Clara Schumann and Jenny Lind in 1850

JI YOUNG KIM, ITHACA/NEW YORK

On March 20, 1850, near the end of Clara and Robert Schumann’s north-German concert tour, the celebrated Swedish soprano Jenny Lind (figure 1) showed up unannounced at their door in Hamburg. To be fair, she was not completely unannounced: Robert had sent her a letter four days earlier, hoping for a meeting in Hamburg or Berlin, the Schumanns’ next destination and where Lind was at the moment. But there was no reply from her, and hence no such plan made, when she suddenly arrived.

Figure 1: Daguerreotype of Jenny Lind by William Edward Kilburn (1848).

Lind claimed to have made the trip from Berlin in order to sing in one of the Schumanns’ concerts before they left Hamburg. This was not the first time that she had spontaneously offered
to take part in their performances. Three years earlier, in 1847, she had „come to the rescue“ of the couple’s disappointing series in Vienna by appearing in the final concert – a bittersweet moment in Clara’s career, as critics pinned the concert’s success on Lind’s star power rather than the Schumanns’ musical efforts.¹ That experience would loom in the background for Clara as she collaborated with the soprano again three years later.

As it turned out, Lind sang in two of their upcoming performances: one was in Altona and already part of the Schumanns’ schedule; the other was added at the last minute and took place in Hamburg. My starting point in this paper is an excerpt from Clara’s diary (as quoted in Berthold Litzmann’s biography) about this second, added performance, a matinee event in Hamburg’s Apollo-Saal. It will be helpful for us to reproduce this entry at length here:


For his part, Robert summarized the concert with his by this time characteristic terseness: „Um 2 Uhr Matinee im Apollosaal – die L.[ind] als Hörerin – „der Sonnenschein““.³ I will return to the overlap between their diary entries, particularly to the image of Lind as listener, later on. My broader aim is to increase our awareness of the many variables involved in the performance practice of Lieder during the 19th century by reconstructing and reimagining the scene in Clara’s entry. My paper does not an attempt to present an airtight argument or interpretation of this event; rather, it is an invitation to expand our lines of inquiry with regards to the Lied as cultural practice. Through this exercise, I will additionally draw observations about the musical personalities involved and their interaction.

On the surface, Clara’s entry does not seem out of the ordinary, beyond perhaps the effusive, bordering on hagiographic, tone of her praise for Lind. (We should recall that Lind was not one of her regular singing partners, the way Amalie Joachim and Julius Stockhausen were

² Litzmann, Clara Schumann, vol. 2, pp. 211f.
to become later.) Yet details scattered here and there raise intriguing questions. Take, for instance, her seemingly casual and self-evident mention of the lid, „der Deckel des Pianoforte“. This piece of equipment in the grand piano’s construction typically goes unremarked in written historical documents like diaries, letters, and concert reviews. But as any modern pianist who has played with other singers or instrumentalists will admit, the lid has in recent times become an object of contention, of charged negotiation. Who has not engaged in a tug of war about whether to deploy the full prop stick or the short prop stick on a modern grand while accompanying? Accompanying – the activity thematized in this conference’s title – is itself a word that has begun to elicit discomfort, and music conservatory programs in the United States and elsewhere have started to replace it with the more agency-endowed „collaborative piano“; a matter of semantics, perhaps, but one that encapsulates latent power dynamics between pianist and co-performer.

Figure 2: Caricature of a performance by Franz Liszt. From A. Brennglas [Glaßbrenner], Franz Liszt in Berlin: Eine Komödie in drei Akten (=Berlin wie es ist und—trinkt 14), Leipzig 1842.

While the discussion between pianist and co-performer may revolve around using the full or short prop stick, rarely would a modern pianist seriously consider performing (that is, not just practicing) with the lid closed. Yet we pianists, even those of us who claim to be historically
informed, tend to forget that by and large this is how pianos seem to have been played from the 18th century until the early, possibly even mid, 19th century. Alfons Huber has argued that evidence from iconography and the near absence of prop sticks in extant Viennese pianos through the early 19th century strongly suggest that they were played mostly with the lid closed (unless a situation made it desirable to take it off completely or prop it against a wall).\(^4\) Music and art historian Florence Gétreau has reached a similar conclusion about pianos and pianists based in Paris during the period between 1815 and 1848, thus pushing the timeframe a bit later.\(^5\) Unsurprisingly, Liszt represents an exception and a trailblazer in her narrative. In this well-known caricature of a recital in Berlin from 1842 (figure 2), the lid becomes a dynamic object which amplifies not only the music’s physical power, but also the visual energy transmitted by Liszt’s airborne hand and received by the flower confetti from his mostly female fans. Yet he is also one of few pianists to have been portrayed in the act of public performance before the year 1848 and, as we know, his reception and media presence, so to speak, were colored by a dramatic flair.\(^6\) There are later examples of famous virtuosi performing with a closed lid when collaborating with others, such as Alexander Lebedev’s painting of Anton Rubinstein playing with a string quartet at an all-male aristocratic soiree in St. Petersburg in about 1860. This is also how a satiric London magazine depicts a performance by Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim in 1881 (figure 3). To be sure, this image is not an attempt at completeness and accuracy, but a sketch; as a caricature, the artist who drew it would have deliberately exaggerated certain aspects while underplaying others for comic effect. Iconography is obviously not a reliable repository of evidence and there are many ad hoc factors that can shape a performance setup.\(^7\)

\(^4\) Alfons Huber, „Deckelstützen und Schaldeckel an Hammerklavieren“, in: Studia organologica: Festschrift für John Henry van der Meer zu seinem fünnfundsechzigsten Geburtstag (=Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, vol. 6), Tutzing 1987, pp. 229–251. I should note here that I am thinking particularly of grand pianos intended for use in more nearly professional contexts than, say, the domestic square piano. To be sure, there is a vast range in between that cannot be easily classified into categories like „professional“ and „domestic“. Yet I make this distinction because prop sticks and „dust boards“ (to be discussed shortly) became common for English square pianos considerably earlier. See Malcolm Cole, The Pianoforte in the Classical Era, Oxford 1998, pp. 78–79.


\(^6\) Following my presentation at the conference, Ulrike Roesler kindly brought to my attention that Liszt appears to have been flexible and experimental with his performance setup, making adjustments according to the instrument and space at hand.

\(^7\) Thomas Synofzik generously shared with me an instance of a performance by Clara Schumann where the performers’ position and the use of the lid struck a reviewer sufficiently to merit comment. The concert took place at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde on January 7, 1866, and the piece in question is Robert Schumann’s Piano Trio in F major, Op. 80. The reviewer declared: „Das Schumann’sche Trio (Nr. 2) mißglückte heute in seinem ersten Theile; kein Wunder, wenn die einzelnen Spieler ganz isolirt, wenn die Herren mit den Bogen der Dame im Rücken sitzen... Daß der Deckel des prächtigen Streicher’schen Flügels nicht ganz abgehoben war, beeinträchtigte die Wirkung desselben nach mancher Seite“. Wiener Zeitung 26 (January 31, 1866), p. 325. It remains unclear what „nicht ganz abgehoben“ means in this context. At any rate, the review is interesting in that, for a fleeting moment, it spotlights the effect of the performers’ positions vis-à-vis one another in chamber music. There is even an undertone of gender etiquette implied in his comment. I thank Dr. Synofzik for bringing this review to my attention.
Clara’s mention of Jenny Lind’s being behind the lid implies that on the occasion of their Hamburg matinee it was open, since it would have been odd for her to remark that the lid obstructed the audience’s view of the singer had it been closed. Performing with an open lid was no longer rare by 1850. But even in the case of pianos that did feature prop sticks, there remains another piece of equipment to be considered: the so-called „Schalldeckel“. Many 19th-century pianos featured an extra, thinner lid, sitting above the strings and underneath the „actual“ lid. The Graf piano given to Clara in 1838 possessed one at some point, and there are extant pianos by Streicher, Erard and Pleyel from the 1840s which also have it (figure 4). Thus non-Viennese builders likewise installed something similar in many of their instruments. Its purpose continues to mystify scholars of organology and performance practice, as well as builders and restorers of historical pianos. This has not prevented them from offering hypotheses which have ranged from practical uses (as protective dust covers), to cultural values (to cover up the piano’s “uncouth” inner workings), to musical preferences. For example, the sound of an open piano may have proved too direct for people who were accustomed to the closed-lid aesthetic (though it must have added to the thrill and physical potency of Liszt’s recitals), or the Schalldeckel may have been used for more intimate spaces and contexts, such as for the performance of Lieder. The specific acoustic repercussions remain contested and, to my knowledge, the implications for performance of these relics in historical pianos have not yet been analyzed.

9 See again the Huber and Cole sources cited in n. 4.
10 With regards to the acoustic repercussions of the Schalldeckel, Huber remarks: „Wie mir bestätigt wurde, wird...“
I don’t purport to know Clara Schumann’s exact piano setup at her concert with Jenny Lind. But her diary entry struck me like an old photograph, where a detail captured in the background as if by accident prompts one to wonder about habits of the past. Her passing reference to the lid is an indirect reminder that historical uses of the lid and Schalldeckel could upend our contemporary notions of timbre and balance, whether they be „modern“ or „historically informed“. In the realm of Lieder, specifically, a consideration of these instrumental variables could inform our knowledge of a genre whose roots were in intimate domestic music-making yet became increasingly part of concert repertoire over the course of the 19th century. They could introduce new and tangible layers to Jennifer Ronyak’s recent efforts to recover a more lyrical, less dramatic approach to the Lied, sensitizing us to the tension between the inward orientation of the genre and the outward pressures of performance. As she notes,

Figure 4: The inner lid in a Pleyel piano from 1848 or 1849. I thank Andrew Willis for this photo of his beautiful piano.
Performances of Lieder put pressure on the sense of interiority already ostensibly inscribed in the performed songs. [...] Expressing interiority outwardly via performance (i.e., what I will call intimate expression) threatened to leave the essential interiority of a poet, a song, or a performer unguarded and trampled on.11

Experimenting with the timbral variations afforded by the lid, Schalldeckel, and the position of the singer vis-à-vis the piano can be cues to explore this spectrum between private and public, lyric and dramatic, inward and outward.

In my own overenthusiasm as a historically-informed performer, I entertained the perhaps unlikely possibility that Jenny Lind actually sang behind the piano lid. Such a scenario could have had fascinating consequences along the lines just mentioned. Lieder could become private utterances quite literally, the vocal persona protected by the cover of the lid and nestled in intimate relation with the piano part. Had Lind performed in this setup, she would have in a sense used the lid as her own sort of Schalldeckel and thereby reinforced (or aggravated) existing characterizations of her voice. She was not known for possessing a loud voice, and it created the impression of disembodiment, as if it came from a source other than her body. Her highly popular renditions of the so-called Norwegian echo song thrived precisely on her ability to approximate pseudo-acousmatic, ventriloquized sounds.12 A critic for The Spectator reported in 1847 that her voice was „as ethereal [sic] as the sighing of a breeze [and yet] reached... every part of the immense theatre“,13 an opinion that is remarkably close to Clara Schumann’s own. In 1850, she described her as „in jeder Hinsicht ein aetherisches Wesen“ and, after hearing her for the first time in 1846, she wrote: „Ihre Stimme ist an sich nicht groß, dringt aber sicherlich in jedem Raume durch, weil sie ganz Seele ist“.14 Her voice’s limited volume and power somehow combined with a capacity to penetrate, such that it was equated with – or at the very least appeared to be compensated by – interiority, soulfulness, and depth.

Lind’s high register was especially celebrated, whereas her middle and lower registers were described as „veiled“.15 It is indeed remarkable how routinely this characterization appears. Consider the following examples:

12 Francesca Vella, „Jenny Lind, Voice, Celebrity“, in: Music and Letters 98 (2017), no. 2, p. 239. This song, in which Lind often self-accompanied, is transcribed in the musical appendix to William Smyth Rockstro, A Record and Analysis of the „Method“ of the Late Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt, London 1894. An annotation (by either Rockstro or the appendix’s editor, Otto Goldschmidt) explains that in the mostly unaccompanied coda „Madame Goldschmidt turned from the Pianoforte towards the audience, facing it, and singing straight towards the length of the Room (having in view the production of the Echo) until the final notes, when she slowly turned back towards the Pianoforte, and struck the chord of D to the same note in the voice part“ (p. xxvii, emphasis original). Rockstro remarks that „the effect produced so nearly resembled that of a natural echo, reverberated from the opposite wall, that it never failed to mystify an audience before which it was presented for the first time“ (p. 12). This anecdote about her performance, if true, betrays a savvy manipulation of space.
13 Unnamed critic, The Spectator (May 8, 1847), p. 443. Quoted in Vella, „Jenny Lind, Voice, Celebrity“, p. 239, n. 40. For more reviews that reinforced the same point, see p. 246, n. 73.
14 Litzmann, Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben, vol. 2, pp. 211 and 115, respectively.
15 Rockstro specifically ascribes the „veiled“ timbre to f’–a’ in the middle register and believes its cause to be vocal injuries early in Lind’s career. See Rockstro, A Record, pp. 10–11.
Clara again echoed this trope when she wistfully remarked upon hearing Lind decades later on February 22, 1871, as a 50-year old: „Die Stimme ist ja fast fort, aber doch in manchen Tönen noch der etwas verschleierter Timbre, und ein Liebreiz, eine Innerlichkeit, die unbeschreiblich ist“. An unnamed critic in the London journal *Frazer’s Magazine for Town and Country*, however, quoted and partially concurred with a more critical view of the same vocal quality: „The whole of the under register of her voice is, as her admirers express it, veiled; but I cannot refrain from describing this impenetrable veil as an intolerable hoarseness“. The consistency of the vocabulary used to describe Lind may well register the wide circulation of a relatively small number of sources, but what I wish to emphasize is the implication of these comments. From opera casting to popular songs, voice types have come to be strongly associated with particular characters. Following these conventions, Lind’s strength in the higher register became mapped onto performances of innocence, virginity, and childlike wisdom. But what is more remarkable in these quotes is how using the word „veiled“ reframed her middle and lower registers. Typically, these are registers which evoke corporeality and older, more sultry characters. By slapping on a word redolent of feminine modesty and mystery, however, what could have been considered a weakness in Lind’s vocal ability was instead celebrated as a sign of vague poeticism and interiority.

To return to our matinee in Hamburg, the truth is that we don’t know at what point Lind stood or sat behind the lid. The concert program was as follows:

- R. Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 („auf Verlangen“)
- Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro*
- Beethoven: Piano Sonata, Op. 57
- F. Mendelssohn: 2 Lieder (among them „Rheinisches Volkslied“)
- Chopin: Nocturne in C minor
- F. Mendelssohn: Lied ohne Worte in C major

18 [Anonymous], „Prospects of the Opera“, *Frazer’s Magazine for Town and Country* 37 (1848), p. 339. The author here cites an unnamed Berlin critic and then adds: „Her hoarseness was frequently observed during the last season, and the care with which she shunned notes which lay even moderately below the treble staff was obvious. In the little song, „Deh vieni“, in Mozart’s *Figaro*, she was obliged to alter the notes of the original to avoid touching middle C; though her general conception of the air was so fine in its simplicity and tenderness as to create a breathless interest in the house“.
Ji Young Kim · Clara Schumann and Jenny Lind in 1850

• R. Schumann: „Der Himmel hat eine Thräne geweint”, „Der Nußbaum”, „Frühlingsnacht”, „O Sonnenschein”

She may have been in that position during the Piano Quintet, which opened the concert and preceded her first solo; she may have then stood by the bass end of the piano (the way violin-piano duos were in the 18th century) or in front of the piano (as is now the custom) to sing the Mozart aria. While the mention of the lid raises tantalizing questions about performance practice, ultimately, its effects, at least as registered in Clara’s entry, are not sonic but visual. Lind’s position caused a general commotion whereupon audience members struggled to catch a glimpse of her. This gesture, which drew Clara’s attention sufficiently to write it down, was part of a pattern of behavior that fed her brand of feminine modesty. After the two women first met in 1846, for example, Clara wrote in her diary: „Hier gewann ich Jenny Lind doppelt lieb durch ihr anspruchloses, ich möchte fast sagen, zurückhaltendes Wesen; man merkte kaum, daß sie da war, so still war sie”. Thus she looked at her fellow woman’s self-effacement with approval.

Intentionally or not, Lind appears to have used the lid in an unusual way at the Hamburg concert, as a prop which allowed her to escape the searching (and maybe invasive) gaze of the audience by retreating behind it; indeed, by deploying it as a kind of „veil”, even if only momentarily.

But of course, this act only intensified the desire to see her. Interestingly, the audience’s occluded view contrasts with Clara’s own, conspicuously visual experience of Lind at this concert. Let us recall again what she wrote in her diary about it: „Wenn sie andre Musik hört, ist es ein wahres Vergnügen, ihr zuzusehen, wie auch nichts, nicht die zarteste, feinste harmonische

19 Concert program no. 283 on March 23, 1850, at the Apollo-Saal, Hamburg, as given in Robert Schumann Tagebücher, vol. 3, pp. 783–784, n. 750.

20 There is scant information about the Apollo-Saal before it was expanded in 1853 to supplement our reconstruction of this scene. Sonja Esmyer estimates that the oval space’s approximate dimensions were 24 meters long and 15 meters wide, with a ceiling 9 meters high. A caveat in her estimation is the lack of standardized measurements in Germany at the time. See Sonja Esmyer, Hamburger Konzertstätten von der Mitte des 18. bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts vor dem Hintergrund der Entwicklung des öffentlichen Hamburger Konzertwesens, M.A. thesis, University of Lüneburg 1996, p. 34.

21 Litzmann, Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben, vol. 2, p. 115. One could say that her selection of Lieder for the Hamburg matinee reinforced her image of modesty and innocence. Mendelssohn’s „Rheinisches Volkslied” sings of desire, but cast in a scene amid children; in the songs by Robert Schumann desire is expressed indirectly or refracted through nature. None of these pieces involve first-person expression of intense feeling. (Someone like Wilhelmine Schroeder-Devrient, by contrast, made Frauenliebe und Leben a core of her repertoire.) As is well known, P. T. Barnum seized upon this aspect of Lind’s profile as he launched an aggressive marketing campaign for her tour of the United States, which was to begin in September 1850, just months after the Hamburg concert. The New York Tribune reported after her first appearance: „JENNY LIND, clad in a white dress which well became the frank sincerity of her face [...] The divine songstress, with that perfect bearing, that air of all dignity and sweetness, blending a child-like simplicity and half-trembling womanly modesty with the beautiful confidence of Genius and serene wisdom of Art, addressed herself to song”. Quoted in Mark Samples, „The Humbug and the Nightingale: P. T. Barnum, Jenny Lind, and the Branding of a Star Singer for American Reception”, in: The Musical Quarterly 99 (2016), nos. 3–4, p. 306.
Wendung ihr entgeht”.22 This excerpt betrays a feeling of proximity, as if, even in portions of the program when Clara was not accompanying Lind, she could see her from her direct or peripheral visual field as she played – more than that, it is as if she could not restrain herself from watching her. (The program being as given above, it is clear that when she refers to „andere Musik“, she is referring to her own playing.) Robert, who was in the audience and not performing at this concert, likewise responded to Lind’s listening stance, indeed, at the expense of commenting on her singing or Clara’s playing. The overlap between Clara and Robert’s diary entries may well bespeak post-concert conversations. But it also raises the question of who is leading, the performer, or the listener? The boundaries between what is and what is not performance become blurred in Lind’s presence, as her listening behavior appears to be something to be beheld. Listening here is performed, it becomes visible to others.

The soprano’s demeanor in turn spurs Clara’s playing: „Ich spielte auch heute wieder gut, wie selten, was bei solch einer Begeisterung, wie dies Wesen in einen bringt, wohl kein Wunder!” A sort of channel appears to have opened up between these three figures – Lind, Clara, and Robert – an exclusive channel where only „true“ artists can recognize each other. What else did Clara see that the audience could not? Well, for one thing, if we revisit Clara’s diary entry, she saw Lind sing Lieder from memory. As a pianist who made it an integral part of her profile to play from memory, she was duly impressed when the soprano continued to sing „Frühlingsnacht“ from memory after a misplaced page. For her this was evidence of deep musical internalization, and Lind’s persona resonated with her own artistic values. While the Werktreue ideology has often become Clara’s mantle (or burden) to bear, among singers Lind too was recognized for sharing that attitude. A critic for the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung observed as early as 1845:

„Was sie aber in meinen Augen noch besonders hoch stellt, ist das, dass sie ihr ganzes Kunstvermögen dazu anwendet, in die Intentionen des Tondichters einzudringen und diese allein wiederzugeben, nie aber die selbst bei den ersten und genialsten Bühnenkünstler häufig bemerkbare Schwäche zeigt, das eigene Ich zum Nachtheile der Tondichtung oder des Ganzen glänzen zu lassen“.23

She may have been a model for Clara’s developing profile as it crystallized into Liszt’s 1854 description of her as a „priestess of the Delphian god“. More generally, this may have been one of the few ways women could chart a powerful image of themselves that did not objectify them and gained them respect.

I began this presentation by drawing attention to the piano lid. If indeed performing with it open was a Lisztian, virtuoso kind of gesture that had only recently and gradually become commonplace, Clara’s accompanying of Lind in this way presented her as a soloist not to be outdone by the Swedish star. We know from her diary that she was apprehensive about sharing the stage with her, likely because of her experience performing with the singer in Vienna back

22 See n. 2 above.
23 [Anonymous], Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 47 (September 24, 1845), no. 39, p. 662.
in 1847. For her part, Lind used precisely the open lid as a means of self-effacement by being behind it, yet in the act increased the attention to herself. Through this and other gestures of modesty, she gained Clara's own, female admiration, while prying open conflicting forces in her performance persona.

At this point, it will surely come as a disappointment to my reader that, in spite of all the information I have laid out in this paper, we barely seem to have come closer to understanding Clara Schumann’s performance practices as vocal accompanist. This is, in part, inevitable because there is such meager documentation about it. In her own accounts of her playing, she appears to become invisible when it comes to vocal accompanying; while she is ready to commend or critique her partner’s singing, when she mentions her own playing it tends to refer to her solo playing. Thus, the closest we can get appears to be what we have got here: the pianist’s furtive glances at the singer she accompanies.


Abstract

Clara Schumann's 1850 tour of northern Germany with her husband officially ended with a successful concert in Altona where Jenny Lind made a surprise appearance. Immediately thereafter, one more concert featuring the pianist, singer, and Robert's music was added at the last minute to take place in Hamburg. This too was a success. But a detail that made it especially memorable was Lind's position behind the piano lid so that, as Clara recounted in her diary, many audience members could hardly catch a glimpse of her. This paper explores the rationales and implications of this singular and fleeting moment, and teases out aspects of the two star performers' relationship both on and off the stage. In the process, the paper draws attention to hitherto neglected variables in the performance practice of Lieder and seeks to expand our lines of inquiry with regards to the 19th-century Lied as cultural practice.

Vita

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Die Begleiterin
Clara Schumann
Lied und Liedinterpretation

Herausgegeben von Rebecca Grotjahn und Nina Jaeschke

Musikwissenschaft: Aktuelle Perspektiven 2
Die Begleiterin
Musikwissenschaft: Aktuelle Perspektiven

Bericht über die Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung 2019 in Paderborn und Detmold

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Band 2
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ren vor einem Vierteljahrhundert Inhalte und Aufgaben einer feministischen Musikwissenschaft und wie kann sich diese heute positionieren?


Wir widmen diese Reihe Dr. Gabriele Buschmeier, dem langjährigen Vorstandsmitglied der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, die kurz vor der Publikation dieses Bandes unerwartet verstarb.

Detmold, im September 2020

Rebecca Grotjahn und Nina Jaeschke


1 Freigestellt war den Autor*innen auch, ob sie sich für eine gendersensible Sprache entscheiden bzw. welche Form des Genderns sie bevorzugen.