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Gender Issues in the Compositions of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel: Selected Choral and Organ Works

by

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combined both masculine and feminine characteristics. Despite the restrictions imposed on her freedom to create and perform, Fanny Hensel's achievements were remarkable in her time and are now being justly recognized through publication and recordings.

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Introduction

This essay discusses the gender issues in the choral and organ works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847) via a consideration of the similarities and differences of her style in relation to contemporary works by her brother, Felix Mendelssohn. In so doing, an attempt will be made to determine whether Fanny's musical output differs from that of her brother in ways which would reflect the gender-specific expectations of the era.

Several scholars, such as Kamen, Reich, Citron and Tillard, have noted and lamented the restrictions imposed on Fanny's ability to publish her work, because of the opposition she faced from the men in her own family and society's expectations.[1] However, there has been little consideration of the impact these attitudes had on her compositional style: did Fanny, in fact, write in the accepted feminine manner, as a woman should? A survey of representative works and of her Sunday Musicales *(Sonntagsmusik)* will illuminate Fanny's identity as a woman composer, conductor and performer in nineteenth-century Germany, in the context of a literary and musical family

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[1] Gloria Kamen, *Hidden Music: The Life of Fanny Mendelssohn* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996). Nancy Reich, "Women as musicians: A question of class", in *Musicology and Difference*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 125-146. Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Marcia J. Citron, ed. *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987). Francoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn* (Oregon: Amadeus Press , 1992).

in which masculine expectations nevertheless did not promote female excellence at a professional level.

An understanding of the unusually close brother and sister relationship will be vital to this exploration. The Mendelssohn siblings were a powerful musical team: Felix looked to Fanny to critique and edit his music, while she relied upon his approval and acceptance of her musical works. There was mutual admiration as well as an interdependence. The audiences (gatherings of friends and colleagues) for whom these two brilliant siblings composed their part songs, were similar. However, their larger works were written for different audiences: while Fanny composed her music exclusively for private performances in her home, Felix composed, and was commissioned to write, for large public audiences. If there are noticeable differences between their composing styles, could they be considered in part a reflection of contemporary musical/social trends?

The musical lives of Fanny Hensel and her brother, Felix Mendelssohn, were so intertwined that it is intriguing to examine their musical styles; if they differ, are the contrasts due to differing gender expectations? If they are similar, is it because of their intensely close relationship and similar education, their frequent musical collaboration, or Fanny's strength of character, which gave her the ability to surmount the obstacles she faced as a woman?

General trends in European music near the beginning of the nineteenth century are outlined in *The Early Romantic Era*, edited by Alexander Ringer; in this volume several authors contributed detailed information on the musical worlds of Europe. *Nineteenth-Century Music* by Carl Dalhaus is another informative source with in-depth material on

nineteenth-century musical culture and Romanticism.[2] The scholarly investigations of Susan McClary and Matthew Head have offered much illumination of the connections between gender roles and musical composition and performance; in particular, Head's study of music for the "fair sex" in late eighteenth-century Germany provides valuable insight concerning the sociological climate into which Fanny Mendelssohn was born.[3] Consideration must be given to the varying ideas of scholars concerning the Mendelssohn family's life and times, and their biases in examining Fanny's character, talent and achievements. Enthusiastic feminist scholars such as those aforementioned may have exaggerated the impact of familial repression on Fanny's life and work because they are writing from the perspective and altered awareness of the twentieth century. Citron's translations of a selection of Fanny's letters is invaluable to this study, but it must be borne in mind that a sifting process has been at work.[4] Sebastian Hensel's massive biography of the Mendelssohn family is informative, but again must be approached with the suspicion that his recollections may have been slanted in order to maintain socially-acceptable images, in terms of society's standards at that time, of two unusual family members.[5] More recent criticism by researchers such as Marian Kimber, Susan

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[2] Carl Daulhaus, *Nineteeth-Century Music* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989). Alexander Ringer, ed., *Music and Society: The Early Romantic Era*, (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990).

[3] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991). Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 52 ,no.2 (Summer 1999): 203-254.

[4] Marcia Citron, ed., *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn.* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987).

[5] Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family.* Vol. 1 and 2. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1969. First published 1882.

Schwaneflugel and Victoria Sirota has moved away from political considerations toward focus on a realistic assessment of Fanny's actual achievements.[6]

Of the nearly five hundred works by Fanny, which include Lieder, piano works, string quartets, organ and choral works, this essay will explore two of Fanny's part songs from her *Gartenlieder*, opus 3: *O Herbst* and *Im Wald.* These works will be contrasted and compared to songs using similar texts, set by her brother, Felix: *Ruhetal* and *Frühzeitiger Frühling.* Representative organ works composed by Fanny and Felix will be discussed, including the wedding music Fanny wrote in haste for herself; the Prelude in F major and Prelude in G major. Also examined will be Felix Mendelssohn's Sonata, Opus 65, no.3, in A major which was intended for his sister's wedding but arrived too late; the first movement of the Sonata no. 3 is thought to be part of his original version of her wedding processional, which in its original form has been lost.

The annotated bibliography located in Appendix I may serve as resource for conductors interested in exploring and performing the choral works of Fanny Hensel. The scores the author examined are Furore Editions and Carus-Verlag from Germany. Hildegard Publishing in Pennsylvania also distributes Hensel's works under the Furore-Verlag label. Hildegard's edition of the part songs are organized into four volumes based on poetic sources; each volume begins with translations of the songs. The organ scores are published by Vivace Press in Washington.

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[6] Marian Wilson Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography," *19th-Century Music* XXVI, no.2 (2002): 113-129. Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance: Women's Musico-Literary Masquerade in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany" (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997). Victoria Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel" (DMA Diss., Boston University School for the Arts, 1996).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve in great detail into the vast amount of gender studies material now available; however, assumptions about appropriate feminine versus masculine styles of writing and performing in nineteenth-century Germany will be addressed when comparing and contrasting the works of the Mendelssohn siblings. There were at the time well-defined styles deemed to be masculine or feminine, involving, for example, form, length of the work, and complexity of harmony. It will be useful to consider these matters against the background of the society and family in which the underrated Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel flourished for so sadly short a time.

Chapter 1
Historical Background

Music in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany

To achieve a broader understanding of Fanny Hensel's music and the difficulties she faced in advancing her career as a composer, one must investigate what was happening culturally at the time.

European musical trends in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries included the expansion of opera, the growing popularity of instrumental music (symphonic as well as chamber music), the development of the music publishing business, the rise of public concerts which were fashionable with the bourgeoisie, and the beginning of private salons.

Not all of these trends were manifested alike in every European city. Paris, for example, had a tradition of opera and symphonic music, and chamber music flourished as well. The capital of the Austrian Empire, Vienna, attracted visiting musicians from all around Europe; traditional Italian opera was admired in Vienna and there were also symphonic concerts as well as solo, vocal and instrumental performances. In the early part of the nineteenth century Italy was immersed in opera; comic opera, *opera seria*, *opera semiseria*, and *bel canto* opera were performed in every city. Vocal music continued to be important in the church. Many Germans, Felix and Fanny among them, were attracted to Italy as a source of inspiration.

In Leipzig the middle classes were prominent figures in the city's cultural and musical activities. Unlike Dresden, which was steeped in opera, Leipzig was primarily concert-oriented. The Stadttheater became a production site for important new operatic works, while the concert tradition continued in the Gewandhaus, a concert hall which had opened in 1781. Vocal and instrumental music was performed there. Felix Mendelssohn became director of the Gewandhaus in 1835, and so was at the center of Leipzig's musical world. In addition to his many accomplishments as a director and composer, he also helped to found the Leipzig Conservatory in 1843.

In contrast to musical centers of Paris, Rome and Vienna, Berlin was unique in that opera was not the main focus. The city was hospitable to amateur musicians and choral music, and its salon tradition provided opportunities for talented women such as Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel. In mid to late eighteenth-century Berlin, as in other European cities, amateur musicians met at private homes or sometimes public buildings to perform. Large-scale concerts in the city were few at the end of the eighteenth century, due not to lack of capable musicians, but to the expense of hiring them.

As focus changed from court to city, at the beginning of the nineteenth century Berlin began to offer a range of public performances that appealed to the emerging middle class. The Prussian army, with its many official and state workers, had headquarters in Berlin. Due to this influx of population, upper middle-class people became wealthy from catering to the state's needs. Berlin became a manufacturing and educational center, and thus a magnet for both laborers and intellectuals. Between 1800 and 1850 the city gained 150,000 new inhabitants. As the population grew, so did demands for musical entertainment. In response to this demand, theater companies

expanded. The Royal City Theater and Orchestra opened in 1824 to perform opera; much of it was Italian, although some German works were also premiered. Another opera house, the Residenz Theater, opened its doors in the early part of the century and also featured Italian opera.

Increasingly the bourgeoisie of Berlin became providers of musical entertainment that would formerly have taken place at the court. These performances, often in private homes, were not only a form of musical entertainment but also introduced the artist to a world of appreciative, influential music lovers. A young musician such as Fanny Hensel could become well known as a performer at and organizer such of concerts.

Berlin was also a leading city in the development of choral singing. Carl Friedrich Fasch (1736-1800) founded the Berlin Singakademie in 1791 and it spurred the formation of similar singing societies in many other German cities. Revolutionary in some aspects, the Berlin Singakademie introduced the first performances by a choir of adult male and female voices, a development indicative of the growing influence of women in the cultural life of the city, and reflecting also a new social awareness, connecting choral work with collective action on a nation-building level. "What could be finer than love of one's neighbour, expressed through so many mingled breaths?"[1] The choir also rehearsed and performed *a cappella*, which was astonishing for the time.

By 1793 Fasch's Singakademie, formed for the promotion of choral music and especially older sacred works, became part of the Akademie der Künste. Fasch's interest in the music of J.S. Bach later led to revivals of the *St. Matthew Passion* (conducted by

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[1] Francoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn* (Oregon: Amadeus Press , 1992), 61.

Felix Mendelssohn in 1829) and the *St. John Passion*. Upon Fasch's death in 1800, his role was assumed by a founding member, Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832), who carried on this enthusiasm for both Bach and the social role of music. Zelter persisted in appeals to the government to take charge of musical education, stressing its moral benefits as well as artistic necessity. He eventually succeeded: the first state-sponsored school for singers, the Ordentliche Singschule, was formed in 1804, Zelter was appointed professor of music at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts, and under his direction several new music institutes were opened. Fanny and Felix both studied composition and theory with Zelter, who also accepted them into the Singakademie in 1820, an honour at their tender ages. Zelter offered them instruction in the tradition of Bach, Kirnberger, and Fasch, an influence which was evident in the composing styles of both students:

> It was an extremely rigorous method, based on models, and was accompanied by multiple exercises in counterpoint and figured bass. Fanny certainly progressed faster than Felix. [2]

With such a strong musical background, in addition to ongoing societal changes which were making it somewhat easier for a few women to move into leadership roles outside domestic duties, it would seem that the stage would have been set for Fanny to achieve equal prominence with Felix. However, she had been born into a typically patriarchal family of a relatively high social standing (which made the pressure to conform even more intense), steeped in the traditions of a society which would not allow

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[2] Ibid., 66.

her the same opportunities guaranteed to her brother, as Florence Fenwick Miller already noted more than a hundred years ago:

> Poor, poor Fanny! It makes one's heart beat with indignant pity to think of her wasted genius; and it is almost intolerable to look beyond her and become aware how many gifted souls enclosed in female bodies have suffered in like manner. Poor women! And poor world, which has wasted so much of its all too rare genius on wiping dust off furniture and rubbing soup through sieves! And poor, poor fools of to-day, who chuckle over the waste, as though it were a thing to delight in, when it is, indeed, one to most bitterly regret! [3]

The Role and Status of Women

In the early nineteenth century most men viewed women as weak and passive. The societal and familial tradition of female subservience established in the previous century continued, although there were intellectuals such as Friedrich Schlegel and Wilhelm Hensel who did not agree. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) had decreed that a woman should learn to "submit to injustice" and "suffer the wrongs inflicted on her by her husband without complaint." Rousseau, one among many of his like-minded contemporaries, expounded the popular belief that women were incapable of independent reasoning and needed male guidance:

> ...as a woman's conduct is controlled by public opinion, so is her religion ruled by authority ...Unable to judge for herself, [a woman] should accept the judgment of father or husband as that of the church...It is more

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[3] Florence Fenwick Miller, "A Genius Wasted", in *In Ladies' Company: Six Interesting Women* (London: Ward and Downey, 1892), cited in Lorraine Gorrell, *The Nineteenth-Century German Lied* (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1993), 191.

> important to show her plainly what to believe than to explain the reasons for belief. [4]

According to Matthew Head, the concept of femininity (*Weiblichkeit)* entered the German vocabulary late in the eighteenth century, representing a class-based ideal of female leisure. The notion that women were unsuited for physical labor, business or public life corresponded with the rise of the bourgeoisie; the woman in the home was now expected to be decorative and idle, a symbol of her husband's wealth and power. The productive household tasks that had once been her daily occupation were in large measure performed by servants and wet nurses, or shifted to the factories owned by her husbands.

It was a matter of patriarchal pride that the woman be confined to the role of sanctifying the home so that men could be free to pursue their professional and public activities. Music became part of the containment practice that defined a woman's proper sphere; it was a safe diversion, an ornament in courtship and marriage, useful for soothing infants (emphasizing the mothering function), and non-threatening so long as no great degree of proficiency was attempted. Similarly, education was permitted only to the point where a woman could be trusted to appear gentle, timid, pleasant, and cultivated enough to handle the duties of polite society, but not to "stray into the realm of masculine learning." [5]

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[4] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* (1762), cited in Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, 197.

[5] Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 52, no.2 (Summer 1999): 218.

Matthew Head observes that Andreas Meier's influential book on proper conduct, published in the late eighteenth century, set the tone for the next several generations of German society: in the country or small towns, a woman needed only a knowledge of sewing, embroidery and housekeeping, but for those in the larger centres he recommended history and geography, music and drawing, and "a dainty and pleasant style of handwriting." Head summarizes:

> The balance Meier sought to strike was one in which a wife possessed sufficient education to distinguish her from the lower order of maid but not so much that she would break the frame of female knowledge and start discussing Wolf or Newton with her husband. [6]

These proscriptions might perhaps be interpreted from a current perspective as totally demeaning and restrictive, but they also contained an element of idealizing women as the embodiment of moral and spiritual values in the home, civilizing and bringing harmony to the entire household with her beauty and virtue. Goethe commented on this function in *Elective Affinities,* a novel published in 1809: "Whoever looks on beauty is immune against the advent of any evil; he feels in accord with himself and with the world." [7]

Head suggests that femininity thus took on an almost religious connotation and "its rituals, undertaken by women, were felt to safeguard the entire familial congregation."[8] Clearly there were intense pressures on women not to move outside the expectations of

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., 220.

[8] Ibid.

feminine behaviour. To be other than compliant would be more than an insult to her husband's or father's social status; in this context it would also be a sin against God.

In the face of such blatant and pervasive prejudice, it is all the more remarkable that the early nineteenth century was also a time when some women began to cultivate their artistic talents; the courageous Jewish literary salon leaders must have served as rare and vital role models. Perhaps they helped to inspire Fanny to explore the possibility of reviving the musical salon as a venue for composing, performing and conducting her own work. In the circumstances of her era, that would be the best she could hope for:

> First...gender has to do with the social roles of men and women and with the restrictions on the lives, minds and careers of women. The talents, shared educations and divergent careers of Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn provide one of the most cogent experiences in modern history of gendered cultural and social difference. In their world, talent is recognized in men and women alike, but only men's lives are public lives. [9]

The Mendelssohn Family

Fanny's grandfather, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), was born into a Jewish family in the Dessau ghetto. At the age of fourteen he traveled to Berlin on foot to seek knowledge. Moses studied law, philosophy, languages, mathematics, and literature, and became a philosopher, famous not only in Berlin but also throughout Europe. He married Fromet Gugenheim, and they had six children: Brendel, Recha, Joseph, Henriette, Abraham, and Nathan. Moses arranged marriages for two of his daughters, Brendel and Recha, when they were thirteen. They both later divorced.

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[9] Michael P. Steinberg, "Culture, Gender, and Music: A Forum on the Mendelssohn Family," *Music Quarterly*, 648-650, 1993, 648.

Abraham Mendelssohn (1776-1835), Fanny's father, was a banker who married Lea Solomon (1777-1842) in 1804. They lived the first part of their married lives in Hamburg and had three children there: Fanny Caecilia (1805-1847), Felix (1809-1847), and Rebecka (1811-1858). Paul (1812-1874) was born in Berlin the year the Chancellor issued a decree emancipating Jews in Prussia. Later, in 1822, Abraham and Lea converted to the Evangelical faith and added Bartholdy to their name.

Good education was highly valued in the Mendelssohn family. Lea began teaching Fanny and Felix piano early in their childhood. She also oversaw their tutorial training: she and Abraham hired Karl Heyse to teach the children general subjects including history, Greek mythology, French, and Latin. In 1816 they studied piano with a famous pianist, Marie Bigot (1786-1820), in Paris. Back in Berlin, they studied with Ludwig Berger (1777-1839), who had studied with Clementi and Cramer. The children learned the works of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Following their work in theory and composition with Zelter, they began studying piano with Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870) who was known as the prince of pianists: Moscheles commented with admiration and amazement, "I know of no other family like them."[10] However, there were deeply ingrained beliefs that would work against equal opportunity in Fanny's future: "Despite female strength and power in abundance, familial authority for artistic creativity resided in men." [11]

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[10] Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn,* 118.

[11] Cited in Marcia J. Citron, "Professionalism", in *Gender and the Musical Canon,* 44-80. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 61.

Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel

Fanny, much loved and admired by her family, was the child prodigy. Enrolled in the Singakademie at thirteen, Fanny excelled. She was, in her early years, under the illusion that she was destined for a great career. It was not long before their father made it perfectly clear to Fanny that gender was a far more important factor than mere talent in deciding the future of the two musical siblings. He wrote her a letter from Paris in 1820 to explain her role in life:

> What you wrote to me about your musical occupations with reference to and in comparison with Felix was both rightly thought and expressed. Music will perhaps become his profession, whilst for you it can and must only be an ornament, never the root of your being and doing. We may therefore pardon him some ambition and desire to be acknowledged in a pursuit which appears very important to him, because he feels a vocation for it, whilst it does credit that you have always shown yourself good and sensible in these matters, and your joy at the praise he earns proves that you might, in his place, have merited equal approval. Remain true to these sentiments and to this line of conduct, they are feminine, and only what is truly feminine is an ornament to your sex. [12]

Denied a career in music, Fanny understood that she was expected to marry appropriately, and eventually married Wilhelm Hensel in 1829. Hensel was a German Christian whose mother had permitted him to study at the Academy of Fine Arts after the death of his father, who had decreed he should become a mining engineer. Fanny and Wilhelm had met in 1821, when Fanny was fifteen. Concerned for her health and future prospects, her mother was not happy with her decision to become involved with Hensel, a man of limited prospects in her view. Fanny's father was pleased that she was compliant

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[12] Nancy Reich, "Women as musicians: A question of class." In *Musicology and Difference*, ed. Ruth A. Solie, 125-146. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993),144.

with his expectations. Soon after marrying, Fanny promptly gave birth to her only child, Sebastian (1830-1898). It seemed that Fanny would be confined to the appropriate role for a woman in her family, but she found ways to continue her music in spite of traditional prohibitions. She was astute enough to see opportunities in the growing salon movement that would keep her musical ambitions alive.

In her mid-twenties, Fanny resumed the Sunday Musicales that her parents had begun for their children's benefit. Fanny composed over four hundred works for these events; the majority of these were Lieder and piano works, in keeping with her role as a female musician. She also produced choral music of high quality, primarily part songs and cantatas, difficult to identify as having been composed by a female. Other works included duets and chamber music. She performed and conducted works by such masters as Haydn, Beethoven, Bach, and Mozart and collaborated with famous musicians of the time at her home concerts.

Fanny longed for opportunities, which came so easily to her brother, to travel and explore other musical cultures, but it was not until 1845 that she finally journeyed to Italy with her husband and son. Upon their return to Berlin the following year, Fanny at last began to fulfill her life-long dream of publishing her music. Although a few of her Lieder and piano compositions had been published as Felix's works, Fanny did not see some of her part songs published in her own name until just before her untimely death in 1847. Many of her cantatas have recently been published within the last twenty years; these cantatas are annotated in Appendix I.

Literary Salons in Berlin

During the nineteenth century vocal music, in particular Lieder, thrived on a connection with Romantic poetry. The famous literary salons in Berlin, sponsored chiefly by Jewish women, had flourished from about 1750 until the early nineteenth century, and encouraged wider appreciation of literary works. Educated women were stepping into society through acting as hostesses for these salon gatherings: "When society gatherings were also open to intellectuals and organized by a woman with intellectual skills and ambitions, they were called salons." [13]

The influence of the salons was three-fold: women began to free themselves from traditional patriarchal boundaries, a culture for creative intellects was developed, and a fusion of classes, religions, and sexes was envisioned. The general focus of the salon gatherings was development of character, education, and refinement. This focus was termed *Bildung*. "'Bildung' was what commoners could work at to become noble 'in spirit'; it was what Jews could work at to become more like Gentiles." [14]

At a typical event of this new artistic and intellectual development, guests might criticize new plays and rough drafts, hear musical performances or have an elegant dinner. Most salons were in private homes. About a third of the literary guests were authors, and the rest were dilettantes. Like the amateur musicians of the nineteenth century, dilettantes were important members of these cultural circles. Their wit and well-

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[13] Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 15.

[14] Ibid., 7.

informed conversation improved the style and even the content of German literature, as well as enlivening the literary gatherings.

Rahel Varnhagen, Brendel Mendelssohn (later known as Dorothea Veit), Henriette Herz, Sara Levy, and Amalie Beer were among Berlin's Jewish women who became known throughout Europe for their literary salon successes especially in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Unlike nineteenth-century women composers, the salon ladies could become public figures through publishing their writings.

These women were bold to step into a world previously dominated by men. "The public happiness created by the Jewish salonieres was based on defiance of the traditional boundaries separating noble from commoner, gentile from Jew, man from woman." [15] Some converted to Protestantism to elevate their status. Some, unhappy with the husbands chosen for them, divorced. They would meet their new lovers, potential partners who shared similar interests, in the salon. However, there were consequences for these changes: "Whether she married, whom she married, and when she married affected a woman's standard of living, social status, and ability to host a salon." [16]

The hostess of one such literary salon may have had an inadvertent ill effect on Fanny Hensel's life and career. Brendel Mendelssohn, or Dorothea Veit, daughter of the highly sought-after intellectual, Moses Mendelssohn, and sister of Fanny's father, breached traditional boundaries. Unlike her friend and colleague, Rahel Varnhagen, who refused to marry, Brendel initially obeyed her family's wishes and married a Jewish businessman, Simon Veit. She changed her name to Dorothea, kept up with the current

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 191.

literary scene and organized a Reading Society. She also fell in love with an acclaimed intellectual, Friedrich Schlegel, and left her husband and two sons. Schlegel encouraged education for women, an untraditional view, yet one that was similar to that held by Wilhelm Hensel, Fanny Mendelssohn's future husband.[17] Dorothea did publish some of her own works, although under her husband's name; one novel, *Life, Thought, and Works,* has recently been translated.

The Mendelssohns were not pleased with Dorothea's behaviour, and banished her from the family. Is it possible that Brendel's unconventional lifestyle may have exacerbated Abraham Mendelssohn's and later Felix's, strictness with Fanny? Could Mendelssohn have feared that Fanny might be drawn into similar reckless behaviour if she became a prominent figure on the cultural scene? A daughter who broke away from the patriarchal family structure would be frightening indeed to a man of such traditional moral beliefs. Lacking a psychological study of Abraham, one can only speculate on his motives; however, it is clear that the repressive attitudes of her father and brother affected Fanny in unfortunate ways.

Salon life flourished in Berlin with the support of the city's many intellectuals: tutors, professors at gymnasia, private lecturers, and state officials. Appearance at the salons enhanced one's social status. Paradoxically, a negative consequence of the salon scene's popularity was a rising anti-Semitism: "The double bind was that the successes of the Jewish salonieres provoked a new, anti-assimilationist anti-Semitism which

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[17] Nancy Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," 140.

eventually undermined the salons."[18] The Mendelssohns, however, were not averse to opening their house to Gentiles. Descriptions of the gatherings at the Mendelssohn home indicate that guests from all walks of life conversed there in a friendly and animated atmosphere.

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[18] Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin,* 22.

Chapter 2:
The Sunday Musicales

The music salon scene seems to have been an extension of the late eighteenth-century literary salons. Both provided an opportunity for the artists, including women, to gain recognition. Many intellectuals (such as politicians, scientists, professors, and artists) attended both literary and musical salons. The difference seems to be that the nineteenth-century music salons were not as strongly oriented toward promoting equality for women. "These were no longer conversational salons, since speech was no longer entirely free and women did not discuss politics." [1] Perhaps this change of emphasis made it acceptable for Fanny to establish her salon without drawing disapproval from her father.

At the Mendelssohn Household

In Berlin, between 1815 and 1848, music-making in private homes was very popular. Among the various hostesses were Princess Luise Radziwill and Amalia Beer. The salon music tradition in the Mendelssohn family had begun with Fanny's great aunt, Sara Levy (1761-1854). In her salon in Berlin, Sara Levy had promoted and patronized musical culture and the musician. Abraham and Lea Mendelssohn began hosting Sunday

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[1] Francoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn* (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1992), 197.

musicales for their children's benefit in 1823. As Fanny noted in her 1825 proposal to acquire government funding for a string program at the Singakademie, "people do what they can by inviting into their homes, when their means permit, quartets or smaller or larger groups. There are innumerable such private gatherings here." [2]

Abraham Mendelssohn often invited small groups of string players to perform concertos or trios; Felix and Fanny thus had the opportunity to perform with a variety of gifted amateur musicians. Even singers from the opera considered it an honour to perform at the Mendelssohn's Musicales. Among the famous singers who took part in the Musicales were Mary Shaw (English contralto), Franz Hauser (Bohemian baritone), Johann Hoffmann (tenor from the Berlin royal opera), Pauline Decker (Berlin opera and oratorio singer) and Clara Novello (soprano). It was considered a great distinction by musical celebrities passing through to be judged worthy of the honour of an invitation to these matinees.[3] The Mendelssohn children were often featured performers. Carl Zelter recalls a *Sonntagsmusik* (Sunday music) time at the Mendelssohn's home when Felix was performing in his little boy's suit: "I found his playing extraordinarily dexterous and possessed of great musical assurance, but still it did not equal that of his older sister Fanny."[4] In November of 1824, Moscheles attended one of Lea's *Sonntagsmusiken* gatherings and reported the program thus: "Quartet in C minor by Felix, Symphony in D major, and Concerto by Bach, Fanny, Duo in D minor for two pianos by Arnold." [5]

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[2] Ibid., 199.

[3] Ibid., 302.

[4] Ibid., 117

[5] Ibid., 118.

Most of Fanny's early compositions were written for the family's Sunday Musicales. In 1821, she composed a Sonata in F major and at least ten Lieder. In 1822, she wrote a movement for a piano sonata, and a chamber work in A-flat major for piano, violin, viola, and cello, which has only recently been published. Fanny's youthful compositions also included pieces for voice, choir, and piano. In 1829 she completed *Liederkreis von Fanny an Felix*, a *Festspiel* for choir, orchestra, tenor and two basses, and the F-major Praeludium for organ. Zelter, who was greatly impressed with Fanny's work, once exclaimed to Goethe that she was writing her thirty-second fugue, a feat which indicated how precocious she was. [6]

In his early teens, Felix began traveling around Europe to study music with various teachers. His departure, though devastating for Fanny who missed him terribly, nevertheless left her an opening for furthering her musical desires. However, her father's attitudes had not mellowed; on her twenty-third birthday he wrote her a friendly reminder of her proper status. He began by telling her she was "good" and that he would not offer such praise lightly:

> However, you must still improve! You must become more steady and collected, and prepare more earnestly and eagerly for your real calling, the only calling of a young woman—I mean the state of a housewife. True economy is true liberality...Women have a difficult task; the constant occupation with apparent trifles, the interception of each drop of rain....the appreciation of every moment and its improvement for some

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[6] Francoise Tillard refers (*Fanny Mendelssohn,* p.116 and note p. 380) to an 1824 letter from Zelter to Goethe cited in Cecile Lowenthal-Hensel's work, *Preussische Bildnisse des 19. Jahrhunderts: Zeichnungen von Wilhelm Hensel* (Berlin: Hartman and Company, 1981).

> benefit or other—all these and more (you will think of many more) are the weighty duties of a woman. [7]

Fanny filed all this advice from her father away. It is apparent she did not follow his directives entirely because she was constantly composing or preparing for performances.

At the Hensel Household

Needing an outlet for her musical abilities and passion despite the recent birth of her son, Fanny Hensel revived the Sunday Musicales in 1830 at her parents' garden hall.[8] Thus, Fanny continued her great-aunt Sara Levy's dedication to salons, and the tradition carried on by her parents; however, these performing events might be also be regarded as Fanny's best hope for a life in music. It is difficult to obtain newspaper accounts of these performances because private concerts were not reviewed by the critics; therefore much of our information about them comes from Fanny's letters to her brother Felix, and from her diaries.

Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel not only organized and composed music for the concerts at 3 Leipziger Strasse, she also accompanied various soloists and instrumentalists, performed solo piano, conducted the choir she formed, and entertained. In 1833 Fanny conducted Gluck's opera *Orfeo et Euridice*. From Fanny's diary on 28 October, 1833, comes this listing of typical Sunday events:

> First concert:
> Quartet by Mozart
> Beethoven's G major concerto

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[7] Nancy Reich, "Women as musicians: A question of class," *Musicology and Difference*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993),146.

[8] Ulrike Schadl, *Nachtreigen* foreword. Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1995, 7.

Second duet from *Fidelio*. Devrient and Decker
Concerto in D minor by Bach

Second concert:
Triple concerto by Beethoven, with Kins and Ganz
Hero by Decker
Felix plays his concerto and Bach's D minor concerto.

Third concert:
Variations by Felix, with Ganz
Quartet by Weber
Finale from *Oberon*, Decker
Quintet by Spohr
Song from the Sea from *Oberon*

Fourth concert:
Beethoven's trio in E major
String quartets by Felix in A minor
Beethoven's D major trio

Fifth concert:
Mozart trio in G major
Scene from *Der Freischütz*, Decker
Trio by Moscheles
Aria from *Iphigenie* [9]

Other composers whose works she chose to perform at the Sunday musical gatherings included Spontini, Haydn and Cherubini. It would appear that Fanny's salons were every bit as successful as those hosted by her parents, and that they continued to attract the social elite of the city. Her son, Sebastian Hensel, noted in his later writings:

> My mother's Sunday matinees flourished, and were frequented by an extremely glittering public; this, as much as the music, contributed to the interest they aroused...Around them gathered a numerous assembly

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[9] Francoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn,* 217

> comprised of Berlin's most notable, attractive, and distinguished residents. [10]

Fanny herself, despite her usual self-deprecation, occasionally made reference to the interesting audiences that might assemble for one of these brilliant affairs; she noted with modest delight the presence of Franz Liszt and eight princesses. [11]

Much information about well-known performers at that time, pieces being performed, and the public's reaction, can be found in Fanny's letters to Felix: [12]

> Last Sunday I played a Trio by Moscheles." (2 November 1833, p.115)

> ...and there lay the piece in the *Fidelio* score directly in front of me, for tomorrow we're having a merry Sunday Musicale and are singing a few of the principal pieces from the opera...My *Fidelio* has just ended...it was well received. The public, which has begun to increase again, as at that time, was delighted. Decker sang wonderfully and all the dilettantes reasonably well. (25 January 1834, p.121)

> I wasn't able to write you last week because I was busy practicing your *Rondo brillant.* Yesterday, Sunday morning, it was officially launched...using an accompaniment of double quartet and contrabass, with great success. (17 February 1835, p.174)

> A week ago Sunday he (Vieuxtemps) performed here: Variations by Beriot, and then Beethoven's Trio in D major with Ganz and me. Then came *Davidde penitente* in which Decker sang the soprano part splendidly. The aria in B-flat major was unbelievably brilliant, and the long cadenza that I composed for her created a furor. There were between 120 and 130 people here, and it was one of our most brilliant musicales. (12 December 1837, p.246)

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[10] Ibid., 302.

[11] Nancy Reich, "Women as musicians: A question of class," 90.

[12] Marcia Citron, ed., "*The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*" (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987). Hereafter, letters from this edition are identified in the text by date and page.

> I've arranged to put in Titus this Sunday. Decker is singing *Vitella*, and Faussmann, who came forth voluntarily and offered her services for everything, is singing *Sextus*. (15 January 1838, p.249)

Felix's *St. Paul* was being performed at many venues in England and in Germany, even at Fanny's salon:

> Yesterday I held a brilliant rehearsal of *St. Paul* in the garden hall, with a chorus of forty that will swell to fifty next Sunday. So think of us...between eleven and two next Sunday. (19 June 1837, p.239)

Fanny's education had included intensive study of the works of J.S.Bach, music which was enjoying a revival at the time. Sara Levy had studied with Wilhelm Friedemann Bach and had collected many of J.S. Bach's manuscripts, although Fanny never mentions using those scores:

> I started my musicales last Sunday, and performed *Liebster Gott, wann werd ich sterben* and *Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht*. Hauser gave a beautiful rendition of the recitative from the Cantata, *Wohl aber dann*, to enthusiastic acclaim. In general, it was well cast, and I enjoyed it immensely. I think I'll have the audacity to play your concerto next time and see whether it bites. (18 Nov 1835, p. 191)

> We're going to do *Gottes Zeit* and your *Ave Maria* next Sunday, if I can pull things together. (17 February 1835, p.176)

Clearly the Sunday Musicales gave Fanny Hensel a vital outlet for her musical genius as performer, composer and conductor, and allowed her to develop her individual career as far as the times and her family responsibilities would permit. However, her involvement with her brother Felix and his music never diminished.

Chapter 3:
The Relationship between Fanny and Felix

Felix, much loved by Fanny, had a strange power over her all her life. It was, indeed, a unique relationship. She constantly helped him edit his music with diligent devotion:

> I have watched his talent develop step by step and, to a certain extent, I myself have contributed to his education. He has no other musical advisor than me and he never puts pen to paper without having first asked for my approval.[1]

The favour was sometimes reciprocated, and she credits her brother with being a great source of inspiration for her own composing, but he was not always as supportive of her as she was of him. He was a higher being to her, but later in her life she confessed she resented the damage to her career and soul caused by his disapproval.

Personal and Musical Correspondence

Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel wrote frequent letters to her brother Felix over the course of her life, and fortunately many have survived. These letters reflect of the deep musical and personal relationship between brother and sister. It may be that the letter-

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[1] Elke Mascha Blankenburg quoting from Fanny Hensel's diaries (1833): CD liner notes for *Oratorium* (CPO - Best.-Nr.999009-2):6.

writing fashion of the time allowed for more passionate expressions of affection between siblings than would likely be displayed in our time, but the intensity of emotion in Fanny's correspondence with Felix is certainly striking.

Fanny's love and her world revolved around Felix from an early age, and her feelings were reciprocated. Felix was only twelve years old and visiting Goethe when Fanny wrote this:

> Think of me when I turn 16...Adieu, don't forget that you're my hand and my eyesight, and without you, therefore, I can't proceed with my music. (28 October 1821, p.2)

Her despair over his absence when Felix moved to London was obvious in a diary entry dated 24 January 1829: "This year will form an important chapter in our family history. Felix, our soul, is going away; the start of the second half of my life lies before me." Later on April 20 she writes, "It's really difficult. Very difficult." (p.28) Letters to Felix reveal her huge sense of loss:

> ...people probably hear a kind of inner music during the deepest silences...I have a deep silence within me when I hear noises, am in the middle of conversation, and am busy doing everyday activities, and I never stop thinking about you. (24 April 1829, p.31)

> But none of us is as good and clever as you...You are alpha and omega and everything in between: you are our soul and our heart, and our head as well—the rest can go hang itself...You're a type of special rooster, and we possess those qualities to a significantly lesser degree. (27 May 1829, p.40)

Felix's self-absorption (apparently considered appropriate since he was the male sibling) occasionally drew a mild scolding from Fanny. Bearing in mind that she was always

expected to edit his works and do many other business-related tasks for him, Felix certainly could appear rude and selfish. although Fanny's devotion to her brother lasted throughout her life:

> Upon your express wishes, I sent you everything I thought you might need. But now I'm stopping and won't write you anything until you write me a decent personal letter. My goodness—what do you think of me? You're treating me badly. Since you've left, you've only written me once, which made me miserable on my birthday. (27 December 1834, p.167)

Felix's ongoing influence over Fanny is revealed in a letter that refers to their friend, Goethe. Under her brother's spell, she was clearly prepared to shape herself according to his needs and wishes:

> I don't know exactly what Goethe means by the demonic influence...but, this much is clear; if it does exist, you exert it over me. I believe that if you seriously suggest that I become a good mathematician, I wouldn't have any particular difficulty in doing so, and I could just as easily cease being a musician tomorrow if you thought I wasn't good at that any longer. Therefore treat me with great care. (30 July 1836, p. 209)

Other letters indicate that the power her father and brother had over her soul did not diminish with the passage of time.

> I'm so unreasonably afraid of you anyway (and of no other person, except slightly Father) that I actually never play particularly well in front of you, although I know I'm very good at it. (8 April 1835, p.182)

> I'm afraid of my brothers at age 40, as I was of Father at age 14—or, more aptly expressed, desirous of pleasing you and everyone I've loved throughout my life. (9 July 1846, p. 349)

Many of Fanny's letters to Felix revolve around their compositions, editorial corrections, and performances of their works. As chief editor and critic for Felix, she never missed a chance to offer him words of advice:

> Today I played your new pieces for my Sunday public, and the public was extremely delighted. You obviously wrote the first Lied, in E-flat major, for piano solo because you didn't find any words for it. Since that is indeed a true Lied with lovely declamation, you should have approached the authors of your numerous Lieder, for example Egon Ebert or Voss... (27 December 1834, p.166)

The Marriage Trio

Before her marriage, Fanny must have warned Wilhelm Hensel of her deep love for Felix and he seems to have been understanding. The relationship with her brother was an intense situation for Fanny, a kind of emotional incest (at the very least; some biographers have suggested it went farther)[2] which would prevent her from ever being entirely happy with another man. It must have been awkward for Hensel to become involved with this unusual relationship.

> Solve this riddle, my dear gospel, as Hensel alluded to you today in relation to me. I mainly know that he loves me because he respects my love for you and gladly even gives it precedence to a certain extent. (June 1829, p.53)

> I love both of you so very differently, and yet so similarly; I feel it's impossible to spend a happy life without either of you..., and may you also feel this blessed trinity as strongly... (letter to Wilhelm Hensel, 23 August 1829)

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[2] David Warren Sabean, "Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and the Question of Incest", *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no.4, (1993): 709.

As Fanny approached her wedding day, she reflected on her love for Felix: he still stood first, before Hensel, her future husband. She cried for Felix, as if she wished he were the bridegroom instead:

> Hensel is a good man, Felix, and I am content in the widest sense of the word, happier than I ever imagined possible. For I dreamed and feared that such a relationship would tear me away from you, or rather alienate us...I reflect more often and therefore I reflect on you more often. And the more I have now and will have in the future, the greater I will have you and need you. It's not possible for you to ever take any of your love away from me, because you must know, as I do, that I can't do without even the smallest part of it. I'll repeat the same to you on my wedding day.... (8 July 1829, p.62)

On the day of her wedding, Fanny's priorities were clear:

> My dearest Felix!...My first joy on this day is in finding a quiet 15 minutes...so that I can write you on this very day and tell you once more everything that you've already known for a long time...your picture is next to me...I cry, as you do deep inside, but I cry. Actually, I've always known that I could never experience anything that would remove you from my memory for even one-tenth of a minute...And I don't believe I'm doing Hensel an injustice through it. Your love has provided me with a great inner worth, and I will never stop holding myself in high esteem as long as you love me... (3 October 1829, p.90)

In later letters Fanny still displays an urgent desire for understanding from her brother, a recognition of her feelings. She refers to yet another promised visit that Felix failed to make. Later in the same letter she reminds him that he never asks about the welfare of her son or husband:

> If you think back to the time when we were constantly together, when I immediately discovered every thought that went through your mind and knew your new things by heart even before they were notated, and if you remember that our relationship was a particularly rare one among siblings,

> in part because of our common musical pursuits, then I think you'll admit that it's been an odd deprivation for me the past year and a day to know that you're happy in a way I've always wished for you, and yet not meet your beloved, now your wife, even one time. (2 June 1837, p.234)

The Struggle To Publish

The only topic that seemed endlessly contentious in the correspondence between Fanny and Felix was Fanny's desire to publish her music, apparently one of her ultimate goals. Often Fanny's duties as a wife interrupted her preferred role as a musician. After Fanny gave birth to her child, Sebastian, she went through a difficult time:

> I haven't composed anything yet; I had plenty of ideas when I wasn't permitted to compose, but now I'll probably undergo the familiar dearth of inspiration, which I pick up from the weather. (c. end of July 1830, p.106)

Nevertheless, indicative of her sheer passion for music, she produced two cantatas mere months after her son's arrival. By 1836 she had published six Lieder in Felix's opp. 8 and 9, but nothing in her own name. Fanny apparently needed her beloved brother's approval and continued to seek his guidance:

> You've asked what I've composed, and I answer, a half-dozen piano pieces, as per your instructions...I bear such a great similarity to your students that I always find it most profitable if you tell me to do this or that. In the recent past, I've been frequently asked, once again, about publishing something; should I do it? (22 November 1836, p.214)

There were three important men in Fanny's life. Two of them, her father and brother, held to their traditional (restrictive) beliefs and sought to redirect her musical needs. However, her husband, Wilhelm, the man outside the family of origin, understood her

ambitions as an artist and encouraged her to publish. Unfortunately, Felix's control overwhelmed her:

> With regard to my publishing I stand like the donkey between two bales of hay. I have to admit honestly that I'm rather neutral about it, and Hensel, on the one hand, is for it, and you, on the other, are against it. I would of course comply totally with the wishes of my husband in any other matter, yet on this issue alone it's crucial to have your consent, for without it I might not undertake anything of the kind. (22 November 1836, p.222)

Felix had always encouraged his sister to compose and his praise inspired her. Publishing, however, was not acceptable in his view, and in a letter to his mother, who supported Fanny's ambitions, he protests:

> You write to me about Fanny's new pieces, and tell me I ought to persuade her and provide her the opportunity to publish them. You praise her new compositions to me, and that is really not necessary, in that I look forward to them very much, and regard them as beautiful and excellent, for I do know from whom they come....As soon as she herself decides to publish something, I will, as much as I can, provide the opportunity for this and take all the trouble from her, thereby sparing her from it. But to *persuade* her to publish something I cannot, for it is against my view and conviction....I consider publication to be something serious (at least it ought to be that) and believe that one should only do it if one wants to present oneself and continue one's whole life as an author. For this a series of works is required, one after another; one or two alone is only an annoyance to the public, or it becomes a so-called "vanity publication", which I also do not like.
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> And Fanny, as I know her, has neither the desire nor vocation for authorship; in addition, she is too much a wife, as is right, brings up Sebastian and takes care of her house, and thinks neither of the public nor of the musical world, nor even of music, except when this first vocation is fulfilled....

> If Fanny, on her own initiative, or for Hensel's sake, decides on it, I am, as I said, ready to be as helpful to her as I am able, but to urge her on to something that I do not consider right, this I cannot do. [3]

While some researchers have suspected jealousy as the driving force behind Felix's opposition, his motives may in fact have been based in genuine affection and concern. Two years after her son's birth, Fanny underwent a miscarriage; another in 1837 was followed by postpartum depression. Felix evidently discouraged her from performing and publishing at this time because he felt it would be too strenuous in her frail state of health. In the same letter to his mother Felix pleads:

> Write to me again whether these big social gatherings that Fanny gives and the music-making in them do not take their toll on her. I have always become very exhausted by this, and since Fanny too often suffers from weak nerves as I do, I really think she must be very careful of herself in this regard. [4]

Despite all his concern for Fanny, Felix apparently had difficulty understanding the passion that drove her desire to publish her compositions. Kimber suggests that he did not actually forbid his sister to do anything; yet it is likely that his obvious disapproval would be sufficient to deter her. [5]

In the recently-popularized view of the brother and sister relationship, Felix generally appears overbearing, mean-spirited and self-centered in some of his letters. But if he was indeed trying to protect her from the stresses of actively publishing music, and

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[3] Marian Wilson Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn: Rethinking Feminist Biography." *19th-Century Music* vol.26, no.2 (2002): 129.

[4] Ibid., 129.

[5] Ibid., 116.

if he was fulfilling the role he felt was his responsibility as the guardian in her life after the death of their father, does this not provide reasons for his advice? Felix might have feared the damage to Fanny's self-esteem from exposing published compositions to the biased critics of the day, who would not take her work seriously because she was a mere woman. Indeed when she did publish some critics were dismissive and patronizing.[6]

In order to break out of this impasse, it was necessary for Fanny to leave Germany. The Hensels, including the young Sebastian, took a year-long trip to Italy, an uplifting experience for the family in many respects. Wilhelm was a successful artist and was exposed to a broader artistic world there. Fanny performed in Italy at various venues, and gave some home concerts; Charles Gounod was among her many passionate admirers. This international praise was immensely fulfilling for Fanny. She was finally appreciated. It was what she had been searching for all her life, and she left Rome for Berlin with a new outlook. She was determined that no longer would her creative genius be suppressed by her brother's displeasure. Upon her return to Germany she would begin publishing her music.

Between 1839 and 1841, Frau Hensel composed a cycle of piano music, *Das Jahr* (The Year), containing a piece for each month. In December she re-established the Sunday Musicales, but a year later Italy was still in her soul; to Felix she explained how bound she felt in Berlin by the family role of Hausfrau:

> I've taken up your Trio now...If I resume the musicales, it's to be the first piece performed. But thus far I haven't felt like doing it. I was very

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[6] Victoria Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel." (DMA Diss., Boston University School for the Arts, 1996), 124.

> spoiled on the trip too by an exceedingly grateful public that continually urged and invited me to play this and that, and always kept me on my toes. One becomes accustomed to that only too quickly. But it's not fair of me to expect that now, and I'll really make an effort to get over it. But it's disturbing that there's nobody here with whom to make decent music. (28 September 1840, p.297)

Nevertheless, Fanny's successful Sunday Musicales continued to spur on her publishing efforts. She had by now gained an excellent reputation in Berlin, and by 1846 publishers were eager for her works. Although initially Fanny had accepted the restrictions of being a housewife, rather than a professional musician, it bothered her immensely to be so firmly inhibited; she voiced a bit of fury about her fate in an August letter of 1846, proclaiming her "...long-standing outrage at the idea of starting Op.1 in my old age." (p.353) Publishing her works meant a great deal to her sense of self. In another letter she writes to Felix about her decision to proceed:

> I'm no femme libre and unfortunately not even an adherent of the Young German movement...I know it [publishing] will be a great stimulus to me, something I've always needed in order to create. (9 July 1846, p.351)

Fanny was probably assuring him that she understood his aversion to intellectual women, a typical male sentiment at that time, and one expounded by Felix in a letter describing Fanny to a friend:

> ...her whole nature is gentle and calm and still so full of life and passion that she will certainly become dear to you. At the same time, her musical talent is so magnificent...it makes me sad, that since her marriage she can no longer compose as diligently as earlier, for she has composed several things, especially German Lieder, which belong to the very best which we possess of Lieder; still it is good on the other hand, that she finds joy in her domestic concerns, for a woman who neglects them, be it for oil colors, or for rhyme, or for double counterpoint always calls to mind

> instinctively, the Greek [language] from the femmes savants, and I am afraid of that. This is then, thank God, therefore not the case with my sister, and yet she has, as said, continued her piano playing still with much love and besides has made much progress with it recently. [7]

Eventually Felix was won over: not only did he cease his discouragement of her publishing, but also he expressed to her his delight with her creations: "I for my part thank you in the name of the audience in Leipzig and other places, that you have published it after all against my wishes." [8] In a letter to Fanny written in 1846, he seems to be giving her his approval:

> I have only just got round to thanking you for your letter and to giving you my blessing for your decision to join the guild. May it bring you as much pleasure and joy as your music brings to others, may you only experience the joys of being a composer and not the misery and may the public only throw roses and never sand...' [9]

Felix's change of heart did not guarantee universal acceptance however. As Kimber notes:

> That Fanny Hensel composed at all meant she had far exceeded contemporary expectations for her gender. It would have taken the entire transformation of the culture, not merely the encouragement of her younger brother, to have enabled Fanny Hensel to have a successful professional career. [10]

Fanny's Character

To have achieved so much against great odds, Fanny Hensel must have possessed a remarkable strength of character as well as a prodigious musical talent. Biographers and

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[7] Ibid., 85.

[8] Ibid., 101.

[9] Blankenburg, *Oratorium* notes, 6.

[10] Kimber, "The 'Suppression' of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel", 124.

critics may offer varying theories on the degree of oppression she had to overcome, but all concur that Fanny Hensel was gifted and persevering:

> Fanny had, by contemporary accounts, a strong character; her letters reveal a formidable intellect, a sometimes brutally sarcastic sense of humour, and an intolerance for people and ideas she found not to her liking. [11]

The year after her death, Sarah Austin, a friend of the Mendelssohn family, described Fanny as:

> a woman of strong sense, strong feeling, unbending probity, cordial, sincere, and constant in her attachments; but she did not lay herself out to please indifferent persons...She was too proud, independent, and upright, for the smallest affectation. [12]

This account seems to confirm the validity and sincerity of Fanny's letters to Felix as we are able to know them. However, some caution needs to be exercised in the final assessment because these writings come to us filtered by what the biographers and compilers chose to select and translate.

Whether this selection reveals the entire truth is an important question. "It should be noted that the diaries and letters of Fanny Hensel have been altered in order that her conformity to society can be clearly seen."[13] There is also a need to consider that letter and diary writers may have been aware that their words could be published after their death.

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[11] Ibid., 128.

[12] Ibid., 128.

[13] Ibid., 115.

Biographers also may have had a bias; certainly the writings of Fanny's son, Sebastian, indicate that he exercised severe censorship in choosing material that would reflect well on the family history, and he may have suppressed some of her letters. It is a sad commentary on her status that Sebastian does not think her worthy of a chapter in his book.

From a study of the letters that are available to us, it would appear that Fanny herself did not hide her feelings and opinions in writing to her brother, as evidenced by her outburst of scorn for "the countless boring people, especially among the official dignitaries, which include the Germans as well. God, what awful people...I won't, however, gag my mouth against verbal expression." (10 May 1840, p. 291)
Self-motivated, bright, and a diligent worker, she was dedicated to lifelong learning:

> I'm reading English fluently, writing down words and memorizing them. I'm also trying to bolster my musical memory, which has fallen into abysmal decay, and am methodically learning music by heart. (26 June 1836, p.196).

Evidently self-deprecation was a frequent disguise for her attraction to serious intellectual endeavors, as became apparent in her outright protestation to Felix, even at the moment of her long-delayed first venture into publishing ("I'm no femme libre"). She writes to Klingemann of her interest in attending lectures by Alexander von Humboldt:

> Gentlemen may laugh as much as they like, but it is delightful that we too have the opportunity given us of listening to clever men. We fully enjoy this happiness, and must try to bear the scoffing. And now I will give up

> completely to your mockery, by confessing that we are hearing another course of lectures. [14]

It seems that Fanny felt compelled always to reject new possibilities of feminine existence that would not meet with approval from Felix. Sadly, she thereby "constructed boundaries for herself that stood in direct opposition to her extraordinary natural abilities." [15]

Exposed to a wider world during her trip to Italy, Fanny seemed to recognize a national limitation that might explain or excuse her inability to break free of these bonds: "But we Germans always have to wait! Always have to let the right moment pass! Always come too late! We cannot cut ourselves loose from the ties of home and family, to say nothing of our own individuality." [16]

Since so much of our understanding of Fanny's character comes from her letters to Felix, it is interesting to find the occasional assessment from another contemporary perspective. The Schumanns were friendly with Felix, and Clara met Fanny in 1847. Clara said, "I have really taken a liking to Frau Hensel, and feel particularly drawn to her musically...The only slight problem is that one has to get used to her rather abrupt way of behaving." [17]

It was probably this "abrupt behaviour" that helped Fanny Hensel survive as an outstanding musician, despite so much negative pressure. Apparently she struggled for

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[14] Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance: Women's Musico-Literary Masquerade in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany", (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 693.

[15] Ibid., 701.

[16] Ibid., 703.

[17] Tillard , *Fanny Mendelssohn,* 327.

most of her life against oppressive forces, since the norms of her society dictated that women of wealth and social position ought not to be publishing music and earning money of their own: they might become dangerously independent and resistant to control. From her profound inner resources Fanny found the courage to disobey the orders of her father and the caution of her brother. This decision must have been agonizing for Fanny because of her lifelong obsession with Felix, an overwhelming emotional attachment that for so many years made it impossible for her to defy his wishes. It is rather sad that when she finally did honour her own talent and do what was right for herself, Felix gave her his blessing and expressed regret that he might have held her back all these years. Thus, Fanny spent most of her life repressing her passion to perform and publish; the stifling of such a vital force may have played a part in her untimely death of a stroke at the age of forty-two.

Perhaps it is not coincidental, given the intensity of the siblings' connection, that Felix was devastated by her death, never recovered his spirits, and died himself within a few months. Is it possible that without his editor, severest critic and strongest supporter he lost the will to carry on?

Chapter 4:
Gender Issues

Gender and Music in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Germany

Music in late eighteenth-century Germany was considered a pleasant domestic diversion for women, while for men it offered the possibility of professional achievement. That music intended for women to perform was not the same as the material available to men was apparent: there were numerous collections of keyboard music published in the late eighteenth century for the "fair sex", and women's journals contained vocal music "for ladies".[1] These publications sought to establish sex-specific boundaries that in fact restricted only women. Men had the freedom to perform this music, as well as what was considered appropriately masculine material; they could also play the full range of instruments while women were restricted to the keyboard.

Matthew Head's survey of gender expectations in late eighteenth-century German musical society gives great insight into the world into which Fanny Mendelssohn was about to be born. "The categories of the musical amateur and the feminine intersected in ideas of naturalness, songfulness, instinct, the untutored, and the gently moving rather

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[1] Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 52, no.2 (Summer 1999): 207.

than the learned". [2] There was an assumption that "easiness" would be required since women were not generally encouraged to pursue serious musical training, with a few telling exceptions that tend to prove the rule:

> When Diderot wrote to Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach ...requesting sonatas for his daughter to play, the specifically requested works in "difficult keys", explaining that his daughter was genuinely talented. The fact that such comments were necessary suggests an ingrained association of female executants with "easy " works. Diderot also expresses his fear that marriage will bring his daughter's musical development to a premature conclusion: "I believe that she will be a good player, but I am practically certain she will be a musician, and that she will learn the theory of this art well, unless some future husband should ruin everything, spoil her figure, and take away her appetite for study". [3]

Head observes that in this era, "easiness" in music for women was "officially sanctioned, even compulsory". Easy music would involve keys without many sharps and flats, prominent melody, avoidance of figuration and thick textures, lightness, simplicity, clarity, a flowing quality and charm. Johann Mattheson provided what Head terms

> a close to comprehensive inventory of what was musically at stake in "easiness" in music for the fair sex: the avoidance of excessive melodic embellishment and of rapid changes in meter, tempo and register; restriction to diatonic harmony; uniformity rather than diversity; and a cultivation of "noble simplicity." A rejection of conspicuous compositional artifice underwrites these elements. [4]

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[2] Ibid., 208.

[3] Ibid., 212

[4] Ibid., 214. Head refers to Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkomme Capellmeister* (1739); reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954)

There is little doubt that notions of easiness accompanied a general denigration of women's music in this era. It was usually considered to be inferior and of mediocre quality. The anonymous reviewer of a 1799 collection summed it up: "The very most that can be expected of music for girls is that it isn't totally bad". [5]

The Early Nineteenth Century

Attitudes toward women and music did not shift appreciably with the entry into a new century. Heinrich Christoph Koch in 1807 defined "feminine" music as containing "a predominant tenderness and gentleness in the shaping and expression of an idea. Feminine music stirs the heart more than the imagination, it is more gently moving than inspiring". [6] Certainly Fanny's music, particularly her part songs, captures the heart. On the other hand, it is also intellectually inspiring. Koch reinforces the commonly-held view that women could dabble in music but would never achieve great things in it because they lacked genius and inspiration. Moreover, the continued connecting of women to amateur music-making in the salon or drawing room, as Jeffrey Kallberg notes in "Harmony of the Tea Table", began to create associations of an even more damaging sort: this decidedly bourgeois taste for easy "ladies' music" seemed to be restricting the creative potential of male genius in composition. Charles Rosen also observed that the limitations of the female amateur could be a hazard to masculine inspiration:

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[5] Ibid., 244. Review of *Leichte Klavierstücke, componirt von Bidenbenz* [Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1799]. In *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 3* [October 1799]: 55.

[6] Ibid., 219.

> By contemporary standards, the sonata [Beethoven's *Hammerklavier,* composed 1817-1818] was monstrously long and scandalously difficult: Czerny wrote in Beethoven's conversational scrapbook that a lady who had been practising for months complained that she still could not play the beginning of the sonata.[7]

However, composers in the early nineteenth century did, manage to rise above such dire concerns, and the ideologies of gender and its representation began to allow some diversity:

> The early nineteenth century, for example, might be considered a period of varying musical gender: the masculine vigor of Beethoven's music and the feminine, or perhaps effeminate, grace of Chopin's composition. We could consider the Italian lyricism of Mozart in the late eighteenth century a feminine trait, to be quashed by the masculine energy in Beethoven. In the 1830s and 1840s the feminine elegance of French culture takes hold in much of the music of Chopin and Mendelssohn. [8]

Nevertheless, there remained, strong prevailing attitudes about styles that were considered appropriate to male and female musicians. Perhaps the most obvious stereotypes involved size and complexity of compositions. "Since c. 1800 art music has generally placed greater value on the larger forms (genres). Symphony and opera have occupied the top rung of instrumental and vocal music respectively". [9] Size is considered a sign of power, and in Germany at this time music began to be closely tied to nationalist

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[7] Charles Rosen, "*Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*", (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 404.

[8] Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance: Women's Musico-Literary Masquerade in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany", (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 161.

[9] Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 130.

and even imperialist aspirations, so large musical forces became a valued emblem of national growth, strength and pride. These attitudes involved strict gender implications:

> Teutonic preoccupation with massive symphonies and music dramas reinforced strong urges toward nationhood, and arguably laid an aesthetic foundation for desires for world supremacy in the next century. In their nineteenth-century incarnation, these genres represented masculine more than feminine social values: emphasis on political might and expansionism. Because of the power of the ideological associations, male composers have produced symphonies, operas and other large-scale pieces, in proportionally greater numbers than women... [10]

Female composers and performers would be expected to indulge only in the lesser genres of song and solo piano, requiring fewer performers and a shorter timeframe. Such music would be more suited to the confines of the salon than to the concert stage, which was definitely considered the male domain.

Complexity in composition was accorded a higher value in the early nineteenth century because it demonstrated skill and competence (which presumably reflected formal learning):

> Since c.1700 [complexity] has taken the form of display of multi-part techniques such as counterpoint and orchestration, skills from which women were often educationally excluded...the greater value placed on complex art forms may have been a way of keeping out women.[11]

In the increasingly post-aristocratic era after 1800, men had much more likelihood of being able to seize the personal opportunities opening up to participate in an increasingly complex society. Women's roles remained more restricted. It was still

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[10] Ibid., 130.

[11] Ibid., 132.

presumed that women would be more interested in musical simplicity, avoiding symphony and opera in preference for tuneful songs and piano works considered lower genres, particularly if performed in private settings. These assumptions continued to act as a barrier: "...women's attraction to more 'natural' genres – those stressing melody, for example – could be used to justify their exclusion from the higher realms of 'culture'". [12]

Strong evidence of prevailing societal notions of masculine and feminine characteristics in the nineteenth century can be found in certain texts discussing the sonata. Citron points out:

> the two themes of the exposition are set up as a hierarchy that exhibits stylistic traits considered characteristic of man and woman, respectively...the basic model is one of ideological domination of man over woman. It seems to be an extension of general societal notions of ideal man and ideal woman and their proper relationship.[13]

It is interesting to note that while the masculine gender was clearly associated with strength, dominance, energy and forcefulness, there still seemed to be a fear of the dangerous, unpredictable female nature which had to be confined and kept in check. It is therefore not surprising that in her era Fanny would have seemed at odds with the boundaries set for women. Was she, perhaps, dangerously strong and forceful in her determination to compose and publish against all odds? One must recognize and consider the gender biases unique to that time, but more importantly, an appreciation of how Fanny reacted to these societal attitudes and the restrictions they placed upon her is of

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[12] Ibid., 132.

[13] Ibid., 133.

relevance to this paper. While compliance with nineteenth-century gender rules may be apparent in her Lieder, Fanny's rejection of these rules in her cantatas, where she was drawn to compose music of complexity and energy, is revealing of her character. It would seem useful at this point to examine her musical output to determine what influence expectations of her time may have had on her composition, and to consider related works by Felix as a source of greater understanding.

Chapter 5: The Music of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel

Gender Issues in the Music of Fanny and Felix

Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn may have had the same genetic and environmental stimuli and identical musical educations in childhood, but gender bias could not be avoided forever. The restrictions placed on Fanny as a consequence affected not only her daily activities but also the way she had to position herself on the "appropriateness" continuum in creating and performing her music. She was required by the standards of her day to observe "the symbolic coding of culture along a spectrum of femininity and masculinity. Here, femininity is associated with dialogue, delicateness, interiority, and nurturing; masculinity with assertion, achievement, exteriority and creation." [2] It should not be overlooked that certain expectations were placed on Felix by this same code, and that he wandered, in the view of some critics, a bit too far to the feminine side of the spectrum. Charles Rosen, for example, while proclaiming Felix the greatest child prodigy known to Western music, nevertheless identifies what he considers a great weakness in the composer's style, a lifelong liability, in that he exhibited a rather feminine "relaxed grace" that lessened dramatic force in his works: "Mendelssohn rounds

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[2] Michael P. Steinberg, "Culture, Gender, and Music: A Forum on the Mendelssohn Family," *The Musical Quarterly* 77 no.4 (Winter 1993): 648.

off his phrases, his paragraphs, and eventually his sections with a certain comfortable sweetness". [3]

Felix was a typical male of his era in many ways, but the musical culture he absorbed within his family was transmitted through the work of talented women: his great-aunt Sara Levy and his sister Fanny. When Felix exercised his male right to take his music into the male-centered public sphere, he "reproduced musically his family's culture of negotiation and dialogue through music, eschewing a musical discourse of heroism and assertion in favour of one of enlightened conversation." [4] In the growing atmosphere of nation-building in nineteenth-century Germany, where masculinity was imperative, Felix seemed to possess perhaps too "feminine" a musical voice: "unheroic, unassertive, and hence derivative, compromising and ultimately unoriginal."[5] What a depressing picture of that which would be considered feminine!

Is there in fact a foolproof way to identify music written by a woman? Some contemporary critics are adamant there is no "feminine style" that arises from mere biological traits. Marcia Citron, for instance, writes:

> It cannot be claimed that every woman composer writes in a style that all women composers utilize, that is unmistakably their own, and that cannot be found in works by men...composition itself is basically a technical discipline whose language is available to men and women alike; an interval or a chord is not inherently gendered. [6]

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[3] Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 571.

[4] Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance", 649.

[5] Ibid., 649.

[6] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon,* 159.

However, there are social and cultural factors that seem to foster particular tendencies in women composers. Citron notes that Rieger suggests some general examples: women make the most of a limited amount of material (e.g. relatively short salon works), functionally and expressively; women are more flexible in composition; women not as concerned about newness, originality, breaking free of tradition; women are more inclined to be emotional, intuitive, and lyrical.[7]

Was Fanny Hensel's style feminine by the standards of her own era? Fanny was one of the very few women composers who commented on the question of her own style. She seems to have absorbed the popular notion of women's weakness in sustaining musical ideas, and broadens it to include weakness she sees in her approach to life generally.

Fanny compared her talents unfavourably with her brother's, probably due to of her family's tradition of keeping the female subordinate. What she regarded as her lesser compositional abilities could also be considered among her most beautiful qualities. It was the Biedermeier style, a style aptly described in a letter written to Felix five years after Sebastian's birth:

> I've reflected how I, actually not an eccentric or overly sentimental person, came to write pieces in a tender style. I believe it derives from the fact that we were young during Beethoven's last years and absorbed his style to a considerable degree. But that style is exceedingly moving and emotional. You've gone through it from start to finish and progressed beyond it in your composing, and I've remained stuck in it, not possessing the strength, however, that is necessary to sustain that tenderness. Therefore I also believe that you haven't hit upon or voiced the crucial issue. It's not so much a certain way of composing that is lacking as it is a

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[7] Ibid., 264.

> certain approach to life, and as a result of this shortcoming, my lengthy things die in their youth of decrepitude; I lack the ability to sustain ideas properly and give them the needed consistency. Therefore Lieder suits me best, in which, if need be, merely a pretty idea without much potential for development can suffice." (17 February 1835, p.174)

Some critics seem to agree with Fanny's self-assessment concerning her insufficiencies in the realm of larger orchestral works, the masculine purview; Felix, perhaps threatened by his sister's remarkable talent, was not supportive when it came to her larger orchestral works:

> ... he was not pleased with these and felt, perhaps justifiably, that she was inexperienced and that therefore they were flawed. He wanted her to continue to write Lieder and to be content to compose in that area, one in which he had decided quite consciously to take no real interest. He was impatient with her mistakes in orchestration and did not seem to want her to learn from experience.[8]

A present-day critic, Sarah Rothenberg, asserts that Fanny's rare large-scale attempts "show aspects of amateurism in orchestration and musical materials that make comparison to Felix's works unthinkable, while many of the lieder and piano works not only compete with, but surpass the creations of her brother." [9] Others agree that Fanny was the better composer in the lesser genres:

> Hensel's music was influenced by her study of Bach and her close relationship with her brother, but she developed her own distinctive voice, particularly in her songs and piano miniatures. Her songs have a confidence and a melodic ease not always found in Felix Mendelssohn's

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[8] Victoria Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel" (DMA Dissertation, Boston University School for the Arts, 1996), 87.

[9] Sarah.Rothenberg, "'Thus Far, But No Farther': Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel's Unfinished Journey," *The Musical Quarterly* 77, no.4 (Winter 1993): 699.

> works in that genre, gifts her brother acknowledged when he wrote: '...she has composed several things, especially German Lieder, which belong to the very best we have'. [10]

A similar opinion on Fanny's superiority over her brother in this realm appears in "The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel"; Citron expresses surprise that Fanny and Felix seldom used the same texts; she contrasts and compares styles in their settings of two poems, Byron's *There be None of Beauty's Daughters* and *Ester Verlust* by Goethe. In the former, "dramatically their settings vary greatly: Felix's is a gentle, easy-flowing lullaby; Fanny's is a bold, sweeping gesture." With the Goethe, both siblings respected the ABA poetic structure but displayed marked difference in the use of repetition. "Felix's version displays frequent repetition on both a larger and more local level; Fanny's version contains only one instance of repetition." Citron believes Felix damaged the integrity of the poem by his heavy-handed treatment of the text: "repetition destroys the nostalgia inherent in Goethe's return to the thoughts of the first strophe. Fanny's setting, however, preserves this fragile emotional reminiscence." [11]

According to her son Sebastian's biography of Fanny, she had been well warned by her father to restrict her composing to "the type of music suited for a woman; songs written in a style that would not diminish her femininity." [12] The feminine stylistic qualities, in Abraham's view, were "light" and "natural." However, there is considerable

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[10] Karin Pendle, "*Women in Music: A History*", (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 154.

[11] Marcia J. Citron, "The Lieder of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel." *The Musical Quarterly*, 69 no.4 (1983), 593.

[12] Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance", 126.

evidence that Fanny was not compliant or content with her restrictions. A letter to her childhood friend Karl Klingemann reveals frustration couched in grim humour:

> That one moreover is reproached for one's miserable feminine nature every day, on every step of one's life by the lords of creation, is a point which could bring a person into a rage and consequently deprive one of femininity, but that would makes things even worse. (22 March 1829, p. 693)

However, Fanny's genius seemed to escape from these bonds and even from her own determination to give up artistic activity that was incompatible with her new status after marriage. She had written to Wilhelm Hensel in 1829, "I am composing no more songs, at least not by modern poets I know personally...Art is not for women, only for girls; on the threshold of my new life I take leave of this child's playmate". Despite this dutiful proclamation she continued to compose and perform with a high degree of accomplishment that predictably drew criticism from those who were frightened or astonished by female excellence. A reviewer in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, sounding rather shocked, commented on the fact that Opus 2 was written by a woman, a work "whose outward composition betrays absolutely no trace of a female hand, but allows rather the supposition of a masculine, serious study of the art..." [13]

Indeed, Fanny did not always keep her composing simple: "her early works already exhibited a harmonic sophistication that grew with age." [14] *Italien*, the song admired by Queen Victoria, and which Felix had to admit had been composed by his sister, certainly displays this sophistication. "As in her later songs, the composer uses

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[13] Victoria Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel", 124.

[14] Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance", 151.

sequences to create melodic expansion. In terms of its feminine/masculine qualities, all that needs to be said is that it passed in the eyes of the world as Felix Mendelssohn's work." [15]

Fugal writing, akin to that of Bach, was considered masculine by virtue of the use of complex harmony and counterpoint, while those genres from the classical period that favored melody or had a circular form, such as the minuet or rondo, were perceived as feminine. [16] Are Fanny's part song compositions not as lengthy as Felix's because she is adhering to a more feminine side of composition? Fanny studied counterpoint and in *Nachtreigen,* delivered an eight-part fugue. Could this be perceived as masculine?

Fanny may have chosen to write with more emotional content because it was considered more feminine to display those emotions and it was part of her creative soul that needed to be unleashed. For example, in her part songs, her sensitivity to the text appears to be more emotional given the lush harmonies she employs and the elision of phrases with which she creates more intense forward motion. On the other hand, *Festspiel* was written with a virtuosic piano accompaniment that was considered more a masculine trait.

There were considerations related to gender to be observed in performing and conducting as well as in composition, and it seemed that Fanny often amazed observers with her rather unfeminine mastery. Moscheles remarked on this virtuosity early in Fanny's development:

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[15] Ibid., 159.

[16] Ibid., 5.

> This is a family like no other I have known...This Felix Mendelssohn is already a mature artist and at the same time just fifteen years old! ...His older sister Fanny, also immensely talented, played fugues and passacaglias of Bach by memory with admirable accuracy; I believe she can be justly called an excellent musician. [17]

Another early visitor was Henry Thomson, an Englishman who was astonished at the virtuosity he witnessed:

> I possess twelve published songs under Mr. Mendelssohn's name, which he wrote when a boy of fifteen...But the whole of the twelve are not by him: three of the best are by his sister, a young lady of great talents and accomplishments. I cannot refrain from mentioning Miss Mendelssohn's name in connexion with these songs, more particularly when I see so many ladies without one atom of genius, coming forward to the public with their musical crudities, and, because these are printed, holding up their heads as if they were finished musicians. Miss M. is a first-rate piano-forte player, of which you may form some idea when I mention that she can express the varied beauties of Beethoven's extraordinary trio...She has not the wild energy of her brother; but possesses sufficient power and nerve for the accurate performance of Beethoven's music. She is no superficial musician; she has studied the science deeply, and writes with the freedom of a master. Her songs are distinguished by tenderness, warmth, and originality: some which I heard by way of practice. When I was at Berlin she had, for this purpose, begun to score, for a modern orchestra, one of Handel's oratorios, and shewed me how far she had advanced! [18]

Henry F. Chorley felt certain Fanny would have been famous had she not been born into a family of high social status where the pressures to follow proper standards for womanhood were more intense. In his view Fanny was a first-class pianist:

> Like her brother, she had in her composition a touch of the southern vivacity which is so rare among Germans. More feminine than his, her

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[17] Victoria Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel", 21.

[18] Ibid., 47.

> playing bore a strong family resemblance to her brother's in its fire, neatness and solidity.[19]

Unfortunately for Fanny, in early nineteenth-century Germany, where gender expectations were still powerful, these assets became a liability:

> There is no question that even limiting herself musically was not a foolproof method for deflecting the damage that too much virtuosity could do in the eyes of society. Despite modifying her composing so as not to transgress its gendered borders too noticeably, despite having limited her performances as a musician to the private sphere of the home and the semi-private sphere of the Salon, her former piano teacher (Zelter) writes that she plays the piano 'like a man'. [20]

There are not many comments available on Fanny's conducting style, but Felix did refer to her conducting as having been carried out with discretion, which would presumably imply "that she did not do it in what he perceived as an 'unfeminine' way, either too aggressively or drawing too much attention to herself." [21]

Comparison of Selected Works

The preceding consideration of gender and cultural issues which influenced the development and compositional output of Fanny Hensel leads now to a focus on specific representative works to illuminate these supposed influences. Did Fanny's musical output in fact differ from her brother's in ways that reflect the gender-specific constraints of her era?

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[19] Nancy Reich, "The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel," in *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. Larry Todd (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 86.

[20] Susan Schwaneflugel, "Modes of Performance", 129.

[21] Victoria Sirota, "The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel", 69.

Part Songs

Part songs are generally short *a cappella* pieces for either mixed voices or men's voices; they are usually homophonic in texture, with the melody appearing in the upper voice, and are written in a variety of forms, including strophic, through-composed, and AABA. For example, the five part songs of Felix Mendelssohn's included in Judith Blezzard's collection of nineteenth century German part songs (this book, surprisingly enough, does not include any Hensel part songs), *Abschied von Wald*, *Herbstlied* and *Ruhetal* are through-composed, *Morgengebet* is strophic and *Frühzeitiger Frühling* is in AABA form. The skeletal harmonic outline of most part songs is generally defined by a tonic/dominant movement. Many part songs were inspired by texts of the German Romantic poets and were based on or imitated folk melodies.

Both Fanny and Felix wrote many part songs. The following paragraphs will examine how Fanny and Felix chose to move within the tonic/dominant structure associated with part songs, the form and phrasing, use of chorus and overall attention to text setting.

The author selected two part songs that were similar in length and mood; *Ruhetal* by Felix and *O Herbst* by Fanny. Both Fanny and Felix use modulations from major to relative minor and back to major in their part songs, *Ruhetal* and *O Herbst.*

Bars	*Ruhetal*	Bars	*O Herbst*
1–8	I – V	1–8	I – V – V/vi
9–18	V – I – vi	9–16	vi – V
19–28	V/V(s) – V – I	17–22	I – V – V/V(s) – V – I
28–35	V – I – V/V – I		

In the following discussion of part songs, one may observe the chromatic harmony within the pillars (see example 1, Appendix III). Fanny and Felix write chromatic passing tones, creating dissonances that suspend the conclusion and communicate emotion effectively.

Ruhetal op. 59, no. 5 and *O Herbst*

Ruhetal by Felix Mendelssohn

Wann im letzten Abendstrahl	When golden mountains of cloud
Gold'ne Wolkenberge steigen	Gather in the final rays of daylight,
Und wie Alpen sich erzeigen,	Looking like the Alps,
Frag'ich oft mit Tränen:	Often then I tearfully ask myself:
Liegt wohl zwischen Jenen	Is my longed-for valley of rest
mein ersehntes Ruhetal?	Perhaps to be found there?

The text by Johann Uhland (1787-1862) depicts a rich and colorful scene, yet the poetic voice is doubtful and tearful. The scenery is uplifting and perhaps this is why Mendelssohn chooses to begin the first phrase in D major with a harmonic progression from tonic to dominant. The high arched shape of the first phrase in the soprano line emphasizes the height of the clouds by spanning a tenth, D to F# (see example 2, Appendix III). The texture is four-voice homophonic writing. However, where doubt and sadness appear with the text "Frah'ich ich oft mit Tränen", he reduces the voices to two, singing at the interval of a minor third; in the next bar he adds a third voice (see example 3, Appendix III). This reducing of voices was a compositional technique which shows Zelter's influence; Mendelssohn pairs the tenor and alto together and then adds the soprano in. That phrase (bars 9-18), a quasi-sequential event, is followed by a similar musical phrase (bars 19-27); he pairs basses and tenors, and altos with sopranos (see examples 3 and 4, Appendix III). In this section where Uhland is expressing doubt,

harmonies are in a state of unrest as is the voice (text), yet move towards the dominant. Compared to the length of the previous phrases, phrases in this section are broken into smaller units of three measures plus three measures plus four measures. The composer chose to repeat the final line of poetry, "mein ersehntes Ruhetal", emphasizing the poet's desire to find eternal peace.

Mendelssohn sets the music in 2/4 meter with a tempo of Adagio. The rhythmic patterns are quite simple using predominantly eighth and quarter notes at the beginning, dotted eighth and sixteenth notes by measures 28 and 30, and then the slower rhythm of quarter and half notes at the end, perhaps to emphasize the sought after resting place of the poet.

Ruhetal is a through-composed part song in D major of thirty-five bars duration, with three sections: bars 1-8 are homophonic with the melody in the soprano; bars 9-27 consist of quasi-sequential material; the codetta, bars 27-35, returns to the homophonic texture with the melody in the soprano. The harmonies employed within the tonic/dominant structure consist of passing chords (often diminished sevenths), which sometimes function as secondary dominants, and chromatic sequential-like material (see examples 3 and 4, Appendix III). The first eight-bar phrase is a prolongation of the tonic with a long pedal point (see example 2, Appendix III). The content of the second phrase, a prolongation through linear motion of the dominant seventh, consists of quasi-sequential material (see example 3, Appendix III); this chromatic material is repeated up a whole tone only once (bars 12 to 14). Mendelssohn then reiterates the dominant followed by the tonic, with a lovely leap of a sixth in the melody and cadences in the sub-mediant, or relative minor. In the third phrase, bar 19, he rebuilds his quasi-sequential

idea; this time altos and basses move in contrary, chromatic motion. For example, the alto line has a lovely chromatic rise and descent while basses move chromatically downward (see example 4, Appendix III). Mendelssohn then repeats the dominant/tonic material from the second phrase and ends the third phrase with an imperfect cadence on the tonic. Finally, the outer voices move apart in stepwise contrary motion towards the dominant in the beginning of the last phrase. The codetta begins on the tonic and establishes the tonic through a short series of secondary dominants. Mendelssohn's final cadence is a perfect cadence as opposed to previous cadences, all of which were imperfect.

***O Herbst* by Fanny Hensel**

O Herbst, in linden Tagen
Wie hast du rings dein Reich
fantastisch aufgeschlagen,
So bunt, so bleich,
So bunt und doch so bleich.

Wie öde ohne Brüder,
Mein Tal so weit und breit,
Ich kenne kaum dich
Wieder in dieser Einsamkeit.

So wunderbare Weise singt mir
Dein bleicher Mund,
Es ist, als öffnet leise, sic hunter mir,
Sich unter mir der Grund.

Und ich ruht', überwoben,
Du sängst immerzu
Die Linde schüttelt oben,
Die Linde schüttelt oben ihr Laub
Und deckt mich zu.

O fall, how you in gentle days
Charged your realm
So fantastically,
So colourful, so pale,
So colourful yet so pale.

How bleak without friends
Is my valley, so far and wide.
I scarcely know you
Again in this loneliness.

Your pale mouth sings to me
In such a wondrous way
It is as if the ground under me
Opened quietly, opened quietly under me.

And I rested,
and you sang all the while.
The linden trembles overhead,
The linden overhead moves her leaves
And covers me over.

The poetic themes chosen by Fanny Hensel for her part songs are typical of the genre; themes of nature and love, written by poets with whom she had made acquaintance, such as Heine, Goethe, Eichendorff and Byron. The poet of this particular part song is Eichendorff. Fanny's linear, chromatic, and thus expressive harmonic motion relates well to Eichendorff's description of "gentle fall days that are so colorful yet so

pale". The poet is contrasting the gorgeous colors of fall to the loneliness and sadness he feels through some loss. Consequently, in strophe six (bars 13 and 14), Fanny depicts the poet's use of *öde* ("bleak") by changing from a four-voice homophonic texture to a barren one: sopranos and tenors sing in parallel octaves, and altos and basses follow them in thirds; harmonic motion also becomes slower (see example 5, Appendix III). However, in the same area in the second strophe, the poet writes, "I rested and you sang all the while," giving a romantic impression to the phrase.

Fanny Hensel chooses to compose the *O Herbst* in strophic form with two subtly-defined sections; bars 1-13 are homophonic and bars 13 to the end are with voice pairing. The entire duration of the piece is twenty-two measures. The harmonies she employs are lush, and colourful with beautifully chosen non-chord tones. Like *Ruhetal*, *O Herbst* has an overall motion of tonic-to-dominant with emphasis on the relative minor in the middle of the piece (see chart on page 70). By eliding cadences and phrases, Fanny tends to display a more fluid style of phrasing than Felix does (see example 5, measures 4 and 8, Appendix III). Both composers employ harmonies that lend themselves to a drawing away from the tonic until the end. As with Felix, Fanny prolongs the F major tonic throughout measures 1 to 3, but she also employs colourful non-chord passing tones that weave around the tonic and dominant chords. For example, the alto line moves as follows: F-Eb-Db-Enat-F-G-F-F#-G-E; the first note is part of the tonic and the last note, part of the dominant. (see example 5, bars 1-4, Appendix III)

The harmonic motion, through use of linear chromatic harmonies, may be observed on the chart, page 70. The penultimate bar, in preparation for the final cadence,

is an example of Fanny's employment of word painting through chromatic linear motion (see example 5, Appendix III).

The phrasing of *O Herbst* is balanced. The first phrase is divided with elided cadences that result in a 4(2+2)-measure plus 4(2+2)-measure plus 4-measure figuration. The second section of this piece is an eight (4+4)-measure phrase; the text is repeated for the last three bars and serves musically as a cadential extension.

Frühzeitiger Frühling and *Im Wald*

Although part songs are, generally, short pieces, *Frühzeitiger Frühling* by Felix, and *Im Wald* by Fanny, are exceptions: the first is 161 bars and the latter is 82 bars in length.

Frühzeitiger Frühling by Felix Mendelssohn

Musical sections	Strophes	German text	English translation
A	1	Tage der Wonne, Kommt ihr so bald? Schenkt mir die Sonne, Hügel und Wald?	Rapturous days, how early you come, Bringing the hillside, woodland and sun.
	2	Reichlicher fließen Bächlein zumal, Sind es die Wiesen? Ist es das Tal?	Streamlets abundant, flowing so fast, There blooms the valley, here springs the grass
A	3	Bläuliche Frische! Himmel und Höh'! Gold'ne Fische wimmeln im See.	Heavenly freshness! Blue is the sky! Fish in the lake teem rapidly by.
	4	Buntes Gefieder rauschet im Hain, Himmlische Lieder schallen darein.	Radiant plumage darts through the wood, Heavenly birdsong captures the mood.
B	5	Unter des Grünen blühender Kraft Naschen die Bienen summend am Saft.	Under the verdant leaves of the trees, Stealing the nectar, loud hum the bees.
	6	Leise Bewegung bebt in der Luft, Reizende Regung, schäfernder Duft	Softly the zephyrs waft through the air, Rapturous movements, fragrances rare.
	7	Mächtiger rühret bald sich ein Hauch, Doc her verlieret gleich sic him Strauch.	Powerful breezes suddenly rush Losing themselves at once in the bush.
A^1	8	Aber zum Busen kehrt er zurück. Helfet, ihr Musen, tragen das Glück!	Yet in my heart they blow to me here. Help me, O muses, fortune to bear!
	9	Saget seit gestern wie mir geschah? Liebliche Schwestern, Liebchen ist da!	Tell me what changes with the new year. Yes, dearest sisters, my love is here!

The text, by the well-known German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, is an address to the Muses, expressing delight in love as associated with the joyful blossoming of spring: birdsong, green grass, and blooming. For the first A section Mendelssohn employs strophes one and two; the text of the second strophe "Reichlicher fliesen Bächlein zumal..." is repeated through a musical sequence. The musical repeat of the A section uses strophes three and four, with more repetition of text in strophe four (as in strophe two). The B section which shifts from 3/8 meter to 2/4, uses strophes five, six, and seven. Mendelssohn employs word painting effectively with the changes in rhythm as well as in rhythmic character (an eighth note followed by two sixteenths). This change suggests that the composer wished to depict the bustling of nature in the spring of the year with the humming of bees and the blowing of light breezes: "Unter des Grünen blühender Kraft Naschen die Bienen summend am Saft. Leise Bewegung bebt in der Luft..." (see example 6b, Appendix III)

The texture is mainly homophonic with the exception of some voice pairing (soprano and alto, tenor and bass) in measures 17 through 24.

For the form of the piece, Mendelssohn chose AABA. The musical repeat of the first A section, in 3/4 meter beginning in measure 41, gives one the notion of strophic form. However, following the repetition of the A section, he constructs a rhythmically contrasting B section in 2/4 meter (measures 81 to 113). The final A section is a return to the 3/4 meter with material from the opening A section beginning in bar 114. An interesting addition occurs in bars 147 to 154; Felix gives the tenor a melodic passage that is unlike previous material. In this passage the tenor sings "Liebliche Schwestern, Liebliche da", while the three other parts sing "Saget seit gestern wie mir geschah." He

uses a motive from the opening to extend the conclusion of the piece (see example 7b, Appendix III).

The opening section of *Frühzeitiger Frühling* is mostly a display around the tonic center of G major, a bright key which helps to reflect the text (see example 7a, appendix III). The B section begins in G major but a passing chord (V^7 of vi) leads to the vi chord which remains the focal point for five bars. The next phrase moves towards the relative minor; the motion begins with a diminished leading tone chord followed by the dominant of B minor. Felix makes a return to G major in measure 99 (see example 8, Appendix III); this remains the key center through to the end of the section (measure 113), with subdominant, dominant, and submediant chords progressing through slow harmonic motion.

At bar 114, the A section returns in exact repetition for thirty-two bars, with the exception of one diminished seventh leading tone chord. The conclusion of the part song is a tonic pedal point (similar to opening bars) for the final sixteen bars, over which are repeated motives from the opening idea (see example 7b, Appendix III).

Goethe's balanced poetic phrases are reflected in Mendelssohn's balanced musical phrases. For example, the A section phrasing is 8 (4+4) measures, plus 8 (4+4) measures, plus 8 (4+4) measures with an added 7 bars of repeated text over a pedal point.

***Im Wald* by Fanny Hensel**

Musical sections	Strophes	German text	English translation
A	1	Im Wald, im hellen Sonnenschein, Wenn alle Knospen springen,	In the forest, in the bright sunshine, When all the buds are bursting forth
	2	Dann mag ich gerne mittendrein eins singen.	I like to sing in the midst of them.
	3	Wie mir zu Mut in Leid und Lust	Whatever my mood, in sorrow and passion,

		Im Wachen und im Träumen,	Waking and dreaming
	4	Das stimm' ich an aus voller Brust den Bäumen.	That's what I sound forth to the trees in full voice
B	5	Und sie verstehen mich gar fein,	And they understand me so acutely.
		Die Blätter alle lauschen	All the leaves listen and join in
	6	und fall'n am rechten Orte ein mit Rauschen.	With their murmuring (rustling).
	7	Und weiter wandelt Schall und Hall	And on and on the sound and its echo
		In Wipfeln, Fels und Büschen	Answers in the peaks, rocks and bushes.
	8	Hell schmettert auch Frau Nachtigall da zwischen.	Brightly too the nightingale warbles there.
A	9	Da fühlt die Brust am eignen Klang,	My bosom bursts with its own passion
		Sie darf sich was erkühnen,	It dares to be brazen, o fresh desire,
	10	o frische Lust, Gesang im Grünen.	Song in the lushness of nature.

The poet of this text, Emanuel Geibel, writes about forests and buds, the lushness of nature and singing. Unlike *O Herbst*, the meter of the lines of text is not consistent (see above, second lines of strophes one and two), yet Fanny achieves balanced phrases by repeating the text "eins singen" (see example 10, Appendix III). The texture remains strictly homophonic throughout with the exception of one short imitative passage in bars 34 through 38 (see example 9, Appendix III).

Fanny constructs this part song in an ABA^1 form with the second A section extended through a repetition of the text. As in *Frühzeitiger Frühling*, the sections are clearly delineated rhythmically and harmonically: the A section, in A major, is in cut time and the B section, in the relative F# minor, is in 6/8.

Fanny chooses to emphasize the tonic and dominant relationships in the A section. In the first phrase, although supertonic and mediant-based chords are used, the cadence uses traditional motion of V of IV, IV, V, to I (see example 10, Appendix III). The second phrase begins on the dominant and modulates to C major and firmly establishes the new tonic at the cadence in bar 15 (see example 11, Appendix III). She

returns to A major in the last phrase of the section by way of interesting chords such as major sevenths, augmented chords and secondary dominants (see example 11, Appendix III).

The B section (beginning in bar 22), in F# minor, is relatively stable in regards to harmonic rhythm; it is mainly tonic and dominant. A bass pedal point on F# is employed throughout the first five bars; over it the subdominant and tonic chords are emphasized. Diminished seventh leading tone chords are used sparingly (bars 27 and 34). Fanny modulates back to A major in bar 43 and stresses the dominant until returning to the third section of the piece (see example 12, bar 52, Appendix III).

The third section is similar to the opening A section for the first twelve bars and then Fanny writes a chain of secondary dominants (see example 13, bars 62-66, Appendix III). Then the diminished leading tone chord leads into the tonic 6/4 chord, V, and then I (see example 13, bars 69-72, Appendix III). The tonic continues to be established through alternation of tonic and dominant chords until the end of the work.

The phrasing of the first section is a long twelve-bar phrase, divided into 8-measures plus 8-measures plus 4-measures. A unique occurrence in this work is that the ends of phrases are marked by rests, reflecting the influence of Bach, who used this technique in his chorales.

Comparison of Cantatas

Lobegesang

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate Fanny and Felix's *Lobegesangs* (Hymns of Praise) through detailed analysis, the cantatas are worthy of mention to help the reader appreciate what the siblings created with similar texts. These cantatas provide an excellent opportunity for a study of similarities and differences in their composing styles.

There are certainly commonalities in their approaches to the *Lobegesang*s: the cantatas reflect the influence of Bach, for instance in the use of the chorale and/or choruses based on the chorale; the scoring is for orchestra, soloists, and choir (one must bear in mind, that when Felix composed his cantata, he was musical director in Leipzig, and had at his disposal the Gewandhausorchestra); and the texts are Biblical.

It is at once apparent how huge, in comparison to Fanny's,[22] Felix's work is. Whereas Fanny composed for a small number of musicians, perhaps what the parents could afford, Felix had the liberty to write for an immense group of musicians just as his masculine contemporaries could do. Felix's opportunities came to him as being a professional musician; he was commissioned by the city of Leipzig to write *Lobegesang*. (The reader will find a chart that sketches the differences in the *Lobegesangs* in Appendix II.)

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[22] For an annotated entry of Fanny's *Lobegesang*, see Appendix I.

Organ Works

Of the over one hundred and twenty works for keyboard, Fanny only composed two for the organ (analysed in the following paragraphs).[23] Among her pianoforte works are sonatas, bagatelles, Lieder, and a song cycle, *Das Jahr*. Felix wrote well over two hundred works for pianoforte solo and several large-scale organ works. Among his organ works are *Three Preludes and Fugues* op.37, and the *Six Organ Sonatas* op.65. The three works for organ examined in this essay were chosen because they both were intended for the same occasion: Fanny's wedding. Both Fanny and Felix wrote these pieces hastily; Fanny had waited for Felix's manuscript, and because she did not receive it before the eve of her wedding, with her bridegroom's encouragement she composed her own processional and recessional. Fanny displayed characteristic panache and determination:

> Then, around 9 o'clock, Hensel suggested that I compose a piece, and I had the audacity to start to compose in the presence of all the guests. I finished at 12:30 and don't think it's too bad. I sent it to Grell [the organist] and hope that he'll agree to play it. (3 October 1829, p.91)

It is interesting to bear in mind that, probably for the first time, Fanny and Felix did not have the opportunity to edit each other's work. Might this absence of their usual interaction explain why Felix's processional is quite simple and firmly based on the tonic? Would Fanny have suggested use of expressive qualities, such as chromaticism or more interesting melodic content, a feminine trait Rosen and other critics associate with Felix? Was Fanny responsible for that feminine sophistication in Felix's works?

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[23] These works have been published by Vivace Press.

Fanny's wedding processional and recessional are more complex in form than Felix's; however, Felix later used his wedding music as an opening to his elaborate Sonata III. Fanny incorporates pianistic elements, such as octaves in the hands, indicating her unfamiliarity with the organ (see example 14, Appendix III). As previously noted, in the early nineteenth century, women were restricted to more feminine instruments, such as the piano.

Sonata III by Felix Mendelssohn

The opening of Sonata III, in A major, is the portion originally intended for Fanny's wedding. The march is only twenty-four bars in length. It is based simply on an eighth-note descending and ascending scalar pattern of four notes, with the exception of bars 9 and 14. Bar 9 is a solo line, like a trumpet call, followed by a rhythmic variant of the four-note scalar pattern (see example 15, Appendix III).

The harmony is basically, tonic-dominant-tonic with a passage of secondary dominants in bars 10 to 16 (see example 16, Appendix III). The first eight bars establish the tonic and cadences on the dominant, E major; this is followed by the above mentioned passage of secondary dominants heading towards a cadence, also on the dominant at bar 15. He prolongs the solid arrival on the dominant by holding it in first inversion for two bars, a significant length of eight percent of the piece. Another device Felix uses to emphasize the dominant is the descending notes in the pedal towards E, in bar 17. Bars 20 to the end, with the pedal point on the tonic, serves as a coda-type ending with repeated use of the descending four-note motive in intervals of thirds. Over the pedal

point, he moves through the subdominant, secondary dominant to the dominant and then arrives at the tonic.

The phrases are arranged as follows:

bars 1-8: repeated motive of descending and ascending scalar 4-note in thirds.
bars 9-14: trumpet call and rhythmic variant of motive
bars 15-20: eighth note descending and ascending in sixths
bars 20-24: descending scalar eighths in thirds; Coda-like extension.

***Präludium* in F Major by Fanny Hensel**

This organ processional is unified through two main ideas: the 'A' sections are filled with large, wide-spaced, six- to eight-note chords and the 'B' sections are based on a short theme, thus the form works out to be as follows: A (mm. 1-3) - B (mm. 5-7) - A^1- C - A^2- B^2- A^3 (see example 17, Appendix III). It is as if it were a seventeenth century vocal model whereby the refrain is reiterated with different couplets throughout the work.

A: bars 1-5
- large chords with pedal
- serves as introduction and statement of F major tonality.

B: bars 5-18
- hands alone
- a melodic idea is presented in bars 5-11, accompanied by homophonic chords
- melodic idea is repeated and varied through to bar 18.

A^1: bars 18-27
- return of opening introduction with additional offbeat largechords in quarter and half notes
- large chords alternate with a rhythmic figure in the pedal.

C: bars 28-32
- this short section employs new chordal material. Rhythmically it varies through alteration and a combination of quarter and eighth notes
- more variety is presented in the left hand which has ascending scalar sequences that span and run an octave; Fanny uses this pianistic style only in this section (a common characteristic in organ composition in Germany at that time)

A2: bars 33-42

- opening is similar to A, although the idea is repeated and extended in bar 36 to bar 42.

B2: bars 42-66
- the first four bars are similar to B by melodic content and hands alone. It differs because the extension of the idea is lengthy
- passages are elided with progressively longer note values; eighths, quarters, halfs, and then long whole notes.

A3: bars 66 to end
- This is a triumphant, long and final statement with combined material from A and A1 which is marked *agitato* and *largo*.

This wedding march is in F major. A pedal note is held at the beginning of each of the A sections, the first on F major, the second on the dominant, and the third on the secondary dominant. Tonic seventh chords follow the pedal point. Following the seventh chords, Fanny firmly establishes the tonality by using the I-IV-V-I progression. VI chords are used as passing chords in the opening A section to move towards the dominant that begins the manuals only section. In bar 9, she raises the fourth degree, B-flat, to B natural to prepare the dominant seventh of the new key, C major. This establishment of C major in the B section sets up the tonality for A.

The C section is modulatory, as is the following A section. B naturals indicate a movement towards the dominant of C major, G major yet in bar 36, sharps indicate further motion away from the tonic to a secondary dominant, D major. By the arrival of the B section, Fanny has returned to G minor instead of G major. At bar 46 she lands back in the tonic center of F major. During the extension in this section she explores the same keys used in her previous modulatory section. Long note values at the end of the B section are a series of secondary dominants ending on the dominant of F major. In the final section, which begins on the dominant in bar 66, Fanny insists on delaying the arrival of the tonic until bar 82. During the avoidance of the tonic, she explores even

beyond secondary dominants with interesting passing tones; however, by bar 82 she reintroduces the opening of the march. The final portion establishes the tonic in grand style.

Präludium in G Major by Fanny Hensel

Frau Hensel composed this wedding recessional on the eve of her wedding which took place at the Parochialkirche in Berlin. Did Fanny keep the style conservative because it was intended for a public performance? The form consists of large chords with a simple melody in the highest voice alternated with a fugato type section. The mood and melody are regal. In the beginning, the full chords supporting the melody are full of strength. The melody from the first 4 bars is in the top voice and recurs in the pedal in bars 5 to 8 (see example 18, Appendix III). Unlike the *Präludium* in F, Fanny can not resist employing counterpoint. A fugato type section occurs in bar 14 to 25, with the melody first in the soprano and then moving to other voices; this section begins being accompanied by a low pedal tone and left hand chords (see example 19, Appendix III). The opening melodic material reappears several more times as well as the theme from the fugato section. The relative minor is visited as well as the relative minor of the subdominant. A series of passing diminished chords occurs before the massive, long cadential chords over a dominant tone in the pedal; the dominant pedal tone is interrupted by a C# pedal tone which is the root of the diminished chord employed (see example 20, Appendix III).

Summary: Similarities and Differences

The part songs of the Mendelssohn siblings are similar in many ways, for example in form and harmonic and melodic content. Their part songs appear to be without gender identifiers, and are so similar that it would be difficult to distinguish the composers from one another. While their part song writing reflects the contemporary style of the genre, the pieces examined in this paper show that both Felix and Fanny composed with great expressivity. Because of the fusion of their personal and musical characters, both Fanny and Felix combined masculine and feminine traits in their music.

However, the larger works (see Appendices I and II) do contain different compositional aspects due to differing gender expectations; Felix composed for large groups of musicians while Fanny was composing for a small groups of amateurs and professionals.

Nevertheless, Fanny's *Oratorium* was certainly large-scale, and combines both masculine and feminine traits (see Appendix I); it stirs the heart with its colorful harmonies and melodic ideas, and it is filled with counterpoint. The *Oratorium*, metaphorically speaking, is a powerful statement not only of Fanny's musical genius, but also of her strong will and determination to venture beyond societal boundaries. Despite those limitations, she managed to create impressive works; had she been afforded the opportunities of a male, the talent and capabilities evidenced in her part song writing and the cantatas would probably have brought her fame equal to that enjoyed by Felix.

Fanny and Felix's organ works are quite different in many musical aspects, mainly in form and harmony. Fanny seemed to be concerned with a lengthy form, such as in the *Präludium* in F Major, and the inclusion of counterpoint. Although Fanny's

wedding works are longer than Felix's (intended) processional, they show signs of insufficient knowledge of the organ (for example, long, held pedal notes and pianistic chords). If one studies the organ compostitions of Felix, one realizes that the majority of Felix's large organ works are fine examples of craftsmanship written in the tradition of Bach, combined with the new compositional traits of Felix's time period. Could Fanny have achieved that level of expertise in composing for the organ had she been given the opportunity to study the instrument?

Conclusion

When considering the convincing views expressed on gender issues and cultural restrictions in nineteenth-century Germany, the common opinion for the past several decades has been that Fanny was unjustly suppressed; it would be easy for one to sympathize with the plight of a talented female musician in a cage. Recently, other researchers have questioned these views, suggesting that by emphasizing the supposed injustice of family and societal constraints, scholars do Fanny a further injustice by creating an apologia for musical work that needs no apology.

It would seem the best course would be to draw conclusions based on a study of Fanny's choral and organ compositions, and selected works by her brother where both wrote on similar themes or texts. Through examining scores, and listening to recordings, this author concludes that Fanny was not, in fact, completely inhibited by cultural boundaries. Her apparent spiritual need to create music was fulfilled through *Sonntagmusik*; in that context, at least, she was able to compose, conduct and perform with professional and amateur musicians. Although often frustrated with her boundaries, Fanny stretched them.

Fanny Hensel did occasionally write in the accepted feminine manner, as demonstrated in her hundreds of Lieder compositions and her focus on melodic content in her part songs and cantatas. Tenderness and gentleness in shaping and expressing ideas

(Koch's definition of "feminine" music) is evident particularly in *O Herbst* and other similar part songs, in *Notturno* opus 2 (for piano), and in the slow movements of her cantatas.

However, a great deal of her output contains elements which were in her time considered unfeminine characteristics. In *Faust*, for example, Fanny composes a diverse and virtuosic piano part (which she would have played herself) with double sharps, wide stretches, and changes in meter. Another of Fanny's impressive achievements was her mastery of counterpoint; composing in fugal style demonstrated skill and competence unexpected in women of her era. Complex art forms did not frighten Fanny, even though she was invading what was considered the male domain. Certainly her drive to publish her compositions and her eventual success took her into "unfeminine" territory.

Fanny was a superb musician with remarkable and admirable character; she freed herself from familial and societal limitations which tended to prevent her from expressing herself as a composer or performer. She accomplished marvelous things, and it is not necessary to add the caveat "despite her circumstances", an approach that diminishes the true value of her work. Musically, she appears without gender, technically gifted and intelligent, yet possessing and revealing depths of sensitivity.

After having examined the choral and organ music of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, it seems possible that the title of Citron's article "Felix Mendelssohn's Influence on Fanny Mendelssohn" should be reversed. One wonders what his music would have been like had she not edited it, how much of his success was due to his sister's suggestions and copying, and whether his music is similar to hers because of her influence on him. These

are some of the unanswered questions that could perhaps be pursued by future researchers as more of Fanny's work becomes better known and appreciated.

Ultimately, Fanny was a pillar of early nineteenth-century German salon music and she accepted the constraints of her domestic role; without the barriers created by the social expectations of her time, she might well have surpassed her brother's musical popularity. It is apparent she had potential to exceed her brother's success as a composer, if she, like Felix, had been able to concentrate fully on her profession.

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Discography

Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel. *Gartenlieder*. Leonarda Ensemble Köln, Elke Mascha Blankenburg. Cpo 999 012-2

Fanny Hensel-Mendelssohn. *Oratorium & Duette*. KammerChor der Universität Dortmund, Thorofon CTH 2451

Fanny Hensel-Mendelssohn. *Oratorium, Duette. Terzette*. KammerChor der Universität Dortmund, Thorofon CTH 2299

Felix Mendelssohn. Organ Works. Peter Hurford, Argo 414 420-2

Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Symphonie Nr. 2 *Lobgesang*. Chorus Musicus das Neue Orchester, ops 30-98, Christopher Spering, Cp1994

Appendix I:
Choral Works of
Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel

Chronological annotation

One may be extremely thankful for the amount of Fanny Hensel's choral music that has been published recently; the majority by Furore-Verlag and some by Hildegard Publishing. Mendelssohn's music was not allowed in Nazi Germany; as a result, Fanny's music was not in public possession until the foundation of the Mendelssohn Archive at the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin in 1965.

1829 ***Nachtreigen: Es rauschen die Bäume***

- text by Wilhelm Hensel
- SSAA/TTBB, a cappella
- A love poem written for his beloved Fanny
- Published in 1995 by Carus-Verlag 40.219
- Length of performance approx. 6:30

> "Recently he (Hensel) gave me a poem that he thought could be sung in the garden, although it's actually too lengthy for that purpose. I convinced him that it can't be set to music and am now composing it for his birthday...It will consist of 8-part chorus with the women's chorus and men's chorus first antiphonal and then together." (29 June 1829, 57.)

Nachtreigen (nocturnal roundelay) follows the German folk tradition: women's choruses and men's choruses sing in opposition, as well as together. It opens, in cut time, with a gentle women's chorus singing of fragrances and dreams, followed by a folk-like

celebration by the men's section in triple meter. In replying to the men, asking for quietness "lest we disturb the celebration," the women must make a difficult transition; they commence on a C major four-note chord which follows the men's cadence on a B major chord. Following the women's section which invites all to join the circle, the men respond and join the holy power of tranquility. This section (again in cut time) of shorter alternations leads into all eight parts singing together. The cadence of this section before the fugue, powerful and grand, suits the text well: "We come overpowered by the Holy strength of peace." The eight-voice fugue marked *allegro* is an impressive work of art in contrapuntal writing. The rather short fugal sections alternate with large, grand, slow moving homophonic chords, reminiscent of Händel. The ending is splendid and requires sopranos to produce high A's and a B.

Nachtreigen is Fanny's only extended unaccompanied choral work. In addition to the eight-voice fugue, fast-moving German text for the women's choir makes this piece quite difficult.

1829 *Festspiel "Die Hochzeit kommt"*

- text by Wilhelm Hensel
- cantata for SSATBB soloists, 4-part mixed chorus and orchestra
- written for the celebration of Fanny's parents' silver wedding anniversary
- manuscript at Mendelssohn Archives of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
- published by Furore Verlag 1997
- length of performance approximately 10 minutes

Festspiel, Fanny's first extended work with orchestra, opens with a fanfare for trumpets in D major. The entire, rather undemanding but celebratory, work does not stray far from the tonic and dominant. The fanfare introduces the three heralds who have come

to announce the arrival of three weddings. The heralds are two bass soloists and a tenor soloist. The writing for the heralds is imitative, as well as homophonic; Fanny had to make it challenging for the three professional musicians who first sang the *Festspiel.* Along with textural contrasts, there is a wide variety of dynamics to heighten the drama of the event. *Allegretto* signifies movement two, which begins with the three heralds asking the audience to listen for the approaching three weddings. The three female soloists sing as an ensemble, homophonically (one of these soloists was Fanny herself). This trio section is followed by solos from each woman, which is followed by a segment in which they sing as a trio. The mixed chorus portion ends the work in a joyous affirmation of the couple's steadfastness and finally wishes them good fortune. *Festspiel* ends as it began with the festive trumpets and orchestra resounding in a fanfare of praise.

1831 *Hiob*

- text is portrayal of Job's suffering
- cantata for SATB soloists, chorus and orchestra
- manuscript in Mendelssohn Archives of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
- Published by Furore Verlag, 1992. Separate choral scores available.
- Performance time approximately 9 minutes

The movements of the cantata are as follows: chorus, alto recit., trio, alto recit., chorus. Fanny Hensel uses this symmetry in form perhaps to emphasize the question, "What is it to be a human being?" That same text is used for the first imitative idea (minor sixth, minor third) which is established by the sopranos and carried through the other voices separately; this starkness in part-writing is an effective way of portraying the question. The voices sing homophonically before entering another fugal section; there are three such sections of alternation. The cantata's opening chorus enters following a

six-bar orchestral introduction; along with the imitative writing, a trait typical, yet in smaller form, of Bach cantatas; in fact, the entire cantata is reminiscent of Bach and there are also some Handelian qualities (alternating of imitative and homophonic sections).

The middle portion of the cantata is relatively short. The sixteen-bar alto recit. is dark and somber in character and full of large interval leaps (i.e. octaves, sevenths, sixths). The section ends on a low G yet the range spans up to a high E-flat. Unable to resist writing in imitation, Fanny composes the trio portion (bars 17-40) with haunting harmonies. Fanny dramatically captures the miserable sufferings of Job in the first two sections of the cantata and turns the misery to triumph in the final chorus, *Vivace* in G major. In this third movement, Fanny continues to employ imitation (a broken triad with a leap of a seventh is the main idea throughout), as well as homophonic passages. This rousing movement slows down rhythmically near the end and finally the last four bars marked *lento,* gloriously finish this dramatic portrayal of Job's suffering as a test of faith in God.

A choir of skilled singers would be capable of performing this work, yet because of Fanny Hensel's extensive use of counterpoint, it may be difficult for a community choir.

1831 *Oratorium nach Bildern der Bibel*

- based on stories from the Bible, Old Testament
- music composed for the victims of the cholera epidemic
- oratorio for SATB soloists, 8-voice choir, large orchestra (including 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, drums and 2 trombones
- original score located in the Mendelssohn archives in Berlin
- published by Furore Verlag, 1994 (separate vocal score available)
- performance time is approximately 40 minutes

The *Oratorium* is made up of the following movements: Introduction, recit (alto), arioso (bass), recit (soprano), chorus, recit (alto), recit (soprano), chorus, aria (tenor), recit (soprano), Trauerchor, Chor der Seligen, recit (soprano), arioso (soprano), solo quartet, chorus, recit (soprano), Schußchor. In this large work, Fanny Hensel exercises her skill with pre-Baroque techniques such as modality, and employment of trombones; the resulting colors are interesting. The introduction begins in G minor and the work explores various related tonalities which lead to a dramatic conclusion in C major. The choral parts range from four to eight voices; in Trauerchor the women and men sing alone, alternately, and together. Hensel uses an impressive number of themes (eight different themes in the first choral movement). The influence of Bach is apparent in Fanny's inclusion of fugues and a chorale.

This gorgeous *Oratorium* would be very difficult for untrained singers. Its wonderfully captivating drama is heightened by demanding fugal sections mixed with intensely emotional double *forte* homophonic sections for four to eight voices (for example, the No. 4 Coro, "Weh, es ist gescheln", interweaves six voices). Although Felix scorned Fanny's orchestration in this work, it remains appealing because of its uniqueness.

1831 Lobegesang: Meine Seele ist stille

- text : My soul is calm towards God who helps me for He is my hope
  O that I had a thousand tongues
  I want to sing of God's goodness

- cantata for soprano and alto soloists, SATB chorus, and orchestra
- manuscript in the Mendelssohn Archives, Berlin
- published by Furore, 1992. Separate choral scores available.
- Performance time approximately 15 minutes

The cantata is constructed similar to a Bach cantata except, instead of a chorale, the last movement is extensive and full of imitation. The opening movement is a *Pastorale* for flutes, oboes, horns and strings. The extensive second movement for chorus, in E-flat major, begins as a chorale followed by a fugue, *Allegro moderato.* In the fugue, after the exposition, Fanny introduces a new theme which is related to the first subject. The first theme returns, somewhat altered, before the *Allegro* section. This new section begins homophonically (for three bars) and another theme is introduced imitatively and carried to the end of the movement, cadencing in G major.

The accompanied alto recitative is based on a metaphorical scriptural passage about the trials and joys of childbirth (John 16:21) and is followed by a soprano da capo aria ("O that I had a thousand tongues").

The last movement is based on a chorale ("I want to sing of God's goodness") sung in the alto line; the other voices weave with a countersubject. The second half of the movement resembles the chorale motet style; the chorale subject is heard in all voices in imitation. The work ends with the chorus singing, homophonically, the last phrase of the chorale.

This cantata should be most likely sung by well-trained singers due to its counterpoint and chromatic harmonies; it would be another wonderful addition to any choral program.

1833 ***Zum Fest der heiligen Cäcilia***

- Latin text. Verset from the Mass of St. Cecilia.
- SATB quartet, SATB chorus, piano accompaniment
- choir parts are in Bodleian Library in Oxford

- published by Furore Edition Kassel, 1998
- performance time approximately 7 minutes

Fanny writes to Felix regarding *Zum Fest:*

> "Within two days I have composed a verset from the Mass of St. Cecilia, from which mother probably sent you a text sheet. I did it in such a hurry that I haven't managed to write down the accompaniment until today. The whole piece was arranged as a double surprise, because at first one saw Pauline Decker who did not sing, then she sang a few tones at sight, and finally she sang a really living picture, of course from memory, which is said to have had a magic effect." (preface of score by Willi Gundlach)

This piece begins with a piano introduction to a SATB quartet (for 64 bars), written imitatively. The choir enters repeating the text of the quartet, "Beata immaculata in via...." A seventeen-bar bass solo occurs, followed by a chorus section during which the bass soloist continues his solo line. The soprano soloist in her first phrase ascends to a high B-flat, over the chorus, then proceeds to her solo, "Domine deus..." for forty-six bars. From bar 217 to the end (m. 271), the soprano soloist and chorus join forces in alternation. There is only one fugal section in the chorus (beginning at bar 225 with the tenor); it is written mostly homophonically.

This work could be sung by a community choir without much difficulty; the choral parts are mainly homophonic except for the one fugal section. The piano accompaniment is undemanding; apparently Fanny Hensel sketched it in a hurry. Fanny was unusually reserved in composing this work, perhaps exercising the gentle, feminine side of her composing nature.

1843 ***Faust***

- Part II of the Tragedy. Act I—A Pleasant Landscape
- text by J.W. von Goethe
- SSAA chorus, women's quartet, and soprano soloist, with piano accompaniment
- depicts the song of Ariel and the chorus of elf spirits
- manuscript in the Mendelssohn Archives, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin
- published by Furore Verlag (edited by Suzanne Summerville)
- length of performance approximately 14 minutes

Unlike Fanny's other large choral works, *Faust* has continuous music throughout. The charming work is constructed as follows: instrumental introduction, solo, chorus, chorus alternating with soloist, recitative, piano interlude, chorus, piano interlude, quartet, solo, and chorus alternating with soloist. The challenging piano part, which she would have played herself, introduces the piece, *Andante* (in E major). The piano part is full of arpeggiated, dance-like figures which may represent the elf spirits, wide stretches and large chords. When Ariel, the soprano soloist, appears out of the rather virtuosic accompaniment in the beginning, she sings a melody which is reiterated by the choir throughout the work. The choir, SSAA, elides with Ariel's cadence, repeating her text and melody (in first soprano part). The chorus then alternates with the soloist and this style of writing continues throughout the piece. A piano interlude connects the chorus sections which are written homophonically; alternation occurs between sopranos and altos. Many of the alternating sections were suggestions from Goethe.

This delightful piece is refreshing and full of light: "When the blossoms of spring float downward like rain...when the air comes warmly wafting...brilliant light and smallest shimmer glisten near...look yonder at the burst of day!" The choral part is not

difficult; the variety in the work, unified by a charming melody, is most capturing with soprano solo, solo quartet, and chorus, all sung over an appealing piano part.

1846/7 Gartenlieder/chorlieder

- An anthology of four-part choral songs intended to be sung outdoors
- SATB, SAB, double chorus
- Selected poetry of Goethe, Lenau, Geibel, Eichendorff, Uhland, and Hensel

In Opus 3 Fanny presented six part songs for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass for publication the year before she died; these were called *Gartenlieder*. Her eleven other choral settings are similar in that they are intended for friendly group singing. This collection of appealing and varied lyrical pieces range from simple folk songs to songs which are highly expressive, and motivically intense. They were intended for her choir of about twenty singers, some amateur, some professional.

Most of these part songs are relatively short (two to three minutes in length) and of moderate difficulty. They would be suitable on a program combined with, for example, some of her thirty delightful duets.

Appendix II:
Lobegesangs

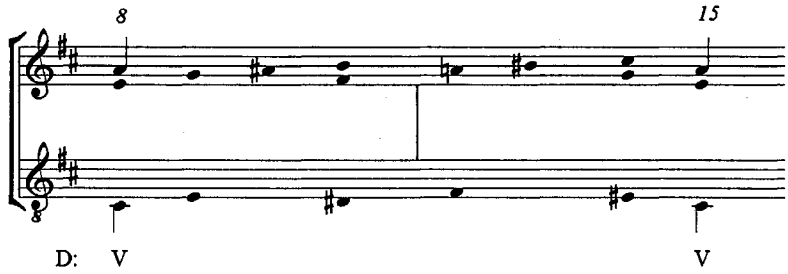
Differences:

	Felix	Fanny
Date:	1840	1831
Performance venue:	Gutenburg Festival in Leipzig at St. Thomas Church. Commissioned by city of Leipzig.	Sonntagsmusik
Format:	long sinfonia, chorus, aria, recit., aria, chorus, duet and chorus, aria, recit., aria and chorus, chorale, chorus, aria, chorus	introduction Pastoral, chorus, recit., aria, chorus
Orchestration:	woodwinds, strings, organ (in revised edition)	woodwinds, strings
Choruses:	imitative, homorhythmic (more Handelian than Bach). Chorale presented in four-part traditional style, repeated with style. orchestral running sixteenths.	contrapuntal with few homophonic passages. chorale not in four-part style
Performance time:	65 minutes	15 minutes

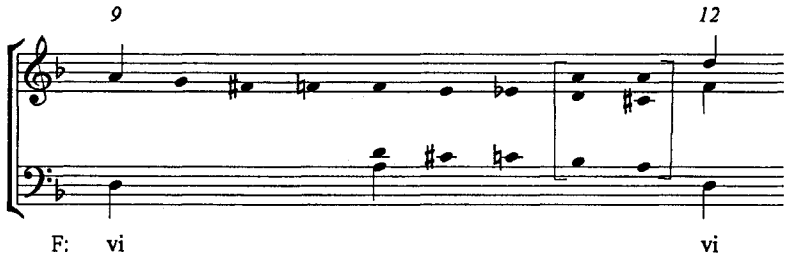
Appendix III:
Musical Examples

Example 1. Comparison of chromatic harmonies

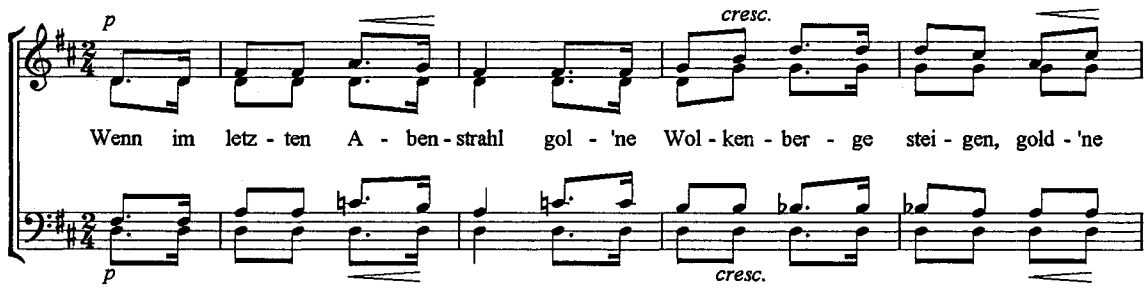
a) Felix Mendelssohn, *Ruhetal*, mm. 8-15.



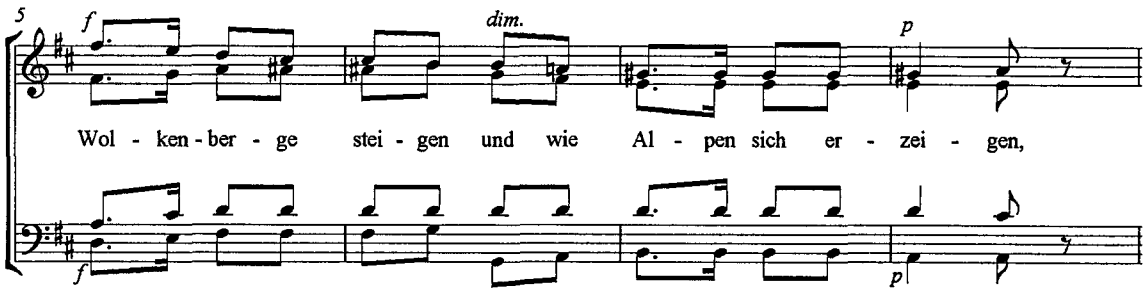
b) Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *O Herbst*, mm. 9-12.



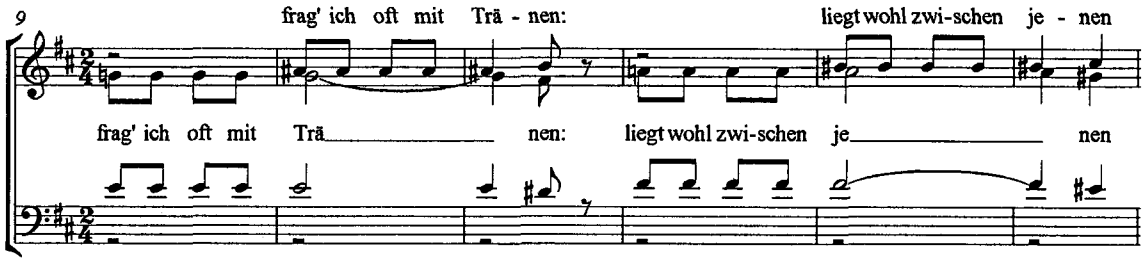
Example 2. Felix Mendelssohn, *Ruhetal*, mm. 1-8.



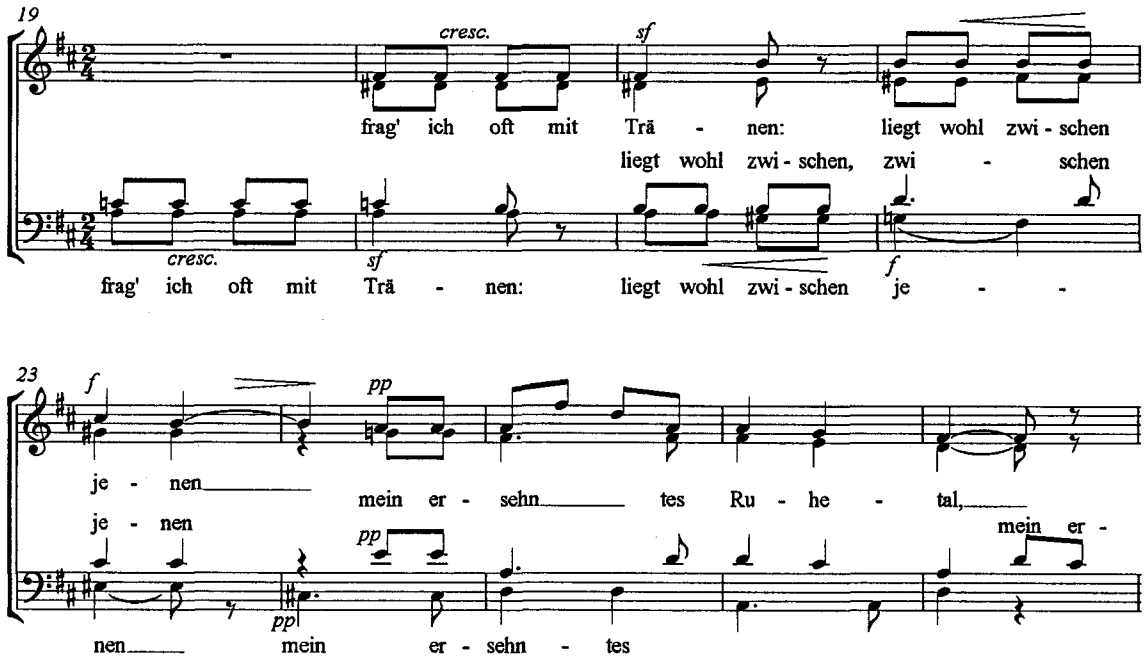
Example 2 continued.



Example 3. Felix Mendelssohn, *Ruhetal*, mm. 9-14.

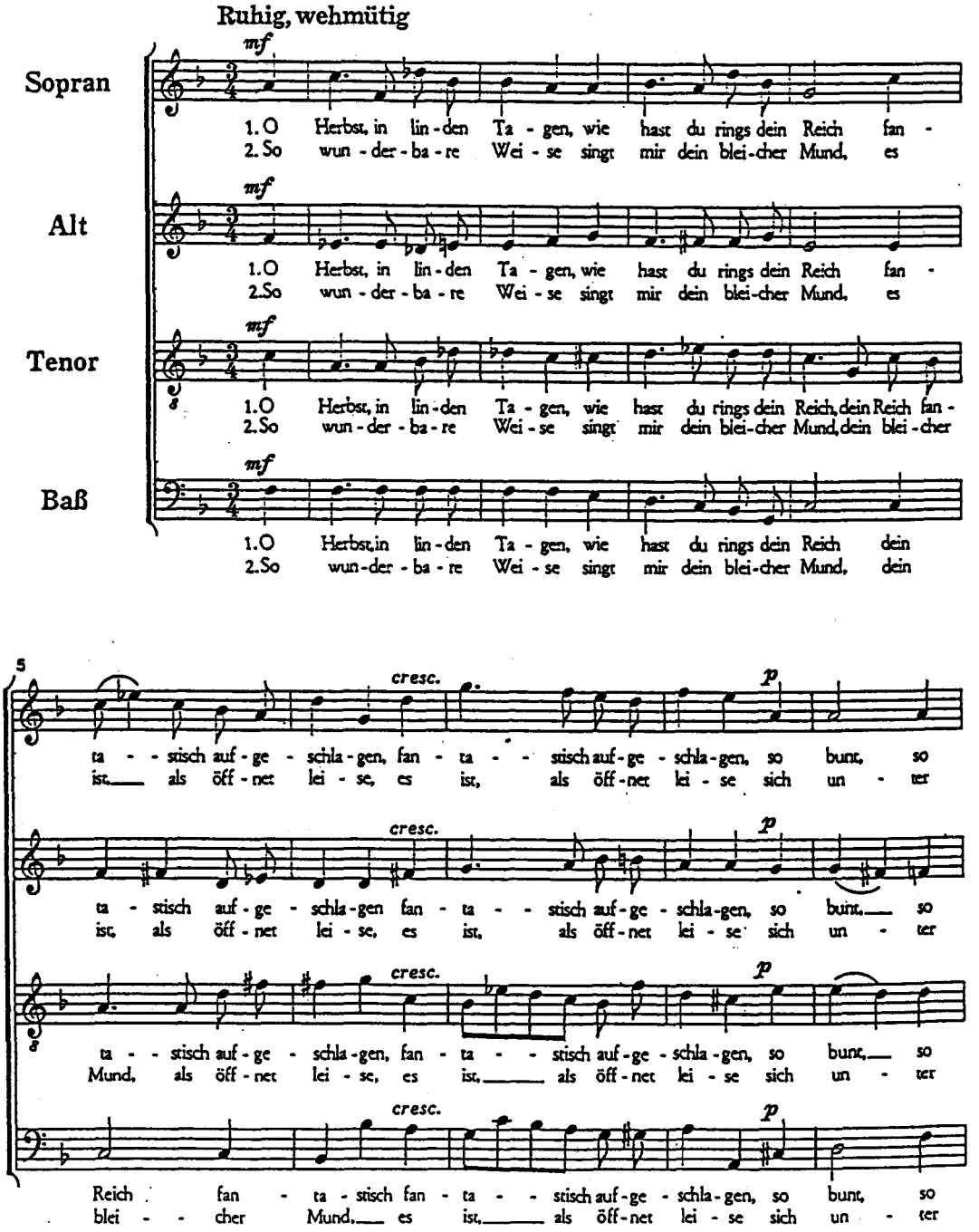


Example 4. Felix Mendelssohn, *Ruhetal*, mm. 19-27.

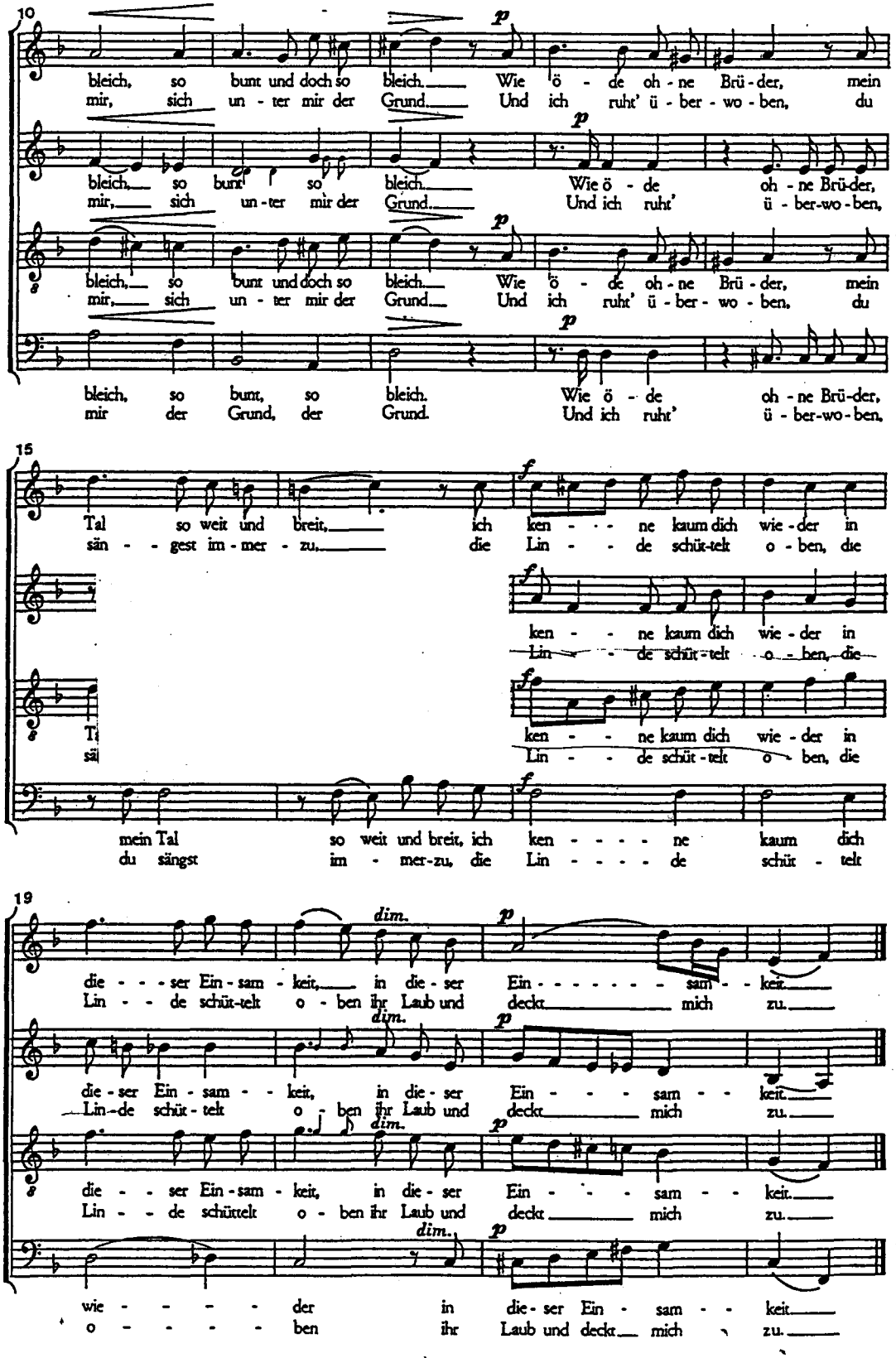


Example 5. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *O Herbst.*

Text: Joseph von Eichendorff

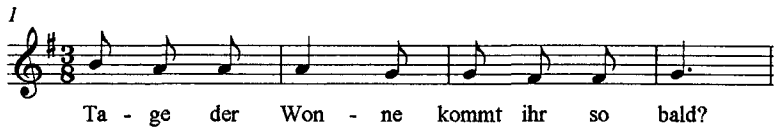


Example 5 continued.

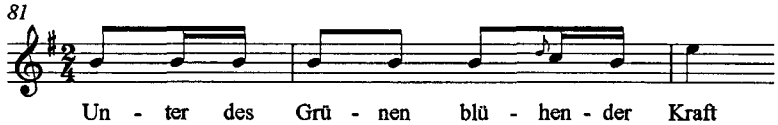


Example 6. Felix Mendelssohn, *Frühzeitiger Frühling.*

a) mm. 1-4, alto

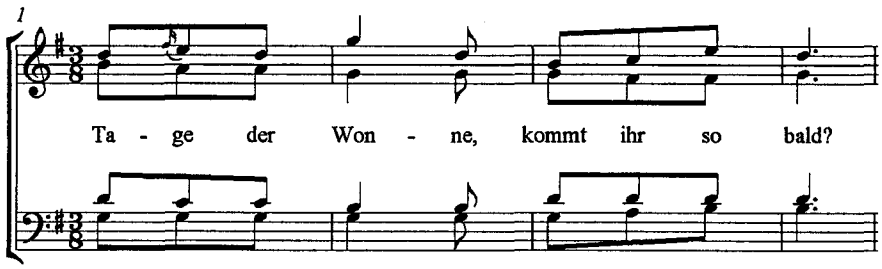


b) mm. 81-83, alto

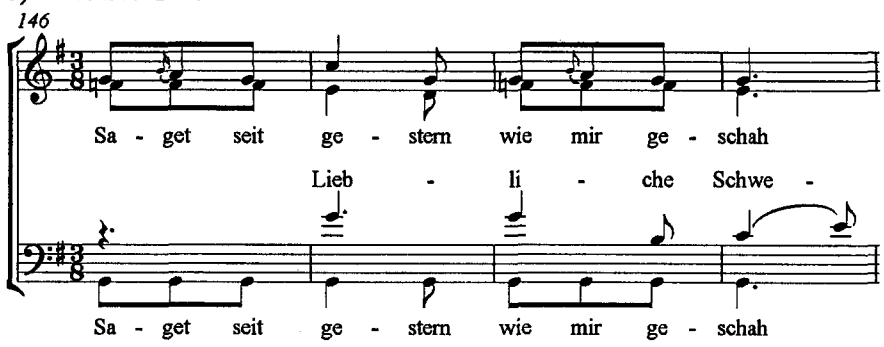


Example 7. Felix Mendelssohn, *Frühzeitiger Frühling.*

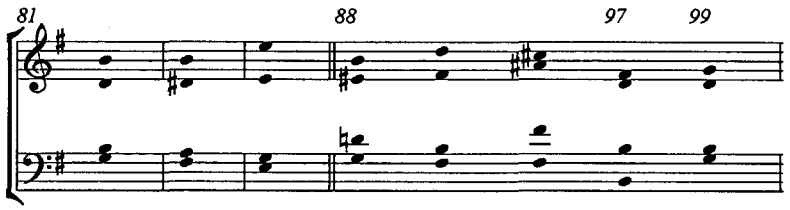
a) mm. 1-4



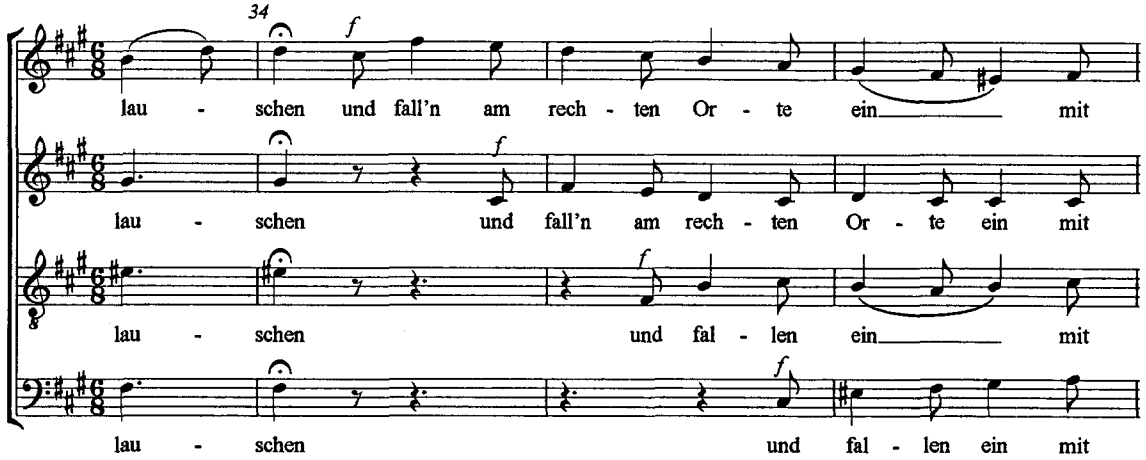
b) mm. 146-149.



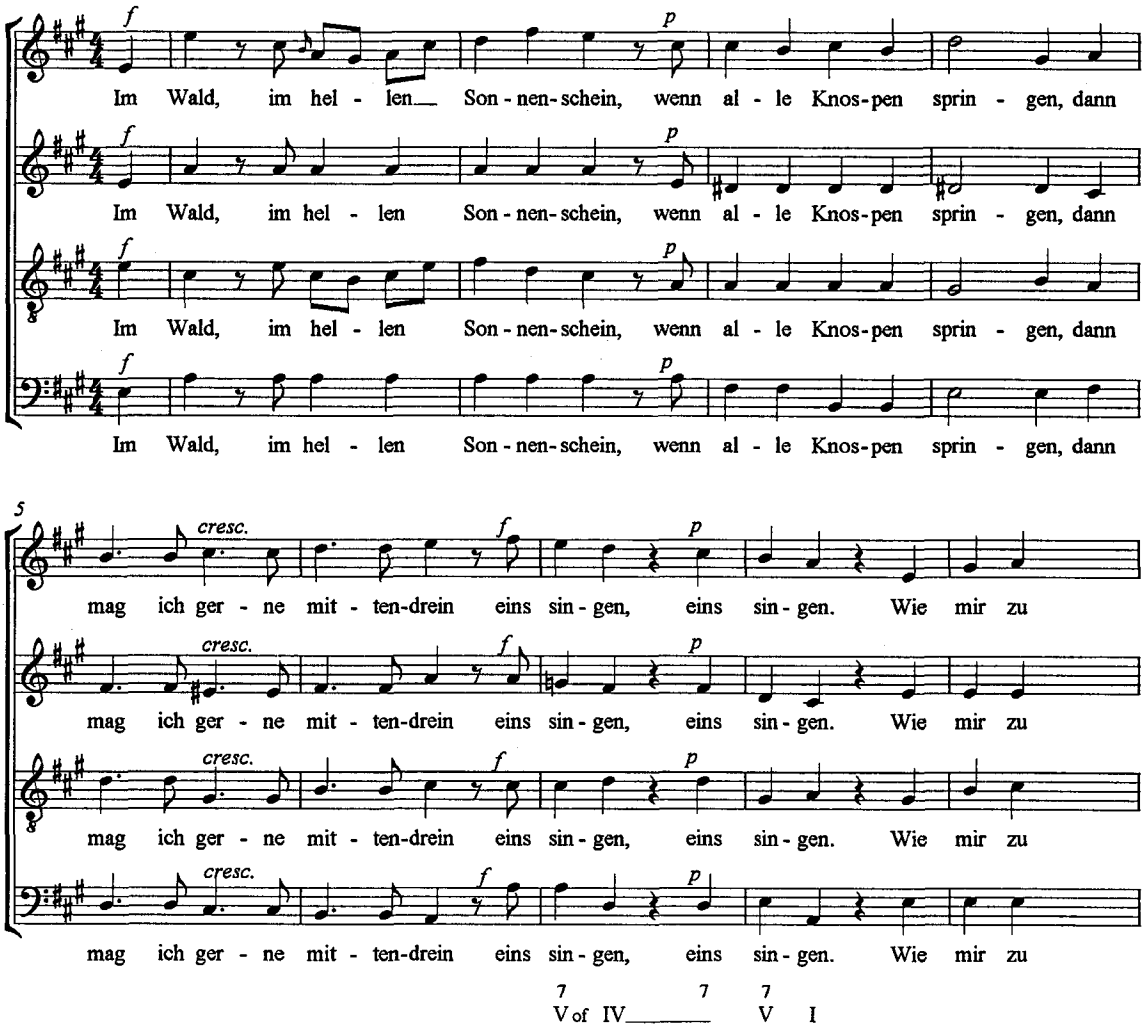
Example 8. Felix Mendelssohn, *Frühzeitiger Frühling*, mm. 81-83 and 88-99.



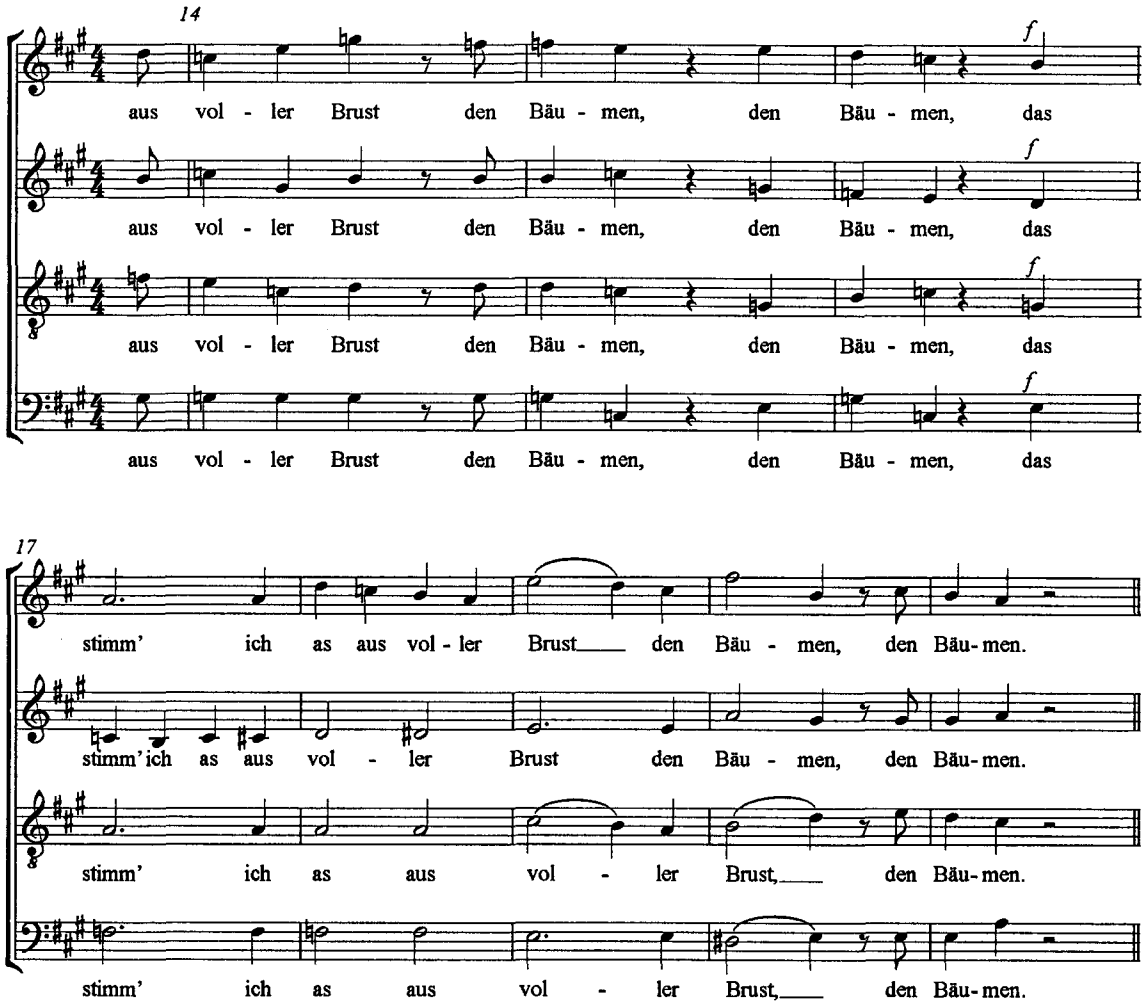
Example 9. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *Im Wald*, mm. 34-36.



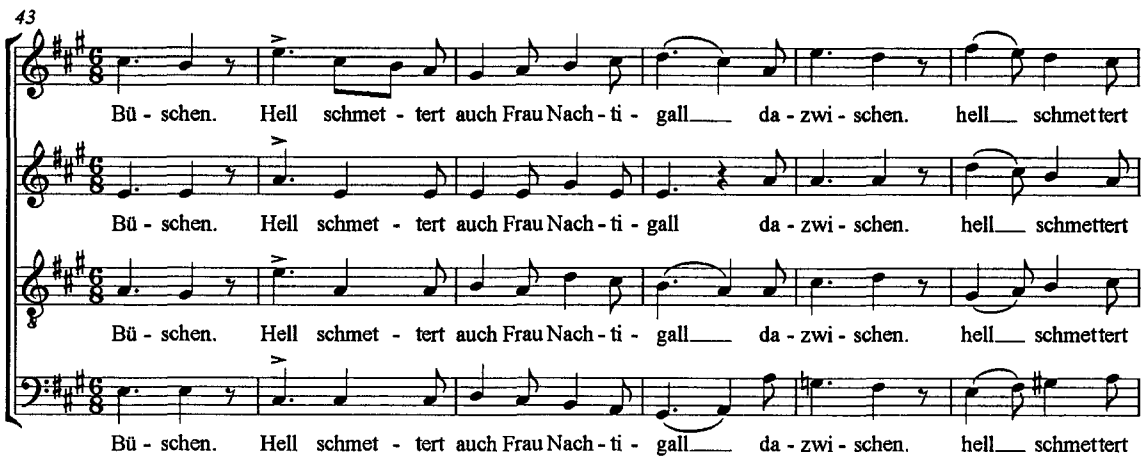
Example 10. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *Im Wald*, mm. 1-9.



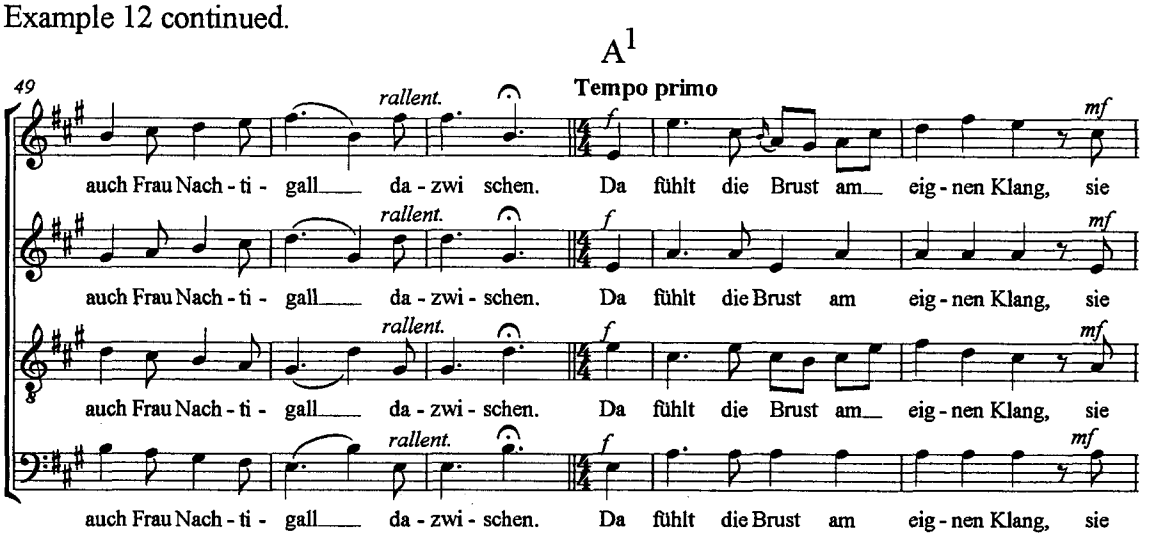
Example 11. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *Im Wald*, mm. 13-21.



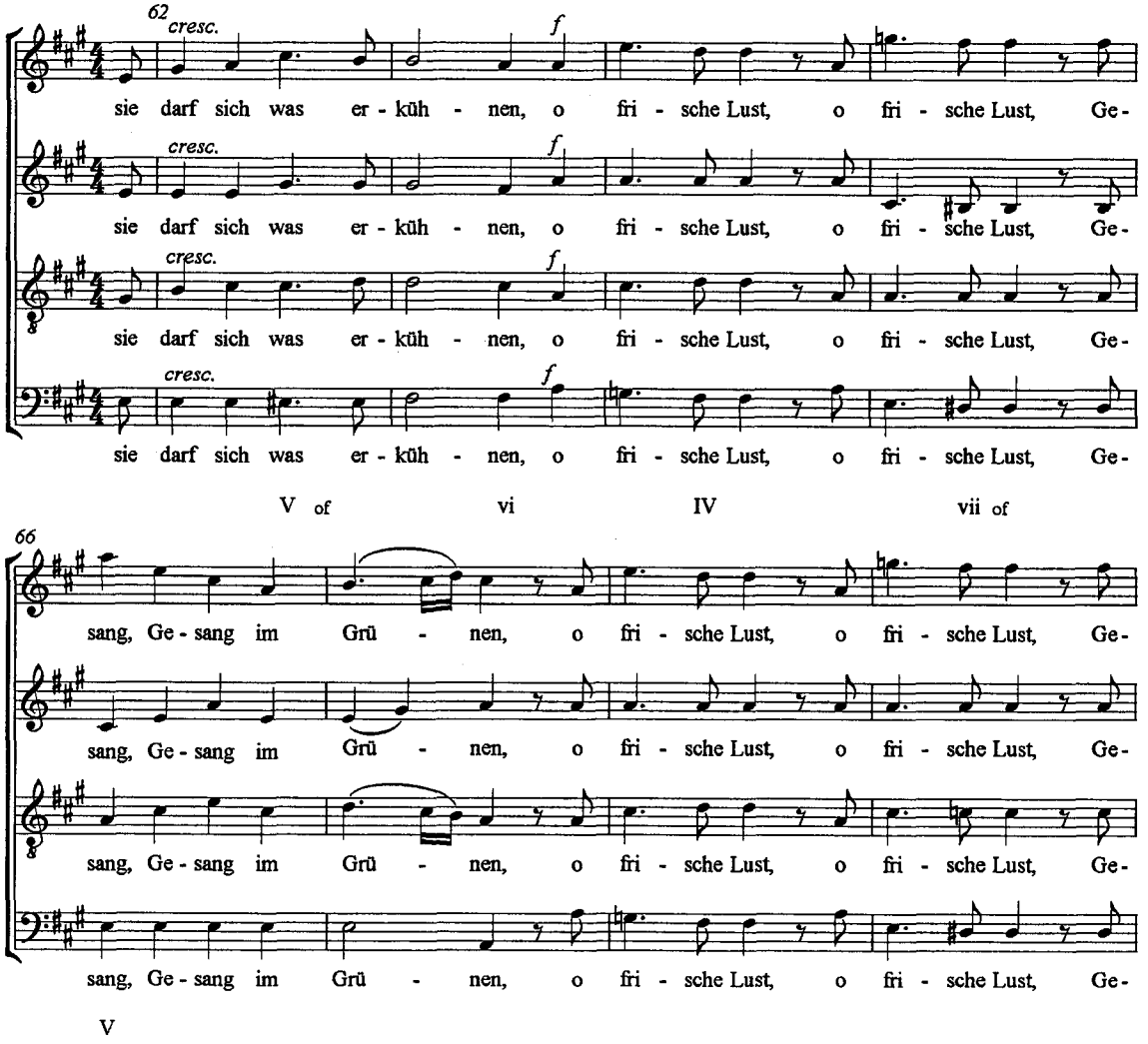
Example 12. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *Im Wald*, mm. 43-53.



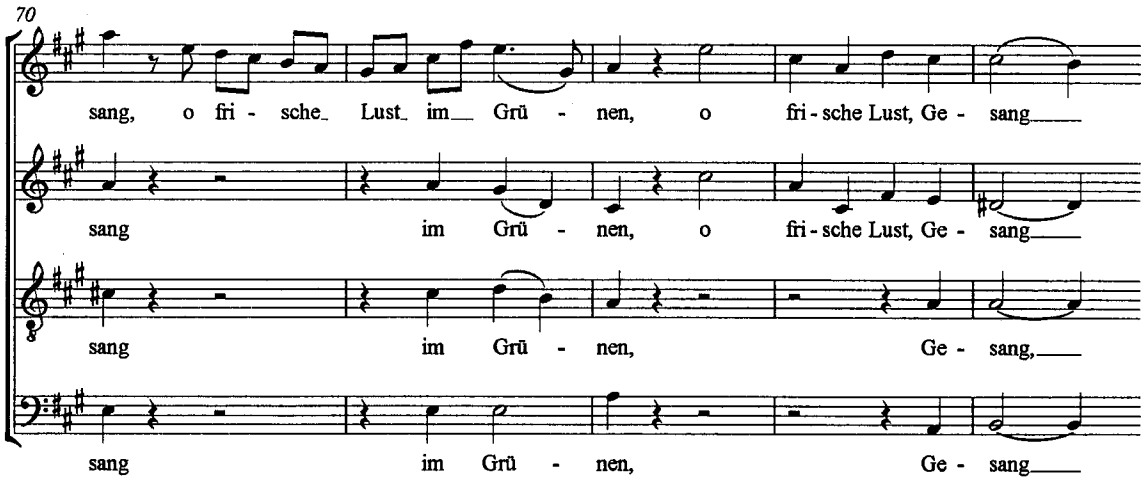
Example 12 continued.



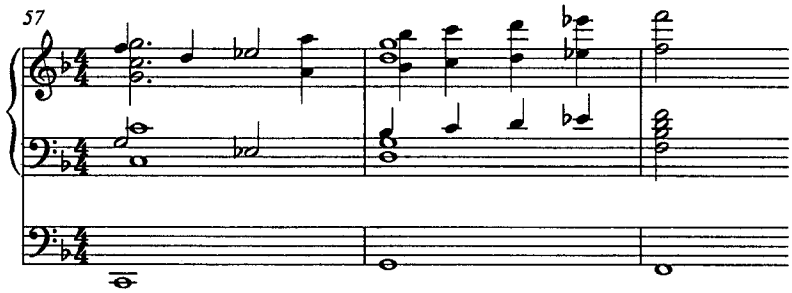
Example 13. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *Im Wald*, mm. 61-74.



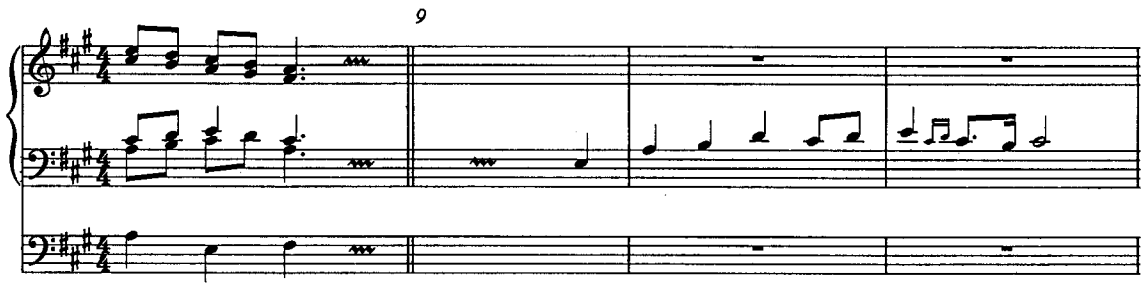
Example 13 continued.



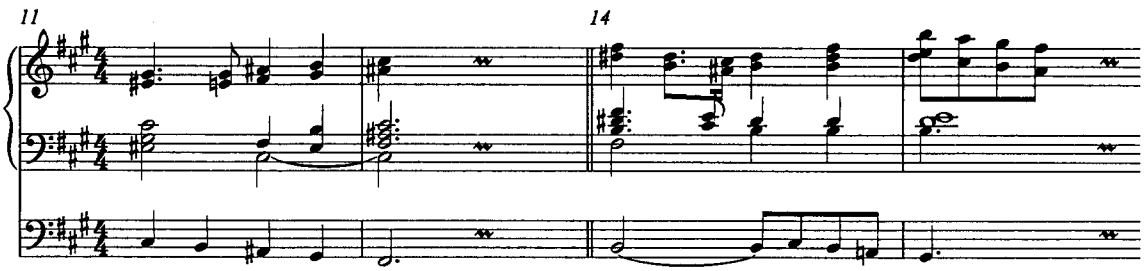
Example 14. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, Prelude in F, mm. 57-59.



Example 15. Felix Mendelssohn, Sonata III, m. 1 and mm. 9-11.

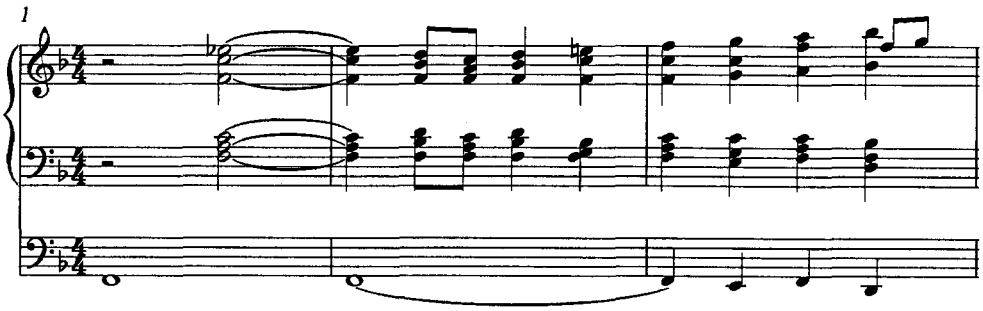


Example 16. Felix Mendelssohn, Sonata III, mm. 11-12 and mm. 14-15.

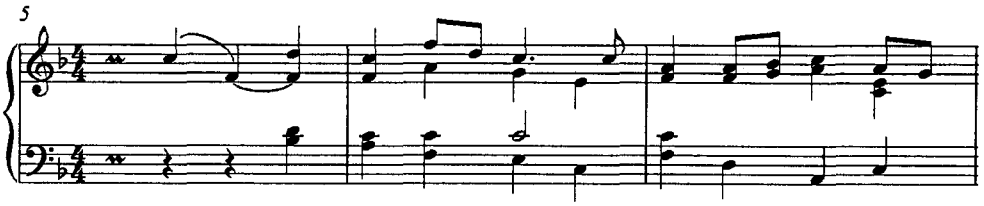


Example 17. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, Prelude in F.

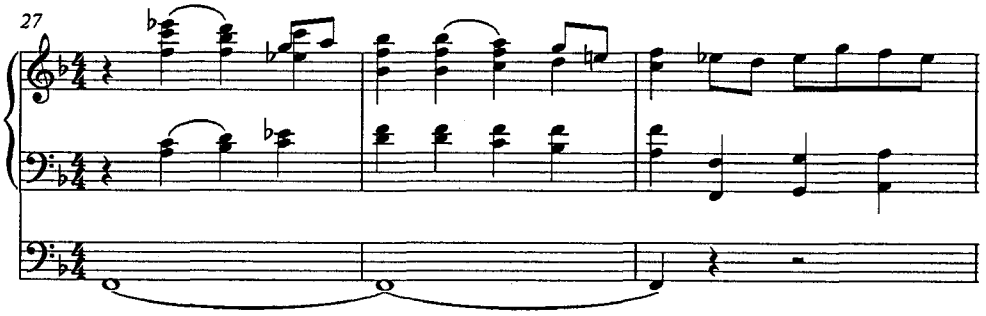
a) mm. 1-3.



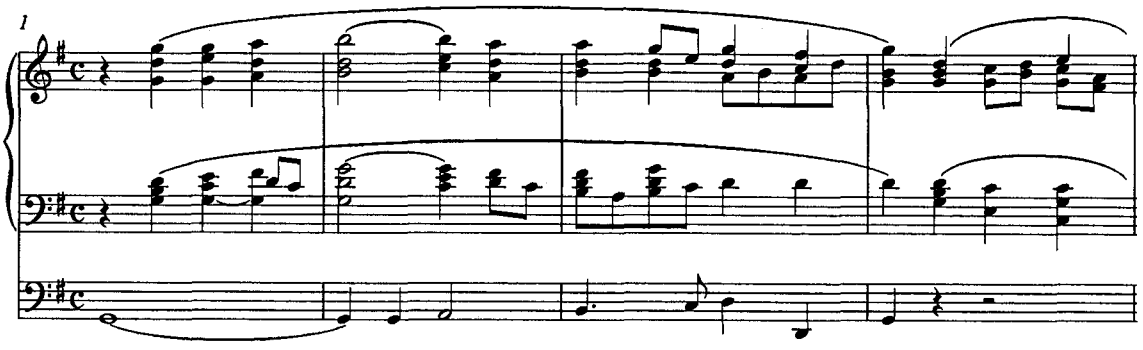
b) mm. 5-7.



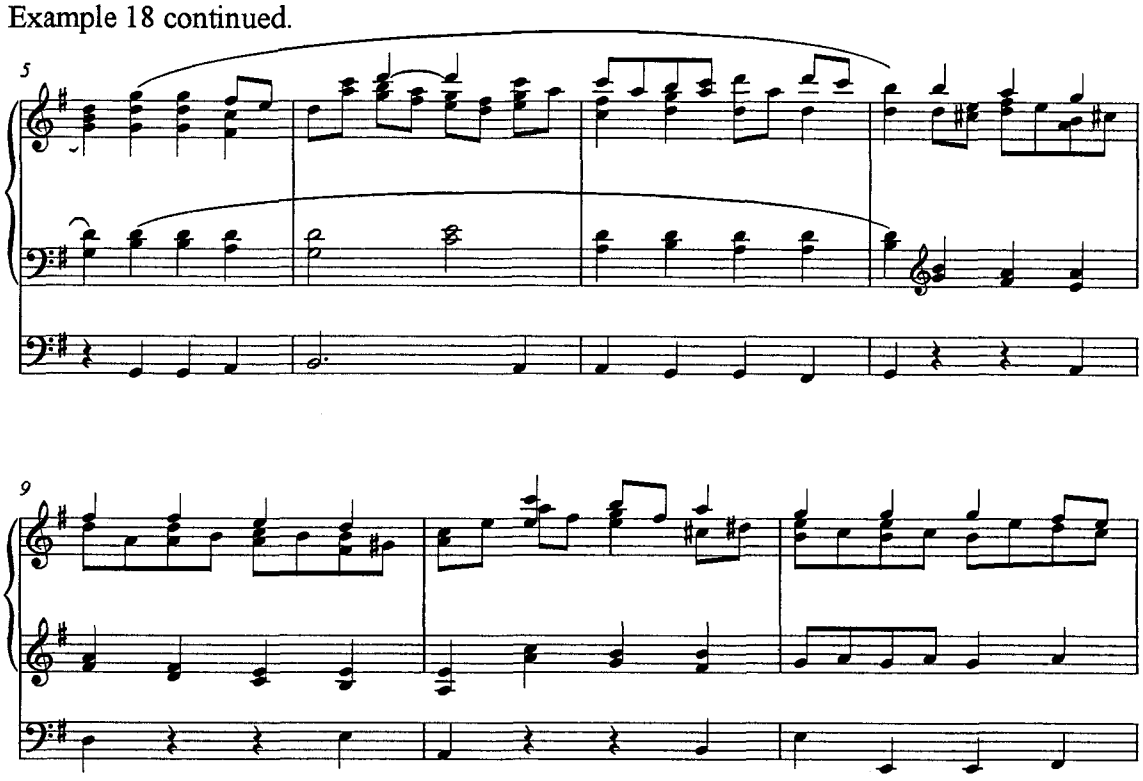
c) mm. 27-29.



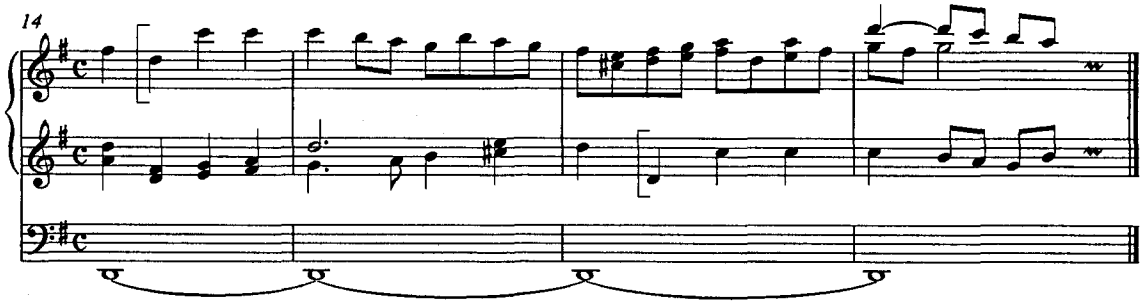
Example 18. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, Prelude in G, mm. 1-11.



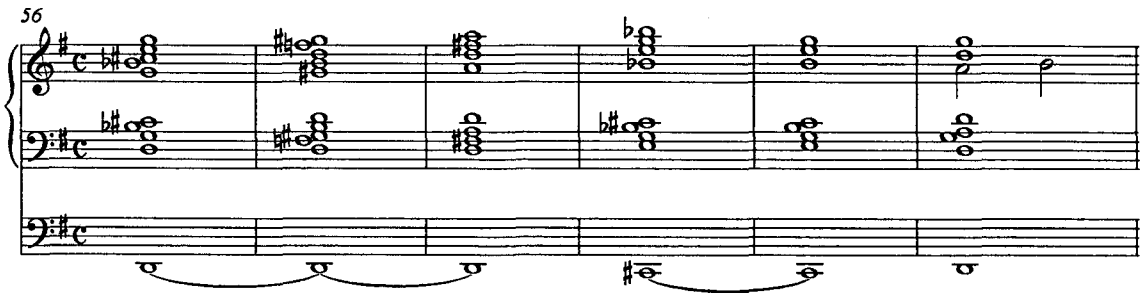
Example 18 continued.



Example 19. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, mm. 14-17.



Example 20. Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, Prelude in G, mm. 56-61.



Appendix IV
Four Doctoral Recital Programs

Monday, February 12, 2001

Program

Two Seventeenth-Century Italian pieces Ballo del Battaglia Corrente	Bernardo Storace (fl. 17th Century)
Dialectic Fantasy (1992)	Jacobus Kloppers (b. 1937)
Prelude and Fugue in E Minor, BWV 548 "The Wedge"	Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750)

Intermission

Two Seventeenth-Century Spanish pieces	
Meio registo de 1 Tono de dois tiples	Pedro Araujo (d. ca. 1684)
De mano derecha de 1 tono	Andres de Sola (1634-1696)
Comes Autumn Time (1916)	Leo Sowerby (1895-1968)
Organbook III (1977-78) Jig for the Feet (Totentanz)	William Albright (1944-1998)
Adagio in E Major	Frank Bridge (1879-1941)
La Nativité du Seigneur (1935) IX. Dieu Parmi Nous	Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992)

Monday, February 11, 2002

Program

Jubilate Deo Offertorium de Dominica E 46 — Johann Fux (ca.1660-1741)

Gillian Brinston, alto

Salve Regina in E Major (1756) — Joseph Haydn (1732-1809)

I. Salve regina
II. Ad te clamamus
III. Eja ergo advocata
IV. Et Jesum
V. O Clemens

Catherine Kubash, soprano

From *Gartenlieder*, Op.3 (1846) — Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847)

Im Wald
O Herbst
Seid gegrüst
Lockung

Nachtreigen (1829) — Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel

Festival Te Deum — Benjamin Britten (1913-1976)

Stillman Matheson, organ
Sonya Eagles, soprano

Intermission

Okna (1980) — Petr Eben (b. 1929)

I. Modro okno-blue window
II. Zelene okno-green window
III. Cervene okno-red window
IV. Zlate okno-gold window

Alvin Lowrey, trumpet

Thursday, March 7, 2002

Program

Lecture

Rio Abajo Rio (1999) — Pamela Decker (b.1955)
I. Boliviana
II. Diferencias
III. Fantasia

Lecture

Flores del Desierto (1998) — Pamela Decker
I. Albarda
II. Espuelita
III. Saiya

Saturday, January 31, 2004

Program

Apparatus musico-organisticus (1690) — George Muffat (1653-1704)
- Toccata Decima

Clavierübung III (1739) — Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750)
- Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot, BWV 678
- Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, BWV 680
- Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam, BWV 684

Toccata and Fugue in F Major, BWV 540 — Johann Sebastian Bach

Intermission

Celtic Suite (2003) — Jacobus Kloppers (b.1937)
- I Two Strathspeys (Adagio - Allegro)
- II Two Airs (Adagio)
- III Two Jigs (Vivace)

Carillon (1917) — Leo Sowerby (1895-1968)
Pageant (1931)