to 1964 as wife to Erhard Aeschlimann, a nephew of the illustrious publisher Ulrico Hoepli who ran the prestigious Hoepli antiquarian bookshop in Milan. By virtue of a remarkable educational path – Giacomo

Orefice in Milan, André Gedalge in Paris, Wladimir Vogel in Ascona – she refined her proficiency as a composer and developed a deep and sophisticated aesthetic stance. A talented, cultivated and open-minded musician, in January 1933 she publicly opposed the anti-modernist manifesto signed by eminent Italian composers in December 1932. Andrée Rochat composed a significant catalogue of mostly vocal and chamber works, characterized by atonal language and a sober expression and published mainly by Carisch in Milan, winning the Gedok Preis for musical composition in 1961. She was deeply involved in the artistic life of her time, not only as a ‘militant’ composer but also as a piano performer, a collaborator of Casa Ricordi, a regular contributor to the authoritative *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* and, notably, a passionate concert attender, reporting her experience as a listener in the *Journal d’un amateur de musique* published under the pen name Jean Durand in 1941. Having returned to Switzerland after her Italian years, she gradually moved away from composing and destroyed some her unpublished works, retreating from public life in her final years. Rochat’s published production and the documents preserved in her personal archive at the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich as well as in other public and private archives shed light on an important artistic figure, who with lucid sensibility felt and rendered in music the anxiety of her time.

• **SAMANTHA EGE (Lincoln College, University of Oxford), «It Takes Courage to Be Cheerful these Days»: Theodora Sturkow Ryder’s Depression-era Chicago, 1928-1931**

If Theodora Sturkow Ryder (1876-1958) is one of the most prolific American composer-pianists you’ve never heard of, it is because the performance history of her pieces largely ended with her death. She was her most significant champion, programming her compositions in concerts and lecture-recitals around the world, from Canada and Mexico, to Egypt and across Europe. On almost all of her programs, Sturkow Ryder included works that contained evocations of her beloved hometown of Chicago. But while her scores romanticized the city and her life in it, her diary entries spoke the decidedly unromantic truths of a practitioner in financial turmoil, particularly after the onset of the Great Depression. I draw upon the Newberry Library’s Theodora Sturkow Ryder Papers to construct a narrative that details the historiography of creative women in interwar, depression-era Chicago, especially composers. Sturkow Ryder’s diary entries from 1928 to 1931 document the vagaries of her professional and personal life against a backdrop of widespread economic decline. I examine this context alongside the intersections of her identity, venturing beyond gender to trace factors of race, ethnicity, class, citizenship, and marital status. In doing so, I also unveil more of the Chicago that Sturkow Ryder would have known, her navigations of a financially fraught era, and the challenges of being one’s own champion in such a time.

- **LISBETH AHLGREN JENSEN (Independent Researcher, Copenhagen), Two Danish Women Composers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Hilda Sehested and Nancy Dalberg**

Hilda Sehested (1858-1936) and Nancy Dalberg (1881-1949) were the two most successful women composers in Denmark in the time between 1915 and 1935. Both belonged to the upper class of society and could afford to have their music performed either privately or at public concerts that they themselves managed and funded. Due to the rarity of women composers their concerts always attracted a lot of attention. Generally their songs were criticised for not being as feminine and melodic as could be expected, whereas their instrumental music was received positively, however with surprise and constant discussion as to the gender of the composers. For instance, when Nancy Dalberg published her second string quartet without giving her first name on the front page, a critic remarked: «had I not learned by accident that it was composed by a woman, considering also the austerity and native strength of her music, it would never have occurred to me that the composer was of the feminine sex. Her mastery of the technique of the composition is remarkable [...]». A similar reaction is found after the performance of her first and only symphony – of which it was said that it was such a clever work that it could have been composed by a man. These are clear indications that learned contrapuntal genres and orchestral music were implicitly understood as male genres. In Denmark, women's movement began in the 1870s, and women gradually gained access to higher education; to public office, and to full voting rights. But along with this progress went a music criticism that maintained gender stereotypes and made it difficult for women composers to be properly integrated into musical life and to be recognised in their own right.

- **STEVEN YOUNG (Bridgewater State University), «Les Organistes oubliées»: Forgotten Female Organists-Composers of France**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women in France succeeded as organist-composers despite considerable gender barriers in both education and the professional world. The class rosters of the *Conservatoire nationale de musique et de déclamation* between 1870 and 1930 indicate that most organ students were male, though the number of female students rose during these years. While most classes at the Conservatoire were separated by gender, the organ class was coeducational, likely due to the limited number of students in that program. All students in the class competed for the same annual prizes, and several women garnered the coveted *premier prix* in fugue, harmony, counterpoint, and composition. (In 1888, a writer for



*Le Ménestrel* commented on the rarest of occurrences: in that year's Conservatory competition, two women won first prizes: one in counterpoint and fugue, and the other in organ and improvisation.) After completing their musical training, most of these women organists who did serve in parishes were relegated to working for churches outside of Paris, as the prestigious positions in the city tribunes were granted exclusively to men. Many of these women served as teachers at regional conservatories or other music schools, while the organ faculty of the Conservatoire was male. However, some managed to rise to the rank of *organiste titulaire* in Parisian churches, and while several achieved this rank with the conservatory pedigree, at least one, Marthe Bracquemond, succeeded without this 'seal of approval'. As composers, they penned numerous pieces for the instrument, but their works, while often published and performed in their respective times, have largely been forgotten. The musical contributions of these women, while not necessarily groundbreaking, reflect talent and skill at least equal to that of their male counterparts. In addition, several of these women had impressive performing careers in France and beyond, Jeanne Demessieux being the best known. The existing research concerning these women and their music is scant, at best. This paper will begin to redress this lacuna by tracing the history of these women who successfully navigated the musical milieu of the organ community and will analyze their contributions to the literature and to the musical life of France.

• **GERO PITLOK (Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich), «La plus grande de toutes les organistes»: How Women Shaped the Worldwide Organ Culture**

The role of women in the Church, especially in context of the Roman Catholic denomination, is currently more strongly discussed than ever. Not only is the topic of female priests addressed, also other areas of responsibility that are necessary for the liturgy. This also includes the creation of choir and organ music. The fact that nowadays many church music positions are already filled by women should not be passed over in silence; such tendencies have only been apparent for a few decades. Especially the use of the organ mostly remains a male affair and it's not surprising that the proportion of men in organ training is still high. Worldwide organ education is influenced by two countries in particular: Germany with its longtime organ tradition (Johann Sebastian Bach) and France, whose organ school influenced the organ view from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Interestingly enough, two female organists particularly represented French organ education after 1950 for many years: Rolande Falcinelli (1920-2006, organist at the Sacré-Coeur and head of the organ class at the Paris Conservatoire) and Marie-Claire Alain (1926-2012, renowned organ

teacher). However, there are more female organists: Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979, assistant of Fauré as organist at La Madeleine), Henriette Puig-Roget (1910-1992, organist at the Great Synagogue in Paris and professor for piano accompaniment at the Paris Conservatoire) or Jeanne Demessieux (1921-1968, organist at La Madeleine) – they all belong to the most outstanding female composers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The anniversaries of Falcinelli (100<sup>th</sup> birthday 2020) and Demessieux (100<sup>th</sup> birthday 2021) may certainly be an occasion to explore the world of female composers in France between 1890 and 1950, with particular reference to their education, respective prerequisites and – due to their teaching activities at important institutes – effect and influence on later generations of composers.

• **ZANE PRĒDELE (Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music Research Centre), The Pioneer Marija Gubene — The First Latvian Female Composer, Publicist and Organist**

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first wave of the search for female identity swept over Latvian society alongside the simultaneous formation of national self-awareness and national identity. Women could pursue higher education in Tsarist Russia at the time, and the Latvian women that studied music received their higher education primarily from the conservatories of Moscow and St. Petersburg. One of the first female Latvian musicians to obtain an academic musical education was Marija Gubene (also Gubens, 1872-1947). She was a composer, theorist, critic, folklorist, organ virtuoso, and an example that inspired many young Latvian women to pursue a quality education. Despite this, she rarely been the subject of musicological research. Having obtained an exceptional theoretical basis in Moscow, she returned to Latvia to perform concerts, work as teacher and write reviews. When the Latvian Conservatory of Music was established in 1919, Marija Gubene was invited to teach compulsory classes in solfeggio, music theory a.o. She was not a prolific composer. Her work includes spiritual choir music, arrangements of folk songs for choir, and organ repertoire (incl. the first sonata for organ). Her choir works include works for female as well as children's voices. In 1914, Marija Gubene published a collection of 30 folk song arrangements for choir – a later very much sought-after book. Some of her best arrangements were later performed at the Latvian Song Festivals and have become popular today. In 1927, she became the first woman to have obtained a degree from the Latvian Conservatory of Music. Unfortunately, the historical records on the undeservedly forgotten musical heritage of Marija Gubene are scarce (there are hand-written records). The same applies to her reviews, research into her aesthetic philosophy and even her biography.

## **Music Education, Training, Pedagogy**

### **• FAUVE BOUGARD (Université libre de Bruxelles), Women and Composition Training in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: The Case of the Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles**

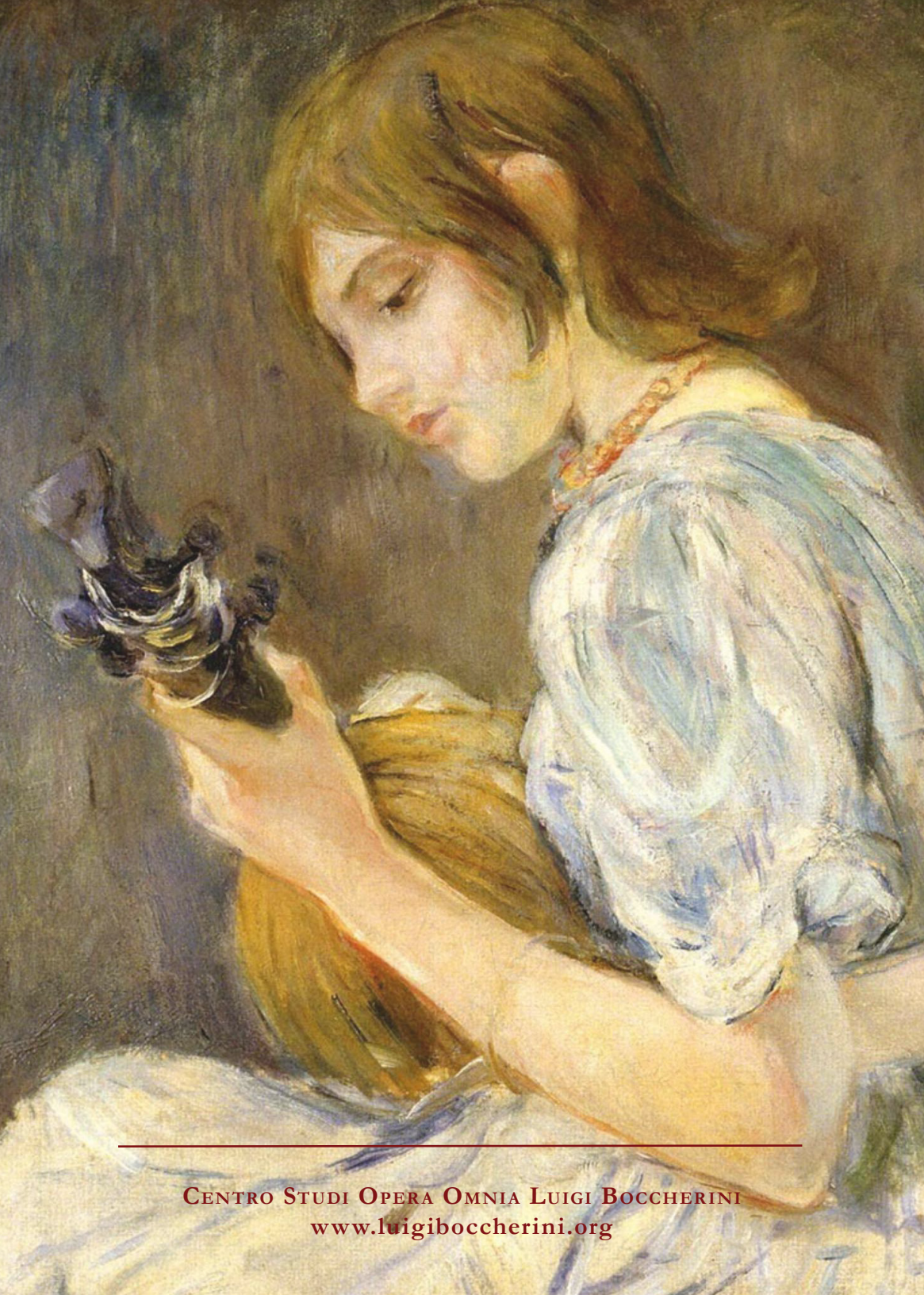
Despite the growing interest of musicologists for women composers, the conception and realization of the education received by these composers in nineteenth century conservatories remains largely unstudied. When considered at all, scholarship on musical education by or for women is often restricted to the private space, a privileged sphere of female expression to be sure, but to the detriment of female presences in public institutions. And yet, numerous young women studied at the Brussels conservatory from its foundation in 1832. In the present paper, I propose to focus my research on composition instruction at the Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles during the nineteenth century. This work, part of the larger questions posed by my doctoral research, aspires to complement and extend the findings of Annegret Fauser ('*La Guerre en dentelles: Women and the Prix de Rome in French Cultural Politics*', in: *JAMS*, 1998) and Jann Pasler ('*Classe sociale, genre et formation musicale: Préparer le prix de Rome au Conservatoire de Paris entre 1871 et 1900*', in: *Romantisme*, 2011) regarding women's access to the French *prix de Rome* and the training that prepared that *concours* in the classes of the Paris Conservatory. By extending my work on women's access to the Belgian *prix de Rome* ('*La question femme: les compositrices et le prix de Rome de Belgique*', in: *Revue belge de musicologie*, 2019), I will address the interest in composition and institutional training that typically led to competing for that prize. First, I will examine the organization and hierarchy of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, studying its classes in harmony, counterpoint, and composition and examining the administrative and social restrictions that conditioned young women's access to those classes. In the second part of my discussion, I'll turn my focus to the pupils themselves and how they engaged with the male-dominated environment of composition training by taking a look at their background, their expectations and, when existing, their professional path.

### **• JAN DEWILDE (Centre for the Study of Flemish Music / Labo XIX & XX - Royal Conservatoire Antwerp), From the Conservatoire Classes for Girls (1867) to the 'Palais des travaux féminins' (1913): Reservations for Women Composers in Flanders?**

This lecture discusses the situation of women composers in Flanders between the introducing of classes for girls at the Antwerp Music School (1867) to the concerts with women musicians and composers that were being organised during the 1913 World's Fair in Ghent at the 'Palais des travaux féminins'. Despite the intentions to better include women composers and musicians both in higher music education as well

as in the concert scene, women composers were mostly relegated to reservations to study and play music. For example, the 'Palais des travaux féminins' was described as «a little chapel reserved for women musicians, composers and performers». In addition, the salon was also a physically separated place where a woman composer could present her music to a limited audience. This naturally had consequences for the genres which women predominantly practised, namely piano music, songs and salon operettas. The fact that women were denied the 'male' genres, such as the symphony and the concerto, as well as the large stages, de facto turned women composers into dilettantes. The composer Maria Matthyssens, who had studied under eminent composers, wrote the following about herself: «Ms Matthyssens is not a professional; she is a housewife and loves being one. She mainly cultivates the art of music as a form of leisure». Given that their career took place in a parallel circuit and in the private sphere, hardly any or no contemporary reviews of their work have been passed down. Sometimes hardly a photo remains. This is also the case for the two women composers, the two case studies, demonstrating women's place in music in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Flanders, i.e. Maria Matthyssens (1861-1916) and Eva Dell'Acqua (1856-1930). Even though they both worked in the privacy of the salon, they each had one hit that did reach a wide audience.





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