

MARUŠA ZUPANČIČ

Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti,
Ljubljana

TRANSCENDING TRADITIONAL ROLES: FEMALE INSTRUMENTALISTS IN LJUBLJANA'S PUBLIC MUSICAL LIFE BETWEEN 1790 AND 1848

IZVLEČEK: Članek obravnava pojav instrumentalistk, predvsem ljubiteljskih pianistk, v javnem glasbenem življenju Ljubljane med letoma 1790 in 1848. Osredotoča se na njihov prehod iz zasebnih salonov na poljavne in javne nastope, podrobno opisuje izvajani repertoar ter družbene izzive, s katerimi so se soočale v tem obdobju.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: instrumentalistke, ljubiteljske pianistke, ljubljansko glasbeno življenje, glasbeni saloni, javno nastopanje

ABSTRACT: The article examines the rise of female instrumentalists, particularly dilettante pianists, within Ljubljana's public music sphere between 1790 and 1848. It explores their transition from private salons to semi-public and public performances, the repertoire they presented and the social challenges they faced during this era.

KEYWORDS: female instrumentalists, dilettante pianists, Ljubljana music life, music salons, public performance

When we think of female musicians in the early nineteenth century, we often picture them as pianists confined to the private sphere, their music serving as an elegant backdrop to salon gatherings. In Ljubljana, however, women from elite circles quietly but boldly defied this notion. From the late eighteenth century onward, they gradually moved beyond salons into semi-public and public performance spaces, navigating complex social expectations while shaping the city's musical culture. While past historiography has primarily focused on composers and musical creativity — where female representation was historically limited — this study shifts attention to women as active performers, highlighting their role in public musical life.

Despite the increasing prominence of female musicians in European concert life, their presence in Ljubljana has remained largely unexplored in Slovenian music historiography. Although scholars such as Nataša Cigoj Krstulović and Marko Motnik have examined aspects of female pianists in the city, a comprehensive study of instrumentalists across different performance settings remains lacking. This article addresses this gap by providing an in-depth examination of female instrumentalists in Ljubljana and situating them within broader social and musical trends.

The chosen timeframe, 1790–1848, reflects the gradual transition of female musicians from private to public performance. The year 1790 marks the first documented event in the Redoute Hall (Redoutensaal) featuring dilettante female pianists, signifying the earliest known semi-public appearances of women as instrumental performers in Ljubljana. Soon afterwards, the establishment of the Philharmonic Society (Philharmonische Gesellschaft) in 1794 provided further opportunities, albeit within a strictly regulated, non-commercial framework that limited female participation to performance roles rather than full membership. The endpoint, 1848, coincides with the political upheavals of the Revolutions of 1848, which transformed musical institutions and marked a turning point in cultural life across the Habsburg Empire. This timeframe captures the shifting societal perceptions of women's roles in music that occurred not only in Ljubljana but across the Habsburg Monarchy and broader European society.

This study examines how social norms shaped the participation of female instrumentalists, distinguishing between private, semi-public and public performances. It also explores how class divisions structured the distinction between dilettante and professional musicians, influencing the opportunities available to women.

The article is organized in three main sections. The first part contextualizes the social norms governing women's musical engagement, the second part analyses the emergence of female pianists in Ljubljana's concert life, and the final section explores female performers on instruments other than the piano, including those on violin, physarmonica, glass harmonica and guitar.

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Methodologically, this research is based on extensive archival analysis, including concert programmes, contemporary newspaper reviews and institutional records such as those of the Philharmonic Society. It critically evaluates gender, social status and professionalization in early nineteenth-century music culture, considering both local practices and their connections to broader European trends.

SOCIAL NORMS AND THE RISE OF FEMALE INSTRUMENTALISTS IN PUBLIC CONCERTS

Within the domains of the Habsburg monarchy, including Ljubljana, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, social norms strongly influenced women's participation in music, shaping not only which instruments were considered appropriate but also their access to musical education and performance opportunities. These norms varied across different regions of the monarchy, reflecting broader societal structures and class distinctions. While noblewomen, bourgeois women and professional female musicians all engaged in music, their opportunities and constraints depended on social status and institutional access.

Noble and bourgeois women primarily pursued music as a sign of cultural refinement, performing in private salons or semi-public concerts rather than as professionals. In contrast, professional female musicians — many of whom came from musical and theatrical families, the petite bourgeoisie or occasionally the upper bourgeoisie and aristocracy — relied on music as a career, often working as performers, teachers or composers. Their professional status, however, placed them in a different social category; while some achieved prestige, they were often viewed as artisans rather than social equals to aristocratic and bourgeois dilettantes.

Although similar trends existed across Europe, the socio-political and cultural contexts of each country shaped women's opportunities in music differently. This article focuses on Ljubljana and the Habsburg monarchy, making comparisons with broader European practices where relevant, while recognizing that these cannot always be directly applied to the specific conditions in Ljubljana during this period.

In this period, certain instruments, such as the keyboard instruments, harp and guitar, were considered socially appropriate for women. These instruments complemented singing and required minimal physical effort, in keeping with the ideals of modesty and femininity. In contrast, more physically demanding instruments such as wind and brass instruments, violin, cello and double bass were considered inappropriate for women because their use was perceived as unladylike.¹ Women's musical performances were expected to embody elegance and restraint, reflecting

1 Steblin, "Gender Stereotyping of Musical Instruments"; Essex, *Young Ladies Conduct*, 84–85; [Junker], "Vom Kostüm des Frauenzimmer Spielens".

social expectations of propriety. Instrumental choice was not the only factor influencing women's musical opportunities; social class and regional differences also significantly affected their access to musical education and performance venues.

Throughout the eighteenth century there were sustained debates about the propriety of women playing certain instruments. Early examples include John Essex's 1722 publication *The Young Ladies Conduct*, which provided strict guidelines on suitable behaviours and activities, including musical instrumental performances, reinforcing ideals of femininity and modesty.² Later, these debates continued very publicly with essays by Carl Ludwig Junker and Hans Adolf Friedrich von Eschstruth. Reservations about women's performance on certain instruments were vividly expressed by Junker in his 1784 essay "Vom Kostüm des Frauenzimmer Spielens". Junker emphasized the perceived impropriety of women playing instruments such as the violin, horn, cello, double bass, bassoon and trumpet, linking choice of instrument to fashion, moral propriety and physical posture. He humorously depicted the incongruity of women playing certain instruments in fashionable attire such as elaborate skirts or high hairstyles and argued that the physical demands and sonic characteristics of these instruments were at variance with the expected femininity and reserve. While advocating that women play in attire such as the "Amazonian dress" (*Amazonenhabit*) to mitigate perceptions of indecency, he recognized the merit of female violinists such as Caroline Bayer, Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen and Gertrud Mara who challenged societal norms.³ His essay prompted responses like that of Hans Adolf Friedrich von Eschstruth in 1784, who criticized these societal restrictions, highlighting their basis in prejudice and unfamiliarity rather than well-grounded reasons. Eschstruth argued that negative perceptions would fade if women regularly played these instruments, supporting women's right to choose their form of musical expression freely.⁴

Notwithstanding these debates and constraints there were notable exceptions in certain contexts. In convents, in charitable institutions such as the Venetian *Ospedali maggiori* and among courtesans women often played instruments traditionally considered inappropriate.⁵ These relatively secluded environments allowed them greater freedom to explore different forms of musical expression and challenge conventional expectations.

Beyond instrumental choice, class and region greatly influenced access to musical education and performance opportunities. Aristocratic women often used their

2 Essex, *Young Ladies Conduct*, 84–85.

3 [Junker], "Vom Kostüm des Frauenzimmer Spielens".

4 Eschstruth, *Musikalische Bibliothek*, 81–86.

5 See Neuls-Bates, *Women in Music*, 43–44; Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 42; Ventura, "Alluring Sight of Music"; Kuffner, *Fictions of Containment*, 55–57; Tonelli, "Le Figlie di Coro".

musical skills to gain social influence as performers, composers and patrons of the arts.⁶ Their involvement inspired the bourgeoisie, which increasingly viewed musical education as a tool for their daughters' social mobility and marriage prospects.⁷ While middle- and upper-class women usually abandoned public performance after marriage,⁸ they remained active in private salons, which became centres for teaching, subscription concerts and the sale of compositions.⁹ These salons bridged the public and private spheres, fostered vibrant music-making and created a socially acceptable outlet for women's artistic expression.

Public performances by women faced social stigma; early opera singers were often compared to courtesans, especially if they made their living through music.¹⁰ Nevertheless, beginning in the 1720s and 1730s, female instrumentalists, including violinists and flautists, began to perform in settings such as theatres and Paris's Concert Spirituel, challenging entrenched norms.¹¹ By the 1770s, the rise of public concerts in cities such as London, Paris and Vienna increased their visibility. While women performed in public primarily on the harpsichord, fortepiano and harp,¹² some ventured to play less traditional instruments such as the violin, flute and horn,¹³ risking gendered criticism, especially for the violin. To counter these biases, many female violinists also pursued singing to enhance their careers and income, and some even adopted masculine dress to sidestep notions of modesty.¹⁴ Despite these efforts, women were rarely included in chamber or orchestral ensembles, although they did gain recognition as soloists, marking a shift in social perceptions.¹⁵

6 In addition to acceptable instruments such as the harpsichord and lute, they often played instruments such as the flute, viola da gamba and violin. See Hoffmann, *Instrument und Körper*, 26.

7 Tick, Ericson and Koskoff, "Women in Music".

8 Sadie, "'Musiciennes' of the Ancien Régime", 191.

9 Cypess, *Women and Musical Salons*. See also chapter II, "Western Classical Traditions in Europe and the USA" (subchapter 3, "1500–1800") in Tick, Ericson and Koskoff, "Women in Music".

10 Tonelli, *Le Figlie di Coro*, 35–37.

11 Santana, "Les Femmes instrumentistes", 121–123; Constant, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, 232–344.

12 McVeigh, "Professional Concert", 129–131; Santana, "Les Femmes instrumentistes", 122–123.

13 On 24 December 1779 four female instrumentalists showcased their talents at the Concert Spirituel as flautist, hornist, pianist and harpist. See Santana, "Les Femmes instrumentistes", 21, 36, 43, 80–81, 122; Constant, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*, 313.

14 To address concerns about modesty, the already mentioned composer and music theorist of the second half of the eighteenth century Carl Ludwig Junker recommended that female violinists wear the *Amazonenhabit* — a more masculine attire — to minimize attention to their femininity. See [Junker], "Vom Kostüm des Frauenzimmer Spielens", 94.

15 There were no female instrumentalists in the orchestras of Parisian institutions, but a few exceptions were known outside Paris, such as Lyon and Reims, where a few female musicians mixed in with their male colleagues. In Vienna, Josepha Müllner-Gollenhofer was a known court harpist and a chamber virtuoso. See Santana, "Les Femmes instrumentistes", 85; Eybl, "Female Singers, Virtuosos, and Dilettantes", 55.

The novelty and sensationalism surrounding female instrumentalists influenced their public image, as reflected in contemporary newspaper reviews.¹⁶ To gain professional respect, women had to demonstrate extraordinary skill, often surpassing their male counterparts.¹⁷ The rise of the bourgeoisie expanded access to music education and increased the number of dilettante musicians, which in turn blurred the distinction between professional and dilettante performers. This shift also encouraged the formation of new musical societies throughout Central Europe, providing performance opportunities for both dilettante and professional musicians. However, as more bourgeois dilettantes entered the concert scene, the term “dilettante” gradually lost its earlier association with artistic refinement and increasingly carried negative connotations, implying a lack of serious training or artistic depth. Despite this prejudice, some female dilettantes achieved remarkable artistic success, challenging stereotypes and redefining women’s contributions to music.¹⁸

After the French Revolution the so-called cult of domesticity reinforced traditional gender roles, confining many women to the domestic sphere and restricting their participation in public musical life. This period saw a growing divide between women who pursued professional music careers and those relegated to dilettante status, limited to private performances.¹⁹ Yet the piano emerged as a symbol of bourgeois status and a bridge between the private and public spheres. Unlike other “women’s instruments”, the piano combined decorum with opportunities for professionalism. Women could teach piano or pursue careers as concert pianists, making this an acceptable source of income.²⁰

By 1796 sixty-seven pianists from Vienna, forty-two of whom were women were listed as virtuosos and dilettantes. Most of these women belonged to the aristocracy and a few to the bourgeoisie, while only five were professionals.²¹ Music reviews from the time reveal that around 1800 female pianists were as active in Vienna as their male counterparts. In 1823 the performers at the concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde included sixty-one women in singing and pianistic roles.²² This trend, which mirrored developments elsewhere in Europe, led to complaints in the second half of the

16 McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 55.

17 Santana, “Les Femmes instrumentistes”, 35–36.

18 Motnik, *Glasbena pot Sophie Linhart*, 226.

19 Reich, “Women as Musicians”.

20 Miller, “Instrumentalvirtuosinnen”, 48.

21 Of the sixty-seven pianists, forty-two were women, including thirty-four noblewomen, three bourgeois women, and five professional pianists. The remaining twenty-five were men, including four aristocrats, eight bourgeois men, and thirteen professional pianists. See Knaus, “Pianistinnen und Pianisten in Wien”, 58–59.

22 Eybl, “Female Singers, Virtuosos, and Dilettantes”, 55.

nineteenth century about a “squadron of ladies” dominating the piano, sparking fears that male pianists were vanishing and that soon only female pianists would remain.²³

Female violin virtuosos were rare, often emerging as child prodigies.²⁴ The masculinized image of violin playing, reinforced by Paganini's “diabolic” virtuosity, clashed with early nineteenth-century ideals of femininity, making it particularly difficult for women to gain recognition in the field. By the 1840s, however, female violinists began to win popularity.²⁵ Female cellists and wind players, on the other hand, faced even greater challenges, with bourgeois critics dismissing their performances as morally questionable “exotica.”²⁶ Despite these obstacles, female instrumentalists played a pivotal role during this period in challenging gender norms and reshaping their place in the musical world. These broader European dynamics set the context within which female instrumentalists in Ljubljana had to negotiate their place in public musical life.

FEMALE PIANISTS IN THE PRIVATE MUSICAL CIRCLES OF LJUBLJANA'S HIGHER ECHELONS

Throughout the eighteenth century cultural and musical life in Carniola remained largely confined to the private circles of the nobility. Boys from aristocratic families received musical training at Jesuit and Italian colleges, while girls were often educated in Ursuline schools.²⁷ Remarkably, the nuns of the Ljubljana Ursulines, like their counterparts in other convents, played instruments such as the violin and bassoon, which were considered socially inappropriate for women at the time.²⁸ Women of the upper nobility, on the other hand, excelled at playing the harpsichord and fortepiano, often complementing social gatherings with their singing.²⁹ The popularity of keyboard instruments among nobility

23 Miller, “Instrumentalvirtuosinnen”, 49.

24 Hoffmann, “Miniatur-Virtuosinnen”, 11.

25 Timmermann, “...wie ein Mann mit dem Hochlöffel”, 84–98.

26 Miller, “Instrumentalvirtuosinnen”, 49.

27 In the 1770s correspondence and lists from booksellers indicate that the higher echelons of society in Ljubljana and the surrounding province were deeply engaged in the art of music. Members of these circles participated in various ensembles, playing instruments such as harpsichord, fortepiano, both side-blown and end-blown flutes and violin, as well as singing operatic arias. See Zupančič, “Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture”, 293.

28 In the early eighteenth century the Ursuline nuns in Ljubljana were notably active in the musical field, as evidenced by financial records from 1730, which include expenses for violin strings and bow repairs. Initially, it appears that the nuns had a full orchestra, although organ-playing was more commonly practised among the majority. Notable among them were several nuns proficient in the violin, who also played other instruments such as the lute, the viola d'amore and even the bassoon. Additionally, these musical nuns occasionally received assistance from town musicians and provincial trumpeters. See Škulj, “Orgle v uršulinski cerkvi”, 234–235; Kogoj, *Uršulinke in njihovo vzgojno poslanstvo*, 394–397.

29 “[...] die Damen aus dem hohen Adel [...] zum Fortepiano [...] spielten oder sangen.” See Keesbacher, *Die philharmonische Gesellschaft in Laibach*, 18–19.

in Ljubljana is illustrated by the offerings of the bookseller Michael Promberger, who in 1776 advertised a selection of keyboard compositions to meet the growing demand for this genre of music.³⁰

One of the most important venues for music events was the palace of Baron Sigmund (Žiga) Zois (1747–1819), located on Breg along the river Ljubljanica, which served as a centre for the intellectual and musical elite of Carniola. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Zois's salon frequently hosted important musical performances where women played a repertoire ranging from sonatinas and sonatas to minuets and concertos, initially on the harpsichord.³¹

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, Ljubljana's musical scene began expanding beyond traditional venues like the Estates Theatre (Ständetheater), the churches and the secluded noble estates. Although noblewomen's artistic activities mostly remained within exclusive circles, they occasionally performed at formal music academies held in the Redoute Hall, built after 1786 by the Estate Theatre Directorate for entertainment, formal events and dances. It occasionally hosted musical performances for distinguished guests and prominent citizens, especially during visits from dignitaries. On such occasions, the Redoute Hall was transformed into a casino, complete with gaming tables and cards for evening socializing and games. Alongside the popular Turkish music performed by military bands, upper-class women also played a key role, adapting to the high-society customs of evening and night gatherings. During Emperor Leopold II's visit to the court of Naples in 1790 a musical academy was held in honour of Archduchess Elisabeth at the Redoute Hall (organized by Casino Club).³² At this event Countess Felicita Porzia and Madame Maria Felicita Johanna Nepomucena Bonaza (née Zois; 1759–1809)³³ performed on the piano, while Mademoiselle Fanny von Gasparini sang an aria in her "silver voice".³⁴

30 "Bey Michael Promberger, Büchhändler allhier ist zu haben", *Des Wöchentlichen Kundschaftsblattes im Herzogthume Krain*, 14 December 1776, 804; "Bey Michael Promberger, Büchhändler allhier ist zu haben", *Des Wöchentlichen Kundschaftsblattes im Herzogthume Krain*, 21 December 1776, 820 (cited in Cvetko, *Zgodovina*, 336–337).

31 In a letter dated 13 June 1770 the copyist Giuseppe Baldan sent Sigmund Zois several harpsichord sonatinas that the latter had ordered for his younger sister Maria Felicitas Johanna Nepomucena, who was not yet eleven years old. Concerned that the sonatinas might be too simple for the young musician, Baldan also included some minuets for harpsichord. See Arhiv Republike Slovenije (SI AS) 1052, Rodbina Zois Edelstein, 1606–1901, no. 18. Giuseppe Baldan to Sigmund Zois, 13 June 1770 (cited in Škerlj, "Italijanske predstave v Ljubljani", 110).

32 Holz, "Popotovanje cesarja Leopolda II."

33 Baroness Maria Felicita Johanna Nepomucena was born in Ljubljana on 5 July 1759, the daughter of Michelangelo Zois and his second wife, Johanna (née Kappus von Pichelstein). Maria Felicita married on 6 June 1782 in Ljubljana and was widowed in 1801. She lived in Ljubljana until 1809, when she and her son Anton retreated from the advancing French to the Stelnik estate on the Croatian side of the Kolpa River. See Preinfalk, "Geneološka podoba rodbine Zois", 31.

34 "Inländische Nachrichten", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 31 August 1790, 1.

At the end of the eighteenth century the piano became a popular instrument also among the rising bourgeoisie. Music education served as both cultural expression and a means of social mobility, particularly for the daughters of the bourgeoisie seeking suitable marriage prospects. Differently from boys, access to music education for girls was mostly limited to private lessons initially provided by family members.³⁵ Unlike Vienna, Ljubljana lacked renowned piano teachers. Consequently, lessons were given mainly by seasonal theatre musicians and established professional musicians from Prague and Vienna, who, while not primarily pianists, possessed sufficient proficiency.³⁶ Despite these local limitations, private instruction became increasingly important for Ljubljana's talented female pianists, some of whom, such as Anna Herzum (1820–1861),³⁷ Amalie Oblack (1813–1860),³⁸ and Josephine Micheli (1831–?),³⁹ enhanced their skills through lessons with esteemed teachers such as Carl Maria von Bocklet (1801–1881) and Eduard Pirkhert (1817–1881) in Vienna.

In 1823 Friederike Benesch (1805–1872) emerged as the city's first documented female piano teacher offering tuition to girls alone.⁴⁰ Male instructors, mindful of the propriety and safety of their female students, often advertised that lessons were to be held at home in their wives' presence, ensuring separate teaching arrangements for boys and girls. Musically skilled bourgeois women often provided informal piano lessons to younger girls without public advertisement.⁴¹ Pianistic skills could also be an important source of income for women, as exemplified by an advertisement in 1842 by a widow who supported herself by teaching girls manual skills and piano.⁴²

35 Zupančič, "Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture", 306–310;

"Hausinstructor wird gesucht", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 26 March 1831, [1].

36 Newspaper advertisements reveal that private piano lessons were being offered as early as 1814. Until 1848 the piano teachers included singer and actor Wilhelm Müller, singer and theatre actor J. M. Fackler, Kapellmeister Caspar Maschek, violinist and composer Joseph Benesch, pianist and composer Friederike Benesch and violoncellist Andreas Herzum. See "Nachricht", *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung*, 28 January 1814, [6]; "Nachricht", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 22 March 1814, [2]; "Unterricht im Clavierspielen", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 3 August 1821, 1026; "An Musikfreunde", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 15 October 1822, 1326; "Neue errichtete Violinschule", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 29 October 1822, 1392; "Unterricht im Gesang, Violin, Forte-Piano, und in allen Blas-Instrumenten wird gegen sehr billige Bedingnisse ertheilt", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 1 October 1833, 1036; Budna Kodrič, *Korespondenca Jožefine in Fidelija Terpinc*, 97.

37 Anna Herzum studied privately in Vienna for six months under the tutelage of Carl Maria von Bocklet. See Leopold Ledenik, "Vaterländische Kunst", *Illyrisches Blatt*, 2 May 1839, 76.

38 Motnik, *Glasbena pot Sophie Linhart*, 237.

39 "Local-Revue. Konzert-Salon", *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*, 17 November 1846, 557–558.

40 "Unterricht im Clavierspielen", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 17 October 1823, 1342.

41 An example of this practice was pianist Anne (Nanette) Herzum, who in the late 1830s privately taught a young girl, Josephine Micheli, who later became a virtuoso pianist. See "Kunst-Nachricht", *Carniolia: zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und geselliges Leben*, 29 May 1840, 36.

42 "Kostmädchen werden aufgenommen", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 9 August 1842, 654.

In the early nineteenth century Ljubljana's rising bourgeoisie began mimicking noble customs by hosting elegant gatherings in private salons. The vibrant and diverse social life of the wealthy bourgeoisie included three to four balls weekly, picnics and musical soirées.⁴³ These salon events attracted officials, lawyers, doctors and other affluent and educated individuals, many of whom were dilettante musicians (*Musikdilettanten*) or musical connoisseurs (*Musikkenner*). Occasionally, gatherings featured performances by renowned guest virtuosos, such as violinist Karol Lipinski (1790–1861) and pianists Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart (1791–1844) and Maximilian Joseph Leidesdorf (1787–1840), who enhanced the salons' artistic prestige.

Among the female pianists active in Ljubljana's salons, Marie Pachler (1794–1855), daughter of the Celje lawyer Aldobrand Koschak (1759–1814), stood out.⁴⁴ Initially recognized as a child prodigy, Pachler seriously considered a professional musical career before focusing on private performances, often playing her own compositions, most of which are now lost. Following her family's financial collapse, she moved from Graz to Ljubljana in 1811 and actively participated in salon music until 1814.⁴⁵ Pachler, a passionate admirer of Ludwig van Beethoven, whom she later met in person, most probably performed his works at these private gatherings.

The lively salon culture of early Romantic Ljubljana provided a platform not only for female pianists but also for female composers. Josepha Constantia Anna Urbantschitsch (also known as Josipina Turnograjska; 1833–1854) composed several piano pieces suited for salon performance.⁴⁶ A few women, however, ventured beyond the salon tradition, composing or arranging virtuosic piano works for public performances with orchestra; they included Friederike Benesch,⁴⁷ Anne Herzum and Elise von Schmidburg (1811–1838).

43 Cornelia Schollmayr-Costa, "Alte Tagebücher", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 28 May 1892, 1033–1035.

44 While there are no documents directly confirming her musical activity in the salons of Ljubljana, it is reasonable to assume she was active, since the Philharmonic Society granted her honorary membership in 1817. See *Verzeichniß sämtlicher wirklichen, und Ehren-Mitglieder* (1817), 8.

45 Marie Leopoldine Pachler was born in Graz to the lawyer Aldobrand Koschak from Celje, who was a music lover. He encouraged his daughter's musical development and organized concerts at which she often performed as pianist. She was originally regarded as a pianistic prodigy, but after 1811 only performed privately. After her marriage (1816) her home in Graz became the centre of the educated bourgeoisie until around 1830. See Harer, "Pachler, Familie".

46 In addition to vocal compositions, she also wrote several piano salon pieces: *Rodoljubice*, *Spominčice*, *Milotinka* and *Zoranka*.

47 Apart from her own Variations, which she performed with an orchestra at a Philharmonic concert in 1823, she also collaborated with her husband on their Concert Variations for piano and violin, dedicating this piece to local pianist Julie Kogl. See Friederike and Joseph Benesch, *Variations Concertantes pour Piano-forte et Violon* (Vienna: Sauer & Leidesdorf). The composition is preserved in the following archives and libraries: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv (A-Wgm); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Vienna (A-Wn).

In salons across Ljubljana, alongside chamber works and piano concertos accompanied by quartets, lighter piano music dominated, reflecting the city's dynamic cultural life and current musical trends. Influenced by the theatrical and dance scene, salons recreated the grandeur of public theatre, opera performances and balls. Popular operas at the Estates Theatre and the bourgeois balls (*Maskenbälle*) at the Redoute Hall intertwined public spectacle with private musical life, shaping the piano repertoire. The 1820s saw an enrichment of this repertoire with variations on popular operatic themes and piano arrangements of overtures, arias or ballet music performed variously as solo pieces and piano duets.

Local music dealers, particularly Caspar Maschek (1794–1873), played a crucial role in making this repertoire accessible, offering tutors for beginners, easy sonatinas and more complex sonatas, variations, marches, rondos and chamber works. Among his offerings were piano reductions of overtures and arias from popular operas and ballets, suitable for two-handed or four-handed performance.⁴⁸ Additionally, piano arrangements of music from popular plays and balls, which included quodlibets and marches by composers often affiliated to the theatre, were available at the Estates Theatre box office.⁴⁹

The lively salon culture and social dances at the Redoute Hall also inspired local composers to compose dance pieces for the piano, such as the German dance (*Deutscher*)⁵⁰ and the waltz.⁵¹ These pieces were often dedicated to women from prominent Ljubljana bourgeois families, serving not only as tributes to them but also as messages to the general public that the works were tailored to the musical tastes and performance abilities of this important, commercially valuable audience.⁵²

Between 1818 and 1821 a demand for lighter piano music prompted the publication of the Musical Ladies' Journal (*Musikalisches Damen-Journal*) in Vienna, reaching Ljubljana by 1823.⁵³ This journal expanded the repertoire available to Ljubljana's

48 "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 7 December 1821, 1552; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 11 January 1821, 58; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 25 September 1821, 1255; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 30 October 1821, 1404; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 13 November 1821, 1448; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 16 April 1822, 498; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 15 November 1822, 1451; "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 22 April 1823, 502.

49 Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 30 January 1831, 24 October 1831, 6 September 1832, 1 November 1835. See also Zupančič, "Between Acts".

50 Podlesnik Tomášiková and Motnik, "Laibacher Deutscher".

51 Cigoj Krstulović, "Med sentimentom in razumom".

52 Podlesnik Tomášiková and Motnik, "Laibacher Deutscher", 24; Cigoj Krstulović, "Posvetila na skladbah".

53 The *Musikalisches Damen-Journal*, along with other piano pieces, could be purchased at Caspar Maschek's home. See "An Musikfreunde", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 22 April 1823, 502.

dilettante female pianists, featuring arrangements of popular theatre works, operas, overtures, ballets and arias that had been performed in local and foreign theatres.

Although semi-public and public concerts gained prominence in the early nineteenth century, salon gatherings continued to anchor Carniola's social life, preserving music's position as an integral part of daily interactions. Many of Ljubljana's pianists transitioned from these private settings to the public stages, marking the beginning of a broader participation by women in the city's musical culture.

As female pianists moved beyond salon settings, their performances became increasingly shaped by the hierarchical structure of musical spaces in Ljubljana. Women participated in three primary performance settings — private, semi-public and public — each of which imposed distinct limitations and opportunities.

Private performances took place in salons, where aristocratic and bourgeois women engaged in music-making as a form of elite sociability rather than professional ambition. These events often featured collaborations with guest virtuosos, reinforcing the cultural prestige of salon participants. Semi-public performances provided women with greater artistic exposure through Philharmonic Society concerts and academies, where they performed for an audience of members and invited guests. Although primarily non-commercial, these events were on occasion also open to a paying audience, allowing for somewhat broader public access. Women participated in them for social prestige rather than financial reward. Public performances, on the other hand, were held in the Estates Theatre and Redoute Hall, where musicians played for a paying audience. These public concerts were dominated by professional musicians, many of whom were guest artists from abroad, since the transition from dilettante to professional status remained rare among local women.

This structure of performance spaces reflected the broader distinction between dilettante and professional musicians, shaping how women engaged in Ljubljana's musical life. The following section explores how female pianists navigated these categories, balancing private artistry with the challenges of public recognition.

By the second half of the century technological advancements and increased accessibility transformed the piano into a household staple for the bourgeoisie, with "Hausmusik" becoming a defining feature of middle-class life.⁵⁴

54 Cigoj Krstulović, "Glasbenozgodovinsko in glasbenoestetsko ozadje", 16.

M^{ro}: Sig: mio Sig: Laon Colmo.

Non credevi, che V. Illma mi giudicasse incivile, mancante al mio dovere, stima, e rispetto, che ho verso V. Illma, se non ho subito risposto al stimato mio, e riverito suo foglio, la ragione di ciò fu, che premendomi servirlo subito delle sonatine da Cambralo per la sorella sua amatissima, e volendole scrivere io, perchè siano scritte con tutta chiarezza, non ho potuto esser tanto sollecito come bramavo, a motivo dell'opera, che sono state fatte in questa fiera dell'Ancorione, che ho havuto mille disturbi, che appena terminati, ho scritto le suddette sonate, delle quali V. Illma mi doni l'onore, ed il contento di fargliene un regalotto. Delle medesime, e nello stesso tempo rileverò l'abilità sua, e prenderò norma per delle altre.

Per non spedirgli le sonatine sole, l'ho accompagnate con parte di musica, che li miei giovani ha terminato di scrivere, ed ora terminano di scrivere il rimanente di musica, che gli sarà molto cara.

Nello stesso involto V. Illma troverà li due Bassi Velli due quartetti, che ho fallato io il nome, e troverà ancora il trave di ballo, che nel basso gli mancava un riga di robba, basta cucirlo, e sarà un posto alle due carte, che tutto andrà bene.

Il Concerto nuovo per il Traversier, come la Sign. li avrà dentro della presente settimana, troverà bene V. Illma nello stesso involto il Concerto per il Violino, e uno per il Traversier, che li piacerà molto, così spero.

Quello

Figure 1 | Letter from Giuseppe Baldan to Žiga Zois, 13 June 1770, fol. 1 (SIAS 1052, Rodbina Zois Edelstein, 1606–1901, no. 18)

3. 1214. Unterricht im Clavierspielen. (2)

Den Aufforderungen mehrerer (P. T.) Musikfreunde zu entsprechen, macht Unterzeichnete hiermit bekannt, daß sie mit Anfang November d. J. angefangen für Mädchen, und zwar drey und dreyen zugleich, wöchentlich einen dreystündigen Unterricht im Clavierspielen erteilen wird. Des Nähern wegen beliebe man sich in der alten Marktgasse No. 21 im 1. Stocke zu erkundigen.

Friederike Benesch.

Figure 2 | Advertisement for piano lessons (Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung, 17 October 1823, 1342)



Figure 3 | Joseph Bosizio, Laibacher Redoute-Deutsche (1831), title page (Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (NUK))

FEMALE PIANISTS IN THE PUBLIC CONCERT LIFE OF LJUBLJANA

Early Opportunities and Public Performances

In Ljubljana the earliest public music performances by women occurred sporadically in the early eighteenth century, involving professional opera singers visiting the city. Their presence became more prominent following the establishment of the Estates Theatre in 1765, which began regularly featuring female singers in its seasonal operatic productions. However, the founding of the Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana in 1794 opened up new avenues for women from elite and privileged circles to participate in semi-public academies and concerts exclusively reserved only for Society members. Despite restrictive social norms and rigid gender roles, these venues provided women with opportunities to showcase their musical talents in increasingly public settings.

The Society's statutes permitted membership to individuals from all social classes to become members as either performers (*Ausübender*) or music connoisseurs (*Musikkenner*).⁵⁵ Women, however, could only join as active performers or dilettante musicians (*Musikdilettantinnen*).⁵⁶ By 1805 eleven of the 134 Society members were women, pianists and singers from the higher aristocracy, with a few from the bourgeoisie.⁵⁷ Over time, more bourgeois women joined and gradually become a majority. To encourage inclusivity, the Society organized quarterly academies to which members could invite guests of any gender.

While the term "dilettante" carried increasingly negative connotations during this period, the female dilettante pianists of Ljubljana's Philharmonic Society pursued serious artistic goals and achieved notable levels of artistic excellence. They performed at semi-public and public Philharmonic Society academies and concerts held at venues such as the hall of the House of the Teutonic Order (*Deutschordenshaus*), nowadays known as the Križanke, and the Redoute Hall. Additionally, they occasionally appeared in public musical interludes during theatre performances and in concerts at the Estates Theatre.

Insights into the piano repertoire in Ljubljana before 1816 can be drawn from newspaper reports, the Music Catalogue of the Philharmonic Society (1794–1804) and the only surviving concert programme from that period.⁵⁸ One of the most significant contributors to the city's musical collection was Archduchess Maria Leopoldina of Austria-Este (1776–1848), who resided in Ljubljana at the turn of the nineteenth century and played a key role in expanding its repertoire of piano works.⁵⁹

55 During this period the term *Ausübender* referred to someone who actively practised or performed music: typically a professional musician or an amateur who played an instrument or sang at a high level. The term was used to distinguish between those who were actively involved in the performance of music (as opposed to merely appreciating it) and other types of society members, such as *Musikkenner* (music lovers or connoisseurs), who were more passive participants in the musical culture, appreciating and supporting music rather than performing it themselves.

56 *Statuten der musikalischen Gesellschaft*, [7–8].

57 Elpidie Kappus von Pichelstein, Nepomuzena Freyinn von Zois, Josepha von und zu Canal auf Ehrenberg, Anna Freyinn von Zois, Frau Franziska Freyinn von Grimschitz, Melle. Juliana Herrlein, Frau N. Gräfin von Porzia, Melle. Josepha Zazula, Fräule Cezilia Zois Freyinn von Edelstein, Fräule Johanna Nep. Edle von Desselbrunner, Frau Felizitas Gräfin von Porzia. See *Verzeichniß sämmtlicher wirklichen, und Ehren-Mitglieder* (1801); *Verzeichniß sämmtlicher wirklichen, und Ehren-Mitglieder* (1805).

58 The "Musicalien-Catalog" lists a variety of works under the "Pianoforte" section, including concertos, sonatas, trios, quartets and quintets.

59 In the spring of 1799, amid rumours of a pregnancy resulting from an affair with the court musician Franz Eck, she relocated to Ljubljana to avoid the ensuing scandal. She gave birth to a child in Ljubljana, although this child probably passed away shortly after birth. After a two-year absence she returned to Munich in September 1801. See "Musicalien-Catalog"; Krauss-Meyl, "Das Leben der letzten bayerischen Kurfürstin", 17.

During this period female pianists in Ljubljana performed a wide range of works, including piano concertos with orchestral accompaniment,⁶⁰ sonatas⁶¹ and chamber music featuring obbligato piano parts.

From 1816 onwards preserved concert programmes indicate that the performers on the piano were young women from aristocratic and prominent bourgeois families, often associated with the Philharmonic Society. Notably, these concerts featured young aristocratic women, such as Wilhelmine Kappus von Pichelstein (1799–1865)⁶² and Cölestine von Paunovich (later Countess Strassoldo; 1798–1878),⁶³ whose refined artistry significantly enriched Ljubljana's musical life. Typically, these young women made their public debut performances with an orchestra between the ages of nine and fourteen, displaying exceptional musical maturity and technical skill for their age.⁶⁴ Although most of these performers ceased to appear in public after marriage, some continued to do this well into their thirties, challenging contemporary expectations. Conversely, a number of women ended their performing careers even before marriage for reasons that often remain undocumented.

Unlike professional piano virtuosos, usually men, who typically demonstrated their versatility by playing two or three pieces, young dilettante female pianists in Ljubljana often performed a single piece as part of a mixed concert programme. Their repertoire was rooted in the chamber-music salon tradition of accompanied

60 The recorded piano performance at the Philharmonic Society dates back to 1801, when a piano concerto with orchestral accompaniment was performed in the Redoute Hall. However, the newspaper report did not name the composer or the performers. See "Laibach", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 28 July 1801, 1. In the earliest "Musicalien-Catalog" (1794–1804) of the Philharmonic Society there are six piano concertos listed: W. A. Mozart (Piano Concertos with Orchestra K. 466, K. 467, K. 488), A. E. Müller (Piano Concerto in E-flat); L. van Beethoven (Piano Concerto with Orchestra in C, no. 1, op. 15); J. F. X. Sterkel (Piano Concerto with Orchestra in B-flat).

61 The earliest known concert programme from the Philharmonic Society at the Academy, dated 8 January 1811, and held in the Redoute hall, shows that W. A. Mozart's Sonata for Two Pianos (without accompaniment) was performed.

62 Wilhelmina Anastasia von Pichelstein was born on 16 October 1799 in Ljubljana to Johannes Josef Kappus von Pichelstein (1766–1838) and Anastasia Redange (1775–1833). See Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Taufbuch, 1795–1805, fol. 97; Preinfalk, "Plemstvo v bidermajerski Ljubljani", 110.

63 Caroline Cölestine Paunovich was born on 16 August 1798, the daughter of Major Raphael von Paunovich (1769–1803) from Karlovac and Caroline Mock. On 7 November 1833, at the age of thirty-five, she married Count Anton Strassoldo in Ljubljana. She died in Gorizia on 13 December 1878. See Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Trauungsbuch, 1816–1846, fol. 129.

64 Julia Kogl made her public debut at thirteen in 1816, and at the age of fourteen she performed a Hummel piano concerto with an orchestra in 1817. Amalie Oblack performed in a Concertante Potpourri for Pianoforte and Viola with orchestral accompaniment at the age of twelve in 1825. Amalie Franz, aged fourteen, performed a four-hands piece with her sister Nannette. Eleonora Hauck, likewise aged around fourteen, played Hummel's Variations for Piano and Orchestra in 1825. Anna Herzum, exceptionally young, performed just one movement of a Hummel's piano concerto during an intermission at the Estates Theatre in 1829 at the age of just nine.

keyboard music,⁶⁵ including piano and flute duos, piano trios, piano duos for four hands, piano quartets and sextets. These pieces often emphasized the leading role of the piano, with accompanying instruments providing supportive rather than equal contributions.

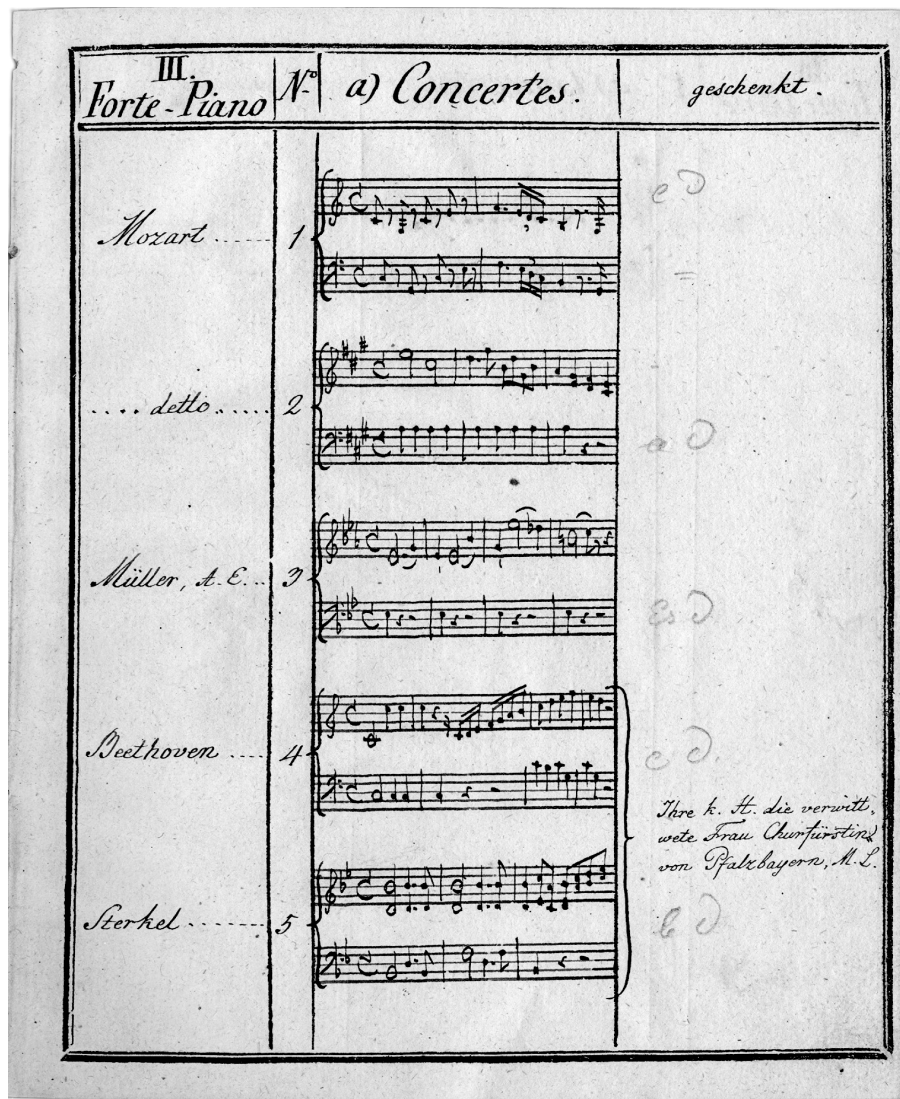


Figure 4 | "Musicalien-Catalog der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach", 1794–1804, fol. 41r (Ljubljana, NUK)

65 Fuller, "Accompanied Keyboard Music", 222–223.

A newspaper review from 1817 highlights the reception of these performances, praising a young pianist's precise and delicate interpretation of Rieß's Piano Trio and noting the "well-deserved applause" she received.⁶⁶ Chamber music of this kind was rarely performed in public by itinerant virtuosos visiting Ljubljana, who tended to prefer more technically demanding and showy pieces designed for solo performance. Virtuosos tended to reserve chamber works for more intimate salon gatherings.⁶⁷

The Golden Age of Female Pianists: 1820s–1830s

Public performances by female dilettante pianists with the orchestra had become a hallmark of Ljubljana's musical life by the early nineteenth century. One of the earliest documented examples was the fourteen-year-old Julie Kogl (1803–1835),⁶⁸ who demonstrated her "advancing art education" in 1817 with a performance of two movements from a Hummel piano concerto.⁶⁹ The 1820s ushered in a golden age for the city's female pianists, who increasingly performed solo concertos, rondos and virtuosic variations. Their repertoire often included transcriptions of operas and folk melodies, which were performed in variety of formats including solo piano (for four, six or eight hands), usually accompanied by chamber ensembles or orchestras.

The enthusiasm of Ljubljana's audience for these performances is evident from the glowing reviews, such as one praising Julie Kogl's interpretation of Czerny's Variations:

Great delight was also aroused at this concert by the charming performance of Miss K*, who presented the variations on the pianoforte by Czerny with rare artistry, but even more so with feeling, spirit and expressive delivery.⁷⁰

66 "Musik", *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, 7 March 1817, 1.

67 For example, on 19 July 1820, F. X. W. Mozart performed his own Piano Concerto and Variations for Piano on a Russian Theme at a Philharmonic Society concert. Following the concert, he gave a private performance at the Gaisruck residence, where he played his father's Piano Trio.

68 Julie Kogl was born on 23 January 1803 and was baptized two days later with the name Juliana Maria Antonia. Her father was the physician Carl Bernhard Kogl, a skilled violinist and a co-founder of the Philharmonic Society. On 21 January 1828 she married the junior official Joseph Schonta, with whom she had four children. She died of tuberculosis in Ljubljana on 28 January 1835, at the age of thirty-two. See Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Taufbuch 1795–1805, fol. 147; Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Trauungsbuch, 1816–1846, fol. 90; Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Sterbebuch, 1812–1835, fol. 192.

69 "Fernere Wirksamkeit der Laibacher philharmonischen Gesellschaft", *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 21 February 1817, 4.

70 "Tonkunst", *Illyrisches Blatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 14 April 1820, 58.

Female pianists often collaborated with prominent local and Viennese violinists, including Georg Hellmesberger (1800–1873) and Eduard Jäll (1793–1849). These musical partnerships between female pianists and male violinists emphasized the interplay between the piano's delicate tones and the violin's expressive qualities. Their talent and performances were often acknowledged in musical reviews as being *on par* with their male colleagues. This is exemplified in a glowing critique of Julie Kogl's performance of Moscheles's *French Rondeau* alongside violinist Jäll:

A precious gem in the beautiful harmonic wreath was the French Rondeau for Pianoforte and Violin by Moscheles, performed by Miss K. and Mr. Jäll. This duo has already delighted us once before with variations by Mayseder, but when we say that Miss K. and Mr. Jäll surpassed themselves in the aforementioned Rondeau, we bestow well-deserved praise upon them. It was a pleasurable contest between them in tackling the grand challenges of this concertante Rondeau. Melodic delivery is proven to be Mr. Jäll's character in play, and the utmost delicacy again distinguishes Miss K. at the pianoforte: a collaboration of these two artists can only be advantageous and highly enjoyable.⁷¹

Despite their music accomplishments, most female pianists withdrew from public performance after marriage. Julie Kogl, for instance, ended her concert career upon marrying and starting a family. However, the Vienna-trained pianist and composer Friederike Benesch⁷² defied this social convention. In 1823, at the age of eighteen, she moved to Ljubljana after marrying the musician Joseph Benesch (1795–1873) and made history as the first woman in the city to premiere in public one of her own compositions: *Variationen für das Pianoforte mit Orchester-Begleitung*.⁷³ Later that year, she gave another public performance with an orchestra, where she was recognized as a “virtuosa” — a title exceptionally rare for women of the period. One report described her artistry in glowing terms:

[Friederike Benesch] combines in her fortepiano playing all the qualities that entitle her to the name of an outstanding pianist. She unites exceptional fluency with purity

71 “Jäll's Concert”, *Illyrisches-Blatt zum Nutzen und Vermögen*, 3 May 1822, 72.

72 Friederike Benesch (née Proch) was born in Wiener Neustadt in 1805. She received her first music lessons from her mother, Vinzenzia Maschek (1782–1849), then continued them under the *regens chori* and headmaster Anton Herzog. She concluded her piano and composition studies privately in Vienna with Simon Sechter. In 1822 she met the violinist Joseph Benesch, who was a teacher of her brother Heinrich Proch. She remained between 1823 and 1826 in Ljubljana, where she gave private piano lessons for the first year and appeared on the stage of the Philharmonic Society as a soloist and her husband's accompanist. She later moved to Vienna, where she continued to perform and where she died in 1872. See Zupančič, “Joseph Benesch”, 26.

73 Concert Programmes, 30 May 1823.

and precision; combines strength and solidity with the greatest delicacy; and it is true soulful expression that brings the whole to life [...] If, as it seemed to us, Madame B. exhibited a slight unease during the first concert piece — probably because it was the first time she played in one of her husband's public concerts — she performed the variations, on the other hand, with the greatest composure and rare bravura. Equally flattering and undivided applause as for him was bestowed upon her.⁷⁴

Alongside Julie Kogl and Friederike Benesch, several other women significantly contributed to Ljubljana's musical scene during this period. Eleonore Hauck (c. 1811–1891) gained recognition as both a pianist and singer, performing regularly at Philharmonic Society concerts between 1823 and 1831.⁷⁵ Similarly, Amalia Oblack, celebrated for her piano performances between 1825 and 1831, later shifted her focus to the visual arts, studying both painting and music in Vienna under Leopold Kupelwieser and Carl Maria von Bocklet.⁷⁶

Among these notable figures was Marie Baroness Schmidhammer (c. 1802–?), later known as Marie Wagner. She made her public debut at a Philharmonic Society concert in Ljubljana four years after arriving in the city at the age of nineteen, just a few months before her marriage in 1821.⁷⁷ Unlike many of her contemporaries, Marie continued to perform publicly into the 1830s, maintaining a steady presence in society concerts and tackling technically demanding repertoire.⁷⁸

74 "Correspondenz-Nachricht: Laibach, im December 1823", *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung-Unterhaltungsblatt für Freunde der Kunst, Literatur und der geselligen Lebens*, 17 February 1824, 82–83.

75 Eleonore Hauck was born around 1811 to Leopold, a retired captain, and Theresia Hauck (Hauk, Haug). She performed as a singer and pianist at Philharmonic Society concerts between 1823 and 1831. She married Alois Labres, a civil servant, and later lived with him in Trieste, Split, Zadar and Graz. She died in Graz in March 1891. See Motnik, *Glasbena pot Sophie Linhart*, 238.

76 Amalia Magdalena Bienvenuta Oblak was born in 1813 in Vrhnika to Johann Nepomuk Oblak, a lawyer, and his wife Isabela Millizh von Palmberg. She performed at the Philharmonic Society's concerts in 1825, 1826 and 1831. Her father was a director of the Philharmonic Society from 1826 to 1829. After studying in Vienna, Amalia returned to Ljubljana in 1829, where she continued her artistic education in painting under Matevž Langus. In 1832, she married the well-known poet Franz Hermann von Hermannsthal. In 1846 they moved to Vienna, where she lived until her death in 1860. See Vrhnika, Taufbuch, 1812–1820, fol. [17]; Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Trauungsbuch, 1816–1846, fol. 120; Motnik, *Glasbena pot Sophie Linhart*, 237.

77 Concert Programmes, 17 April 1821.

78 Marie Schmidhammer was born around 1802 in Brno to Joseph Schmidhammer, a police director, and his wife Barbara. In 1817, her family relocated to Ljubljana following her father's transfer from Brno. At the age of nineteen, in 1821, Marie married Joseph Wagner from Freiburg, a gubernatorial councillor who was twenty years her senior. From 1843 onwards the family resided in Graz. See Budna Kodrič, *Korespondenca Jožefine in Fidelija Terpinc*, 34–35; Motnik, *Glasbena pot Sophie Linhart*, 239.

The four daughters of the governor of Illyria Joseph Camillo von Schmidburg (1779–1846) — Antonia (1809–1888),⁷⁹ Elisa, Dorothea (1812–1881),⁸⁰ and Franziska (1814–1898)⁸¹ — were likewise prominent pianists. Among them, Elisa von Schmidburg⁸² distinguished herself not only as a performer but also as a composer, arranging some variations by Herz and creating a four-handed adaptation of Liszt's *Grande Valse di Bravura* in 1839.⁸³

The 1830s also marked Ljubljana's introduction to female touring virtuosos, although Leopoldine Blahetka (1809–1885) stood out as the only professional female pianist from abroad to perform in the city during this period. A former child prodigy and celebrated pianist, Blahetka — who was closely connected with Beethoven, Czerny, Schubert and Chopin — performed in Ljubljana while en route to Venice at the age of twenty.⁸⁴ The local press enthusiastically announced her concert, praising her extraordinary talent and rare virtuosity, and promising an unforgettable experience for the city's audience.⁸⁵ Although no detailed review of her concert followed, Blahetka's influence extended well beyond her visit. Her compositions had been performed in Ljubljana as early as 1823 and remained part of the city's repertoire, inspiring generations of female musicians.⁸⁶

79 Later known as Antonia Friederica Freifrau Codelli von Codellisberg.

80 Later known as Dorothea Pöhr Edle von Rosenthal.

81 Later known as Franziska Edle von Kalchberg.

82 Baroness Elisabeth Johanna Wilhelmina von Schmidburg was born on 22 June 1811 in Prague to Joseph Camillo von Schmidburg and Maria Magdalena von Schmidburg (née von Born; 1779–1871). Known as Elise, she made her stage debut at the Philharmonic Society in November 1830. She was also believed to be a composer, although her works have unfortunately been lost. She was also, like her sister Franziska, a talented painter. On 23 July 1835 she married Baron Franz Xaver Lazarini in Ljubljana. The couple had two children, although their first-born, Camillo von Lazarini (1836), tragically passed away a few days after birth. Elise herself succumbed to tuberculosis on 14 February 1838, just two months after the birth of her second child, Evelin Genovefa Ludovica Anna Barbara von Lazarini (1837–1887), at the age of only twenty-six. See Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Trauungsbuch, 1816–1846, fol. 138; Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Sterbebuch, 1836–1866, fol. 15; Preinfalk, "Plemstvo v bidermajerski Ljubljani", 99.

83 *Grandes Variations Brillantes, sur l'air favori: le petit Tambour, par Henri Herz, arangie pour le Piano-forte a 4 mains, avec l'Accompagnement de tout l'Orchestre par Mademoiselle Baronesse Elsbeth de Schmidburg*. See Concert Programmes, 12 November 1830 and 17 December 1830; Radics, *Frau Musica in Krain*, 41; Leopold Kordes, "Concert der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach", *Carniolia: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater u. geselliges Leben*, 22 March 1839, 376.

84 "Fremden-Anzeige", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 31 August 1830, 783.

85 See "Concert-Anzeige", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 2 September 1830, 288.

86 Concert Programmes, 22 July 1823, 29 October 1830, 28 October 1831, 30 March 1833 and 10 November 1843.

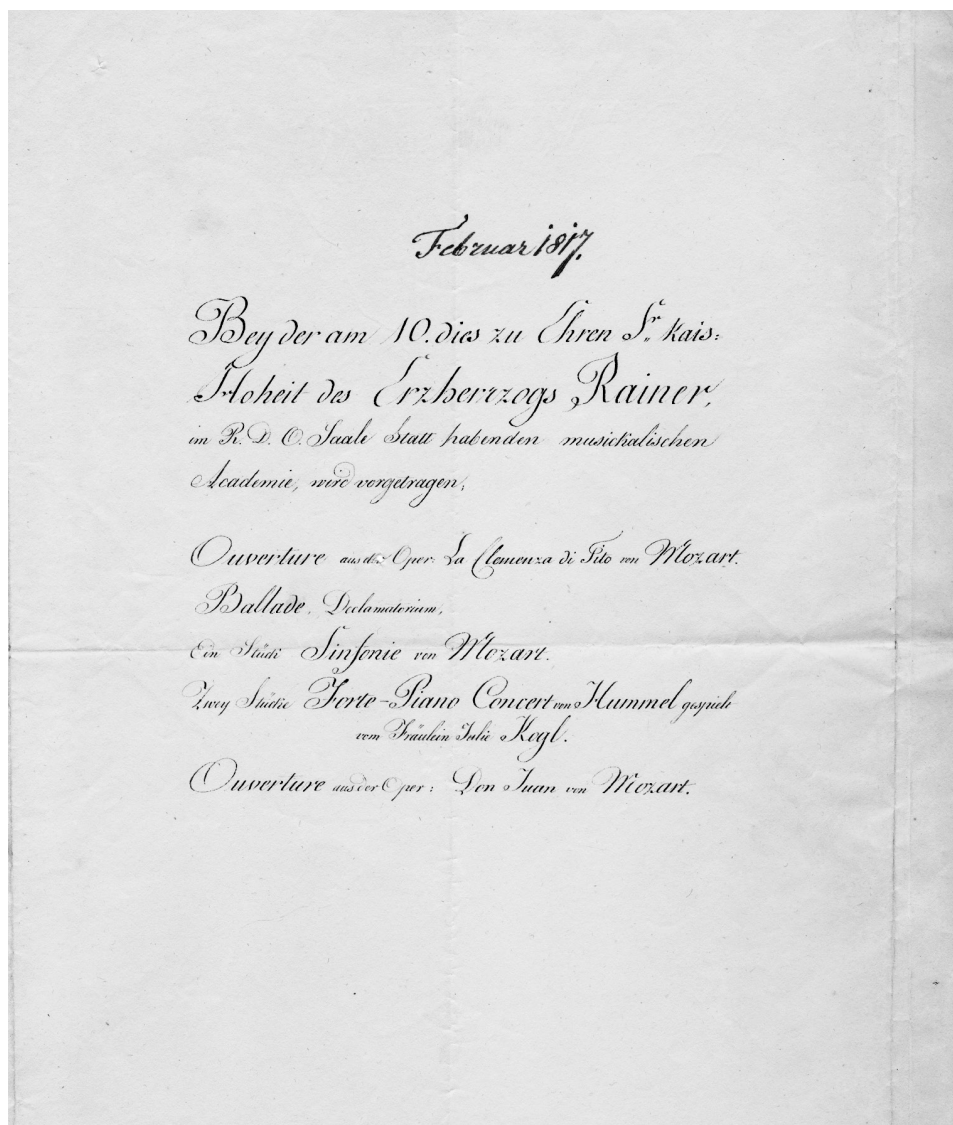


Figure 5 | Concert Programme of the Philharmonic Society, 10 February 1817 (Ljubljana, NUK)

Piano Virtuosity from the Late 1830s

In the late 1830s, inspired by virtuosos such as Franz Liszt, Ljubljana's piano repertoire evolved to include more daring and technically demanding performances, reflecting broader musical trends. This change was characterized by performances from both

male and female pianists, who captivated audiences with their virtuosity and innovative approaches.

In 1835, Anton Brager delighted local audiences with improvisations on themes suggested by the audience,⁸⁷ demonstrating a new level of spontaneity in public performance. The following year, Georg Micheuz (Jurij Mihevec; 1805–1882) caused a sensation with his unconventional techniques, using his elbow to reach the piano's bass registers alongside both hands and executing leaps and chromatic runs with astonishing precision.⁸⁸ While this approach caused a sensation and contributed to his somewhat controversial reputation, it was probably born of necessity, for the lingering effects of smallpox had imposed limits on his left hand, forcing him to adapt his technique.⁸⁹

Female pianists in Ljubljana quickly embraced the rising trends of virtuosity just as much as their male counterparts. The sisters Mathilde (1820–?) and Elise von Schmidburg, for instance, performed a four-handed adaptation of Liszt's *Grande Valse di Bravura* shortly after its publication.⁹⁰ Another stand-out performer, Anne (Nanette) Herzum,⁹¹ emerged as a bold interpreter of Liszt's challenging compositions. Herzum, who made her public debut at the age of six,⁹² had performed a Hummel *piano concerto* with orchestra at the Estates Theatre by the age of nine.⁹³ At the age of nineteen she pursued further studies in Vienna with Carl Maria von Bocklet. By 1838 Herzum had established herself as a prominent figure in Ljubljana's musical scene, performing Liszt's "Fantasie", which she introduced to the city's audiences for the first time, earning "loud applause". However, a reviewer noted that "the enormous difficulties of this piece of music did not quite suit the individuality of the artist".⁹⁴ The piece Herzum performed was most likely Liszt's Fantasy on Themes from Bellini's *I Puritani*, which she played again a year later. Her second performance

87 "Variations en Fantasie über ein von dem verehrungswürdigen Publikum ausgegebenes Thema ausgeführt auf dem Piano-Forte". Concert Programmes, 4 September 1835.

88 "[Aus Laibach]", *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Originalblatt für Kunst, Literatur, und geselliges Leben*, 22 October 1836, 847.

89 Škerjanc, *Jurij Mihevec*, 14.

90 Leopold Kordes, "Concert der philharmonischen Gesellschaft in Laibach", *Carniolia: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater u. geselliges Leben*, 22 March 1839, 376.

91 Anne Maria Herzum was born on 18 February 1820, the daughter of Andreas Herzum, a private music teacher, and Maria Knallitsch. On 4 July 1842 she married Anton Achtschin (Ahčín), a lawyer and editor who was also active as a violinist, composer, painter and poet. See Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Trauungsbuch, 1816–1846, fol. [121]; Cvetko, *Zgodovina*, 183.

92 "Concert-Anzeige", *Intelligenz-Blatt zur Laibacher Zeitung*, 10 December 1831, 639.

93 Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 11 April 1829.

94 "Tonkunst", *Carniolia: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater u. geselliges Leben*, 22 June 1838, 64.

elicited mixed reactions, with some commentators questioning the suitability of the piece for a diverse audience:

Miss Herzum plays truly beautifully (by this we mean artistry, purity, touch and interpretation, all of which are essential for a beautiful performance) [...] however, we cannot approve of her choice of the final piece, the fantasy on themes from *I Puritani* by Liszt. This gigantic fantasy, like an untamed hurricane [...], cannot appeal to a mixed audience.⁹⁵

In 1840, Herzum performed a four-handed version of Czerny's *Fantasie brillante* on Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda* with her pupil, the child prodigy Josephine Micheli (1831–?).⁹⁶ This performance delighted the reviewer, who wrote:

We truly did not know whether to admire more the nimble little fingers, the accurate touch, the good expression and the pure playing or the strength and endurance of the young artist. Lively acclamations and encores well-deservedly rewarded the young talent and simultaneously encouraged her to continue her studies, under the diligent guidance of her excellent teacher, promising the brightest future prospects for her artistic development.⁹⁷

In addition to her career as a performer, Herzum was also a composer, following the popular trend of composing variations on well-known operatic themes. In 1841 she performed publicly her *Brilliant Variations* on a popular theme from Donizetti's opera *Belisario*.⁹⁸ Just a year later, however, she married and retired from public performances, bringing her promising piano career to an abrupt end.

Herzum's talented pupil Josephine Micheli succeeded her as the leading figure for adventurous piano performances in Ljubljana. Micheli later continued her piano studies in Vienna under the private tutelage of the piano teacher and virtuoso Eduard Pirkhert. In 1846, she performed Liszt's Fantasy on a Theme from the Opera *La Sonnambula* at the Hofoperntheater in Vienna. Her performance, however, was overshadowed by the arrival of the imperial couple, whose entrance drew tumultuous

95 "Tonkunst", *Carniolia: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater u. geselliges Leben*, 6 May 1839, 8.

96 Josepha Anna Micheli was born on 9 October 1831, the daughter of *Kapellmeister* Paul Micheli (1795–?) and Anna Posh. Josephine began her piano lessons with Anne Herzum and later continued them in Vienna with Eduard Pirkhert. On 12 August 1855 she married Aloys Pessaritsch in Ljubljana. See Ljubljana, sv. Nikolaj, Trauungsbuch, 1847–1872, fol. 51.

97 "Kunst Nachricht", *Carniolia: Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater u. geselliges Leben*, 29 May 1840, 36.

98 Concert Programmes, 21 May 1841.

cheers from the audience and disrupted the concert. One review noted that Micheli appeared dissatisfied with her performance, which was further hampered by the piece's length, leaving the audience eager for the next performance. While acknowledging her technical prowess, the reviewer criticized her interpretation for lacking the fervour and warmth necessary to fully capture Liszt's compositions:

Miss Micheli demonstrated very commendable agility in her playing, along with a neat and pure touch. If there were any criticism to be made, it would be its slight lack of passionate expression. However, Liszt's compositions require, more than others, a significant amount of power and warmth in their execution.⁹⁹

At the age of sixteen Micheli performed challenging virtuosic works by Chopin and Liszt at the Estates Theatre in Ljubljana. The reviewer acknowledged her talent and technical skill, but pointed out the difficulty of engaging the audience with such demanding pieces. In a criticism similar to that made of Herzum's performance a decade earlier, the reviewer suggested that the Liszt work was not entirely suited to a mixed audience, resulting in less enthusiastic applause as compared with the earlier pieces, where Micheli was repeatedly called back to the stage:

Miss Josephine Micheli proved herself to be a significant artist of the piano before a large audience. She first played Chopin's variations on the theme from "Don Giovanni: La ci darem la mano", then a fantasy from "Lucia di Lammermoor," the "Etude de Concert La pompa di festa," and lastly, the grand dramatic fantasy from "Les Huguenots" by Liszt. Initially somewhat apprehensive — which is quite understandable for various reasons — she quickly gained confidence and demonstrated her mastery of the instrument. Her playing was characterized by purity in the most magnificent passages, precise touch in scale runs, skill and delicate expression. However, the last piece seemed not entirely suitable for performance before a mixed audience. As a result, the audience's enthusiasm at the end was far less pronounced than during the earlier compositions, where the artist was repeatedly called back to the stage, for which I wish her even more success, as I am fully convinced that she is entirely deserving of this recognition.¹⁰⁰

Micheli's performances in Ljubljana in the 1850s marked the end of an era dominated by distinguished female dilettante pianists, as male pianists increasingly took

99 "Local-Revue. Konzert-Salon", *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*, 17 November 1846, 557–558.

100 "Concert der Josephine Micheli", *Illyrisches Blatt*, 4 December 1847, 388.

the lead on the city's concert stage. These local pianists skilfully navigated both the private and public spheres, paving the way for future female artists to embrace public performances. While extreme virtuosic displays were uncommon among female pianists at the time, they were among the first musicians in Ljubljana to tackle Liszt's challenging compositions. In contrast, male guest virtuosos usually performed their own compositions or those of well-known Viennese composers.



Figure 6 | Eduard Ender, *Portrait of Friederike Benesch*, 1840 (Belvedere, Vienna)

Interestingly, while renowned pianists such as Anne de Belleville (1806–1880) and Clara Schumann (1819–1896) were among the first to introduce Chopin's works to public audiences,¹⁰¹ it was also a woman who brought Chopin's music to Ljubljana. In 1844, variations on the theme "Là ci darem' la mano" from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* were performed in the city.¹⁰² It is likely that the performer was precisely

¹⁰¹ Rittermann, "Piano Music", 26–31.

¹⁰² Concert Programmes, 6 December 1844.

Josephine Micheli, who played the same Chopin work again in 1847. Remarkably, almost two decades passed before Chopin's compositions were featured again in public concerts public concerts in Ljubljana — and it was once again a female pianist who led the way.¹⁰³ This period not only changed the technical landscape of piano music but also significantly enhanced the role of women in the broader musical sphere.

Einladung
zu dem
Vocal- u. Instrumental-
CONCERT,
welches
Anna Herzum,
Behufs der Bildung eines Fonds zum Brennholz - Ankaufe
für die
dürftigsten Stadt-Armen in Laibach,
unter gütiger Mitwirkung der philharm. Gesellschaft und der unten genannten
Mitglieder der hier anwesenden italien. Opern-Gesellschaft,
Freitag den 21. Mai 1841
im Saale des Deutsch - Ordens - Hauses geben wird.

Vorkommende Stücke :

<p>I. ABTHEILUNG.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Couverture</i> zur Oper: Bellsar, von Donizetti. 2. <i>Variations brillantes</i> über ein Thema aus der Oper: Bellsar, für das Pianoforte componirt und vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin. 3. <i>Romanze</i> aus der Oper: Il Bravo, von Mercadante, vorgetragen von Hrn. Alois Cosma, Tenorist der hier anwesenden italienischen Opern-Gesellschaft. 4. <i>Quatuor concertant</i> über mehrere beliebige Melodien für vier Pianoforte, von Carl Czerny, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin und drei Dilettantinnen. 	<p>II. ABTHEILUNG.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Couverture</i> zur Oper: Elise und Claudio, von Mercadante. 2. <i>Duo brillant</i> über mehrere Thema aus der Oper: Die Nachtwandlerin, für Pianoforte und Violine von J. Schreiff und G. Schreiff, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin und Hrn. J. Rosaf, Ersterer Director des hiesigen k. k. Theaters. 3. <i>Duett</i> aus der Oper: Gemma de Vergy, von Donizetti, vorgetragen von Hrn. Thevenard u. Hrn. Cosma, Mitglieder der hier befindlichen italien. Opern-Gesellschaft. 4. <i>Szene und Canone</i> aus der Oper: Betty, von Donizetti, vorgetragen von der Capelle des k. k. Lin. Inf. Regiments Prinz Hechtenlohe.
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Da der Ertrag dieses Concerts, wie oben bemerkt, dazu gewidmet ist, um damit in der zum Heilkaufe glänzigen Jahreszeit den notwendigen Winterbedarf für die bedürftigsten Stadtverwehner anzuschaffen, so glaubt die ergebene Concertgeberin sich der angenehmen Hoffnung hingeben zu dürfen, daß alle hochwürdigen Wohlthäterinnen, deren Wohlthätigkeitsstiftung sich in dieser Beziehung schon im verwichenen Winter so vortreflich bezeugte, diese Einladung gütig aufzunehmen und den guten Zweck fröhlich unterstützen werden.

Eintrittspreis 20 fr. — Anfang um 1/2 8 Uhr Abends.

Figure 7 | Concert Programme of the Philharmonic Society, 21 May 1841 (Ljubljana, NUK)

¹⁰³ In February 1862 the pianist and composer Albertine Zadrobilek (1844–?) from Prague performed pieces by Chopin at two concerts, among them the *Fantasia Impromptu* in C-sharp minor, the *Nocturne* in E-flat major and the *Nocturne* in D-flat major. See Concert Programmes, 7 February 1862 and 9 February 1862.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Ljubljana's musical scene had grown significantly, becoming more accessible to the general public. In 1849 the Philharmonic Society broadened its membership criteria, allowing individuals from all social classes and both genders to join. This change marked a significant shift, since it enabled women to become members even if they did not actively participate as musicians but attended only as listeners.¹⁰⁴ Despite the rise of new musical societies in Ljubljana in the second half of the nineteenth century, female pianists — both local and visiting — remained a prominent presence among the city's instrumentalists and continued to perform regularly. However, as the musical repertoire shifted increasingly toward vocal music, to which women made significant contributions, female pianists faced growing competition. The influx of male pianists trained at prestigious institutions such as the Vienna Conservatory further challenged their prominence. Revealingly, it was not until the 1870s that the Conservatory began to admit women, including ones from Ljubljana. Despite these challenges, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant change, as an increasing number of married female pianists began to participate actively in public performances, marking a gradual shift towards greater gender inclusivity in Ljubljana's music scene.

FEMALE INSTRUMENTALISTS IN PUBLIC PERFORMANCES BEYOND THE PIANO

Before 1848, Ljubljana's public musical life offered no documented presence of local female musicians performing in public on instruments other than the piano. Women did not feature as soloists, members of the Philharmonic Society's orchestra or musicians in the Ljubljana Cathedral Music Chapel. Even in the cathedral, where female singers were occasionally permitted, strict restrictions applied. A court order barred women from singing in the choir unless they were closely related to choir directors or teachers,¹⁰⁵ with only rare exceptions.¹⁰⁶

While public performances by female pianists were dominated by local musicians, other instrumental performances — on instruments such as the glass harmonica, physharmonica, violin and guitar — were provided exclusively by professional musicians visiting from abroad. This sharp contrast underlines the limited

104 "In die Gesellschaft können alle Personen von unbescholtenem Rufe, ohne Unterschied des Standes und Geschlechtes, als Mitglieder eintreten." See *Statuten und Instructionen der philharmonischen Gesellschaft*, 1.

105 Höfler, "Glasbena kapela ljubljanske stolnice", 17.

106 On account of a shortage of female singers and out of compassion for the poverty of a young woman's widowed mother and three orphans, a single female singer was engaged in special circumstances: she came highly recommended by prominent musicians, was the daughter and sister of former cathedral musicians and was hired on the recommendation of the bishop. See *ibid.*, 18.

opportunities available to local women in the broader instrumental scene before the mid-nineteenth century.

Renata Maschek (1791–1870)¹⁰⁷ from Prague, in 1821, played on the glass harmonica a set of variations on a theme from Rossini's opera *Eduard and Christine* composed by her brother Caspar Maschek,¹⁰⁸ in the Redoute Hall, accompanied by an orchestra. Her performances continued into the 1830s, often as musical interludes inserted to enliven the intervals between acts at the Estates Theatre. She also performed as a component of musical evening performances acting as an adjunct to the theatrical productions; these often took place in the first or second half of the event.¹⁰⁹

In 1830, Giulia Paravicini (1769 – after 1842) became the first female violinist to perform in public in Ljubljana, but her performance went largely unnoticed by the local press.¹¹⁰ A Viennese newspaper noted the same year that although she was skilled, the violin “appears somewhat strange in the hands of a woman”.¹¹¹ This perception began to change with the arrival of the Milanollo sisters, Theresa and Maria, in 1843. Their concerts attracted considerable attention and acclaim from audiences and critics alike. Their performances generated enormous interest; just a few months before their Ljubljana concert, one of their twenty-five Viennese concerts at the Redoute Hall, attracted an audience of over 4,000 — a level of popularity unmatched since Paganini's performances in Vienna.¹¹² Following their performance in Ljubljana, the *Illyrisches Blatt* published a glowing review, praising not only their technical skill but also the emotional depth they brought to their music:

Not the mechanical skill with which the sibling pair overcame the difficulties of the instrument and the composition, not the purity of the playing in its highest and most intricate passages, not the incredible precision in the double stops, not the masterful stroke and attack of the bow will I mention here — these are only individual parts

¹⁰⁷ Maria Renata Anna Nepomucena Maschek was born in Prague on 12 September 1791. Her father, Vinzenz Maschek, was responsible for her education, and she later pursued a career as a private piano and French teacher. She was also an active member of the Prague Religious Society (Religiöse Gesellschaft). After her father's death, she sought financial support from the Prague magistrate. She spent some time in Vienna in 1832. She was childless and died in Prague in 1870. See Mikuláš, “Vinzenz Maschek (1755–1831)”, 42–43.

¹⁰⁸ Concert Programmes, 27 November 1821.

¹⁰⁹ Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 27 February 1833, 27 November 1833, 14 December 1833; “Konzert-Anzeige”, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 24 April 1834, 132; Zupančič, “Between Acts”.

¹¹⁰ She played works by contemporaries Rode, Lafont and Kreutzer. See Concert Programmes, 26 March 1830.

¹¹¹ “Mad. Paravicini ist eine ferme Violinspielerin, aber das Instrument selbst hat etwas Fremdartiges in Damenhänden; der Beyfall war mäßig. Man verkannte nicht das Verdienstliche der Leistung, aber man fand sich nicht dadurch erwärmt.” See “Musik”, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 6 July 1830, 652.

¹¹² Timmermann, “Milanollo”.

of the vibrant whole, scattered colours to the magnificent tonal painting, scattered elements to the perfected creation; but the whole itself and its indelible impression, the image itself and its magical power, the tonal heaven itself and its bliss [...]. Only those who have heard it will feel and acknowledge that such great virtuosity touches the limits of our capacity for comprehension, and I saw more than one person leave the concert, speechless with emotion and without words for the miracle of this phenomenon.¹¹³

This concert marked the first time that a sensational performance by female instrumentalists left an indelible impression on both critics and the audience in Ljubljana. The same review vividly captured the audience's enthusiastic response:

Do I need to say that the delighted audience could hardly contain itself during the performance and broke into loud cheers after each number, which only ended when the sibling pair reappeared? Despite the increased prices, despite the inviting evening sky, the audience was very numerous and clearly demonstrated that the truly beautiful and good also finds undivided resonance here.

The sisters' popularity marked a cultural shift in the acceptance of female instrumentalists. Similarly, in 1845, Nina Morra (c. 1828–?), a polyinstrumentalist and singer from Genoa, astonished audiences with her performances on the *physharmonica* and *terz-guitar*. A review praised her ability to bring “rare fluency and gentle expressiveness” to such “ungrateful instruments.”¹¹⁴

Despite these breakthroughs, the diversity of female instrumentalists had declined by the late nineteenth century. Pianists continued to dominate the scene, and instruments like the violin remained less common among women in Ljubljana until the early twentieth century. Over time, however, women began to establish themselves as violin teachers, soloists and chamber musicians,¹¹⁵ paving the way for greater gender parity in Ljubljana's musical life after World War I.¹¹⁶

113 “Ein Wort über Schwestern Milanollo”, *Illyrisches Blatt*, 24 August 1843, 142.

114 Hugo Steinbuch, “Nachrichten aus Privinzstädten”, *Illustrierte Theaterzeitung*, 13 May 1845, 460.

115 By 1863 local talent had begun to emerge, exemplified by performances by the violinist Jenny Fröhlich (1848–?) and her twin sister, pianist Rosa, marking a rare local appearance of female violinists. However, even though the world-renowned violinist Gabrielle Wietrowetz (1866–?) was born in Ljubljana, she did not impact her hometown's musical landscape. It was not until 1894 that another local violinist, Fausta Bisiak (1879–?), performed a demanding repertoire with an orchestra, creating a notable landmark in the onward march of local female violinists.

116 By the century's end only a handful of female violinists, one harpist and one cellist were seen to perform in Ljubljana alongside the more numerous pianists.

115. Vorstellung.  Abendunterhaltung.

118 Heute Mittwoch den 27. Februar 1833,
wird im hiesigen ständischen Theater
unter der Leitung des C. Neufeld und H. Börnstein;
eine grosse
musikalisch = deklamatorische
Abendunterhaltung,
gegeben, wobei
Renata Maschek,
Königin, auf der grossen Glas-Harmonika, die Ehre haben
wird, sich zum zweiten Male hören zu lassen.

Zum Vortrage kommende Stücke:

- 1) *Divertimento*, für die grosse Glas-Harmonika, vorgetragen von Renata Maschek, mit Begleitung der Guitare, Violoncell und Clarinett.
- 2) Concert, für die Violin, in *E mol.* von Rodé, vorgetragen vom Herrn Joseph Stummer.
- 3) *Recept*, bei jeglicher Zeit eine gute Frau zu bekommen, scherzhafte Gedicht, von Castelli, deklamirt von Hrn. Conradi.
- 4) *Arie*, aus der Oper: „Der Freischütz“, von Carl Maria von Weber, vorgetragen von Dlle. Podleski.
- 5) *Recept*, bei jeglicher Zeit einen guten Mann zu bekommen, scherzhafte Gedicht, von Saphir, deklamirt von Dlle. Gläser.
- 6) Des Königs Otto von Griechenland Abschied von der Heimath. In Musik gesetzt von F. E. Schlier, vorgetragen von denen Herren Pollak, Bartholemy, Conradi u. Würth, mit Begleitung der Harmonika.
- 7) *Rondolletto pour l'Harmonica sur un theme favori par Henri Herz*, vorgetragen von Renata Maschek.
- 8) Der Brand von Mariazell, grosses Tongemälde, in Musik gesetzt von Carl Czerny.

Diesem geht vor:
Die Heirath durch die Güterlotterie.
Lokal-Posse in einem Aufzuge, von Carl Weigl.

Personen:				
Amtmann Holprich	—	—	—	Hr. Hilmir.
Barbara, seine Wirthschafterin	—	—	—	Mad. Krosch.
Hieronymus Schieberl, sein Schreiber	—	—	—	Hr. Mich.
Rechtsfand, Gerichtschreiber	—	—	—	Hr. Willi.
Kaufzu, der Wienerbothe	—	—	—	Hr. Stelzer.

Preise der Plätze:
Ein Sperrsiß 10 fr. — Parterre-Entree 20 fr. — Gallerie 7 fr. — Kinder bezahlen ins Parterre 10 fr.

Logen und Sperrsiße sind bei dem Hausmeister Herrn Ufidig, im Theatergebäude im 2ten Stocke, zu bekommen.

Der Anfang ist mit Schlag 7 Uhr.

Gedruckt bei Hof. Maschek.

Figure 8 | Comedien-Zettel Sammlung, 27 February 1833 (Narodni muzej Slovenije (NMS), III 13085)

Mit hoher Bewilligung
werden
heute Montag den 31. Juli 1843
DIE SCHWESTERN
Therese und Maria Milanollo
Abfchieds=
CONCERT
im ständischen Redoutensaale in Laibach
zu geben die Ehre haben.

Vorkommende Stücke :

1. **Ouverture.**
2. **Souvenir de Bellini.** Fantasie für die Violine von Artot, vorgetragen von Mlle. Therese Milanollo.
3. **Variations brillantes** für die Violine von Veriot, vorgetragen von Mlle. Maria Milanollo, Schülerin ihrer Schwester Therese.
4. **Ouverture.**
5. **Le Torrent. Etude fantastique** für zwei Violinen, vorgetragen von den Concertgeberinnen.
6. **Fantaisie et Variations** über das Schlummerlied **aus der Stimmen von Portici**, von Lafont, vorgetragen von Mlle. Therese Milanollo.
7. **Zweites Duetto concertante** für zwei Violinen von Dancsa, vorgetragen von den beiden Schwestern.

Eintrittspreis in den Saal oder auf die Gallerie **40 kr.**, ein nummerirter
Sitz sammt Entree **1 fl.**

Billeten sind von Morgens 10 Uhr bis Nachmittags 4 Uhr im Gasthofs »zum wilden Mann«
Zimmer Nr. 4 und sodann bei der Casse zu haben, welche um 5 Uhr eröffnet wird.

Anfang um $1\frac{1}{2}$ 8 Uhr Abends.

Druck von Jos. Bauerberg.

Figure 9 | Concert Programme of the Philharmonic Society, 31 July 1843 (Ljubljana, NUK)

CONCLUSION

The transition of women musicians from private salons to public concert stages in Ljubljana during the early and mid nineteenth century marked a significant cultural and social shift. As debates over the suitability of certain instruments for women gradually subsided, female performers gained increased visibility. However, these steps forward remained limited in scope. Local female instrumentalists were confined to the piano, typically making their debut in their early teens, while performers on other instruments — such as the violin, guitar, glass harmonica and physharmonica — were exclusively visiting professionals from abroad. This division reflects the persistent gendered structures shaping musical life, where women could participate publicly as pianists but were largely excluded from a broader instrumental repertoire.

From 1816, when the first surviving concert programmes of the Philharmonic Society appear, until the late 1830s the social composition of local dilettante female pianists remained relatively balanced between noblewomen and bourgeois women. No single social class dominated among local female pianists, indicating a degree of social fluidity in musical participation. Moreover, women from both classes frequently performed together, collaborating in repertoire for four-handed, eight-handed or two-handed piano pieces, highlighting a space where music facilitated interaction across class boundaries.

The majority of female musicians appeared at semi-private events organized by the Philharmonic Society, the great majority of which were held in the hall of the House of the Teutonic Order and only a small number in the Redoute Hall. Although primarily intended for the Society's members, these events were on occasion also accessible to a paying audience. The Estates Theatre, Ljubljana's most prestigious public venue, saw few performances by female instrumentalists. The first known instance occurred in 1829, when Therese Holzer performed on the guitar. Later that year, nine-year-old Anna Herzum played a Hummel piano concerto with the orchestra — an opportunity probably facilitated by her father, a professional musician who actively promoted her talent in the press.

Friederike Benesch exemplifies the fluid boundary between dilettantism and professionalism, occupying a position best described as semi-professional. While the press at times referred to her as a "virtuosa", it also labelled her a "dilettante", reflecting the ambiguity of her status within the musical world. Unlike full-time professional female pianists, who relied on concert income and international tours, Benesch performed sporadically between 1822 and 1841 in various cities, including Wiener Neustadt, Ljubljana, Prague and Vienna, where she spent most of her life. Unlike Leopoldine Blahetka, who toured internationally, Benesch never pursued a sustained concert career. Her performance schedule — typically one or two concerts per year — was insufficient to sustain a livelihood, indicating that she was not

dependent on music as a profession. Notably, her performance activity remained unchanged after marriage and motherhood, suggesting that her career choices were shaped more by structural limitations than by domestic responsibilities.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, female instrumentalists performing in the Estates Theatre in Ljubljana were primarily visiting professionals, typically appearing in musical interludes or as soloists in special concerts. The only local female pianists to break this pattern were Anna Herzum and Josephine Micheli, both daughters of professional musicians from Bohemia. Unlike most local female pianists, who typically performed only a single piece within a concert programme, Herzum and Micheli presented multiple works, distinguishing themselves artistically. However, their careers ultimately conformed to societal expectations: both withdrew from public performance after marriage, raising questions about whether they could be considered true professionals. Nonetheless, they were the first musicians in Ljubljana to publicly perform works by Frédéric Chopin and Franz Liszt, introducing the latest trends in European piano music to local audiences. Their interpretations of these demanding compositions showcased their technical and artistic abilities, positioning them at the forefront of musical innovation in the city.

International virtuosos such as Leopoldine Blahetka and the Milanollo sisters provided new models of female musicianship, yet their celebrated status only underlined the absence of local women pursuing sustained concert careers. While these performers broadened public perceptions of women's musical capabilities, they did not fundamentally change the opportunities available to local female instrumentalists, whose access to professional careers remained highly limited.

The gradual integration of women into concert life mirrored broader societal transformations. The inclusion of female members in institutions such as the Philharmonic Society signalled a slow yet perceptible shift in attitudes toward women's participation in cultural life. However, these changes remained largely symbolic — women gained visibility as performers but continued to be excluded from leadership roles, professional ensembles and long-term artistic careers.

While most women's public musical careers ended upon marriage, those from artistic families — particularly ones married to musicians — were more likely to sustain their involvement in music, balancing domestic life with occasional performance opportunities. These exceptions challenged rigid gender norms and contributed to redefining women's roles in Ljubljana's musical life. The perseverance of these female musicians demonstrated that the boundary between dilettante and professional was not as rigid as it often seemed.

Unlike in Vienna, where female pianists could aspire to professional careers, the limited musical life of provincial Ljubljana did not offer such opportunities. However, local dilettante pianists from the upper echelons of society performed a reper-

toire comparable to that of their Viennese peers. Moreover, the distinction between professionalism and dilettantism was often less clear for women than for men, since male dilettantes typically had primary professions outside of music.

Ultimately, this period marked a turning point in the perception of female musicianship, laying the foundation for greater gender inclusivity in Ljubljana's musical world. Although the full professionalization of women in music would take several more decades, the early nineteenth century established crucial precedents for future generations of female performers, teachers and composers. By challenging societal expectations and reshaping Ljubljana's cultural identity, these women redefined the role of female musicians in public artistic life.

APPENDIX

This list is an approximate reconstruction of public performances by female instrumentalists, based on surviving concert programmes, newspaper announcements and concert reviews. Since many concert programmes did not record the names of female performers, I have included only those performances where the performers' names were explicitly mentioned or could be identified with a high degree of confidence using other available evidence.

Abbreviations

Piano: Pf.	Philharmonische Gesellschaft: PG
Violin: Vln.	Ständetheater: ST
Glassharmonica: Glh.	Redoutensaal: RS
Physharmonica: Phy.	Deutschordenshaus: DOH
Terz-Guitar: T-Gtr.	
Guitar: Gtr.	

Table 1 | List of public performances by female instrumentalists in Ljubljana up to 1848

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
17 May 1816	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Trio für das Pianoforte von Löwe, gespielt von dem Fräulein Julie Kogl, mit Begleitung einer Violine (Hr. Eisler) und Violoncello (Hr. Höller).
31 May 1816	Anna de Colerus	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Trio für das Pianoforte von Ignatz Pleyel, gespielt von dem Fräulein Anna de Colerus, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
7 June 1816	Wilhelmine Kappus von Pichelstein	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Rondo nebst Andante für das Pianoforte mit ganzem Orchester von Danzi; gespielt von dem Fräulein Wilhelmine Kappus v. Pichelstein.
14 June 1816	Cecilia Webers	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein grosses Trio für das Pianoforte von Ries, gespielt von dem Fräulein Cecilia Webers mit Begleitung einer concertierenden Violine und eines Violoncells.
21 June 1816	Cecilia Webers, Mathilde Coudert	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Concertino für das Piano Forte auf 4 Hände von Maschek gespielt von den beyden Fräuleins Cecilia Webers und Mathilde Coudert, mit 8. Blas-Instrumenten.
28 June 1816	Celestine von Paunovich	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Eine Sonate für das Piano Forte von Gyrowetz, Oeuv. 18 gespielt von dem Fräulein Célestine v. Paunovich, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
5 July 1816	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Trio für das Forte Piano von Löwe, N° 2, gespielt von dem Fräulein Julie Kogl, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
12 July 1816	Anna de Colerus	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Trio für das Pianoforte von Joseph Haydn in A dur, gespielt von dem Fräulein de Colerus, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.

19 July 1816	Wilhelmine Kappus von Pichelstein	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Trio für das Pianoforte von Himmel in Es dur, gespielt von dem Fräulein Wilhelmine Kappus v. Pichelstein, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
2 August 1816	Mathilde Coudert	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Die Ouverture aus Elise von Simon Majer in C dur für das Piano Forte, gespielt von dem Fräulein Mathilde [sic] Coudert, mit Begleitung einer Clarinette und eines Fagots.
20 September 1816	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Eine Sonate für das Piano Forte von Mathuschek, in F dur gespielt von dem Fräulein Julie Kogl, mit Begleitung einer Flötte.
11 October 1816	Anna de Colerus	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein neues Trio für das Piano Forte von Kleinheinz in Es dur, gespielt von dem Fräulein Nannette de Colerus, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
25 October 1816	Antonia Costa	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Trio für das Fortepiano von Gyrowetz, gespielt von dem Fräulein Antonia Kosta, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
13 November 1816	Wilhelmine Kappus von Pichelstein	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein Sextett für das Forte Piano von Eberl in Es dur, gespielt von dem Fräulein Wilhelmine Kappus von Pichelstein mit Begleitung einer Violine, einer Violine, eines Violoncells, einer Clarinette und eines Waldhorns.
29 November 1816	Mathilde Coudert	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Ein grosses Trio für das Pianoforte von Joseph Eibler, in Es dur, gespielt von dem Fräulein Mathilde Coudert, mit concertirender Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
9 December 1816	Celestine von Paunovich	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Eine Sonate für das Piano Forte (Andante et Rondo) von Gyrowetz, gespielt von dem Fräulein Celestine von Paunovich, mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
16 December 1816	Marie Lepuschitz	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Eine Sonate für das Piano Forte von Steibelt in G dur, gespielt von dem Fräulein Marie Lepuschitz mit Begleitung einer Violine und eines Violoncells.
23 December 1816	Julie Kogl, Anna de Colerus	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Eine Sonate für das Piano Forte auf 4 Hände von Diabelli, gespielt von den 2 Fräuleins: Julie Kogl und Anna de Colerus.

Table 1 | *continued*

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
24 January 1817	Cecilia Webers	Pf.	PG, DOH	Ein Quatuor für das Pianoforte gespielt von Fräulein Webers, mit Begleitung einer Violin, Viola und Violoncello von Steibelt in A dur.
10 February 1817	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, DOH	Zwey Stücke Forte-Piano Concert von Hummel gespielt vom Fräulein Julie Kogl.
21 February 1817	Wilhelmine Kappus von Pichelstein	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Trio auf das Pianoforte mit Begleitung einer Violin und eines Violoncello von Himmel, gespielt vom Fräulein Wilhelmine Kappus v. Pichelstein.
14 March 1817	[Italianische Dilletantin]	Pf.	PG, DOH	Ein Concert auf dem Pianoforte, vorgetragen von einer italienischen Dilletantin.
30 March 1821	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, DOH	Variationen für Forte Piano mit Clarinett begleitung, von Kreutzer, vorg. von Fräul. Julie Kogl und Kapellmeister Skrabal.
6 April 1821	Antonia Costa	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Grand Trio, für Piano Forte, Clarinett und Viola, von Mozart, vorg. von Fräul. Costa, Kapellmeister Skrabal und Altenburger.
17 April 1821	Marie von Wagner (née Schmidhammer)	Pf.	PG, RS	Variationen für das Piano-Forte, mit Quintett-Begleitung, von Czerny, vorg. v. Fräul. Schmidhammer.
22 April 1821	Julie Kogl, Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, RS	Variationen für zwey Forte Piano, von Conrad. Berg, vorg. von Fräul. Julie Kogl und Schmidhammer.

27 April 1821	Anna de Colerus	Pf.	PG, RS	Variationen Concertant für Pianoforte und Violin, von Moscheles, vorg. von Fräul. Colerus und Hr. Ledeneq.
18 May 1821	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, RS	Grand Septour für das Fortepiano, von Hummel, vorgetragen von Fräul. Schmidhammer.
24 September 1821	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für Piano-Forte und Violin, von Mayseder, gespielt von Fräulein Kogl und dem Concertgeber [Georg Hellmeseberger].
9 November 1821	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für das Pianoforte mit Orchester Begleitung, von Joseph Czerni. Vorgetr. von Fräul. Julie Kogl.
27 November 1821	Marie von Wagner, Renata Maschek	Pf., Glh.	PG, RS	Adagio und Rondo, von Maschek, für die Harmonica.
				Rondo, von Prinz Louis Ferdinand von Preussen, für Piano-Forte mit Begleitung vorgetr. von Frau von Wagner.
				Variationen von C. Maschek für die Harmonica, mit Begleitung des Orchesters über ein Thema nach Rossinis Oper Eduard und Christine.
31 May 1822	Julie Kogl, Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, RS	Finale des 3tes Actes des Oper Otello, von Rossini, sammt den Gebeth mit Begleitung den Harmonica.
30 May 1823	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variations-Brillants für zwey Forte-Piano mit Begleitung des Orchesters, von C. Berg, vorgetragen von Frau v. W.** und Fräulein K.*
22 July 1823	[Friederike Benesch]	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für das Piano-Forte mit Orchester-Begleitung, von Friderike Benesch.
				Variationen für das Piano-Forte mit Quartett Begleitung, von Leopoldine Blachetka.

Table 1 | continued

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
3 December 1823	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, DOH	Viertes Concert für das Piano-Forte in C. moll, von Ries, vorgetragen von Friderike Benesch. Variationen für das Piano-Forte, von Schoberlechner, vorgetragen von Friderike Benesch.
22 December 1823	Marie von Wagner, [?] von Schmidburg	Pf.	PG, DOH	Concert für 2 Forte-Piano von Steibelt, vorgetragen von Frau v. W. und Freyh. v. S. Rondo für zwey Forte-Piano von Steibelt, vorgetragen von Frau v. W. und Freyh. v. S.
7 January 1825	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concert für das Piano-Forte in Cis-moll von Ries (zweyter und dritter Satz) mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen von Fräulein Julie K.
14 January 1825	Amalie Oblack	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concertante Pot-Pourri für Piano-Forte und Viola mit Orchester-Begleitung von Franz Schubert, vorgetragen von Fräul. Amalie O. und Herrn Franz Sch.
10 February 1825	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, DOH	Concert für das Piano-Forte mit Orchester-Begleitung, von Ries (erster Satz,) vorgetragen von Fräulein Julie K.
25 February 1825	Antoinette v. Z.	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Trio für Piano-Forte, Violin und Violoncell von Mayseder, vorgetragen von Fräulein Antoinette v. Z. und den Herren L. und K.
4 March 1825	Amalie Oblack	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Diversissement für Piano-Forte mit Orchester Begleitung von Czerni, vorgetragen von Fräulein Amalie O.

8 March 1825	Nannette Franz, Amalie Franz	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Diversissement brillante für das Piano-Forte zu 4 Händen, über ein beliebtes Thema des Caraffa, von Czerny, vorgetragen von den Fräulein Nannette und Amalie F.
15 March 1825	Amalie Oblack	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concertant Pot-Pourri für Piano-Forte und Viola mit Orchester-Begleitung von Franz Schubert, vorgetragen vom Fräul. Amalie O. und Herrn Franz Sch.
13 May 1825	Eleonora Hauck	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für Pianoforte von Hummel mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen von Fräulein Eleonora H.
20 May 1825	Antonia von Schmidburg, Elisa von Schmidburg, Dorothea von Schmidburg, Franziska von Schmidburg	Pf.	PG, RS	Introduction und Variationen für 2 Pianoforte zu 8 Händen über die Favorit Cavatine aus der Oper: Corradino (Ah! come nascondere) von Rossini mit Orchester Begleitung, vorgetragen von den Fräulein A. E. D. und F. Freyinnen von Sch.
3 June 1825	Julie Kogl, Amalie Oblack	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für 2 Piano-Forte von Leidesdorf mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen von den beyden Fräulein Julie K. und Amalie O.
2 September 1825	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Große Variationen über Haydns Volkslied: Gott erhalte u. für das Piano-forte von Czerny, mit Begleitung des Orchesters, vorgetragen von der Frau Friderike B.
30 September 1825	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Adagio und Rondo brillante aus dem Concerte für das Piano-Forte von Hummel in H-moll, mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen vom Fräulein Julie K.
14 October 1825	Josephine v. Z.	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Großes Sextett für das Piano-Forte von Moscheles: vorgetragen vom Fräulein Josephine v. Z.
21 October 1825	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen und Finale aus dem großen Septett von Hummel, für Piano-Forte, Viola, Violoncello, Basso, Flöte, Oboa und Horn, vorgetragen von Friderike Be., dann den Hrn.Be. L. St. Bo. W. und K.
4 November 1825	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concert-Stück (Larghetto, Allegro, Marcia e Rondo) für Piano-Forte von Carl M. v. Weber mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen von der Frau v. W.

Table 1 | *continued*

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
18 November 1825	Antoinette von Z.	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Sextett von Kalkbrenner für Piano-Forte, 2 Violinen, Viola, Violoncell und Contre-Bass, vorgetragen von Fräulein Antoinette von Z. und den Herren L., H., L., K. und St.
2 December 1825	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, DOH	Abschieds-Concert von England für das Piano-Forte mit Orchester Begleitung von F. Ries, vorgetragen von Friederike Benesch. Grand-Variationen für das Piano-Forte mit Begleitung des Orchesters von Czerny, über Jos. Haydn's National-gesang "Gott erhalte, Franz den Kaiser", vorgetragen von Friederike Benesch.
16 December 1825	Elenore Hauck	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Introduction et Variations concertantes für Piano-forte, Violin und Violoncell von Moscheles, vorgetragen von Fräulein Eleon. H. und Herren B. und K.
30 December 1825	Jeannette Strangfeld	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für Piano-Forte und Violin über einen österreichischen Ländler von Moscheles, vorgetragen von Fräulein Jeanette St. und Herrn L.
13 January 1826	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Große Concertant-Variationen für Piano-Forte und Violine mit Quartett-Begleitung von Freyh. v. Lannoy, vorgetragen vom Fräulein Julie K. und Herr B.
27 January 1826	Amalie Oblak	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Rondeau-brillant von Czerny für Piano-Forte mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen vom Fräulein Amalie O.
10 February 1826	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, DOH	Pastoral-Concert für Piano-Forte von Ries mit Orchester, vorgetragen von der Frau Marie v W.

17 March 1826	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Andantino und Rondò für das Piano-Forte aus dem Pastoral-Concert von Ries mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen von der Frau Marie v. W.
29 March 1826	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, RS	Andantino und Rondo für das Piano-Forte aus dem Pastoral-Concert von Ries, mit Orchester-Begleitung, vorgetragen von der Frau Marie v. Wagner.
7 April 1826	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Grand-Concerto für das Piano-Forte mit Orchester-begleitung von F. Kalkbrenner, vorgetragen von der Frau Friderike Benesch.
14 April 1826	Eleonore Hauck	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für das Piano-Forte mit Orchester Begleitung von H. Payer, vorgetragen von Fräulein Elenore Hauk.
28 April 1826	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Grand-Concerto in A-moll für das Piano-Forte von J. Hummel, vorgetragen von Frau Marie v. Wagner.
26 May 1826	Friederike Benesch	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Adagio und Finale aus dem Concerte in D-moll für Pianoforte mit Orchester-Begleitung von Fr. Kalkbrenner, vorgetragen von Frau Friederike Benesch.
16 June 1826	Eleonora Hauck	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concertant-Variationen für Piano-Forte und die Violine, von Czerny, vorgetragen von Fräulein Eleonore Hauck und Herrn Joseph Benesch.
15 September 1826	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Grand Rondo brillante alla Polacca für das Piano-Forte von Carl Angelo de Winkler mit Begleitung des Orchesters, vorgetragen von Frau Marie v. Wagner.
4 October 1826	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, DOH	Adagio und Rondo für das Piano-Forte mit Begleitung des Orchesters aus dem Concerte in G-moll von Moschelles, vorgetragen von Fräulein Julie Kogl.
27 October 1826	Eleonore Hauck	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für das Piano-Forte mit Orchester-Begleitung, von J. N. Hummel, vorgetragen von Fräulein Eleonore Hauk.

Table 1 | *continued*

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
3 November 1826	Marie von Wagner, Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, DOH	Variations brillants sur un thème favori de l'opera: Il Crociato in Egitto: für das Piano-Forte, zu vier Hände, componirt von C. Czerny, vorgetragen von Frau von Wagner und Fräulein Kogl.
20 November 1826	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, RS	Concert für das Piano-Forte in G-moll von Ignaz Moscheles, vorgetragen von Julie Kogl.
24 November 1826	Amalie Oblack	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concert für das Piano-Forte und die Violine, mit Begleitung des Orchesters, von Hummel, vorgetragen von Fräulein Amalie Oblack und Jos. Benesch.
2 December 1826	Therese von B., Marie von Wagner, [Julie Kogl], Marie v. K.	Pf.	PG, DOH	Große Variationen für 2 Forte-Piano zu 8 Hände mit Orchester Begleitung, von F. Kalkbrenner, vorgetragen von Fräulein Therese Freyinn von B. Frau Marie von Wagner Fräulein Julie von K. und Fräulein Marie v. K.
29 December 1826	Julie Kogl	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Larghetto und Rondo aus dem Concerto in Cis-moll für das Pianoforte, von Ferdinand Ries, vorgetragen von Fräulein Julie Kogl.
19 January 1829	Therese Holzer	Gr.	ST	Phantasie, für das Baßet-Horn, mit Guitare-Begleitung, vorgetragen von Therese Holzer.
11 April 1829	Anne Herzum	Pf.	ST	Großes Concert für das Pianoforte, von J. Hum[m]el, mit Begleitung des ganzen Orchesters, vorgetragen von Frl. Herzum.
8 January 1830	Eleonore Hauck	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Concertant Fantasie, Variationen und Finale für das Piano-Forte, über das böhmische Volkslied: (To gsau kone) von Moscheles, vorgetragen von Fräulein Eleon. H[au]ck

15 January 1830	Amalie Franz, Jeannette Strangfeld	Pf.	PG, DOH	Variationen über ein beliebtes Thema aus der Oper: Der Schloßer und der Maurer, für das Forte-Piano zu 4 Händen von C. Czerny, vorgetragen von den Fräuleins Amalie Franz und Jeannette Strangfeld.
13 February 1830	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, DOH	Rondo-brillant für das Piano-Forte von Heinrich Herz, mit Orchester-Begleitung.
26 March 1830	Giulia Paravicini	Vln.	ST	Concert für die Violin, von Rode, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin. Rußisches Thema mit Variationen, von Lafont, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin. Thema, varirt und gesungen von Mad. Catalani, auf der Violine nebst einem Rondo scherzoso, von Kreuzer, von Paganini in Wien gespielt, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin.
23 April 1830	Elise Lugstein	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Erinnerungen an Irland, große Fantasie für das Piano-Forte, mit Begleitung des Orchesters, von Ign. Moscheles, vorgetragen von Elise Lugstein.
6 June 1830	Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, ST	Grand-Concert für das Piano-Forte, (Salut au Rhin) mit Orchester-Begleitung, von F. Ries. Vorgetragen von Frau Marie Wagner.
27 August 1830	Elise Lugstein	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Andante und Rondo für das Piano-Forte mit Begleitung des Orchesters, von C. Czerny.
3 September 1830	Leopoldine Blahetka	Pf.	PG, DOH	Concertstück für das Piano-Forte, componirt und vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin. Bravour-Variationen über ein Thema von Grafen Gallenberg, componirt und vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin.
29 October 1830	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen für das Piano-Forte, über ein Thema aus der Oper: Die Stumme von Portici, mit Orchester-Begleitung, von Leopoldine Blahetka. Vorgetragen von Nannette Herzum.

Table 1 | *continued*

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
12 November 1830	Elise von Schmidburg	Pf.	PG, RS	Grandes Variations Brillantes, sur l'air favori: Le petit Tambour, par Henri Herz, arrangé pour le Piano-Forte à 4 mains, avec l'Accompagnement de tout l'Orchestre par Mademoiselle Baronesse Elsbeth de Schmidburg.
17 December 1830	Elise von Schmidburg	Pf.	PG, RS	Grandes Variations Brillantes sur l'air favori: Le petit Tambour, par Henri Herz. Eingerichtet für das Piano-Forte zu 4 Händen mit Orchester-Begleitung von Elise Freyinn von Schmidburg.
14 January 1831	[Musik-Dilettantinnen]	Pf.	PG, RS	Ouverture zur Oper: "Semiramide" von Rossini, für 8 Piano-Fortes, jedes zu 4 Händen, von Carl Czerny.
21 January 1831	[Musik-Dilettantinnen]	Pf.	PG, RS	Quatuor concertant, über mehrere beliebte Motive, für vier Piano-Forte, mit Begleitung des Orchesters, von Karl Czerny.
27 May 1831	Amalie Oblack	Pf.	PG, DOH	Großes Concert für das Piano-Forte, von Joh. Nep. Hummel; vorgetragen vom Fräulein Amalie Oblack.
27 February 1833	Renate Maschek	Glh.	ST	Divertimento, für die grosse Glas-Harmonika, vorgetragen von Renata Maschek, mit Begleitung der Guitare, Violoncell und Clarinett. Des Königs Otto von Griechenland Abschied von der Heimath. In Musik gesetzt von J. E. Schlier, vorgetragen von denen Herren Pollak, Bartholemy, Conradi u. Würth, mit Begleitung der Harmonika. Rondoletto pour l'Harmonica sur un thème favori par Henri Herz, vorgetragen von Renata Maschek.

27 November 1833	Renate Maschek	Glh.	ST	Die Glasharmonika im 5. Akte, wird von Dlle. Renata Maschek, gespielt.
14 December 1833	Renate Maschek	Glh.	ST	Die Glasharmonika im 1. Akte, von Dlle. Renata Maschek, gespielt.
4 April 1834	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, DOH	Pollaca aus dem 2ten Concerte für das Piano-Forte von Moscheles, vorgetragen von Dlle Nanette Herzum.
25 April 1834	Renate Maschek	Glh.	PG, DOH	Delle: Renata Maschek wird [...] ein grosses Concert zu geben die Ehre haben, und insbesondere auf der Glasharmonica mehrere interessante Piecen vortragen.
25 April 1835	Pepi [Josephine] von Welsersheimb, Daria von Schmidburg, Mathilde von Schmidburg	Pf.	PG, RS	Ein sechshändiges Potpourri von Czerny.
5 May 1837	Pepi [Josephine] von Welsersheimb, Marie von Wagner	Pf.	PG, DOH	Großes Potpourri concertant für zwei Pianoforte auf 6 Hände, von C. Czerny.
30 March 1838	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, DOH	Fantasie und Bravour-Variationen über ein Thema aus der Oper: Die Ballnacht, von Auber, für das Pianoforte von Theod. Döhler, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberinn. Große Variationen über ein Thema aus der Oper: Wilhelm Tell von Rossini, für das Pianoforte zu 4 Hände, von Heinrich Herz. Concert-Variationen für das Pianoforte mit Orchester-Begleitung, von Georg Micheuz, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberinn.
16 June 1838	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, DOH	Liszt: Fantasie [aus den "Puritanern"].

Table 1 | *continued*

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
9 November 1838	[Anne Herzum]	Pf.	PG, DOH	Fantasie für das Pianoforte über Motive aus der Oper "Straniera", von Sigmund Thalberg.
15 March 1839	Mathilde von Schmidburg, [Elise von Schmidburg]	Pf.	PG, DOH	Grande Valse de Bravour für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen, von Franz Liszt. Fantasie über ein Thema aus Montheccchi und Capuletti für das Pianoforte, von Sigm. Thalberg.
2 May 1839	Anne Herzum	Pf.	ST	Fantasie aus den "Puritanen" von Liszt. Fantasie aus der "Straniera" von Thalberg. Fantasie und Variationen über den Marsch aus "Othello" von Herz.
18 May 1839	Anne Herzum	Pf.	ST	Döhler'schen Pianoforte-Variationen über ein Motiv aus "Anna Bolena".
4 October 1839	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, DOH	Variationen von Henfelt, über ein Thema aus "Elisir d'amore".
24 January 1840	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Variationen über das beliebte Baß-Duett aus den "Puritanen" von Liszt. Thalberg's Phantasie über ein Motto aus "Straniera". Thalberg's Phantasie über Thema's aus den Hugenotten.

18 March 1840	[Anne Herzum]	Pf.	PG, [DOH]	Fantasie und Variationen über den Marsch aus Otello, für das Pianoforte mit Orchester-Begleitung, von H. Herz.
21 May 1840	Anne Herzum, Josephine Micheli	Pf.	ST	Fantasie brillante (aus Bellini's "Beatrice di Tenda") von Carl Czerni à 4 mains.
12 August 1840	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, DOH	Duo concertant für Pianoforte und Violine, von Herz und Lafont, vorgetragen von Fr. H. und dem Concertgeber [Eduard Jälli].
21 May 1841	Anne Herzum, Drei Dilettantinnen	Pf.	PG, DOH	Variations brillantes über ein Thema aus der Oper: Belisar, für das Pianoforte componirt und vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin [Anne Herzum]. Quatour concertant über mehrere beliebte Melodien für vier Pianoforte, von Carl Czerny, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin und drei Dilettantinnen. Duo brillant über mehrere Thema aus der Oper: Die Nachtwandlerin, für Pianoforte und Violine von J. Benedikt und C. de Beriot, vorgetragen von der Concertgeberin und Hrn. J. Novak, Orchester-Director des hiesigen stand. Theaters.
19 June 1842	Anne Herzum	Pf.	PG, DOH	Phantasie für das Clavier über Motive aus der "Straniera" von Thalberg.
31 July 1843	Therese Milanollo, Maria Milanollo	Vln.	PG, RS	Souvenir de Bellini. Fantasie für die Violine von Artot, vorgetragen von Dlle. Therese Milanollo. Variations brillantes für die Violine von Beriot, vorgetragen von Dlle. Maria Milanollo, Schülerin ihrer Schwester Therese. Le Torrent. Etude fantastique für zwei Violinen, vorgetragen von den Concertgeberinnen. Fantaisie et Variations über das Schlummerlied aus der Stummen von Portici, von Lafont, vorgetragen von Dlle. Therese Milanollo. Zweites Duetto concertante für zwei Violinen von Dancla, vorgetragen von den beiden Schwestern.

Table 1 | continued

DATE	PERFORMER	INSTRUMENT	ORGANISER / VENUE	PERFORMED PIECES (ORIGINAL TRANSCRIPTION)
25 April 1844	Josephine Zilli	Pf	ST	Nach dem ersten Akte wird die junge Pianistin Josephine Zilli [...] auf dem Piano forte eine "Fantasie mit Variationen" von Henri Herz, und nach dem zweiten Akte ein Favorit-Thema aus der "Sonnambula" mit Variationen von N. Döler, ausführen.
6 December 1844	[Josephine Micheli]	Pf.	PG, DOH	La ci darem la mano, Varié pour le Piano, par Frederic Chopin.
11 April 1845	Nina Morra	Phy., T-Gtr.	PG, DOH	Thème varié pour l'Accordéon, mit Quartett-Begleitung von Louise Reisner, vorgetragen von Fräul. Nina Morra. Variationen für die Terz-Chitarra, über die Cavatine: "O Gott, hab' Mitleid!" aus der Oper: Othello, mit Quartett-Begleitung von Mauro Guilianni, vorgetragen von Fräul. Nina Morra.
26 December 1847	Josephine Micheli	Pf.	ST	Chopin'schen Variationen über das Motiv aus Don Juan: "La ci darem' la mano". Phantasie aus "Lucia di Lammermoor". Etude de Concert "La pompa di festa". Große dramatische Phantasie aus den "Hugenotten" von Liszt.
24 March 1848	Josephine Micheli	Pf.	PG, DOH	Fantasie über ein Thema aus der Oper: "Lucrezia Borgia," für das Piano, von Leopold v. Meyer, vorgetragen von Fräulein Josefine Micheli. Introduction und Concert-Variationen über ein Original-Thema für das Piano forte und Violoncello, von G. Reissiger und F. A. Kummer, vorgetragen von Fräul. Josefine Micheli und Herrn J. N. Köck.
31 December 1848	Josephine Micheli	Pf.	Slovenischer Verein, Altes Virantsche Haus	Phantasie aus "Barbier von Sevilla".

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PRESEGANJE TRADICIONALNIH VLOG:
INSTRUMENTALISTKE V LJUBLJANSKEM JAVNEM
GLASBENEM ŽIVLJENJU MED LETOMA 1790 IN 1848

V 18. stoletju so ženske iz višjih družbenih slojev v Ljubljani obvladale petje in igranje na glasbila s tipkami, kar je bilo skladno s tedanjimi družbenimi normami. Sprva so se umetniško izražale v domačem okolju in v zasebnih salonih, a so postopoma začele nastopati tudi na javnih prizoriščih. Njihov repertoar je v plemiških salonih vključeval sonatine, sonate, menuete in koncerte, ki so jih izvajale na čembalu. Proti koncu stoletja pa so se z naraščajočo priljubljenostjo klavirja (*fortepiano*) vse bolj usmerjale k temu novemu glasbilu.

V poznem 18. stoletju so pianistke občasno nastopale na glasbenih akademijah v Redutni dvorani, klavir pa je kmalu postal priljubljen tudi med meščanstvom, kjer je glasbena izobrazba igrala pomembno družbeno vlogo. Klavir ni bil le sredstvo umetniškega izražanja, temveč je meščanskim dekletom omogočal družbeno mobilnost in vplival celo na izbiro življenjskega partnerja.

Ustanovitev Filharmonične družbe leta 1794 je ženskam iz elitnih krogov kljub strogim družbenim normam odprla nove priložnosti za javno glasbeno udejstvovanje, vendar pa so bile akademije in koncerti sprva dostopni le članom družbe, ne glede na družbeni razred. Za ženske pa je veljala izjema, saj so članice lahko postale le kot aktivne izvajalke oz. ljubiteljske glasbenice, ne pa kot poslušalke.

V prvih desetletjih 19. stoletja so postali javni nastopi ljubiteljskih pianistk z orkestrom redni del ljubljanskega glasbenega življenja. Dekleta so običajno debitirala z orkestrom med devetim in štirinajstim letom ter nadaljevala z nastopi v dvorani nemškega viteškega reda (današnje Križanke) in Redutni dvorani v okviru akademij in koncertov Filharmonične družbe, pa tudi med glasbenimi interludiji oz. premori gledaliških iger in na glasbenih večerih v Stanovskem gledališču. Čeprav se je večina pianistk po poroki

umaknila iz javnega nastopanja, so bile izjeme, ki so z glasbenim delovanjem nadaljevale tudi po poroki vse do poznih tridesetih let.

Dvajseta leta 19. stoletja so pomenila zlato obdobje za ljubljanske ljubiteljske pianistke, ki so v tem času z orkestrom redno izvajale klavirske koncerte, rondoje in virtuosne variacije na izvirne in priljubljene operne teme in narodne napeve. Med najpomembnejšimi ljubljanskimi pianistkami tega časa so bile Julija Kogl (1804–1835), Amaliya Oblak (1813–1860), baronica Eliza Schmidburg (1811–1838), Elenore Hauck (ok. 1811–1891) in baronica Marija Wagner (ok. 1802–1865). Leta 1823 je Friederike Benesch (1805–1872) kot prva ženska v Ljubljani z orkestrom izvedla lastno skladbo in objavila oglas za poučevanje klavirja. Sedem let pozneje je v Ljubljani prvič nastopila tudi poklicna klavirska virtuosinja, Leopoldine Blahetka (1809–1885), doma z Dunaja.

Proti koncu tridesetih let so pianistke pod vplivom Franza Liszta in Frédérica Chopina začele slediti novemu klavirskemu trendu izrazite virtuoznosti. Med njimi sta izstopali Anna Herzum (1820–1861) in njena učenka Josephine Micheli (1831–?), ki sta v mestu prvi izvajali Lisztova in Chopinova klavirska dela. Poleg pianistk so ljubljansko glasbeno življenje obogatile tudi gostujoče poklicne glasbenice z instrumenti, kot so violina, fisharmonika (*physharmonica*), steklena harmonika in kitara. Leta 1830 je v Ljubljani prvič nastopila violinistka, Giulia Paravicini (1769 – po 1842), leta 1843 pa sta sestrì Teresa (1827–1904) in Maria (1832–1848) Milanollo v Ljubljani povzročili senzacijo in nasploh pripomogli k širšemu sprejemanju violinistk na evropski glasbeni sceni.

V prvi polovici 19. stoletja so te instrumentalistke, bodisi kot ljubiteljske bodisi kot poklicne glasbenice, odigrale ključno vlogo pri oblikovanju javne glasbene identitete Ljubljanec in napovedovanju novih glasbenih trendov.