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THREE NAMES, ONE CAREER: MARIE ANTOINETTE CRUX GILLBERG PETERSÉN AND TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FEMALE MUSICIANS

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Abstract
This study challenges the conventional portrayal of eighteenth-century female musicians as isolated figures by integrating qualitative biographical reconstruction with quantitative social network analysis (SNA). Focusing on four distinct networks centered in Vienna, London, Gustavian Sweden, and Paris, the research uncovers transnational connections among female professional musicians, patrons, and amateurs. These networks reveal their significant yet underrecognized influence on eighteenth-century musical culture.

The case study of Marie Antoinette Crux Gillberg Petersén—a previously fragmented biographical subject whose career bridged these musical centers under three separate names—illustrates both the reach of these networks and the archival fragmentation that has obscured them. Interactive network visualizations and prosopographical methods illuminate the structure of these female-driven connections, supporting a re-evaluation of women's role in the musical life of Enlightenment Europe.

Keywords
eighteenth-century music, female musicians, social network analysis, biographical reconstruction, gender studies, music historiography

Introduction

For decades, musicologists have shown that traditional music historiography has marginalized women, often relegating them to the

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periphery of a musical culture narrated primarily through male composers, institutions, and lineages. Foundational studies by Marcia J. Citron and Karin Pendle exposed the mechanisms by which women were excluded from the musical canon,[2] while later work by Melanie Unseld and others interrogated the musical biographical narratives that shaped historical memory itself. Recent scholarship on mobility, migration, and cultural circulation has further emphasized the relational dimensions of eighteenth-century musical life.[3]

Yet despite these historiographical advances, women continue to appear in many studies—implicitly or explicitly—as exceptional or isolated figures rather than as participants in interconnected professional communities. This article challenges that assumption by combining qualitative biographical reconstruction with the systematic framework of quantitative social network analysis (SNA). Rather than treating female musicians as marginal anomalies, it shows that they operated within dense, transnational networks linking performers, composers, patrons, teachers, publishers, and elite amateurs across Western Europe.

At the center of this study is the case of Marie Antoinette Crux Gillberg Petersén (1772–after 1822)—a woman documented in historical sources under three different names. Her career illustrates both the limitations of conventional, individualistic biographical approaches and the necessity of a network perspective. Ultimately, my research calls for a fundamental re-evaluation of eighteenth-century musical culture, recognizing the significant and previously underappreciated influence of female musical networks.

Crux Gillberg Petersén's career fits within broader theoretical discussions of movement and gender in early modern music history. Recent scholarship, particularly in *The Routledge Handbook of Music and Migration*, emphasizes mobility as a defining feature of musical life—not only for prominent male composers but also for lesser-documented performers. Mobility facilitated the circulation of styles, repertoires, and professional opportunities, while complicating the reconstruction of

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[2] Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 2000). Karin Pendle, ed. *Women & music: A History*, 2nd ed. (Indiana University Press, 2000).

[3] Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte: Wandlungen biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur und Musikhistoriographie* (Köln: Böhlau, 2014); Melanie Unseld and Christian von Zimmermann, eds., *Anekdote – Biographie – Kanon: Zur Geschichtsschreibung in den schönen Künsten* (Köln: Böhlau, 2013); Melanie Unseld and Fabian Kolb, eds., *Musikwissenschaft und Biographik: Narrative, Akteure, Medien* (Mainz: Schott Campus, 2019).

individual careers.[4] However, much of the existing literature on musical mobility has focused predominantly on male actors, leaving the experiences of female musicians comparatively underexplored. Studies such as *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe* highlight transnational movement as a structural feature of the profession, yet women often appear only marginally in these narratives.[5] This imbalance reflects not only historical realities but also historiographical traditions that have privileged institutional and compositional histories over performance-based careers.

1. Framing the Research: Challenging the Isolation Narrative

1.1. Central Question

Were eighteenth-century female musicians truly isolated, or did they cultivate networks that fostered professional interaction, artistic exchange, and social mobility? To address this question, I employed a dual-method approach that integrates qualitative biographical reconstruction with quantitative network analysis (SNA). This combination allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the structural and individual dimensions of these musicians' lives.

1.2. Qualitative Biographical Reconstruction

The qualitative component involved extensive archival research, yielding more than four hundred pages of prosopographical profiles. These profiles documented individual careers and uncovered patterns of interaction—such as how musicians encountered one another, collaborated, competed, or remained connected through shared environments and reputational awareness. However, purely narrative approaches have inherent limitations. While individual biographies reveal compelling stories, they often fail to expose the broader structures in which these women operated. To address this gap, I turned to social network analysis, using digital tools such as Gephi to visualize relationships and identify patterns obscured by textual sources alone. By selectively isolating female-to-female connections, the resulting visualizations highlight the strength, density, and geographical scope of these networks.

1.3. Dataset and Methodological Integration

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[4] Wolfgang Gratzer et al., eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Music and Migration: Theories and Methodologies* (New York: Routledge, 2023).

[5] Gesa Zur Nieden and Berthold Over, eds., *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges* (Transcript Publishing, 2016).

I compiled a dataset of fifty-five female musicians active between 1740 and 1800, reconstructing their biographies through extensive archival research, including correspondence, concert programs, pedagogical treatises, and contemporary periodicals. I built databases to track musicians' activities in major cities, capturing details such as dates, genres, and associations. To bridge the divide between individual narratives and abstract network analysis, this study uses a dual-method approach. Qualitative biographical analysis provides the rich contextual detail necessary to understand individual lives and identify potential connections. Quantitative social network mapping, visualized in Gephi, provides a systematic and rigorous framework for validating and analyzing patterns of interaction within these networks.[6]

This synthesis responds to calls from scholars such as Georgina Born, Andrew Gustar, and Ogul Köker to develop methodologies that bridge the qualitative-quantitative divide in women's music history. Born's work, particularly in *Music and Digital Media*, combines ethnographic qualitative methods with quantitative data analysis to explore global musical practices and offers a model for interdisciplinary studies of cultural production.[7] Gustar's mixed-methods approach, as seen in "A Matter of Perspective," uses statistical analysis to uncover trends in music history that qualitative methods alone might overlook, thereby enriching historical narratives.[8] Köker's research demonstrates the power of quantitative methods in historical musicology while emphasizing qualitative approaches to deepen contextual understanding.[9]

By synthesizing these perspectives, this study advances a robust framework for analyzing the networks of eighteenth-century female musicians.

1.4. Evaluating Heterogeneous Source Materials

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[6] Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Jacomy, "Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks," *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*, March 19, 2009.
(All links are provided in the Bibliography.)

[7] Georgina Born, ed., *Music and Digital Media: A Planetary Anthropology* (UCL Press, 2022).

[8] Andrew Gustar, "A Matter of Perspective: Taking a Distant View of Music History," *National Early Music Association Newsletter*, 8/2 (2024), 91–98.

[9] Ogul Köker, "Two Cultures, Historical Musicology, and Qualitative Research Methods," *International Music and Sciences Symposium Proceedings*, Istanbul, April 17–19, 2019.

A critical aspect of this study is evaluating and interpreting fragmented, uneven archival sources. Reconstructing the lives of eighteenth-century female musicians requires navigating materials that offer distinct yet incomplete evidence. Personal correspondence, such as the letters of Leopold Mozart, offers insight into contemporary perceptions, social networks, and direct interactions.[10] However, these sources are inherently subjective, shaped by personal bias, selective reporting, and situational context. While they illuminate relationships, they rarely provide comprehensive or continuous narratives.

Concert programs and newspaper reviews provide concrete evidence of performance activity, including dates, locations, and professional collaborations. Yet they remain limited in scope, often reducing performers—particularly women—to brief mentions without biographical context. Their value lies in factual reliability, but they require supplementation to reconstruct broader careers. Encyclopedic and lexicographical sources, such as those by Johann Friedrich Reichardt and later writers like François-Joseph Fétis, occupy an intermediate position.[11] While they aim to consolidate knowledge, they often perpetuate inaccuracies, introduce unverified claims, or reshape narratives to align with nineteenth-century historiographical priorities. As the case study below shows, conflicting names and attributions in these sources underscore the need for caution.

1.5. Systematic Cross-Referencing and Archival Silences

The methodological approach adopted here relies on systematic cross-referencing to align names, dates, locations, and professional activities across multiple source types. Only through this triangulation can tentative identifications—such as the unification of Marianne Crux, Mrs. Gillberg, and Fru Gillberg Petersén—be substantiated. This process also reveals the archive's structural silences, in which the absence of evidence reflects not historical reality but patterns of preservation shaped by gender and social hierarchy. By acknowledging these silences, this study highlights the need for critical archival engagement and a re-evaluation of the conditions that have obscured women's contributions to musical culture.

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[10] See *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg.* "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente." Online edition.

[11] Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalische Monathsschrift,* 1–2, edited by Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (Berlin: Berlinische Musikhandlung, 1793); François-Joseph Fétis, ed., *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*. 8 vols. (Bruxelles: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837).

2. Qualitative Approach: Reconstructing Lives and Identifying Potential Links

The biographical reconstruction was guided by four central questions: Did professional and amateur female musicians cultivate relationships that fostered mutual support and artistic collaboration? Did female composers engage with one another's work across geographic boundaries? Were these relationships defined by mentorship, competition, or both? Did female networks offer meaningful alternatives to male-mediated pathways to professional advancement? Although individual biographical narratives were diverse and multifaceted, preliminary patterns of interconnectedness began to emerge, revealing both localized clusters and surprisingly extensive transnational relationships. To explore and validate these nascent observations, I adopted a quantitative social network analysis approach.

Complementing this qualitative data, I developed a dedicated website featuring interactive timelines, geographic maps, and relationship charts. This platform allows users to explore individual life trajectories and identify potential connections visually. Nevertheless, while rich in detail, this qualitative data required the systematic rigor of quantitative methods to move beyond suggestive patterns and definitively map the structure and significance of these networks. The biographical profiles laid the groundwork for understanding the individual trajectories of these female musicians and for my doctoral dissertation, "Harmonizing Histories: Networking 18th-Century European Female Musicians."[12] Across these reconstructed lives, certain figures emerged as nodal points—not isolated stars but hubs within a vibrant web—serving as network centers and chapter headings:

2.1. Marianna Martines (1744–1812)

As a prominent Viennese composer, pianist, and singer, Martines's biography reveals close artistic collaborations with figures such as Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782) and Josef Haydn (1732–1809). She played a significant role as a mentor and supporter of other female musicians, bringing together singers, instrumentalists, and composers within the influential Viennese aristocracy. Her regular musical salons fostered these connections and helped sustain a female-centered artistic community.[13]

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[12] Susan M. Holman, "Harmonizing Histories: Networking 18th-Century Female Musicians" (PhD diss. Universität Paderborn, 2025).

[13] Irving Godt, *Marianna Martines: A Woman Composer in the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn*, ed. by John A. Rice (Eastman Studies in Music. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

2.2. Elisabeth Mara (1749–1833)

This celebrated operatic soprano's extensive and geographically diverse career spanned numerous European courts, from London to Berlin and beyond. Her professional engagements strongly suggest a far-reaching network of contacts and collaborations, highlighting the mobility and influence of female performers.[14]

2.3. The Swedish Court of Gustav III (1746–1792)

Sweden emerged as an unexpectedly vibrant center for female musicianship. Women there actively participated in formal court performances and burgeoning public concerts, reflecting a supportive environment that offered opportunities for female artistic expression through court concerts, opera performances, and teaching positions.[15]

2.4. Marie Antoinette (1755–1793)

Beyond her royal notoriety, Marie Antoinette was a significant patron of music. She pursued music personally—playing the harpsichord and singing—and championed more intimate performance settings. Her patronage elevated composers and expanded opportunities and visibility for female musicians in the Parisian and courtly musical spheres.[16]

While these initial qualitative assessments provided invaluable contextual understanding and highlighted potential connections, they lacked the systematic rigor needed to definitively map and analyze the structure of these networks or quantify their significance. This limitation underscored the critical need to integrate robust quantitative methodologies.

3. Quantitative Approach: Mapping Female-Driven Networks

To move beyond anecdotal evidence and rigorously examine the structural underpinnings of female musical networks in the eighteenth century, I employed Social Network Analysis (SNA) using Gephi software.[17] By first mapping all connections and then filtering out male

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[14] Mitgetheilt von O. von Riesemann, "Eine Selbstbiographie der Sangerin Gertrud Elisabeth Mara." *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 32–40 (August 11–October 6, 1875), 32: 497–501; 33: 513–17; 34: 529–35; 35: 545–50; 36: 561–65; 37: 577–82; 38: 593–97; 39: 609–13; 40: 629–633.

[15] Nils Edvard Personne, *Svenska teatern: några anteckningar*, 7 vols. (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1913–1927).

[16] Patrick Barbier, *Marie-Antoinette et la Musique* (Paris: Grasset, 2022).

[17] Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Jacomy, "Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks," *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media*, March 19, 2009.

ties, this approach isolated female-driven connections, revealing the extent, nature, and influence of women's musical networks. This quantitative methodology complements the qualitative biographical reconstructions, providing a systematic lens for challenging the traditional narrative of female musicians as isolated figures.

The central research questions guiding this quantitative analysis were: Do distinct networks of female musicians and patrons exist independently of male influence? What are the structural characteristics of these networks, including density, centralization, and key influential nodes? Are these networks primarily confined by geographical or geopolitical boundaries, or do they exhibit transnational characteristics? Can SNA distinguish between direct personal acquaintances and indirect influence stemming from reputation or shared professional spheres?

Using SNA on the curated biographical dataset, I identified three types of connections. Primary ties: direct mentorship and documented collaborations; Secondary ties: shared patronage and co-performance within the same urban center; Potential ties: contemporaneity within similar musical genres (e.g., opera, home music) and shared geographic locales (e.g., Vienna and Stockholm).

In Gephi, nodes represent individuals, and edges represent relationships. I assigned edge weights based on the strength of evidence—for example, documented correspondence or shared performance venues received higher weights, whereas geographical proximity or secondary connections received lower weights.

The following network metrics were calculated:

- Degree centrality: The number of connections per node, indicating the most socially active and potentially influential female figures.
- Network density: The ratio of actual to potential connections, indicating network cohesion.
- Betweenness centrality: Identification of nodes that connect disparate clusters.
- Modularity: Detection of community clusters within networks.

Gephi generated graphs for four key networks—Marianna Martines (Vienna and beyond), Elisabeth Mara (European courts), Gustavian Sweden, and Marie Antoinette (Versailles and Paris)—as well as an integrated graph combining all four. In these visualizations, node size reflects degree centrality, edge thickness indicates tie strength, and spatial proximity indicates relationship intensity.

While SNA provides a powerful framework for visualizing relationships, its interpretive limits must be carefully acknowledged. The network graphs do not represent objective or complete historical realities; rather, they reflect the surviving and selected data on which they are based.

One of SNA's principal strengths is its ability to reveal patterns that remain obscured in narrative form. Clusters, central nodes, and degrees of connectivity make visible the structural dimensions of relationships, especially across geographic distances. In this study, SNA shows that female musicians operated within overlapping spheres rather than in isolated contexts. However, these visualizations are inherently shaped by data availability. Well-documented figures—such as widely traveled professional musicians—appear disproportionately central, while amateur musicians or those documented only in private writings may appear peripheral or absent entirely. This creates a form of archival bias, translated into visual form, in which centrality may reflect documentation rather than historical importance.

Additionally, assigning weights to edges—from strong to potential connections—introduces interpretive subjectivity. Decisions about what constitutes a "primary" versus a "secondary" relationship depend on the researcher's evaluation of the sources and cannot always be definitively verified. Therefore, these graphs should be understood as analytical models open to revision, not as fixed representations.

Equally significant is what these networks cannot show. Emotional dynamics, artistic influence, informal encounters, and undocumented mentorships often remain invisible. A lack of visual connection does not necessarily indicate the absence of a relationship but rather the absence of surviving evidence. This limitation is especially relevant when examining female networks, where interactions were less likely to be formalized in institutional records. For these reasons, SNA in this study is not used as a standalone method but in conjunction with qualitative analysis. The visualizations serve as heuristic tools—guiding interpretation and raising new questions rather than providing definitive conclusions. This limitation is particularly evident in cases like the Parisian network, where connections are often mediated through shared environments rather than through explicitly documented interpersonal ties.

4. Network Visualizations and Analysis[18]

[18] By removing male actors from network maps, this study identifies the primary, secondary, and potential connections among female musicians, providing a clearer understanding of their relationships and influences.

Applying SNA metrics to the four key networks produced the following visualizations and insights:

4.1. Marianna Martines's Network

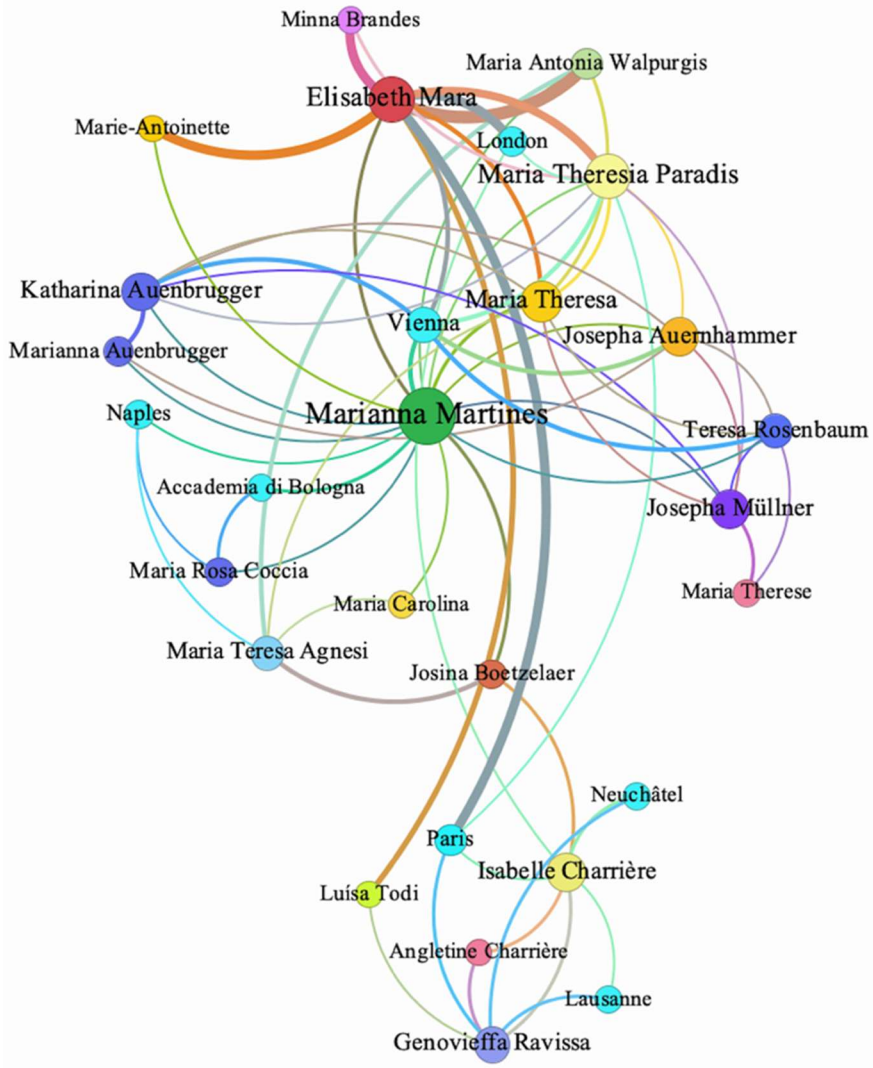


Figure 1. Marianna Martines and her female connections

Figure 1 presents a complex, multi-layered network connecting amateur and professional female musicians, composers, and patrons. Centered on Martines, the network extends beyond her immediate geographic and cultural context, suggesting a broader scope of influence for female musicians than might typically be expected in an amateur network. Martines's node, centrally positioned near Vienna, underscores her prominence within this circle. In the visualization, spatial proximity of nodes correlates with the strength of relational ties, often grounded in

kinship, documented interpersonal affiliations, or mentorship roles within Viennese social strata.

Secondary clusters connected to Martines include Maria Rosa Coccia (1759–1833) and Maria Teresa Agnesi (1720–1795), whose closer proximity reflects stronger ties mediated by figures such as Maria Carolina (1752–1814) and institutions such as the Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna. Martines's network reveals a community fostered by salons and aristocratic patronage. The relatively low network density, coupled with lower-weight edges—indicating weaker or potential connections—likely reflects the limited primary-source documentation of amateur musicians' interactions compared with that of their professional counterparts. These musicians engaged in less public activity and left fewer formal records.[19] Elisabeth Mara's position as an outlier in this network anticipates the contrasting structure examined in the next section, where mobility, rather than proximity, becomes the organizing principle.

This network analysis underscores the pivotal role of central figures, such as Martines, in sustaining these connections, while highlighting the importance of secondary figures and institutions in facilitating transnational ties across Europe. It challenges the prevailing notion that the impact of female musicians was limited to their immediate surroundings, revealing instead their considerable influence on a wider, interconnected European stage.

4.2. Elisabeth Mara's Network

In contrast, Elisabeth Mara's network is more expansive and densely interconnected. Spanning multiple European courts, it consists primarily of professional female musicians. Figure 2 shows three distinct clusters centered on London, Paris, and Weimar. These clusters are clearly delineated and range from strong personal and professional relationships to tenuous potential links and sporadic interactions. The presence of distinct clusters and higher-weight edges indicates strong, frequent interactions through professional collaborations and shared performance circuits. Node sizes scaled by degree centrality highlight influential figures in this network. The higher density compared with Martines's network reflects a denser web of professional relationships and more extensive documentation, including critical reception and correspondence.[20]

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[19] Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Women's Roles in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2010).

[20] John A. Rice, *Music in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012).

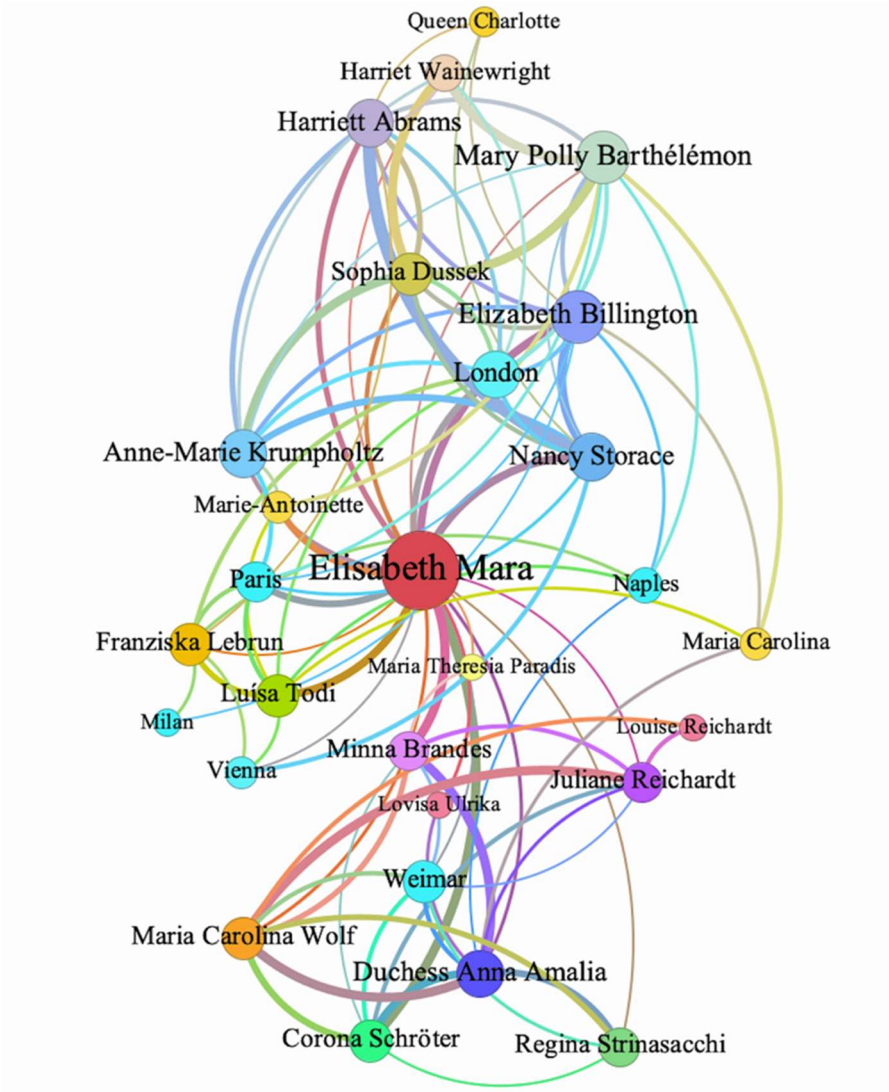


Figure 2. Elisabeth Mara and her female connections

This network is both local and transnational, transcending geopolitical boundaries. While many interactions occurred within specific cultural hubs such as Weimar or London, connections also extended broadly across Europe. For example, Mary Polly Barthélémon (1749–1799) and Elizabeth Billington (1765–1818) are linked to London, Paris, and Naples, with Billington also tied to Milan, as is Franziska LeBrun (1756–1791). Moreover, LeBrun is connected with Nancy Storace and Luísa Todi (1753–1833) in Vienna, Paris, and London. Though the Weimar cluster appears more isolated, the overall network spans Western Europe,

bridging Germanic and Austrian territories with Italy, France, and the United Kingdom. This widespread geographical distribution underscores the considerable travel undertaken by many of these women, highlighting a key distinction from the Martines network: professional female musicians were more mobile than their amateur counterparts.

4.3. Gustavian Swedish Network

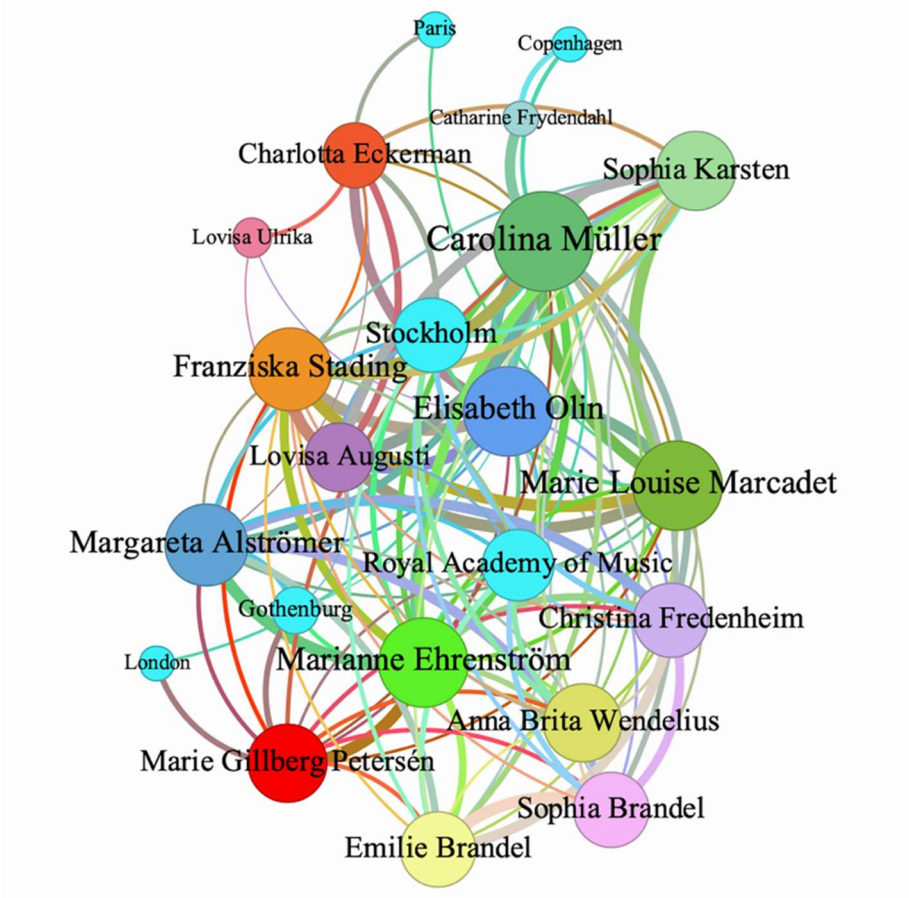


Figure 3. Gustavian Swedish female musical network

The network of female musicians in Gustavian Sweden (Figure 3) is distinguished by a unique, cohesive structure with prominent nodes, strong connections, and markedly high density. The significant autonomy of the female musicians within this network suggests that their professional and personal relationships were largely self-sustaining and less dependent on external influences.

The network's insularity implies that, although these women were interconnected and mutually influential within their immediate cultural context, their exposure to and engagement with foreign female musicians

was relatively limited. This contrasts with the more extensive transnational networks of Martines and Mara, in which connections spanned national borders and facilitated a richer exchange of ideas and influences. However, musicians such as Marie Gillberg Petersén, Franziska Stading (1753–1836), and Carolina Müller (1755–1826)—who maintained connections beyond Sweden—may have served as conduits for international influences, potentially introducing foreign elements into the Swedish musical landscape.

Centered on royal patronage in Stockholm and Gothenburg, this network supports the biographical information in the qualitative profiles, which indicate that amateurs performed alongside professionals. Unlike the other networks, the node sizes for amateur and professional musicians are roughly equal, suggesting a more integrated and comprehensively documented musical community. The limited spread of nodes to outlier urban centers indicates that, although geographical mobility existed, primary relational ties remained within Sweden's geopolitical boundaries. This contrasts with the transnational mobility evident in Mara's network and underscores the significant role of royal courts in cultivating and documenting female musical activity.[21]

4.4. The Marie Antoinette Anomaly and the Heuristic Value of Network Analysis

Like the Swedish network, Marie-Antoinette's network is characterized by a single cluster, though it is not circular. This network initially posed a methodological challenge: while biographical sources richly document her musical activities and patronage, a clearly defined network of directly connected female musicians did not immediately emerge from traditional qualitative inquiry. Although the network is geographically centered in Paris, this does not imply that female musicians in the area were interconnected. The only definitive primary network identified within this framework is Marie-Antoinette's immediate circle at Versailles. However, applying SNA shifted the analytical perspective: Paris itself emerged as a central intermediary node, rather than Marie-Antoinette (Figure 4). As a node with high betweenness centrality, Paris functioned as a hub that facilitated indirect connections and fostered a shared cultural environment for female musical activity, even without a single unifying individual.

This finding highlights the heuristic value of treating geographical proximity and shared cultural milieus as network-forming elements. Although this network lacks tightly clustered interpersonal connections—

[21] Leif Jonsson and Anna Ivarsdotter, *Musiken i Sverige*, 4 vols. (Stockholm: Fischer, 1993).

especially compared with the Mara or the Swedish networks—it still reflects a distinct mode of network formation. Here, shared urban space, institutional frameworks, and cultural milieus serve as connective tissue among actors whose interactions are not always directly documented.

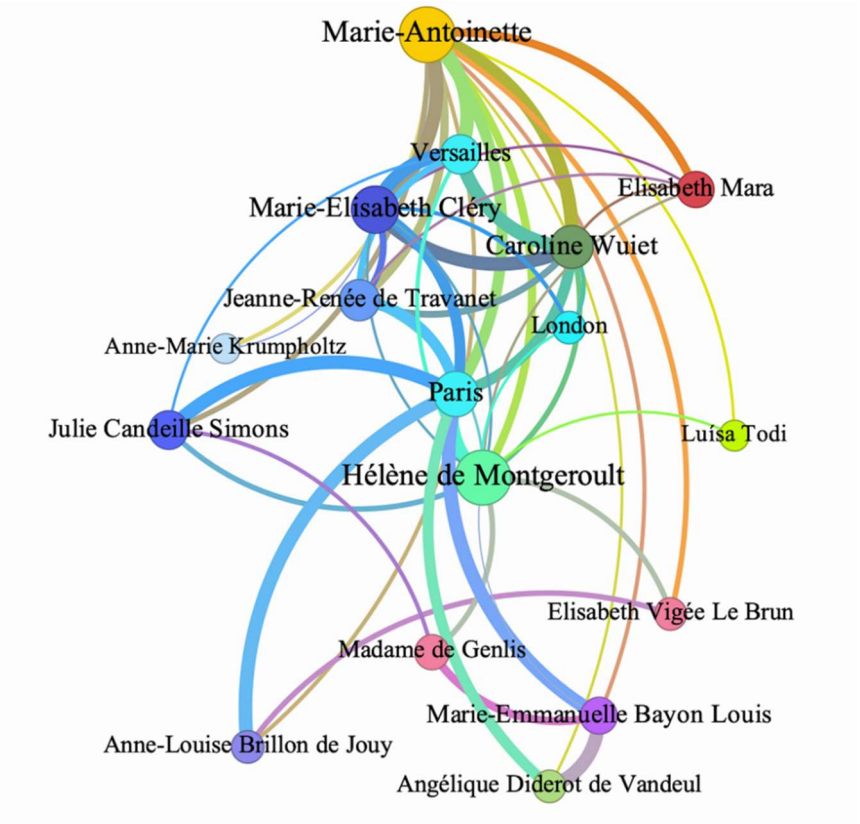


Figure 4. Marie Antoinette and her female connections

A closer examination of Marie Antoinette's network, focusing on Paris as the unifying factor rather than the Queen herself, revealed that Paris functioned as an independent cultural hub. Removing Paris as a connecting node (Figure 5) surprisingly left numerous connections intact, demonstrating that Marie Antoinette's influence extended beyond direct personal interactions. Notably, Sophie Gail's connection was lost without Paris, underscoring how geographical context shapes relationship networks.

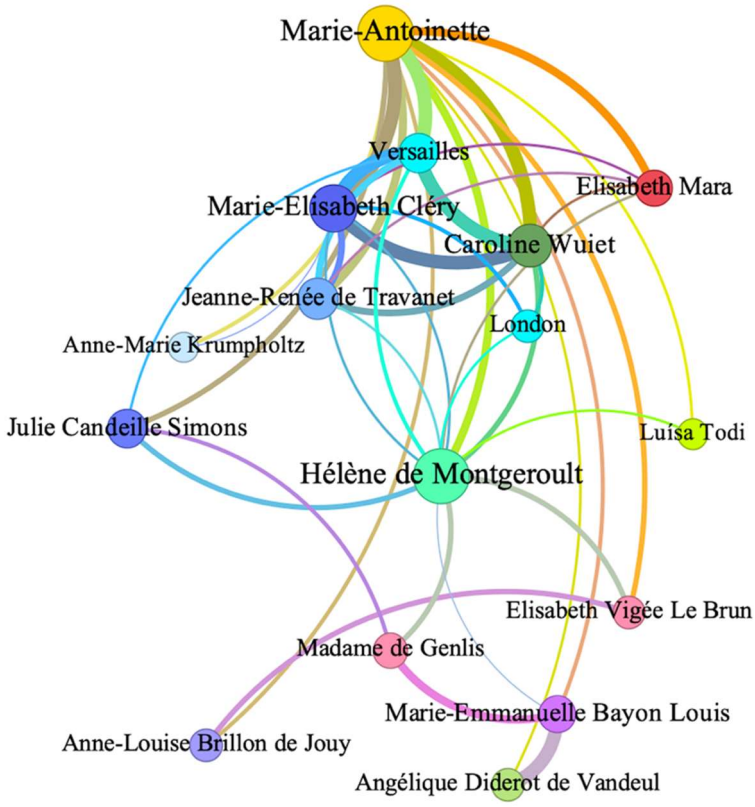


Figure 5. Marie Antoinette without Paris

4.5. Integrated Network Analysis

These network visualizations provide empirical evidence of female musical networks ranging from localized social structures and shared cultural milieus to expansive professional networks with international reach.

By integrating the four network analyses (Figure 6), a more holistic and interconnected view of the eighteenth-century European musical landscape emerges. The composite network reveals striking interconnectedness that is not apparent when each network is analyzed separately. Previously insular networks, such as those of Gustavian Sweden and Marie-Antoinette, show notable interconnectivity within this broader network. This combined graph illustrates the multifaceted ways female musicians were connected, underscoring the need to blend quantitative rigor with qualitative narratives to capture the complexity of eighteenth-century female musical networks. Together, these approaches reveal a dynamic, interconnected musical milieu that challenges

narratives of isolation and highlights women's significant roles in shaping the musical culture of Enlightenment Europe.

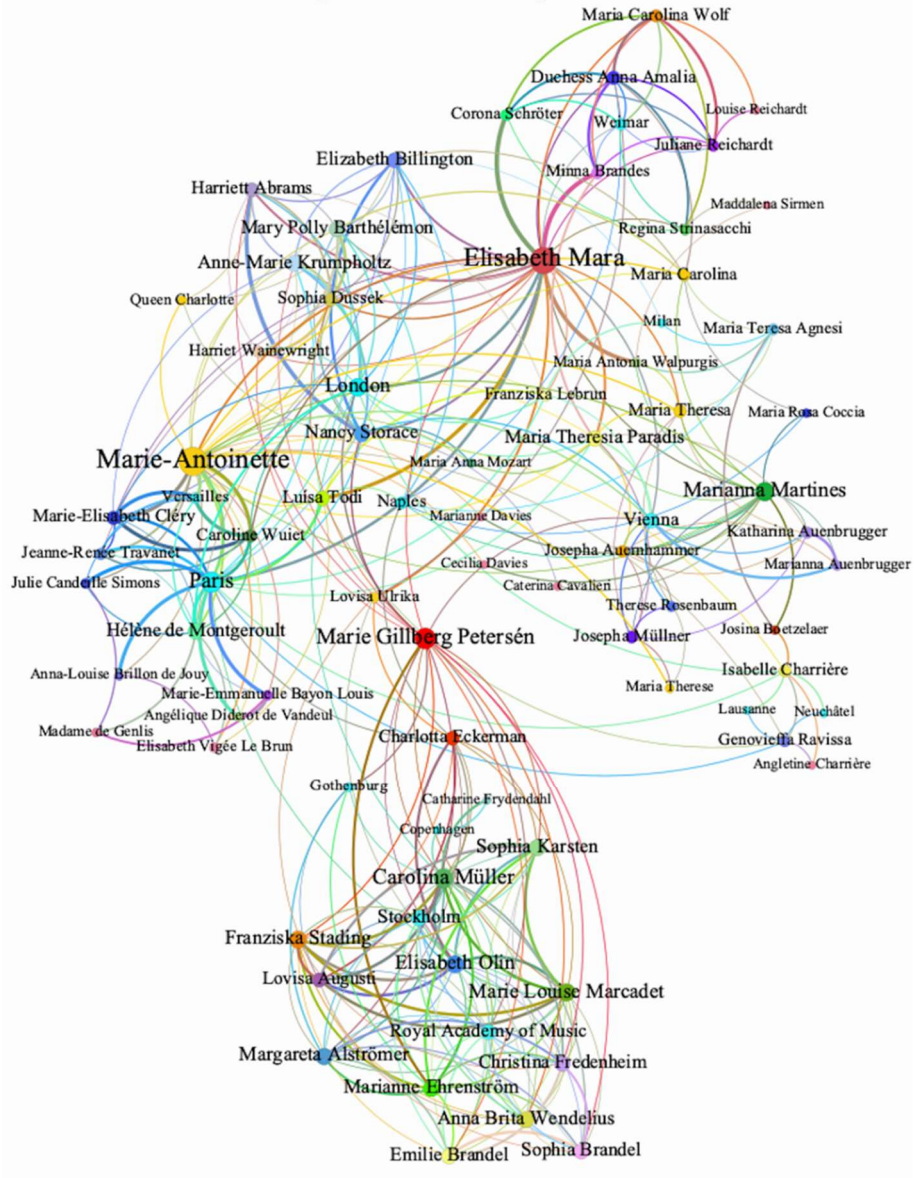


Figure 6. Integrated network graph (female connections only)

Although the composite network synthesizes all four, it too must be read as exploratory. Its structure highlights interconnections previously obscured, yet it remains a provisional visualization shaped by the available evidence. Future discoveries may alter its contours, underscoring the open-ended nature of this research. Moreover, the composite map should be understood not as a definitive cartographic truth but as a heuristic model that illuminates patterns otherwise difficult

to discern from textual evidence alone. Its value lies in revealing structural tendencies—points of convergence, unexpected intermediaries, and geographic pathways of interaction—rather than asserting fixed or exhaustive relationships. The network reflects only what the surviving sources allow us to reconstruct; absent data, fragmentary documentation, and uneven archival preservation inevitably shape the contours of the visualization. For this reason, the composite network must be interpreted as an evolving representation—one that invites refinement as new sources surface or future scholars pursue lines of inquiry beyond the scope of my present study.

4.6. Digital Companion

To extend the analysis beyond what static figures can convey, the accompanying digital project—"Harmonizing Histories: Tracing Musical Networks-An Exploratory Interface"—serves as an interactive companion to this article. This interface distills research from my extensive doctoral dissertation into an accessible, exploratory environment that foregrounds relationships, mobility, and spatial proximity.[22]

Organized thematically to reflect the article's structure, this digital platform presents each network both individually and cumulatively. Unlike static figures in print, the interactive visualizations can be expanded to full screen, allowing users to examine node relationships, edge weights, and network density in a level of detail unattainable in traditional journal reproduction. The interface traces each network's gradual expansion through sequential visualizations, making visible not only the density and clustering of relationships but also the processes by which connections emerge, intersect, and extend across geographic boundaries. Each musician's profile is directly accessible within the platform, enabling readers to move between the network visualization and the biographical details that underlie it without leaving the interface.

By presenting the profiles of fifty-five female musicians and connections relationally rather than narratively, this digital companion highlights the dense webs of proximity, influence, and circulation that structured women's musical activity. It reveals evolving female musicians as embedded participants in dynamic transnational networks rather than as isolated or marginal figures. Moreover, "Harmonizing Histories" shows how digital humanities methods—particularly SNA and spatial visualization—can reshape musicological historiography by making connective structures visible. As such, it serves as both a companion to

[22] Susan M. Holman, "Harmonizing Histories: Tracing Musical Networks—An Exploratory Interface," v. 2.0.

this article and a methodological model for network-oriented research in historical musicology.

5. The Crux Gillberg Petersén Discovery: A Linchpin in the Transnational Network

The interconnectedness of eighteenth-century European musical centers is most clearly illustrated by the case of Marie Antoinette Crux Gillberg Petersén—a musician who, until recently, has appeared in the historical record as three unrelated women. The Swedish amateur musician Marie Antoinette Petersén, the London violinist Mrs. Gillberg, and the Germanic touring virtuosa Marianne Crux are, in fact, the same person. Her career traced a remarkable arc from the courts of Munich and Vienna, through London's concert halls, to the musical salons of Gothenburg.

The present study offers the first systematic reconstruction of her career based on primary sources. It situates her within the transnational female musical networks of the period and demonstrates her function as a bridge between the Habsburg court, the London concert circuit, and the musical salons of Gustavian Sweden.

This tripartite identification was not made in a single archival moment but in reverse chronological order, using three independent lines of inquiry:

1. While researching Swedish female musicians, **Marie Antoinette Petersén** appeared in the membership records of the Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien, where she was inducted in 1801.
2. Separately, London concert records from the mid-1790s reveal a **Mrs. Gillberg**, listed in Simon McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800* as performing in four concerts between February and April 1795.
3. Finally, in 1786, Leopold Mozart's correspondence with his daughter Maria Anna mentions **Marianne Crux**, a young violinist from Munich.

The correlation of names, dates, linguistic background, and instrument across these sources made the identification compelling, with confirmation in the Hummel letters below.

5.1. Fru Gillberg Petersén in Sweden

The fullest account of Marie's life in Sweden comes from the correspondence of Arvid David Hummel (1778–1836), whose letters to the bibliographer Carl Christoffer Gjörwell Sr. provide an unusually candid portrait. In a letter dated April 4, 1801, Hummel describes a woman of formidable accomplishments:

> Mrs. Gillberg was born in Germany; I am not aware of in Mannheim. She speaks and writes French, German, Italian, English, and Swedish, the latter to unusual perfection. She plays the violin divinely and the pianoforte quite well. She does not have a beautiful voice, but she has the highest degree of musical knowledge and a lot of method.[23]

Hummel's letter also records Marie's marriage to the miniaturist Jacob Axel Gillberg (1769–1845), apparently in 1794 or early 1795—a date inferred from her first documented London appearance in February 1795, still under Gillberg's name. Gillberg abandoned her in Gothenburg after eighteen months, leaving Marie with an infant daughter and her aunt. She supported herself through performance—a fact that aligns precisely with her documented concert activity in London in the months before her arrival in Sweden:

> A few concerts here, a small pension [boarding house], and two trips to Copenhagen have enabled Mrs. Gillberg to do without her husband, from whom she hopes to be divorced by the King's grace. Mrs. Gillberg is completely incorruptible and spends time as a friend in the most distinguished houses here in the city."[24]

By September 1801, a second Hummel letter records her performing at a Masonic concert in Gothenburg under a different name entirely: "Mrs. M. Ant. Crux (formerly Mrs. Gillberg, but now, to her honor, legally separated from her husband) let herself be heard in several excellent pieces on the violin."[25] The reversion to her maiden name—Crux—is the

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[23] "Fru *Gillberg* är född i Tyskland, jag vet om icke i Mannheim. Hon talar och skrifver fransyska, tyska, italienska, engelska och svenska, detta senare till ovanlig perfection. Hon spelar gudomligt violin och ganska väl pianoforte. Hon har ej en skön röst, men hon eger musikens kännedom i högsta grad och mycken methode." Hummel to Gjörwell, April 4, 1801. (Quoted) Wilhelm Berg, *Anteckningar om Göteborgs äldre teatrar*, 2 vols. (Göteborg: Wald. Zachrissons, 1896, 1898), 2: 144, no. 2. (All quotations use diplomatic transcription with minimal or no editorial intervention).)

[24] "Hon ritar och eger all fruntimmerstalanger till fullkomlighet, äfven den att dansa. Kapitenen och porträttmålaren *Gillberg*, som är en bedragare och vautrien i alla ordets bemärkelser, lärer under sina utländska resor gift sig med denna förträffliga flicka, och lemnade henne här, efter 1½ års vistelse, med sin tant Några konserter här, en liten pensionsinrättning och tvenne resor till Köpenhamn ha satt fru Gillberg i stånd att umbära sin man, från hvilken hon genom konungens nåd hoppas blifva skild. Fru Gillberg är alldeles oförvitlig och umgås som vän i de förnämsta hus här i staden." Ibid.

[25] "På Frimurarekonserten, gifven efter detta tal, afsjöngs kantaten, och fru *M. Ant. Crux* (fordom fru Gillberg, men nu till hennes heder lagligen skild från sin man) lät höra sig uti åtskilliga, förträffliga stycken på violin. Af sångstyckena blef trio först sjungen af fruarne Crux, *Lamberg* och mäklare *S. F. Kindbergs* fru, född *Vigoreux*. Den första arian sjöngs sedan af fru Kindberg och arian till drottningen med recitatif af fru

pivotal link between her Swedish and Germanic identities. Shortly after this concert, she married the affluent merchant Johan Andreas Petersén (1771–1808), whose family owned the Lorensberg estate, and was inducted into the Royal Music Academy under the name **Marie Antoinette Petersén**.[26]

Her friendship with the memoirist Marianne Ehrenström adds further detail. Ehrenström recalls Petersén in terms that confirm both Petersén's London career and her extraordinary abilities:

> She [Petersén] was a virtuoso in the fullest sense of the word, and as a pupil of the celebrated Cramer, she played the violin to perfection and had made a name for herself in London, where she gave several concerts and won complete success. She also had a beautiful voice, which she used with expression and taste.[27]

Ehrenström's identification of Cramer as Petersén's teacher—presumably Johann Baptist Cramer, one of London's foremost pianists in the 1790s—adds a previously undocumented biographical detail that further strengthens the London connection.

5.2. Mrs. Gillberg in London

Marie's London career is reconstructed primarily from McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts* and H. C. Robbins Landon's *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, with additional support from contemporary press notices.[28] She performed in four concerts between February and April 1795, all during Joseph Haydn's second London visit and within the Salomon concert series.

Crux." Hummel letter to Gjörwell, September 19, 1801. (Quoted) Berg, *Anteckningar om Göteborgs äldre teatrar*, 2: 152.

[26] See Det Gamla Göteborg: Göteborgs historia. "Lorensberg;" and Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien, "Protokoll 1801: October 21, 1801," 377 [5]. Marie's husband, Johann, was inducted the same year. Gustaf Hilleström, "Lista över Musikaliska Akademiens ledamöter," taken from *Kungl. Musikaliska akademien. Matrikel 1771–1971* (Stockholm: Nordiska musikförlaget, 1971).

[27] "Hon var virtuos i detta ords hela utsträckning, och elev till den ryktbare Cramer spelade hon på ett fulländadt sätt viol och hade gjort sig ett namn i London, der hon gifvit flere konserter och vunnit en fullständig framgång. Hon hade äfvenledes en vacker röst, som hon använde med uttryck och smak." Arvid Wolfgang Nathanael Ahnfelt, "Ur Marianne Ehrenströms hågkomster," in *Ur svenska hofvets och aristokratiens lif* (Stockholm: O.L. Lamm, 1880), 121–184.

[28] Gillberg's London schedule can be found at Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800* (Database. Goldsmiths, University of London), [Gillberg—<Mrs>].

Her debut at the King's Theatre on February 23, 1795, drew two distinct reviews. The *Morning Chronicle* praised "a delicate, though rather feeble tone, a brilliant shake, and great neatness of execution," singling out her performance of an Adagio by Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755 –1824), which was played "in a chaste and charming style."[29] The *Sun* was even more enthusiastic, calling her "really a musical wonder" and noting "remarkable neatness and precision in her execution," adding that she played the *Double Stop* with considerable skill. Revealingly, the review describes her as "by birth a Swede," reflecting the archival confusion about her origins.[30]

She appeared again at Haydn's sixth Salomon concert, directed by Viotti, on April 13. Afterward, the *Morning Chronicle* notes that she had "secured" the audience's favor "by the delicacy of her performance."[31] Her third appearance, on April 20, was at the "New Musical Fund" concert at the King's Theatre—a charity benefit for retired musicians, widows, and orphans—where she shared the stage with Nancy Storace (1765–1817).[32]

Her fourth and final London appearance, on April 23, was a benefit concert in her own name at the New Rooms, with tickets available at "Mad. Gillberg's, 10 Duke-street, Portland Place."[33] The address places her in the Marylebone district, then a center of London's musical life.

The significance of the Storace connection extends beyond a single shared program. Storace's network intersected with many of the most prominent female musicians active in London during the 1790s, including Harriet Abrams (1758–1821), Sophia Corri Dussek (1775–1831), Anne-Marie Krumpholtz (1766–1823), Elisabeth Mara, and Harriet Wainewright.[34] Marie's appearance alongside Storace at a high-profile charity concert, in only her third London performance, suggests a level of professional standing that her brief London career might otherwise obscure. Ehrenström's retrospective judgment that Madame Gillberg

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[29] *Morning Chronicle*, February 24, 1795; quoted in Thomas B. Milligan, *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI Research Press, 1983), 139.

[30] *Sun*, February 24, 1795; quoted in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, 5 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 3: 293.

[31] *Morning Chronicle*, April 15, 1795; quoted in H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1955), 543–544.

[32] See McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800*, [Gillberg—<Mrs>], Storace – <Signora>Nancy [Anna]], #3742.

[33] *Morning Herald*, April 20, 1795; quoted in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 3: 304. It is worth noting that Duke Street in Portland Place in the Marylebone district (now known as Hallam Street), should not be confused with Duke Street, St. James's. See London Ancestor, "Map of Marylebone."

[34] See my cross-referencing database at Susan M. Holman, "18th-Century Musicians: London Performances."

"overshadowed the celebrated violinist Giarnowiki, who was in London at the same time," belongs to the realm of personal memoir, but press notices confirm that her reception was genuinely strong.[35]

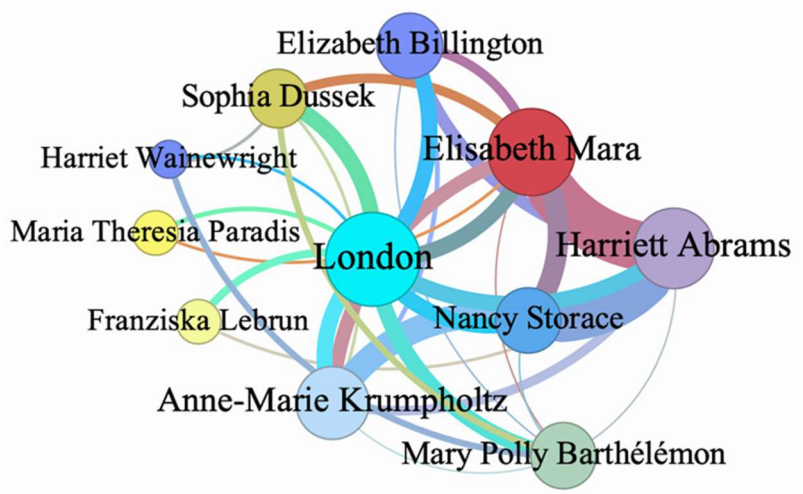


Figure 7. Mara's London network (Chapter 2) before the Gillberg Petersén discovery

Figure 7 shows the London network as it stood before the discovery—a dense cluster centered on London as the geographic node, with Elisabeth Mara and Harriet Abrams as the two largest individual nodes, and the others forming a tightly interconnected professional community.

Marie Gillberg Petersén is entirely absent—not peripheral, not marginal, but simply missing, because at that stage of the research, she had not yet emerged as a unified identity. Figure 8 shows what her discovery adds: a new red node entering the network from the lower right, primarily connected to Storace through documented concert performances from February to April 1795. The network does not merely grow—it gains a figure whose full career, once reconstructed, reaches back into the Habsburg court and forward into the salons of Gustavian Sweden, drawing connections that no single archive could have revealed.

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[35] "Il n'est pas possible de metre plus d'âme dans l'adagio, plus de vivacité et de précision dans l'allégro. C'était une réunion de talens et de grâces personnelles. Jamais l'archet n'a été conduit par un plus beau bras, et jamais l'art de la musique n'a été traité avec plus de modestie." Ehrenström, *Notices Sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suède*, [256] Section 2: 77. While Giarnowiki may have been a celebrity of his time, there is limited information available about him. One of the few references to him can be found in the autobiographical novel by Alexandre Dumas, *La femme au collier de velours*, nouvelle édition (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1873), 79.

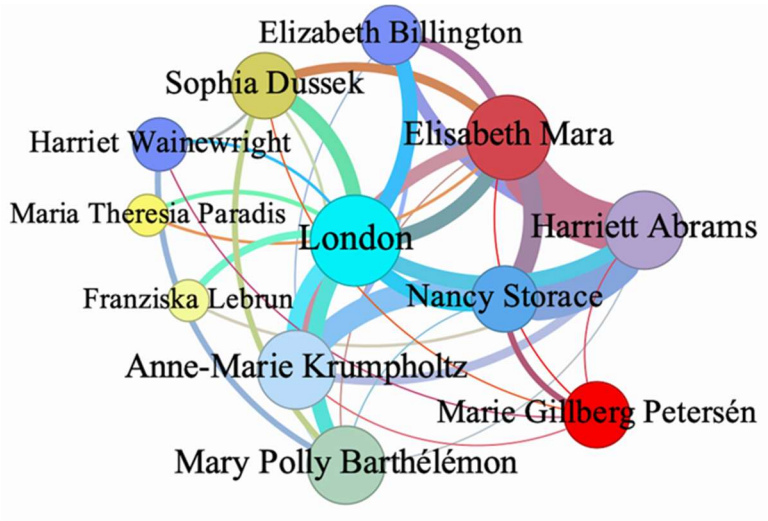


Figure 8. The London network after Gillberg Petersén's tripartite discovery

5.3. Demoiselle Crux in the Germanic Territories[36]

Marie, or Marianne, Crux came from a family of performers. Her father, Peter Antoine Crux (1750/1756–1823), was a ballet master; her mother, Johanna Antonia née Habert, was a ballerina who died when Marie was a toddler.[37] The family was based in Mannheim before relocating to Munich in 1778, when Elector Carl Theodor moved his court and appointed Peter the royal Bavarian ballet master.[38]

Marianne's education reflected both her father's progressive principles and the family's professional milieu. According to Felix Lipowsky's *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* (1811), she was raised "as a man in the morning and as a woman in the afternoon."[39] She studied singing with Dorothea Wendling (1731–1811), piano with a tutor identified only as Strizl, and the Mannheim violin technique with Kapellmeister Ignaz Fränzl (1736–1811).[40] She then continued her violin studies in Munich under

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[36] Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Demoiselle Crux," in *Musikalische Monathsschrift,* 1–2, ed. by Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (Berlin: Berlinische Musiklandlung, 1793), 14.

[37] Pia Mlakar and Pino Mlakar, *Unsterblicher Theatertanz: 300 Jahre Ballettgeschichte der Oper in München*, 2 vols. (Wilhelmshavien: Noetzel, Heinrichshofen-Bücher, 1996), 1: 123; and Karl Maria Pisarowitz, "Parerga zur Cruxiade," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 15, no. 3–4 (1967): 11–13.

[38] Carl Maria von Weber: Gesamtausgabe, "Crux, Peter Anton;" and Kurpfälzer Meile der Innovationen, "1743–1778 Die Mannheimer Schule."

[39] Felix Joseph Lipowsky, ed., *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon* (München: Giel, 1811), 61.

[40] Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie*, 3: 225

Johann Friedrich Eck (1767–1838), later performing his solo concertos at her first and last London concerts.[41]

Reichardt's account in the *Musikalische Monathsschrift* shows that her reputation as a violinist preceded her London debut by several years.

> One of the most interesting phenomena in the musical world is Dem. Crux from Munich. […] Her violin playing made her famous as early as the age of ten, and now, at seventeen, she has achieved a level of virtuosity that one would expect as little from her age as from her gender. As delicate and nobly feminine as her performance is in touching and pleasant pieces, as powerful, confident, and accomplished is her performance in lively movements. […] As a singer, Madem Crux promises to be one of the most interesting vocalists. She has a beautiful, bright-sounding voice of extraordinary flexibility, and she performs with a warmth, delicacy, and precision that does as much honor to her heart and taste as to her singing master.[42]

Reichardt notes that she traveled to Berlin with her father, a renowned ballet master and exceptional dancer, whom the King had invited to the court festivities. But she had already performed twice at court as a violinist and singer, earning the greatest acclaim.[43] During her concert tours, Marianne Crux visited various cities, including Frankfurt am Main, Mainz, and Mannheim, significantly expanding her network.[44]

The biographical connection to the Mozart family is documented in Leopold Mozart's correspondence. In August 1786, Leopold wrote to his daughter Maria Anna that Peter Crux was taking Marianne to Augsburg to

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[41] Ibid.; McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts* [Gillberg—<Mrs>] #s 3704, 3743.

[42] "Eine der interessantesten Erscheinungen in der musikalischen Welt ist die Dem. *Crux* aus München. […] Ihr Violinspiel hat sie schon von ihrem zehnten Jahre an berühmt gemacht, izt in ihrem siebzehnten Jahre hat sie es zu einer Virtuosität gebracht, die man eben so wenig von ihren Jahren als von ihrem Geschlechte zu erwarten pflegt. So ganz zart und edel weiblich ihr Vortrag in rührenden und angenehmen Stücken ist, so kräftig, sicher und vollendet ist ihr Vortrag, in lebhaften Sätzen. […] Von Seiten des Gesanges verspricht Madem. *Crux* eine der interessantesten Sängerinnen. Sie hat eine schöne helle klingende Stimme, von ungemeiner Biegsamkeit, und trägt mit einer Wärme, Feinheit und Genauigkeit vor, die ihrem Herzen und Geschmack eben so viel Ehre macht als ihrer Singemeisterinn." Reichardt, *Musikalische Monathsschrift*, 14.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Lipowsky, 61.

witness a manned balloon flight.[45] Three months later, in November 1786, Leopold wrote again: Marianne and her father were traveling to Vienna.[46] In January 1787, she journeyed to Prague with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and her maternal aunt, Elisabeth Barbara Quallenberg, and gave a concert on January 22 at the Palazzo Teatro of the Counts of Thun.[47] Later that year, she performed before Emperor Joseph II in Vienna, demonstrating her abilities on the violin, voice, and piano.[48]

The story of Marianne Crux in the Germanic territories ends at this point, as musicologist Volker Timmermann notes a lack of information about Marianne's life after 1807.[49] However, Ehrenström's *Notices* (published in 1826) record the end of Petersén's performing career with characteristic feeling: "It is with real sorrow that I learn that Mme Péterson has totally renounced her instrument and her lovely voice. What a sacrilege! What an irreparable loss!"[50] Although dates are omitted, her narrative implies that this decision was made contemporaneously.[51] Given the publication date, this retirement can be placed no later than 1826, with Petersén still alive.

5.4. Identifying Biographical Discrepancies

The trail becomes unreliable after 1792. Gustav Schilling's lexicon alleges that Marianne continued performing after marrying a "Mr. Hollmann" in 1794, achieving success as "Madame Hollmann" in various Germanic cities before a nobleman from Holstein took her to his estates, after which she

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[45] Leopold Mozart to Maria Anna Mozart, August 25, 1786, "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 981. The letter also notes that Fränzl had charged 1,600 florins for her violin lessons—a figure reflecting her father's investment in her career.

[46] Leopold to Maria Anna, November 9, 1786, "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 999.

[47] Volker Timmermann, "Crux, Marianne," *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Freia Hoffmann, 2007. Elisabeth Barbara née Harbert was the wife of the virtuoso clarinetist Johann Michael Qualenberg (1726–1786), a member of the Electoral Palatine court orchestra (see Wolfgang Mozart's letter to Gottfried von Jacquin, January, 15, 1787), 2, no. 24, "Mozart Briefe und Dokumente," No. 1022; and Lipowsky, *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon*, 261.

[48] Fétis, 3: 225.

[49] Volker Timmermann, "Crux, Marianne," *Lexikon Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*.

[50] "C'est avec un véritable chagrin que j'apprends que Mme *Péterson* a totalement renoncé à son instrument et à sa jolie voix. Quel sacrilège! Quelle perte irréparable!" Marianne Ehrenström, "Theatre et Musique," in *Notices Sur la littérature et les beaux-arts en Suède* (Stockholm: Ecksteinska Boktryckeriet, 1826), [256] Section 2: 77.

[51] Ehrenström, [256] Section 2: 77.

abandoned music entirely.[52] Eduard Bernsdorf repeats this account and adds a return to Hamburg in 1807.[53] However, no primary sources verify any of these claims—no concert notices, correspondence, or independent documentation of a "Marianne Hollmann" exists. This narrative is almost certainly an erroneous parallel biography, a phantom figure created by the same archival fragmentation that originally separated Crux, Gillberg, and Petersén in the first place.

Felix Lipowsky and François-Joseph Fétis, writing independently, both refer to a husband named "Gilbert" or "Gelbert"—corruptions of "Gillberg"—confirming they were describing the same marriage.[54] By contrast, the Hollmann narrative appears to be a mistaken overlay: a third woman conflated with the second identity of a woman already conflated with a first.

5.5. Network Implications

The transformation of Petersén's position in the composite network map illustrates the analytical significance of the discovery with unusual clarity. Before her London and Germanic identities were identified, her node in the Swedish network was modest—anchored in Gothenburg and Marianne Ehrenström. Evidence of her presence in Swedish primary sources amounts to three mentions (Figure 9).

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[52] Gustav Schilling, et al., eds., *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* (Stuttgart: Löflundt, 1835), 3: 616.

[53] Eduard Bernsdorf, ed., *Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, 3 vols. (Dresden: Schäfer, 1856), 1: 637.

[54] Lipowsky, 61 (Gilbert); Fétis, 3: 225 (Gelbert).

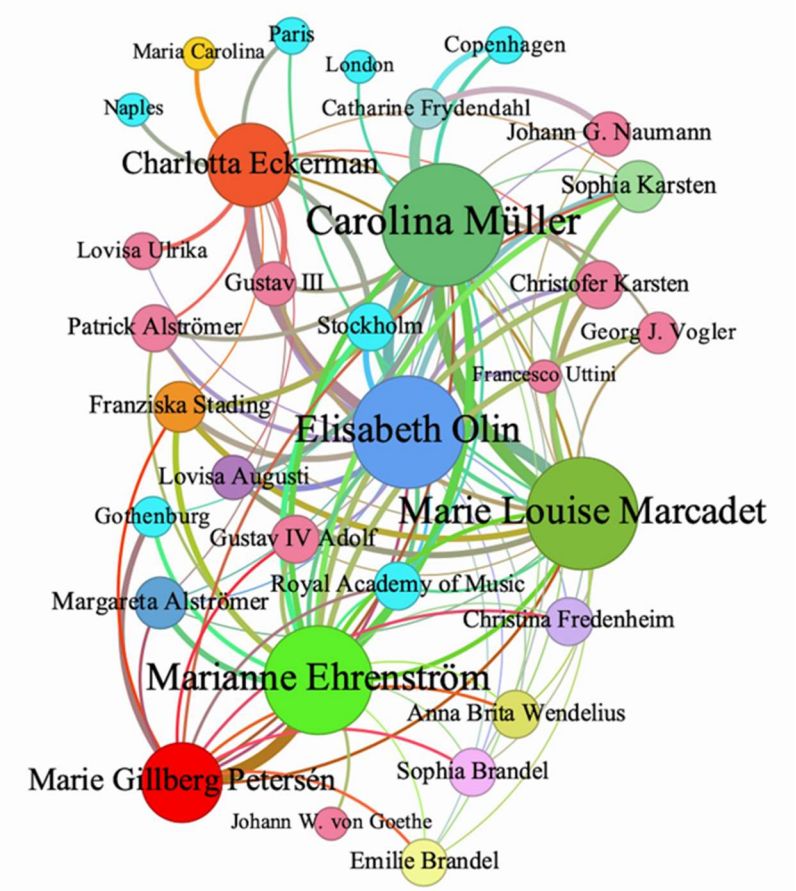


Figure 9. The Swedish network before the Gillberg Petersén discovery

Marie's profile, however, highlights her connections in Sweden, London, and various Germanic cities. The updated map illustrates the dramatic expansion of her network, informed by this newfound information. After integrating the full tripartite identity, her node surpasses that of her peers in size, and her links to the wider world expand the network exponentially (Figure 10). This extended network opens up a plethora of possibilities for relationship research.

The visualization accentuates the interconnectedness of the European musical milieu in the late eighteenth century and underscores the importance of comprehensive research in uncovering obscured dimensions of historical figures' lives

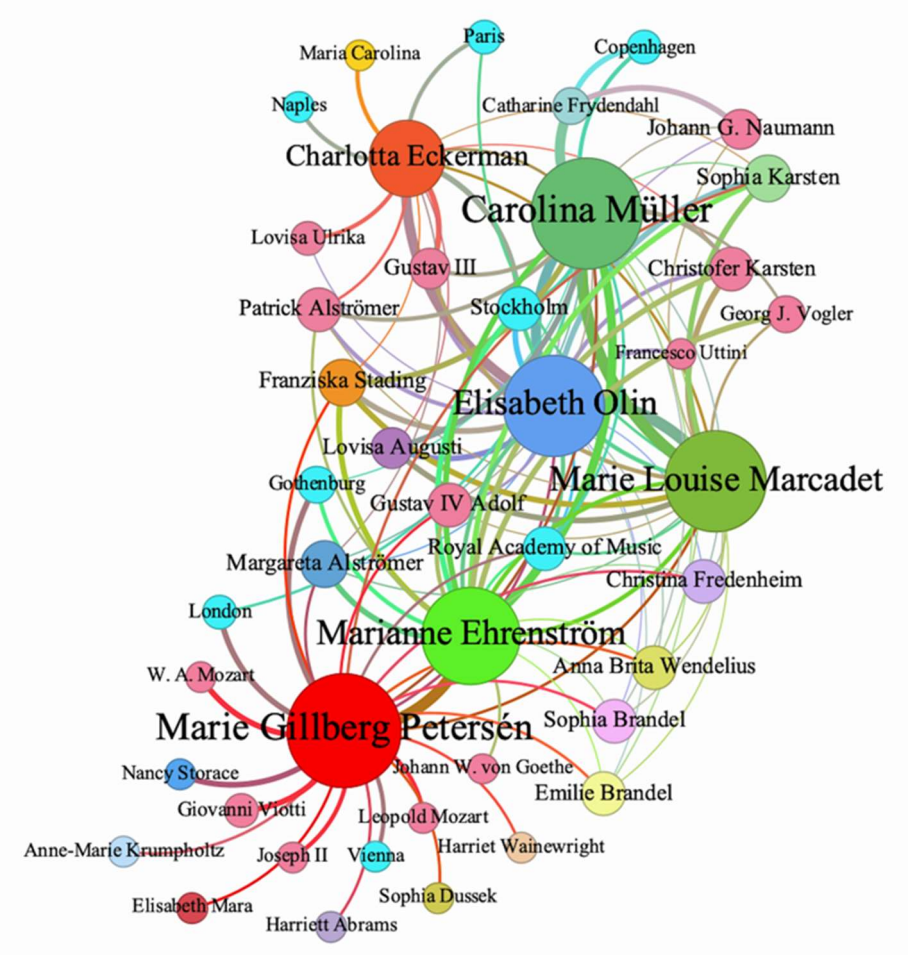


Figure 10. The Swedish network after the Gillberg Petersén discovery

Gillberg Petersén's betweenness centrality—her role as a bridge between otherwise disconnected clusters—ranks among the highest in the combined network (Figure 11). She connects the Viennese orbit of the Mozarts and the Habsburg court to the London professional network of Haydn, Storace, and Viotti, and links that network to the amateur musical world of Gustavian Sweden. No other figure in the dataset simultaneously fulfills all three functions.

This repositioning is not merely a visual effect. It reflects a methodological argument: nationally bounded archival research systematically undercounts the influence and reach of mobile women because their careers are documented across multiple national archives, indexed under different names, and cataloged—when cataloged at all—without cross-referencing. The case of Petersén does not demonstrate her exceptionality; rather, it reveals that the archive has been asked the wrong questions. How many other women in this dataset remain similarly

fragmented, their multiple identities scattered across separate filing systems, waiting to be read as one?

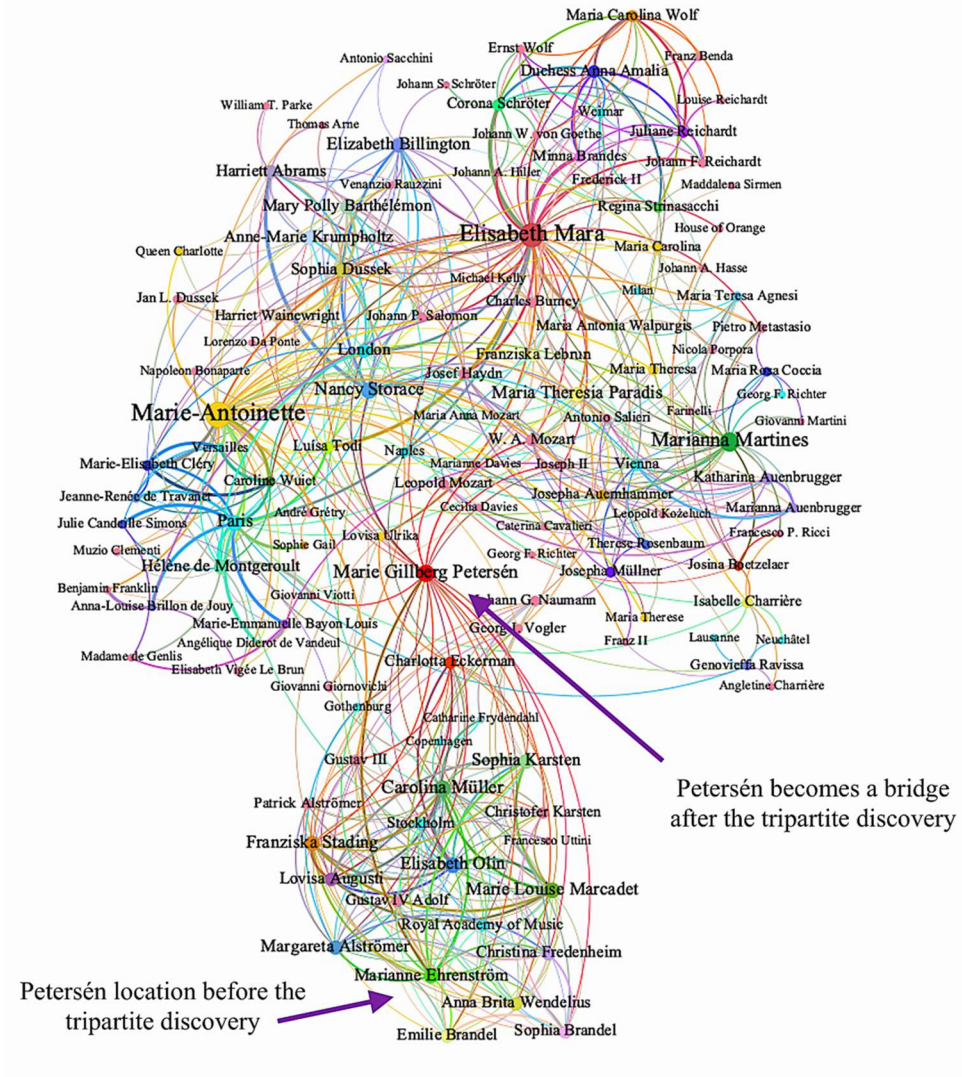


Figure 11. Gillberg Petersén as the bridge linking all four networks

5.6. Implications for Musicological Method

The findings of this study carry implications that extend beyond the recovery of a single career.

The most immediate issue is methodological. Integrating prosopographical biography with social network analysis does not simply add a new tool to an existing toolkit—it changes what questions can be asked. Nationally bounded archival research, organized around individual biography and single-language sources, is structurally ill-equipped to recover women

whose careers crossed borders under different names. The Petersén case does not demonstrate her exceptionality. It shows that the archive rewards the researcher who approaches it relationally rather than individually, and that the isolation narrative—the persistent assumption that female musicians were peripheral, disconnected, exceptional—is in part an artifact of method rather than of history.

The second implication concerns agency. Crux Gillberg Petersén did not drift between musical centers; she navigated them deliberately, building a career through mobility, performance, and strategic reinvention in each new context. Her example, set alongside those of Mara, Martines, and the women of Gustavian Sweden, suggests that female musicians across this period were active shapers of their professional worlds rather than passive recipients of male patronage or institutional permission. The networks they formed—through teaching, performance, correspondence, and shared repertoire—were neither accidental nor marginal. They were structural.

The third implication is archival. If one researcher, following three independent lines of inquiry, can recover a tripartite identity that has remained fragmented for two centuries, the question is not whether other such cases exist but how many. The answer will not come from any single national archive or biographical tradition. It will require the kind of cross-referencing—of names, dates, instruments, languages, and locations—that this study has attempted to model. Shared digital databases, collaborative prosopographical projects, and network-oriented methodologies are not peripheral to this work. They are the condition of its possibility.

Summary

This study demonstrates that eighteenth-century female musicians were not peripheral figures in European musical life but active participants in dynamic networks characterized by mutual support, professional collaboration, and transnational reach. The four networks examined—centered on Marianna Martines in Vienna and beyond, on Elisabeth Mara's European touring career, on the royal patronage structures of Gustavian Sweden, and on the musical world surrounding Marie-Antoinette—differ substantially in structure, density, and geographical scope. Yet they share a common feature: women at their centers made deliberate choices to build and sustain professional lives despite the constraints they faced.

The recovery of Marie Antoinette Crux Gillberg Petersén's tripartite identity offers a concentrated illustration of both the networks themselves and the archival conditions that have obscured them. Her career connected the Habsburg court, the London concert circuit, and the amateur salons of Sweden—three worlds that traditional musicological methods, organized around national archives and individual biography, lacked the means to connect. The prosopographical and network analysis

approach developed here provides that mechanism, and the Petersén case suggests it will yield further recoveries.

As the Petersén case demonstrates, mobility can both enable professional opportunity and fragment biographical identity—scattering a single career across national archives, multiple names, and separate historiographical traditions until the woman herself disappears. Her case underscores the need to combine biographical reconstruction with relational methodologies to capture the full scope of women's participation in eighteenth-century musical life. These insights resonate with recent theoretical approaches to mobility, gender, and musical networks.

Several limitations warrant acknowledgment. The dataset of fifty-five musicians, while carefully selected, is not comprehensive; the networks reconstructed here are inevitably shaped by the survival of sources, which systematically favor professional over amateur musicians, published over manuscript activity, and urban over provincial life. The weighting of edges in the Gephi visualizations involves interpretive judgments that are open to debate. Moreover, although geographically diverse, the four networks examined remain weighted toward Western Europe; the musical worlds of Eastern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, and the broader Atlantic remain largely outside the frame.

Future research might profitably extend the network analysis approach to other artistic fields—literature, visual arts, theater—where similar patterns of female collaboration and mutual support may await recovery. Developing shared digital databases for eighteenth-century women's musical activity would substantially accelerate this work. Most immediately, the Petersén identification invites further archival investigation: the Germanic sources remain fragmentary, the London period brief, and the Swedish years incompletely documented. There is more to find.

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