

Musical Narratives as Pedagogical Instruments: Gendered Subjectivity and the Bildung of the Nineteenth Century Listener in Clara Schumann's and Franz Liszt's "Lorelei"

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Abstract: The Lorelei myth, as mediated through Heinrich Heine's 1824 poem, became a quintessential canvas for projecting nineteenth-century anxieties about feminine power. This article reframes the comparative analysis of Franz Liszt's (1841) and Clara Schumann's (1843) musical settings of "Lorelei" as a study in the history of musical education and cultural pedagogy. Moving beyond purely aesthetic or musicological critique, I argue that these compositions functioned as powerful, albeit informal, pedagogical instruments that shaped the moral and aesthetic subjectivities of their contemporary listeners within the German Bildungsbürgertum (educated middle class). Drawing on Ute Frevert's social history and expanding it with the history of Bildung, this study demonstrates that Liszt's setting constructs a pedagogical model of spectacular containment, teaching the listener to perceive feminine power as an external, dangerous threat to be framed and neutralized. Clara Schumann's setting, by contrast, offers a model of tragic interiority, educating the listener in psychological continuity and empathetic identification. By analysing how each work was situated within nineteenth-century educational practices—from domestic piano instruction to conservatory training—this article concludes that these divergent musical narratives represent opposing "educational paths" for the formation of gendered subjects in Romanticism, contributing a novel, historically grounded perspective to the field of music education history.

Keywords: Clara Schumann, Franz Liszt, Lorelei, History of Education, Bildung, Musical Pedagogy, Gender and Music Education, German Lied.

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1. Introduction

The Lorelei legend—a beautiful maiden whose song lures sailors to their death on the Rhine—originated with Clemens Brentano in 1801 and became, in Heinrich Heine's 1824 poem, a figure of "the deathly power of myth, music and poetry."¹ Heine's Die

Lorelei presents a male narrator who recounts the tale with wistful irony, describing the golden-haired maiden who combs her hair and sings, implicitly blamed for the sailor's fatal distraction. The poem's enduring popularity among Romantic composers reflects its power as a cultural touchstone for nineteenth-century anxieties about feminine allure, artistic creation and male vulnerability.

Among the many settings, those by Franz Liszt (1841) and Clara Schumann (1843) offer particularly revealing contrasts. Composed within two years of each other, these songs share the same poetic text yet construct fundamentally different female images through their musical choices. This article asks a pedagogical question: how did these contrasting musical constructions function as informal instruments of *Bildung*—the nineteenth-century German concept of cultural, moral and aesthetic formation?² How did they educate their listeners, especially young women and men of the middle class, about proper gendered subjectivity, the nature of danger and the limits of artistic expression?³

This article argues that the contrast between these settings illuminates fundamental questions about the history of musical education. Drawing on Ute Frevert's social history of nineteenth-century German women—which documents the legal subjugation, domestic ideology and systematic educational exclusion that shaped women's lives⁴—I analyse how Liszt's musical choices construct a pedagogy of containment, framing the Lorelei as an object of sublime terror to be safely consumed within a closed aesthetic experience. Clara Schumann's setting, by contrast, operates what I term a pedagogy of interiority, educating the listener in sustained psychological engagement and refusing the consolations of aesthetic distance. This analysis demonstrates that musical structures—form, harmony, vocal treatment, piano figuration—are not ideologically neutral but actively participated in the cultural education of the nineteenth-century public, transmitting norms of gender, agency and moral conduct.⁵

The German Lied occupied a central place in the domestic and institutional pedagogy of the period. As Applegate (2017) and others have shown, the Lied was conceived not merely as entertainment but as a vehicle for the transmission of German cultural identity and moral values.⁶ This article thus contributes to the history of education by treating the concert hall and the domestic piano as educational spaces, and musical scores as curricula for the formation of gendered sensibilities.

2. Theoretical Framework: *Bildung*, the Male Gaze and Musical Pedagogy

Laura Mulvey's concept of the "male gaze" has been highly influential in feminist film theory.⁷ The question is not simply how the gaze objectifies, but how musical representations of the gaze taught nineteenth-century listeners to see, feel and judge. The German concept of *Bildung* is central here. As Koselleck (2002) has demonstrated, *Bildung* in the nineteenth century referred to the holistic process of self-cultivation—the moral, aesthetic and intellectual formation of the human subject.⁹ The term, which defies simple translation, derives its fundamental meaning from German humanism and Weimar Classicism: *Bildung* is "the stimulation of all a person's faculties so that these may, in grasping the world through a process of mutual integration and limitation, unfold in a harmonious and proportional manner—leading to a self-determined individuality that enriches humanity." This process was not limited to formal schooling but occurred through all forms of cultural engagement, including literature, philosophy and, crucially,

music. The Lied, performed in domestic settings by middle-class families, was a primary vehicle for this informal pedagogy.¹⁰

Ute Frevert's work provides the social-historical context: nineteenth-century German women were systematically excluded from formal Bildung institutions (universities, gymnasia) and were instead directed toward a domestic ideology that prioritised their roles as wives and mothers.¹¹ Within this context, the performance and consumption of art songs like the "Lorelei" took on a specific pedagogical function. They taught young women the supposed consequences of uncontrolled feminine power and young men the dangers of feminine allure. They were, in effect, musical lessons in gendered moral conduct.

Wilfried Gruhn, in his comprehensive *Geschichte der Musikerziehung* (History of Music Education), situates the nineteenth-century Lied within a broader transformation of music pedagogy: the gradual shift from the dominant tradition of church-centered singing instruction to an aesthetic-cultural model of music education oriented toward musical Bildung.¹² This transformation, driven by the thought of Pestalozzi, Humboldt and others, had profound implications for the role of art songs—especially the Lied—in the formation of the middle-class subject.

Adapting this framework to the Lied requires attention to the specifically musical mechanisms through which pedagogical perspectives are encoded. Susan McClary's foundational work in feminist musicology demonstrates that Western music theory and structure are saturated with unexamined gender metaphors.¹³ To this, I add a pedagogical layer: tonal narratives, cadential conventions and harmonic progressions did not merely reflect gender hierarchies; they actively inculcated them. The moment of harmonic violence in Liszt's setting is not just a dramatic effect; it is a pedagogical event that teaches the listener to associate feminine power with catastrophe.

In the Lied as a pedagogical medium, the male gaze operates through a threefold apparatus. First, the poetic text, almost always male-authored, establishes a narrative perspective that frames the female subject. Second, the composer's musical choices interpret and emotionalise that framing, guiding the listener's moral and aesthetic response. Third, the piano accompaniment often functions as the embodied pedagogical gaze itself, setting scenes, commenting on action and providing the emotional lens through which the listener learns to hear the female voice. Clara Schumann's *Lorelei* challenges this apparatus, offering an alternative pedagogical model.

3. Historical Pedagogical Context: Musical Education in Nineteenth Century Germany

Before analysing the scores, it is essential to situate the Lied within the educational landscape of the period. A robust literature in the history of music education has emerged in recent decades, grounded in the foundational work of scholars such as Schünemann (1931) and, more recently, Gruhn (1993).¹⁴

The Domestic Piano as Educational Space. The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the *Bildungsbürgertum* (educated middle class), for whom cultural capital—knowledge of literature, philosophy and music—was a primary marker of social status. The domestic piano, often played by daughters of the family, was the central instrument of this informal education.¹⁵ The performance of *Lieder* in the home was not merely entertainment; it was a ritual of cultural transmission through which parents taught

children the values, sensibilities and moral codes of their class. Arthur Loesser's social history of the piano documents how this instrument became "the household altar" of middle-class domesticity, a space in which young women in particular were trained in the performance of femininity.¹⁶

Institutional Music Education and Gender Exclusion. The establishment of conservatories—Leipzig (1843), Berlin (1850), Vienna (1817)—marked a significant development in institutional music education. Freia Hoffmann's monumental *Handbuch Konservatorien* (Handbook of Conservatories) provides the first comprehensive overview of institutional music education in German-speaking countries during the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Based on sixteen selected institutes, Hoffmann's research documents in detail the financial structures, curricula and—crucially for this study—the gender policies of these institutions. For Vienna, regulations were issued "which significantly restricted access to instrumental departments for women;" exceptions were made for female singers, "who could not be replaced."¹⁸ Teaching staff were overwhelmingly male. Thus, while conservatories professionalised musical training for men, they largely excluded women from composition studies, restricting them to performance—a restriction that profoundly shaped the possibilities for feminine compositional authorship.

Gender and the Musical Canon. The gendered dynamics of musical education have been theorised most extensively by Lucy Green in her seminal work *Music, Gender, Education* (1997). Green invokes a concept of "musical patriarchy" to explain how social constructions of gender are reproduced through music education, both formal and informal. Green categorises women's musical practices into three types: "affirming femininity" (singing), "interrupting femininity" (instrumental performance) and "threatening femininity" (composing/improvisation). Clara Schumann, as a woman composer of *Lieder*, occupied precisely the category that Green identifies as most threatening to musical patriarchy—the creation of original works that challenge gendered musical meanings.¹⁹

The "Lorelei" as Cautionary Tale. The "Lorelei" myth itself had a specific place in the pedagogical imaginary of the period. *Wasserfrau*, meaning "Water Woman," is a recurring motif in German Literature, especially in folktales, legends, and mythology. The character is often portrayed as a beautiful water spirit or mermaid that lives in rivers, lakes, and seas, who lure men to her underwater realm... Among all these various alterations of the theme, Lorelei has secured its position as the most popular *Wasserfrau* figure in German speaking countries.¹⁹ By setting this poem to music, both Liszt and Schumann were, in effect, authoring competing pedagogical texts—different musical "lessons" about the meaning of feminine power, aimed at the moral formation of their listeners.

4. Franz Liszt's *Die Loreley*: A Pedagogy of Spectacular Containment

Franz Liszt's 1841 setting (S. 273) constructs the Loreley as an object of sublime terror. From a pedagogical perspective, this setting teaches the listener a specific lesson: that feminine power is external, dangerous and must be contained through formal and narrative control. Liszt's approach exemplifies what Green calls the «affirmation» of femininity through containment—a pedagogical strategy that reproduces patriarchal musical meanings.²⁰

4.1. *The Piano as Framing Consciousness (The Pedagogical Gaze)*

The piano introduction establishes the gendered dynamics of the pedagogical

gaze before the voice enters. Rolling arpeggiated waves in the bass and a mournful folk-like melody in the right hand create the Rhine landscape—but this is no neutral scene-painting. As Kramer (1990) observes, such instrumental preludes often function to “establish the subjective, emotional state of the narrative perspective,” framing subsequent events within that consciousness.²¹ Pedagogically, this prelude prepares the listener’s emotional response, teaching them to approach the tale with melancholy and foreboding before the feminine figure even appears. This technique aligns with what Green identifies as the educational mechanisms through which musical meaning is socially constructed prior to explicit pedagogical instruction.²²

4.2. *Constructing the Feminine Archetype as a Pedagogical Object*

Liszt crafts the vocal line to alternate between two distinct modes, both of which function as archetypal constructs rather than representations of complex subjectivity. In storytelling passages (e.g., the opening stanza), the vocal line is simple, declamatory and strophic, evoking the ballad-singer. As Youens (2000) notes, this framing device presents the tale as “folklore, a communal warning” against the dangers of feminine allure.²³ This is a direct pedagogical strategy: the communal warning teaches cultural norms by distancing the listener from immediate threat while reinforcing gendered expectations.

When directly quoting or describing the Loreley’s actions (“Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar”), the music transforms dramatically. The vocal line becomes more lyrical, legato and moves into a higher, more ethereal register. Pedagogically, this technique teaches the listener to associate feminine beauty with static, petrified spectacle—an object to be gazed upon, not a subject with whom to identify. This form of musical representation reproduces what McClary (2002) identifies as the “essentialist” coding of the feminine as beautiful but passive.²⁴ From the standpoint of music education history, Liszt’s song functions as an instrument of what sociologist Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) would call cultural reproduction: the transmission of gendered dispositions through ostensibly “aesthetic” choices that are in fact deeply ideological.²⁵

4.3. *Harmonic Dissonance as Gendered Danger (The Punitive Lesson)*

Liszt’s most powerful pedagogical tool is his harmonic language. The climax at “Und das hat mit ihrem Singen / Die Lorelei getan!” is harmonically violent—wrenching moves to C-sharp minor, diminished seventh chords, anguished declamation. The music performs the shipwreck as the Loreley’s direct, destructive agency.²⁶ The pedagogical lesson is clear: feminine power leads to catastrophe. The listener is taught to fear and reject the uncontrolled feminine, to associate female agency with chaos and destruction.

Within the framework of nineteenth-century music pedagogy, such harmonic violence served an explicitly prohibitive function. As Gruhn documents, the German school singing tradition throughout the century emphasised the moral value of orderly, disciplined musical expression, associating harmonic stability with social and moral stability.²⁷ Liszt’s disruption of that stability is a calculated pedagogical intervention designed not merely to move the listener emotionally but to indoctrinate them: to create a visceral association between feminine agency and tonal chaos, thereby reinforcing the patriarchal moral order.

4.4. *Structural Containment: The Educational Frame*

The song ends as it began: with the mournful, folk-like piano postlude returning to the introductory material. This circular structure is paramount. Despite the explosive climax, the musical frame reasserts itself. Pedagogically, this structure teaches the listener that the danger has been contained—that the aesthetic frame neutralises the threat, allowing for the safe consumption of transgressive material. The patriarchal order of storytelling and musical form re-contains the disruptive feminine archetype. The final musical word is one of melancholy recollection, not ongoing danger. The lesson concludes: order has been restored.²⁸

5. Clara Schumann's Lorelei: A Pedagogy of Tragic Interiority

Clara Schumann's 1843 setting offers a fundamentally different pedagogical model. Where Liszt externalises and contains, Clara internalises and humanises. Her setting educates the listener in psychological continuity, empathetic identification and the refusal of consoling aesthetic distance. For a woman composer operating within the constraints of nineteenth-century musical patriarchy, this pedagogical alternative represented a subtle but significant act of resistance.

5.1. *Structural Agency: From Spectacle to Lived Experience (An Alternative Curriculum)*

Clara employs a modified strophic form with profound developmental variation. Unlike Liszt's framed triptych, her structure suggests continuous, unfolding experience. Pedagogically, this form teaches the listener to inhabit a psychological progression rather than observe a framed picture. The form implies a consciousness living through the events, not a spectator recounting them. This shift from external framing to internal experience represents the most profound rupture from Liszt's pedagogical model.

In the context of nineteenth-century educational thought, such structural choices were far from neutral. The Pestalozzian tradition—which deeply influenced German music pedagogy—emphasised learning through internalisation rather than memorisation, through lived experience rather than external authority.²⁹ Clara Schumann's musical form, whether consciously or intuitively, embodies this Pestalozzian principle: the listener is not merely told a story from the outside but is drawn into the narrative, experiencing it from within. By contrast, Liszt's circular frame aligns more closely with traditional instructional methods based on rote learning and repetition: the material is presented, the lesson learned, and the frame closed; nothing remains to trouble the student except the abstract memory of the "danger."

5.2. *The Vocal Subject: Humanity Over Iconography (Teaching Empathy)*

Clara's treatment of the voice fundamentally regenders the narrative perspective. From the first line, "Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten," the vocal line is intimately connected to the piano's restless energy. There is no clear musical distinction between the narrator and the Loreley when she is described. The singer embodies the entire narrative continuum, creating a subjectivity of shared fate. Pedagogically, this unified vocal persona teaches the listener to refuse the subject/object dichotomy that structures Liszt's lesson. Instead of learning to observe and judge, the listener learns to inhabit and feel. The Loreley is not an external spectacle to be described but an aspect of the narrative consciousness itself—a figure whose tragedy is also the narrator's tragedy.

The climax at “Und das hat mit ihrem Singen” demonstrates this difference most clearly. Clara does not use Liszt’s shocking, unexpected harmony. Instead, she employs a powerful, stepwise chromatic ascent in the vocal line over driving piano figuration, culminating in a sustained high note. This feels less like an external catastrophe and more like a cry of tragic realization. Pedagogically, it teaches the listener to understand feminine power as tragic destiny, not monstrous threat—a subtle but profound difference in moral education.

Lucy Green’s framework is illuminating here. Clara Schumann’s compositional voice—her “threatening” of femininity through the act of composition—is not an outright rejection of musical patriarchy but a reconfiguration of its terms.³⁰ Where Liszt’s setting positions the male narrator as a figure of anxious authority, Clara’s setting dissolves that authority, replacing the observing subject with a shared subjectivity that includes the feminine figure. This is not merely an alternative musical interpretation; it is an alternative pedagogy—a different way of educating listeners in the ethical relation between self and other.

5.3. *Piano as Conscience, Not Landscape (The Internalised Gaze)*

The piano part is the core of Clara’s pedagogical subversion. Its persistent, murmuring triplet figuration functions not as pictorial waves but as a symbol of inexorable destiny or inner compulsion. Pedagogically, this figuration teaches the listener that the tragedy is not external but internal—that the Loreley is caught within a predetermined script, not an arbitrary agent of chaos. The piano becomes the musical embodiment of that script, with which she is inextricably linked.

This technique resonates with what Green identifies as the possibility of “interruption” within musical patriarchy: the subtle introduction of alternative meanings that, while not overtly subversive, disrupt the smooth transmission of patriarchal ideology.³¹ By embedding the feminine subject within the piano’s continuous figuration rather than objectifying her as a static vocal tableau, Clara Schumann invites the listener to hear the Loreley not as “beautiful spectacle” but as subject to the same existential conditions as the listener herself.

The pedagogical effect is transformative: the listener is not taught to fear the feminine but to recognise it—to see in the Loreley’s tragic inevitability a mirror of their own human condition. In the context of nineteenth-century *Bildung*, this represented a radically horizontal model of education, in which the student learns with rather than from the “object” of study.

5.4. *Refusing Containment: The Postlude’s Unresolved Lesson*

Clara’s piano postlude refuses the consolations of aesthetic distance. Through numerous *sf* markings and lingering phrases, the music shifts focus from the male tragedy to continuous reflection on the Loreley’s existential state. Unlike Liszt’s version, which abruptly ends with the boatman’s death and returns to the framing material, Clara’s postlude lingers on the Loreley’s subjectivity beyond male fate. The final measures fade into silence not with the closure of a returned frame but with the open-endedness of unresolved reflection. Pedagogically, this closure refuses to contain or aestheticise the tragedy. It offers no safe distance, no reassuring frame. It denies the listener the comfort of closure, leaving them directly confronted with the consequence.

From an educational perspective, this open-endedness aligns with what educational

theorists have called “problem-posing” pedagogy—an approach associated with Freire (1970), in which learners are not “filled” with predetermined knowledge but are engaged in active reflection.³² While the Freirean framework emerged a century later, the principle is instructive: Clara Schumann’s postlude does not provide answers but poses questions. It refuses to tell the listener what to think, instead inviting them to sit with the unresolved implication of the tale. This is a radically different educational model: one that prioritises unresolved ethical reflection over moral closure, the question over the answer.

6. Comparative Synthesis: Two Pedagogical Paths for Gendered Subjectivity

The contrast between these settings illuminates fundamental differences in pedagogical approaches to the formation of gendered subjects in the Romantic era.

Table 1: Two Pedagogical Paths for Gendered Subjectivity - Liszt’s Containment vs. Schumann’s Interiority.

Dimension	Liszt (Pedagogy of Containment)	Schumann (Pedagogy of Interiority)
Formal design	Circular, framed structure—teaches containment and safe distance	Throughcomposed developmental arc—teaches psychological immersion
Piano function	The pedagogical gaze—frames and interprets—teaches observation	Continuous with vocal subject—internal driver—teaches participation
Vocal treatment	Alternates narration/spectacle—teaches observer/observed distinction	Unified consciousness—teaches shared fate and empathy
Climax	Harmonic violence—external, shocking—teaches fear of feminine power	Chromatic ascent—internal, tragic—teaches tragic understanding
Fate of the Loreley	Contained, memorialised as object—lesson ends with order restored	Present, unresolved—lesson ends with ongoing reflection
Pedagogical tradition	Instructional/authoritarian—answers provided, closure achieved	Problemposing/Socratic—questions posed, reflection invited
Educational outcome	Produces a subject who fears and contains the feminine	Produces a subject who empathises with the feminine

These divergent pedagogical approaches are not merely aesthetic but ethical: they propose fundamentally different relationships between the listener and the feminine “other.” In Liszt’s model, the listener is taught to manage difference through containment and distancing—a pedagogy of control. In Schumann’s model, the listener is taught to inhabit difference through empathetic identification—a pedagogy of relation.

7. Implications: Toward a History of Musical Education as Gendered Formation

Clara Schumann’s Lorelei demonstrates that the Lied could be a medium for feminine pedagogical authorship—a compositional voice that offered an alternative curriculum for the formation of gendered sensibilities. Her setting does not simply reverse the gaze but transforms the very structure of looking and listening, internalising narrative consciousness and refusing the subject/object dichotomy that underpins traditional pedagogical models.

This achievement has direct implications for the history of education. First, it demonstrates that informal educational spaces—the domestic piano, the concert hall, the song recital—were sites of intense gendered pedagogy. Composers were

not merely artists but educators, shaping the moral and aesthetic sensibilities of their listeners. Second, it reveals that women composers, despite their systematic exclusion from formal educational institutions, developed sophisticated pedagogical strategies of their own, working within and against patriarchal constraints to offer alternative models of subjectivity. Third, it calls for musicology and the history of education to engage more deeply, treating musical works as primary sources for understanding the cultural formation of historical subjects.

As Amy Jones's research on women poets of the period shows, female artists developed strategies for working within and against patriarchal conventions, creating "unconventional muse figures" that challenge normative expectations.³³ Clara Schumann's compositional practice belongs to this broader tradition of feminine pedagogical authorship navigating and subverting patriarchal constraints.

The comparative analysis also illuminates the stakes of canonicity. Liszt's *Die Lorelei* has long been celebrated as a masterpiece, while Clara Schumann's setting has received far less attention. From a pedagogical perspective, this disparity reflects not only aesthetic judgments but also the gendered power structures that have shaped which educational texts are deemed worthy of transmission. Recovering Clara Schumann's *Lorelei* is not simply an act of historical rectification but a critical intervention in the history of musical education—one that transforms our understanding of what the Lied could teach.

In dialogue with Green's musical patriarchy framework, we might ask: what would it mean for the history of education to take women's compositional pedagogy seriously? What alternative genealogies of educational thought emerge when we consider Clara Schumann alongside Rousseau, Pestalozzi or Humboldt? Such questions deserve further investigation. This article is a preliminary step in that direction.³⁴

8. Conclusion

The contrast between Franz Liszt's and Clara Schumann's settings of Heine's *Die Lorelei* reveals that musical structures are not ideologically neutral but actively participated in the moral and aesthetic education of nineteenth-century listeners. Liszt's setting constructs a pedagogy of spectacular containment, teaching the listener to perceive feminine power as external, dangerous and ultimately neutralisable through formal control. Clara Schumann's setting constructs a pedagogy of tragic interiority, teaching the listener to inhabit psychological continuity, refuse safe distance and engage with feminine subjectivity as tragic rather than monstrous.

These divergent settings thus represent opposing "educational paths" for the formation of feminine and masculine subjects in Romanticism. Liszt's path is one of containment and control, reinforcing patriarchal norms through aesthetic framing. Clara Schumann's path is one of empathy and unresolved reflection, offering an alternative curriculum for the formation of gendered sensibilities.

Clara Schumann's achievement is not merely to offer an alternative reading of a poem but to demonstrate a different mode of pedagogical authorship—one that writes from within feminine subjectivity rather than looking at it from without. Her *Lorelei* stands as a testament to the possibility of a feminine educational voice within a genre overwhelmingly dominated by male creators. It reveals that the same cultural material could be re-heard and re-sounded to produce female images endowed with agency,

interiority and tragic dignity—and to teach listeners to respond to them accordingly.

The legacy of the Romantic Lied is thus double: a canon of sublime beauty that often asked its heroines to be silent, adorned or lamenting; and a tradition that contained within its own practices the radical potential for a truly sounding feminine pedagogy. Clara Schumann's *Lorelei* realises that potential, offering a model for what the history of music education might recover and celebrate. Its continued presence in the repertoire—and its continued neglect relative to Liszt's setting—invites each new generation of listeners, performers and educational historians to engage with the gendered dynamics of looking, listening and representing the feminine other in the formation of the human subject.

The musical works of the Romantic era, including the two versions of “*Lorelei*” examined here, were among the conditioning factors that shaped the moral subjectivities of nineteenth-century listeners. To understand the history of education, we must attend not only to schools and curricula but also to the art songs performed in domestic parlours—for it was there, as often as in the classroom, that the gendered subject was formed.

9. Notes

- ¹ Heinrich Heine, *Buch der Lieder* (1827); see Melinda Boyd, “(Re)claiming Space for Ingeborg von Bronsart's *Wildenbruch Lieder*, op. 16,” in *Women and the Nineteenth-Century Lied*, ed. Aisling Kenny and Susan Wollenberg (London: Routledge, 2016), 163–176.
- ² On *Bildung* as a historical concept, see Reinhard Koselleck, “On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of *Bildung*,” in *The Practice of Conceptual History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 170–207.
- ³ On the role of the Lied in the formation of the nineteenth-century subject, see Jennifer Ronyak, *Performing the Lied, Performing the Self: Singing Subjectivity in Germany, 1790–1832* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester, 2010), which analyses how Lied performances “fostered a surprising permeability between isolation and community, between expression rooted in self or other, and between private and public utterances.”
- ⁴ Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon-Evans, Terry Bond and Barbara Norden (Oxford: Berg, 1989), 5–40.
- ⁵ Wilfried Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung: Eine Kultur und Sozialgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Hofheim: Wolke, 1993; Chinese translation: 德国音乐教育史, trans. Jiang Hong, Shanghai: Shanghai Education Publishing House, 2019). Gruhn provides a comprehensive overview of how music education in Germany developed from a church-centred tradition to an aesthetic-cultural model oriented toward the *Bildung* of the subject.
- ⁶ Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 45–72.
- ⁷ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6–18.
- ⁸ Koselleck, “*Bildung*,” 170–75. For contemporary reflections on musical *Bildung*, see “Thoughts on Musical *Bildung* Today,” *mdw Magazin*, 30 April 2018, which notes that *Bildung* encompasses “development,” “creation” and “formation” and refers

- to “the stimulation of all a person’s faculties” toward selfdetermined individuality.
- ⁹ On the role of the Lied in salon and concert performances as a medium for the negotiation of subjectivity, see Ronyak, *Performing the Lied*, which emphasises how song performances “worked—and arguably still work—to underscore the mobile nature of individuals’ positions on the continuum of autonomy, intersubjectivity, and community.”
 - ¹⁰ Frevert, *Women in German History*, 25–38.
 - ¹¹ Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, especially chapters on nineteenthcentury school singing and the development of aesthetic education.
 - ¹² Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 7–19.
 - ¹³ The foundational work in German music education history is Georg Schünemann, *Geschichte der deutschen Schulmusik* (1931). Schünemann’s work marked the first systematic attempt to trace the history of school music education in Germany. Wilfried Gruhn’s *Geschichte der Musikerziehung* (1993) remains the most comprehensive recent survey.
 - ¹⁴ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover, 2012), 234–67.
 - ¹⁵ Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*, 238–45. Loesser coined the phrase “household altar” to describe the symbolic as well as musical function of the domestic piano in middleclass homes.
 - ¹⁶ Freia Hoffmann, ed., *Handbuch Konservatorien: Institutionelle Musikausbildung im deutschsprachigen Raum des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Lilienthal: Laaber, 2021). For a review, see “Educational Institutions for Music in the 19th Century,” *Schweizer Musikzeitung*, 27 June 2022.
 - ¹⁷ “Ausbildungsstätten für Musik im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Schweizer Musikzeitung*, 27 June 2022, discussing the gender restrictions documented in the *Handbuch Konservatorien*.
 - ¹⁸ Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially chapters 2–5, which categorise women’s musical practices as “affirming femininity,” “interrupting femininity” and “threatening femininity.”
 - ¹⁹ Eun Chong Kang, “Femme Fatale in Lieder: Songs of Lorelei by Clara Schumann, Franz Liszt, and Alexander Zemlinsky” (DMA diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2023), 22.
 - ²⁰ Green, *Music, Gender, Education*, 45–68.
 - ²¹ Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 72.
 - ²² Green, *Music, Gender, Education*, 28–32.
 - ²³ Susan Youens, *Hugo Wolf and His Mörike Songs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 89.
 - ²⁴ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 53–79.
 - ²⁵ Pierre Bourdieu and JeanClaude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London: Sage, 1990), originally published in French as *La Reproduction* (1970), remains the foundational text for understanding how education reproduces social structures.
 - ²⁶ R. Larry Todd, *The Unwelcome Guest Regaled: Franz Liszt and the Augmented Triad*, *19thCentury Music* 12, no. 2 (1988): 93–115.

- ²⁷ Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 178–202, documenting the emphasis on order and discipline in nineteenth-century German school singing.
- ²⁸ Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 89–91.
- ²⁹ On the influence of Pestalozzi on German music education, see Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung*, 120–45; and “德文中译本《德国音乐教育史》,” Sohu, 11 September 2020, discussing the impact of Pestalozzi’s educational psychology on nineteenth-century German singing education.
- ³⁰ Green, *Music, Gender, Education*, chapter 4, “Threatening femininity: women composing/ improvising.”
- ³¹ Green, *Music, Gender, Education*, 79–103, on “interruption” as a strategy of resistance within musical patriarchy.
- ³² Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York, Continuum, 1970, originally published in Portuguese as *Pedagogia do Oprimido*, 1968), on “problemposing” vs. “banking” models of education.
- ³³ Amy Jones, “Metamorphoses of the Muse: Rethinking Gender and Creativity in German Poetry From 1800–1850” (Doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2022), 78.
- ³⁴ For further development of the concept of “musical patriarchy,” see Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education*, chapter 1, “Introduction.”

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