# Leipziger Straße Drei: Sites for Music

Beatrix Borchard and Cornelia Bartsch

## I Sites for music

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### Introduction

We are accustomed to seeking the 'music itself' in the musical text. The actual and spiritual spaces that are inscribed in music, and the people connected to these sites, are thereby in danger of being left out of consideration. In my view, place and people are part of the music. It is thus against a background of an understanding of music that does not only mean the opuses in the sense of the written musical texts, but also implies all aspects of life connected with the production, reproduction and reception of music, that I offer this enquiry into the meaning of the Leipziger Straße Drei for the artistic works emanating from Fanny Hensel.

In his book *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, which continues substantially to influence our ideas on the subject, Sebastian Hensel describes the Leipziger Straße Drei as 'representative' of the family:

> In the year 1825 an event happened which had a great influence on the development of the children and on the life of the family for generations …: Abraham purchased the beautiful property at the Leipziger Strasse No. 3. In this delightful house and garden he and his wife passed the rest of their days; there Fanny married, and also lived till her death. To the members of the family this house was not a piece of property of a certain value, or mere dead bricks and mortar, but a living individuality, one of themselves, sympathising with and sharing their happiness, and considered by them and their nearest friends somehow as the representative of the family.[1]

Without doubt, Leipziger Straße Drei was a locus of bourgeois and, especially, musical social gatherings in Berlin from 1825 to 1847. It represents major aspects of what is customarily referred to nowadays as a musical salon: that is, the salon as a site for performing in a so-called private context in front of invited guests, a kind of public room inside the house, as opposed to the living-rooms reserved for the family only; and the salon as a form of communication – conversing, making

[1] Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family, from Letters and Journals*, trans. Carl Klingemann (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881): I, 121.

*Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 4/2 (2007): 119–138. Copyright © Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479409800000926 Published online by Cambridge University Press

music together, improvising, and also composing, playing musical and literary party games, and having tea and buttered bread.[2] Finally, another important factor in defining the German term 'Salon' is that a woman (of Jewish origin in most cases) is at the centre of this social gathering. As a corollary the social venue in which Jewish women contributed decisively to the process of acculturation is generally termed 'Salon'.[3] But in my view, for a variety of reasons the expression 'Salon' is insufficient to categorize the range of activity that took place with regard to music in specific locations within the Mendelssohns' home.

With reference to literary salons in Berlin at a slightly earlier period, at the turn of the nineteenth century we already meet with a phenomenon to which Barbara Hahn has drawn attention in her published work on the subject: the expression 'Salon' is never applied when women such as Henriette Herz or Rahel Levin Varnhagen, with whose names the history of the Berlin salons around 1800 is connected, talk about their social activities. They refer to 'society' or their 'circle', neither of which connotes any kind of special history. The case of the word 'Salon' is different; the term was imported into Germany from France, where 'salons' described intellectual and artistic meeting places in highly aristocratic houses. In France the history of the word 'salon' is easy to situate and to define, whereas in Germany, writing the full history of the salon remains a scholarly desideratum.

The same applies to the history of forms of musical gathering in the first half of the nineteenth century in which a woman occupied the central place. As far as we know, neither Sara Levy nor Lea Mendelssohn, nor finally Fanny Hensel, employed the term 'salon' for performances and playing music together in their houses and apartments. Taking into account Barbara Hahn's work, I would argue here for making reference to 'houses' or 'sites for music' rather than salons; and for considering very carefully what impression we can recover of the forms of musical activity that took place within these locations. This leads on to the question of source materials.

Only very little of such musical activity can in fact be reconstructed today, since people performed music rather than talked about music. Letters and diaries mention only occasionally who was present and who played or sang. Attempting to reconstruct domestic musical gatherings in the first half of the nineteenth century, we find ourselves facing a dilemma: we know about the very great importance of playing music in private, but from the sources that are

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2 See also Beatrix Borchard, '"Mein Singen ist ein Rufen nur aus Träumen": Berlin Leipziger Str. 3', in *Fanny Hensel, geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Das Werk*, ed. Martina Helmig (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1997): 9–22, in which the private musical life of Berlin is discussed. Leipziger Straße Drei is commonly subsumed under the term 'Salon' without differentiating any further: see especially Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780–1914)* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1989): 140–50. For a critical discussion of the conventional idea of a salon see the various publications by Barbara Hahn, esp. 'The Myth of the Salon', in Barbara Hahn, *The Jewess Pallas Athena. This Too a Theory of Modernity*, trans. James McFarland (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005): 42–55.

3 See Peter Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik in geselligem Kreise* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), esp. the chapter 'Musik im Salon und Salonmusik': 175–267. Thus the significance of the Mendelssohns' home in the Leipziger Straße Drei for Berlin's musical life has tended to be subsumed under the category of salon, as was seen in an exhibition at the Jewish Museum, New York on the subject of 'Jewish Women and their Salons': see Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun, 'The Music Salon', in *Jewish Women and their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005): 38–49.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479409800000926 Published online by Cambridge University Press

preserved we get to know little about what was played, or how and when it was played. One of the very few exceptions to this is the musical life cultivated in the house of Lea and Abraham Mendelssohn, the parents of Fanny and Felix, in the Leipziger Straße Drei.

## The Garden Hall

Leipziger Straße Drei is mainly identified with the *Gartensaal* (Garden Hall). As far as we know, the Garden Hall was large enough for up to 150 people. It was used as a room for performance of the *Sonntagsmusiken* (Sunday 'musicales') which had, in modern terms, a 'workshop' character. The son, Felix, was meant to have the opportunity to prepare systematically for his profession as a musician, and in this setting he could gain his first experiences as a soloist and composer. The daughter, Fanny, also profited from this. As she was barred from a professional position, at least in this setting she had the opportunity to perform as a pianist. These concerts were not open to the public; only those who were invited were allowed to attend. One roughly gets to know which musical pieces were performed on these occasions, from letters, diaries and memoirs of participants and guests. This information has been reproduced frequently in the literature on Fanny Hensel and Felix Mendelssohn.[4] When the son left home in the spring of 1829 and finally took up a public position, the task of the Sunday musicales seemed to be fulfilled – they were apparently at an end. At the same time as her brother's venture into professional life, Fanny Mendelssohn achieved what in the perspective of those times constituted a step into adult life: she married the painter Wilhem Hensel on 3 October 1829. Yet she did not leave the Leipziger Straße, but, together with her husband, she moved to the garden apartments: first to the apartment on the right, then two years later to the one on the left. From 1831 she took up the Sunday musicales again, which started to assume a different character. And although her brother participated in her concerts every now and then, and his works, together with Beethoven's, were the ones most often played, she did not have the intention of presenting the work of one person, but rather she set out to fight for a certain aesthetic of art by means of her programmes. She had already formulated her aim to work against the 'Geschmacklosigkeit der Zeit, den Egoismus der Anführer, die Verwöhnung des Publicums' ('the bad taste of the times, the egotism of the [concert] organizers, and the pandering to the public'), in a 'Vorschlag zur Errichtung eines Dilettantenvereins für Instrumentalmusik'.[5] Now she had the opportunity to translate her ideas into action. Individual programmes of this

[4] See Cornelia Bartsch, 'Musikalische Geselligkeitsformen im Hause Mendelssohn', in *Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Musik als Correspondenz* (Kassel: Furore, 2007); Renate Hellwig-Unruh, '... so bin ich mit meiner Musik ziehmlich allein. Die Komponistin und Musikerin Fanny Hensel, geb. Mendelssohn', in *Stadtbild und Frauenleben: Berlin im Spiegel von 16 Frauenportraits*, ed. Henrike Hülsbergen (Berlin: Stapp, 1997), *Berlinische Lebensbilder* 9: 245–61; and Annette Maurer: '... ein Verdienst um die Kunstzustände unserer Vaterstadt – Fanny Hensels "Sonntagsmusiken"', in *Viva voce*, 42 (May 1997): 11–13.

[5] Printed in translation in Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, trans. Camille Naish (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1996): 199–201. Fanny Hensel probably drew up this 'Proposal to establish an instrumental music-lovers' association' for her friend Eduard Rietz, who in 1826 founded a *Philharmonische Gesellschaft* (Philharmonic Society) consisting of amateur musicians.

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second phase of the Sunday 'musicales' have come down to us,[6] and we know that – as was common practice then – she combined vocal compositions and instrumental music. She did not arrange her programmes chronologically, but solely according to musical criteria. The lengths of the individual programmes differed, as did the types of opening pieces. Between 1831 and 1847, apart from Beethoven and Felix Mendelssohn, the composers she included most often in her programmes were Bach, Mozart, Haydn and Weber; the next most frequently programmed were Chopin, Gade and Spohr.[7]

It was probably for mainly pragmatic reasons that she put the emphasis on solo and choral songs, pieces for solo piano and chamber music. But she also performed operas, oratorios and cantatas – whole or in excerpts – such as Beethoven's *Fidelio*, Gluck's *Iphigenia in Aulis* and Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*.[8] On these occasions she provided the accompaniment at the piano or conducted an orchestra that had been engaged for the particular concert, as well as using the small choir that she had set up. But these were, of course, great exceptions, rare highlights. In contrast, there are the Sunday musicales with a very small audience; some had to be cancelled due to a lack of interest.[9]

The critic Ludwig Rellstab defined the principles of her programme arrangement as a 'Verbindung der klassischen Werke der älteren mit den besten der neueren Zeit in sorgfältigster Ausführung' ('combination of the older classics with the best works of more recent times in the most careful performance') and he referred to the Sunday musicales as a 'künstlerisches Fest seltener Art' ('an artistic celebration of a rare kind').[10] He also coined the oft-quoted term *Opferaltar der Kunst* ('sacrificial altar of art'), which he imagined Fanny Hensel had set up in the Leipziger Straße. In terms of a site for performing in front of an audience, she left her mark on the Leipziger Straße Drei as a non-commercial counter-site to the public musical life of her time.

As mentioned, one mainly thinks of the Garden Hall when one talks of the music in the Mendelssohns' house, although the estate contained an entire complex of buildings in which not only the different members of the Mendelssohn family lived and worked, but also tenants such as the singer and actor Eduard Devrient and his wife Therese.[11] The Mendelssohns' residence contained not just

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6 See Hans-Günter Klein, *Das verborgene Band: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und seine Schwester Fanny Hensel* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997): 189–90; and Bartsch, *Musik als Korrespondenz*.

7 Fanny Hensel, *Tagebücher*, ed. Hans-Günter Klein and Rudolf Elvers (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002). For details of her programmes see Hans-Günter Klein '*… mit obligater Nachtigallen- und Fliederbütenbegleitung'. Fanny Hensels Sonntagsmusiken* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005); and Bartsch, *Musik als Korrespondenz.*

8 Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* and Gluck's *Iphigenia in Aulis* were announced for Sunday musicales and probably performed. Two other operas by Gluck (*Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Orpheus*) were performed by Fanny Hensel, but on other days. See Klein, *'… mit obligater Nachtigallen- und Fliederbütenbegleitung'* and Bartsch, *Musik als Korrespondenz.*

9 Bartsch, 'Musikalische Geselligkeitsformen im Hause Mendelssohn', in *Musik als Korrespondenz*.

10 Ludwig Rellstab, 'Nachruf auf Fanny Hensel', *Vossische Zeitung* (18 May 1847), reprinted in Helmig, *Fanny Hensel*: 162–3.

11 Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig: Weber, 1872): *passim*; see also the detailed description of the whole estate in Michael Cullen, 'Leipziger Straße Drei – Eine Baubiographie', *Mendelssohn Studien*, 5 (Berlin, 1982): 9–77; and Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, 'Neues zur Leipziger Straße Drei', *Mendelssohn Studien*, 7 (Berlin, 1990): 141–51.

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one, but quite a few 'sites for music' apart from the Garden Hall: these included Lea's rooms in the front part of the house, and Fanny Hensel's music room in which she played not only in front of listeners or with other musicians, but also by herself, almost daily. And there were the studies used by her brother Felix and sister Rebecka.[12] And, last but not least, there was the garden. In addition, a blue room is mentioned, but we do not know for certain which room is meant.

These rooms served different functions, but when used in the family's everyday life the boundaries between them were not clear-cut, as Fanny Hensel's diaries show. For instance, not all Sunday 'musicales' took place in the Garden Hall, and Lea's 'private' living-room served as a site for performing scenes at family festivities.

## The Garden

> The windows were embowered in vines, and all opened on to the garden, with its blooming lilacs and avenues of stately old trees! … The large court and high front building kept off every sound; in the garden house, no more than 100 yards away from the noisy street, you lived as in the deepest loneliness of a forest.[13]

The function of this park-like garden of approximately seven acres as a place of social games and improvisation is illustratively documented in the *Gartenzeitung* (*Garden Journal*) from 1826 and in the *Schnee- und Theezeitung* (*Snow and Tea Journal*) from the following year, both of which are preserved in the Mendelssohn Archive in Berlin.[14] But this social gathering also found its expression in printed works, as, for instance, in Fanny Hensel's four-part *Gartenlieder*, op. 3, and Felix Mendelssohn's choral songs (also in four parts) with their characteristic subtitle 'Im Freien zu singen' ('to be sung in the open'), op. 59. In a letter to his friend Karl Klingemann, Felix characterizes these compositions as 'the most natural' music: 'die natürlichste Musik von allen ist es doch, wenn 4 Leute zusammen spazieren gehen, in den Wald, oder auf dem Kahn, und dann gleich die Musik mit sich und in sich tragen' ('It is the most natural music of all though, if 4 people go for a walk together into the forest, or on a boat trip, and carry the music with and within themselves').[15]

Music is conceived here in a way that abolishes the division of performers and listeners, in connection with the 'garden site'. In this context every listener is, at the same time, a potential singer; music serves as entertainment in a communicative sense,[16] as *Umgangsmusik* [convivial music] and, if it is composed, as a contrast in approach to 'performed' music.[17] The Mendelssohns' garden thereby becomes a contrasting site to the public concert hall as well as to the Garden Hall, the

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[12] The youngest brother Paul also played music, but there is no evidence of his room serving as performance space.

[13] Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*: I, 122.

[14] For further discussion of these see Cornelia Bartsch, 'Music as Correspondence', on pp. 125–38 of this issue.

[15] Letter of 1 Aug. 1839 in Karl Klingemann, ed., *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann in London* (Essen: Baedeker, 1909): 241. For Klingemann and his relevance for social entertainment in the garden see Cornelia Bartsch, 'Music as Correspondence', below.

[16] See Wulf Konold, *Felix Mendelssohn und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber, 1984): 268–9.

[17] With reference to the expressions *Umgangsmusik* and *Vorführmusik* see Christian Kaden, *Musiksoziologie* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1984).

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'sacrificial altar for the best in art'. Different sites could thus be connected to different aesthetic concepts, which were not regarded by the family as mutually exclusive opposites, but were rather lived as a realization of the great variety of possible modes of expression. This variety of expressive possibilities can also be found reflected in the compositions of Fanny Hensel and Felix Mendelssohn, as Cornelia Bartsch's work shows.[18]

## Leipziger Straße Drei as Spiritual Site

Contemporaries mainly associated the address Leipziger Straße Drei with high art, or more precisely Rellstab's 'Opferaltar für das Beste in der Kunst' ('sacrificial altar for the best in art'). It was by no means a coincidence that Beethoven's instrumental music formed the centre of Fanny Hensel's programmes. Beethoven's importance in the musical realm corresponded to that of Goethe's in the realm of literature – not least through the influence of the Berlin music publisher A.B. Marx. Beethoven's music stood for a supraconfessional world religion: to put it quite simply, it seemed to offer the opportunity to be regarded no longer as a Jew, but rather as an artist among artists.[19] Marx (1795–1866), also of Jewish origin and a close friend of Felix Mendelssohn, was in fact one of the most influential publishers of the time. The surrounding cultural and political context, and the means by which Beethoven's music took on this aura, have been well-documented,[20] but the impact of Marx's Jewish origins has not been discussed to date.

Wagner had not yet announced that Jews (and women) by their nature could not be creative, and neither Fanny Hensel nor Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy lived to witness his pamphlet *Das Judentum in der Musik* (1850–51). After their teacher Zelter's death they did, however, learn from the correspondence between Zelter and the admired Goethe that they were perceived as Jews in spite of their baptism.[21] It could be claimed that, where speaking divides us, playing and listening

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[18] See Cornelia Bartsch, 'Music as Correspondence', below.

[19] See Beatrix Borchard, 'Traditions- und Kanonbildung: Quartettsoireen', in *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim. Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), *Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte* 5: 521–52; and Elisabeth Eleonore Bauer, *Wie Beethoven auf den Sockel kam. Die Entstehung eines musikalischen Mythos* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 1992).

[20] See Bauer, *Beethoven*. The Mendelssohn family's involvement with Bach's music is also well-documented. Lea's mother, Bella Salomon, was probably a student of Kirnberger. Sara Levy (1761–1854), great-aunt of Fanny and Felix, was one of the most important patrons of C.P.E. Bach; she collected musical sources of numerous members of the Bach family and studied with Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. She herself was an outstanding keyboard player. See Peter Wollny, 'Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin', *Musical Quarterly* 77/4 (1993): 651–88 and 'Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus: Sara Levy, geb. Itzig und ihr musikalisch–literarischer Salon', in *Musik und Ästhetik im Berlin Moses Mendelssohns*, ed. Anselm Gerhard (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), *Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung (Lessing-Akademie)* 25: 217–55; and, further, his 'Abschriften und Autographe, Sammler und Kopisten', in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, ed. Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, vol. 1: 1750–1850 (Laaber: Laaber, 1997): 27–62, esp. 54.

[21] The correspondence was initially published in 1833–34. For the ambivalent meaning of baptism see Julius H. Schoeps, 'Christliches Bekenntnis oder modernes Marranentum? Der Übergang vom Judentum zum Christentum: Das Beispiel Abraham und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy', in *Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Komponieren*

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to music together unites us: music could open up a common ground where men and women, Jews and non-Jews, nobility and bourgeoisie could meet.[22]

It is significant that at the centre of intellectual activity in the Leipziger Straße Drei was a woman who was not a professional musician, for the purest art is that which is practised not for money and glory, but for insight. 'Music for music's sake' (constituting a riposte to the anti-Semitic stereotype of the money-conscious Jew): no bigger contrast was possibly imaginable than between the 'immaterial' music and the Jew's presumed materialistic attitude. And who could incorporate art in life in a purer manner and as an alternative world more than women, who did not belong to the public sphere and who therefore seemed to be untouched by everything concerning money?

## II Music as correspondence

Cornelia Bartsch
*Berlin*

The music of Fanny Hensel, and – as long as he still lived in his parents' home – that of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, formed part of a social network in which music functioned as a means of communication. I would like therefore to talk about that 'site' (in the metaphorical sense) which embodied an aesthetic ideal that Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy remembered many years later, and which was a place not so much for the music composed for performance (*Vorführmusik*), but for convivial music (*Umgangsmusik*) – the garden.[23]

The *Gartenzeitung* (*Garden Journal*) and the *Schnee- und Theezeitung* (*Snow and Tea Journal*),[24] documents of social life in the Mendelssohns' home, were 'private' journals produced jointly and circulated among the inhabitants of the house and their visitors. Sheets of paper were left lying in the drawer of a garden table and everybody – members of the family and friends – was invited to contribute to the *Gartenzeitung*: short theatre pieces, little poems, serialized stories and even music. Many of the contributions and jokes are no longer understandable for non-insiders. But still the journals reveal the garden not only as a place for social entertainment, but also as a source of creative endeavour; they include examples of 'text production processes' practised as part of this

*zwischen Geselligkeitsideal und romantischer Musikästhetik*, ed. Beatrix Borchard and Monika Schwarz-Danuser, 2nd edn (Kassel: Furore, 2002): 265–79.

[22] Theories of music's social and aesthetic function were elaborated by Rahel Levin Varnhagen and by Moses Mendelssohn. See Barbara Hahn, 'Häuser für die Musik. Akkulturation in Ton und Text um 1800', in Borchard and Schwarz-Danuser, eds, *Fanny Hensel*: 3–26; and Carsten Zelle, 'Verwöhnter Geschmack, schauervolles Ergötzen und theatralische Sittlichkeit. Zum Verhältnis von Ethik und Ästhetik in Moses Mendelssohns ästhetischen Schriften', in Gerhard, *Musik und Ästhetik im Berlin Moses Mendelssohns*: 97–115; also Laurenz Lütteken, 'Zwischen Ohr und Verstand: Moses Mendelssohn, Johann Philipp Kirnberger und die Begründung des "reinen Satzes" in der Musik', in Gerhard, *Musik und Ästhetik*: 135–63.

[23] Discussed by Beatrix Borchard, on pp. 123–4 of this issue.

[24] D-B1, MA Ms. 63, 1 and 2.

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entertainment, which were important in a musical context. Nearly every edition of the *Gartenzeitung* and of the *Schnee- und Theezeitung* starts with a 'motto', often a line of poetry, sometimes words from an operatic aria. These mottos generally point to a loose inner connection between the individual, and in other respects very varied, contributions. The motto *Was bedeutet die Bewegung? Bringt der Ost mir frohe Kunde?* ('What does the excitement mean? Is there good news from the East?') from the 'Song of the East Wind' written by Marianne Willemer in Goethe's *West–East Divan* is followed, for example, by an invitation to a coffee party with very precisely defined rules, and Fanny Hensel's 'West–East Editorial Waltz' (*Westöstlicher Redactionswalzer*).[25] The mottos could, however, provide a stimulus for the production of readers' own texts in a much more obvious way. The *Gartenzeitung* of 2 September 1826, for example, contains an invitation to a 'singers' competition' in 'glossing'.[26] 'Gloss' here signifies a form of poetry originating in Spain, in which a well-known four-line poem is taken as a motto and the individual lines are integrated into a new composition, usually as the last line of each verse.[27]

Another, better-known literary form of text production recorded in the *Gartenzeitung* and the *Schnee- und Theezeitung* is that of parody. The first edition of the latter begins with a parody on Schiller's poem *Thekla – eine Geisterstimme* (*Thekla – a spirit voice*) adapted in a very amusing way to refer to Karl Klingemann's absence in London.[28] The process of parody is of course well known in music both in terms of finding new words for familiar melodies and in putting new tunes to familiar words. In the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'parodying' well-known melodies was a popular pastime and formed a part of bourgeois musical culture.[29]

We can see from the following example how Fanny Hensel makes use in her music of methods of communication which were important for this 'social network'. My example is drawn from the song-cycle *An Felix während seiner ersten Abwesenheit in England* (*To Felix during his first absence in England*), a set of five very simple songs for voice and piano, followed by a 'terzetto a cappella', which represents a unique musical record of the end of the artistic childhood and youth shared by Fanny and her brother Felix. Fanny Hensel probably wrote the first song on the day of her brother's departure on the first of those journeys, which represented his final step towards a career as a musician.[30] In mid-June

[25] *Gartenzeitung* of 13 Sep. 1826: D-B1 MA Ms. 63, 1, fol. 27v.

[26] Supplement to *Gartenzeitung* No. 2 of Friday, 1 Sep. 1826, D-B1, MA Ms 63, fols.10v–11r.

[27] Examples of glosses exist in German Romantic poetry; one of the best known is probably Ludwig Tieck's *Mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht.* It is obvious from a dramatic scene described by Lessing in the *Hamburgischen Dramaturgie* that glossing was a highly suitable means of conveying secret messages. See Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Karl Lachmann, vol. 10 (Stuttgart: Göschen, 1894): 50–51.

[28] *Schnee- und Theezeitung* D-B1 MA Ms. 63, 2, fol. 1r. Karl Klingemann was a friend of the family who lived in the front part of Leipziger Strasse 3 until summer 1827. He initiated the *Gartenzeitung* in 1826.

[29] See August Langen, 'Zur Liedparodie im deutschen Roman des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967): 362–74; and Ruth E. Müller, *Erzählte Töne: Studien zur Musikästhetik im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989).

[30] The first song is dated '25th May, [18]29', but the entry in Fanny Hensel's diary for 10 April 1829 suggests that she 'composed', although did not write down, the first song

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she sent a fair copy of the *Liederkreis*, with a vignette by Wilhelm Hensel on the first page, to her brother in London.[31] Her explanation of the drawings is linked with allusions to Felix's String Quartet op. 13, whose motto from his song 'Frage', op. 9, no. 1, Wilhelm Hensel had included in his drawing of the girl at the vine-clad wall (see Fig. 1):[32]

**Fig. 1** ***Liederkreis*** **(GB-Ob, MS. M. D. Mendelssohn c. 20, fol. 22$^{r}$), vignette by Wilhelm Hensel, detail. Reproduced by kind permission of The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford**

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in the cycle on the evening of the day her brother left for England. 'Droysen brought me a very charming poem about Felix which put me into a very pleasant mood, so that the tune occurred to me straight away' (Fanny Hensel, *Tagebücher*: 14). Regarding the suspicion that this is a reference to the idea on which the first song in the cycle is based, see Fanny Hensel, *Tagebücher*: 287.

[31] *Lieder von Fanny für Felix 1829*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms MDM c.22, 8, fols 22–5. Fanny Hensel used the title *Liederkreis. An Felix während seiner ersten Abwesenheit in England* in the fair copy of the cycle which she included in the retrospective of her songs for her husband on their first wedding anniversary. D-B1, MA Ms. 128, pp. 44–51. The music examples follow this latter version, which differs slightly from the earlier. The *Liederkreis* has been published as Fanny Hensel, *Liederkreis an Felix* (Kassel: Furore, 2005).

[32] The text of Felix Mendelssohn's song 'Frage' begins with the words: 'Is it true? – That you constantly wait for me at the trellis on the vine-clad wall?'

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> The girl sits on a trellis, whose fruit will be known to you. Is it true that you once composed a lied and then composed a Quartet from this lied? And that others extract a great deal of substance from this Quartet and make ceaseless allusions to it?[33]

One might then expect that Fanny Hensel would allude to this motto, which is borrowed originally from Beethoven's piano sonata op. 81a ('Les Adieux'), in her cycle of songs.[34] The motif is not referred to directly, however. Another motif, which obviously goes back to the same roots, seems to take on the importance of a motto in her cycle: this is heard at the end of the second song, to the words '[Vöglein], *in der Linden*' ([Little bird], *in the linden*), which Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy refers to repeatedly in his reaction to the song-cycle (see Ex. 1). In this strange finish, the sequence on the motif as a piano echo means that the song ends with a half-cadence.

**Ex. 1 Hensel, *Liederkreis*, no. 2, ending**

This is symptomatic of the whole cycle, the keys of which form a circle, so that – as Felix commented when he received the songs – there is nowhere to stop singing.[35] The second song itself also forms a circle. The end is identical with the beginning – with the entry of the voice (see Ex. 2).

There are several reasons for assuming that this song of Fanny Hensel's was a direct response to her brother's song 'Frage' op. 9, no. 1. The most striking is that the main motif of her song, which has the same number of bars as his, appears exactly the same number of times as the thematic motto of his song. It could even be said that her main motif, just like his, is borrowed from the slow movement, *L'Absence*, of Beethoven's sonata op. 81a. It shows certain similarities

[33] Letter dated 4–10 Jun. 1829, quoted from Marcia Citron, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn, Collected, Edited and Translated with Introductory Essays and Notes* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1987): 50; German original on p. 403.

[34] For the permutations of the motif, see Ex. 7.

[35] Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, letter to his brother Paul, 3 Jul. 1829, US-Nyp MFL, No. 70: 'Last night I played for myself the close of the 2nd with the Vöglein in der Linden very quietly, and then did crazy things in my room, banged upon the table and may also have cried a lot. But then I played it on and on for quarter of an hour and now I know it very well. But as soon as I go to the piano and play it again, a shudder gets into me again, because I have never heard anything like it. It is the very innermost soul of music. And if I start to play the ending, I have to sing them all, for none is weaker. I can stop nowhere. At the end I sing the first once again, in which the words are spoken ...'

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**Ex. 2 Hensel, *Liederkreis*, no. 2, beginning**

Grü - ner Früh - ling, sü - ße Mai - lust,

**Ex. 3 Beethoven, op. 81a, II, bars 15–18**

15 cantabile cresc.

17 p cresc. tr

with that 'turning-point' at which the second theme in the slow movement of op. 81a avoids a conclusion and turns back into the beginning (see Ex. 3).

This figure is so conventional that we should perhaps not really speak of a 'motto'. And yet it could be said that this second theme, in which 'conclusion' and 'new beginning' are interwoven, is characteristic in a very special way of Beethoven's sonata op. 81a as a whole. For this 'interweaving of the musical time with its counter-time' is, as Jürgen Uhde has put it, the main musical means through which Beethoven deals in the sonata in musical terms with the subject of parting, absence and return.[36]

On this basis the question arises as to whether Fanny Hensel chose the musical idea from op. 81a generally as the point of reference for her song-cycle. The titles of the first and last songs, 'Lebewohl' (Farewell) and 'Wiederkehr' (Return) speak in favour of this. If we look at the second song in her cycle, it seems to start with a 'conclusion' redefined as a new beginning by the piano echo. The song begins with a prelude over a dominant pedal point. The dominant character is enhanced by the initial chord, at first difficult to place, which with its fermata acts as a 'curtain' in front of the song and which with hindsight can be interpreted as an augmented sixth. In place of the G♮, F𝄪 is given as the first note in the top part. The entry of the voice brings the prelude to an end at the beginning of bar 4, although

[36] See Jürgen Uhde, *Beethovens Klaviermusik*, vol. 3, *Sonaten 16–32* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1974): 270–99, esp. 272–5.

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this is attenuated by the suspension, with an incomplete perfect cadence that is taken over by the falling sequence (bars 3–5); the prelude's opening gestures are recalled with the dominant pedal in bar 5. The 'echo' formed by the sequence, which is then repeated by the piano and virtually 'reshapes' the cadence into a half-cadence, re-opens this 'conclusion', and sets off the new beginning of the melody in bar 6 (see Ex. 2).

If we look now at the beginning of the first song we find striking similarities with that of the second song, and also a reminder of the valedictory opening figure of Beethoven's sonata op. 81a – the falling third which leads into an interrupted cadence when the bass enters and which accompanies the word *Lebewohl* (Farewell): see Ex. 4.

**Ex. 4a Beethoven, op. 81a, opening**

**Ex. 4b Hensel, *Liederkreis*, no. 1, opening**

Like the second song, the first too begins – unusually for a song – with a pedal point, against which Hensel quotes Beethoven's *Lebewohl* almost unnoticed, through the inclusion of the falling melodic line. The song begins with three falling whole tones, delicately emphasized by the piano accompaniment. This is of course a very common motif, which means that there is a tendency to hear allusions to it everywhere. But that is exactly the principle of Beethoven's sonata, a principle which Hensel uses for her song-cycle and which means that even the simplest conventional turns of phrase are heard as being full of allusions. Unlike the Beethoven version, Hensel does not set the motif to the word 'Lebewohl' until the end of her song. Seen rhythmically, it is an augmentation of the initial motif – an idea possibly borrowed from Beethoven. In terms of diastematic notation it has obviously undergone a change. But this drop of a third to the G♯, which is the main difference between Fanny Hensel's *Lebewohl* and that of Beethoven, diastematically fulfils a similar function in harmonic terms to the bass which enters in the first full bar of op. 81a. It 'prevents' the cadence on the tonic (see

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Ex. 5). At this point, in a song which hovers from the beginning between A minor and E major, the only cadence is heard which can functionally be seen as being within A minor, in the form of a half-cadence. Fanny Hensel's final figure – just like the figure at the beginning of op. 81a – brings about a new beginning. This is particularly clear in the transition from the first to the second verse (bars 10–13), where the motif accompanies the apparently prosaic question 'Schläfst du noch?' (Are you still asleep?) – an allusion to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's capacity to sleep like the dead.

**Ex. 5 Hensel, *Liederkreis*, no. 1, bars 10–14**

1. schläfst du noch? Und nun will ich sehr dich her - zen, will dich
[2. Le - be - wohl]

Although this is a conventional transition, it becomes charged with meaning through Fanny Hensel's play with musical allusions. Her *Lebewohl* and its possible connection with the *Lebewohl* from Beethoven's op. 81a meet here. The interweaving of beginning and end which accompanies it and creates the circular form of the song – and of the entire cycle – could at all events be seen as an allusion to the treatment of musical time in op. 81a.

There is no space here to show how Fanny Hensel uses her allusions to Beethoven, which at the same time are musical allusions to her brother, to create an inner link between the individual songs and thus to achieve formal completeness. Nor do I have the space to show how this process of motivic permutation, which creates a cyclic connection between the songs, sets up her own link with Beethoven – one which is not related to her brother, but to Beethoven's song-cycle *An die ferne Geliebte* (To the distant beloved).[37] I would now, however, like to show how this playing with motifs through which she links her cycle of songs, remains open to other areas of her life, and how she includes other members of her circle in it. I will restrict myself here to the siblings.[38]

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[37] Cf. my essay 'Lebewohl – Fanny Hensels Auseinandersetzung mit Beethovens späten Werken', in *Der "männliche" und der "weibliche" Beethoven. Bericht über den Internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress vom 31. Oktober bis 4. November 2001 an der Universität der Künste Berlin*, ed. Cornelia Bartsch, Beatrix Borchard and Rainer Cadenbach (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 2003), *Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung* 18: 295–330. Victoria Sirota has already suggested that Fanny Hensel alludes to Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte* in her song-cycle: see Victoria Ressmeyer Sirota, 'The Life and Works of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel', DMA diss. (Boston, 1981).

[38] Wilhelm Hensel is also included in the 'game'. Fanny Hensel uses her 'Lebewohl' motif in the song she composed on the poem her fiancé sent her with the official wedding notice (*Schlafe, schlaf*; D-B1, MA Depos. Lohs 2, p. 35, published in *Fanny Hensel, geb. Mendelssohn: Lieder ohne Namen. Ausgewählte Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier*, ed. Cornelia Bartsch and Cordula Heymann-Wentzel, 2 vols (Kassel: Furore, 2003): II, 16f.) As she

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A year later, Fanny Hensel used the motto from the second song of her cycle in a song addressed to her sister with the title ‘Genesungsfeier’ (Celebration of convalescence).[39] The autograph copy of this song is dated ‘10th April [18]30’.[40] A later fair copy is part of the album which she gave to Wilhelm Hensel for their tenth wedding anniversary, and which contains a retrospective of her songs. This fair copy is dated one day later, 11 April – Rebecka’s birthday – and Fanny Hensel explicitly marked the dedication on it: ‘To Rebecka’.[41] The song was probably composed on 10 April 1830 and intended as a musical birthday present. The words were written by Wilhem Hensel and refer, like the title, to the situation in Leipziger Strasse Drei, where measles had broken out in spring 1830. The motif is attached to the words ‘Kehre wieder’ (‘Return’) right at the beginning of the song – words that certainly fit in with the original context of the theme in the central songs of her cycle, whose concern was ‘absence’. Here they refer to the desire for her sister to ‘return’ from quarantine. Fanny Hensel largely removes the motif from its original harmonic connotations and uses its striking rhythmic form, which is present almost continuously throughout ‘Genesungsfeier’. The first phrase of the melody is simply a string of references to these forms of the motif. The middle section of the song also contains clear reminders of its original harmonic context (see Ex. 6).

**Ex. 6 Hensel, ‘Genesungsfeier’, bars 10–17**

Hörst du nicht auf mei-ne Lie-der, möcht ich in___ den Früh-lings-chö-ren fra-gend bald___ die dei-nen hö - ren;

The beginning of the melody is placed over a pedal note and the motif is heard – here for the first time in its original form – first with a half-cadence and then with an indecisive perfect cadence in the dominant. The questions in the text about the ‘Lieder des Gegenüber’ (songs of the other party) and the ‘wartende Vöglein’ (little birds waiting) are possibly deliberate references by Wilhelm Hensel to the second song in the cycle, to which Fanny Hensel here alludes in her setting.[42]

The game with the closure of the cycle continues: Felix Mendelssohn picks up the motif a little while later in a short *Andante*, a ‘Song without Words’, which he sends from Munich to his sister in Berlin instead of a letter.[43] Like Fanny in

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changes the harmonic context of the original farewell motif its meaning is completely reversed; it could almost be said to become a ‘welcome’ motif.

[39] Ibid.: II, 20–2.

[40] D-B1, MA Depos. Lohs 2, pp. 39f.

[41] D-B1, MA Ms. 128. ‘Genesungsfeier’ is on pp. 52–4.

[42] The text of the middle section is ‘Hörst Du nicht auf meine Lieder, möcht ich in den Frühlingschören fragend bald die Deinen hören; alle Vögel warten drauf’ (‘If you don’t listen to my songs, I wish to ask for and hear yours in the choirs of spring; all birds are waiting for them’).

[43] Felix Mendelssohn, letter of 14 Jun. 1830 to Fanny Hensel, in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Eine Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz. Briefe, Tagebuchblätter, Skizzen,*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479409800000926 Published online by Cambridge University Press

her letter of 4–10 June, which she sends to her brother with the song-cycle, Felix makes a musical reference via the text of a song: 'My name is also in the song and you know that I am yours – so may God grant what I hope and ask for'.[44] The phrase 'and you know that I am yours' is taken from the third song in the cycle, which ends with the words: 'And that you are mine, do I not know it?' The song that follows these words ends with the main motif of the second song, which in terms of motivic reference forms the 'reply' to his song 'Frage', and, like that song, refers to its own beginning.[45] We could now, just for fun and of course without any claim to getting it right, join in the game being played here with the possible meanings of musical motifs. Let us start with Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's words to the initial motif from the second movement of op. 81a. Even without the words, Felix is playing with the 'meaning' to some extent by changing the motif from minor to major, releasing it from its 'metric distortion' and placing the half-cadence on the main beat of the bar, where it belongs. The oppressed and doubting nature of the motif in Beethoven's version is now replaced by a feeling of pleasurable excitement, so that the expected answer is easily imagined (see Exx. 7a and b). The words of Fanny Hensel's answering motif are '... in the linden' ('in der Linden') – and not 'at the vine-clad wall' ('an der Weinwand'), which would also have fitted the metre. But this really is a dialogue in which each side has its own words: '... in the linden' is much more specific if you are in Berlin, Leipziger Strasse, not far from 'the linden' and waiting for your brother to return from London.

Now, how can we solve the puzzle of the 'name' with which Felix confronts his sister when he says that his name is in the song? This is just an idea: the words 'Mendelssohn Bartholdy' can be sung to the initial motif of the song – this is the 'public' name with which Felix Mendelssohn was to establish himself in his journeys through the world of music (see Ex. 7d). The final motif in his sister's song, which reaches out to this 'new' initial motif, can also be accompanied by a name in addition to other possible or actual words – her married name, 'Fanny Hensel', which symbolized for her the end of the artistic childhood and youth with her brother (for real and possible wordings of the motif see Ex. 7c).[46] In the context of the song-cycle, there can be no doubt that it is she who is meant by the sad 'Vöglein in der Linden' (Little bird in the linden) mentioned in Droysen's words to the motif. The text might even contain a direct allusion to her name, as her mother's aunt Fanny von Arnstein, after whom Fanny Hensel was named, was nicknamed 'Vögelchen' (little bird). Without playing any further with possible wordings and semantics it should be mentioned that Fanny Hensel uses her motif again elsewhere. In a 'Song without Words' entitled, significantly, *Duett für Sopran und Tenor mit den Fingern zu singen* (Duet for soprano and tenor to be sung with the fingers), which she writes in her brother's Paris diary, and in which she develops the characteristic repeated middle part from her brother's 'Letter song', the 'answer' to Felix's 'question' is to be heard repeatedly in the middle section, now in a minor key (see Ex.8).[47]

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ed. Peter Sutermeister (Tübingen: Heliopolis, 1979): 29.

[44] Ibid.

[45] A facsimile of the song is printed in ibid., between pp. 24 and 25.

[46] Rainer Cadenbach pointed out the possibility of the 'play on the name'.

[47] D-B1, MA Ms. 143. The first page is printed in facsimile with commentary in Klein, *Das verborgene Band*: 203–4.

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**Ex. 7 ‘Play’ with possible words and meanings of a motif**

**(a) Beethoven, op. 81a, II**

**(b) Mendelssohn, ‘Frage’, op. 9, no. 1**

Con moto

*f* *mf*

Ist es wahr?

**(c) Hensel, *Liederkreis*, no. 1**

[an der Wein - wand]
[mei - ne Lie - der]
[Fan - ny Hen - sel]

[Vög - lein] in der Lin - den.

**(d) Mendelssohn, *Andante***

[Men - dels - sohn - Bar - thol - dy]

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**Ex. 8 Hensel, *Duett für Sopran und Tenor mit den Fingern zu singen*, middle section**

It would be too easy to regard this kind of communicative process in music simply as part of a social game in a place that might be termed a 'salon', and is supposed to have nothing to do with music of a high aesthetic standard. But rather, the question arises as to whether this kind of dialogue, in which music is given an individual – and at the same time 'true' – meaning by different participants, is not a step towards that ideal form of direct communication in music which Felix Mendelssohn mentions in his famous letter to Marc-André Souchay and which cannot be achieved – or only achieved to a limited extent – in anonymous public performances with their 'one-way' communication.[48]

I will mention just briefly an example from a slightly later date, in a genre with a quite different value attached to it. It is well established that the beginnings of Felix Mendelssohn's string quartet op. 12 and his sister's string quartet in E♭ are prototypes of the kind of play on musical figures I have demonstrated using examples from genuinely 'private' music. Here, too, a piece by Beethoven is involved, or rather, it is a 'dialogue about Beethoven'. The beginnings of two of the three quartets involved are well known (see Exx. 9a and b), and Fanny Hensel's quartet too is gaining recognition (see Ex. 9c).[49]

The opening of Beethoven's quartet op. 74, with the subdominant implications of that ominous D♭ determining the tonality of the entire quartet, treats the subdominant itself in an anomalous manner: it remains 'blank' and is not heard where it would seem most urgently required. Felix Mendelssohn's 'reply' in his quartet op. 12 seems like a musical 'explanation' – in that it offers the solution Beethoven refused to provide and thus brings into the open the 'blank' which in Beethoven's quartet governs the tonality in concealment. Just as in Beethoven's version, the initial motif becomes a kind of 'visiting card' for Mendelssohn's quartet, which can be seen overall as a musical discussion – and presentation – of the problems of tonality arising from Beethoven's op. 74. Fanny Hensel takes up the two initial motifs in her quartet, but it could be said maliciously

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48 'People usually complain that music has so many meanings, it is so unclear what to think of it, whereas everybody understands words. I find the opposite to be true. Not just with whole speeches, but individual words as well, they too seem to me so full of meanings, so indefinite, so easy to misunderstand in comparison with proper music that fills one's soul with a thousand better things than words. What the music I love says to me are thoughts not too *indefinite* to be put into words, they are too *definite*.' Letter to Marc-André Souchay, 15 Oct. 1842, in *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe aus den Jahren 1830–1847*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, vol. 2 (Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1863): 337–8.

49 D-B1, MA Ms. 43. There are two editions of the quartet, by Renate Eggebrecht Kupsa (Kassel: Furore, 1987) and Günter Marx (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1987), respectively. For a review of the latter see Annegret Huber, 'Zerschlagen, zerfließen oder erzeugen? Fanny Hensel und Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy im Streit um musikalische Formkonzepte nach "Beethovens letzter Zeit"', in *Maßstab Beethoven? Komponistinnen im Schatten des Geniekults*, ed. Bettina Brand and Martina Helmig (Munich: edition text + kritik, 2001): 120–44.

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**Ex. 9a Beethoven, op. 74**

Poco adagio

**Ex.9b Mendelssohn, op. 12**

Adagio non troppo

p

p

p

p

**Ex.9c Hensel, String Quartet, opening**

Adagio ma non troppo

p

p

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that she has not understood where the problem lies. The fateful note is not heard, nor is the secondary dominant leading to the subdominant A♭; instead we do not know whether we are in C minor or E♭ major. This latter is in fact an indication that Fanny Hensel had indeed understood the whole problem, but she enters the discussion at a different point and with a different opinion from her brother. For while he presents and tries to clarify the problems of tonality which Beethoven raises – including the modal fluctuation – Fanny Hensel composes them thoroughly away. As Annegret Huber has shown, her entire quartet can be seen as a long, repeatedly interrupted 'search' for the tonic, which sometimes (as happens in the *Romance*) cannot be detected at all.[50] In her initial motif she seems to be quoting her brother.

He, in the transition to the coda right at the end of his quartet, sums up the various solutions to the 'tonic problem' raised in op. 74 in a kind of very compact apotheosis of the work (see Ex. 10). A passage of harmonic oscillation between C minor and E♭ major is followed by a cadence of positively overwhelming presence in E♭ (see Ex. 10, bars 233–7). After the harmonic oscillation has resumed, the force of this cadence is dissipated and the music almost sinks into the 'fateful' region of the subdominant, but with an added sixth in the viola and violin 1 (see Ex. 10, bars 241–4). A return to E♭ major seems set to follow, but this is interrupted by the continued development of the motif from bars 241 onwards (see Ex. 10, bars 253–8), which acts as a recitative insertion introducing the actual coda. This begins as a quotation from the first movement of the quartet, with its third theme as an episode in F minor, thus linking with the tonality in the first movement (where the structure of the slow introduction of Beethoven's op. 74 resulting from the initial motif remains as if hermetically sealed in place).

The form of the opening motif of Fanny Hensel's string quartet links up with this motif from bars 241–242, which in Felix Mendelssohn's final discussion of the 'tonality problem' in op. 74 rejects the apparently simple solution and refers again to the depths of the Beethoven quartet.

And now, in conclusion, I would like to come back to the question mark that Beatrix Borchard placed earlier against the term 'salon'. This term, which, as she noted, the women concerned did not use, closes the door between music played as part of the social life of the bourgeoisie and music played on the stage – music that would make history. If, instead, we regard music as correspondence – and the similarities between the music of Fanny Hensel and Felix Mendelssohn invite us to do so – then this door is opened, and not just this one. It removes the 'one-dimensional' reception and the hierarchy between 'author' and 'recipient'. It opens up the possibility of a music whose main function was to create a feeling of closeness with the other person; or, as the example of the song-cycle shows, to link together a circle of recipients. It reveals the possibility of a musical tradition beyond the one-way patterns of the history of music as the passing down of musical works, a history from which Fanny Hensel and her music remain excluded to this day. In this way it opens up new 'sites' for music.

[50] Huber, 'Zerschlagen, zerfließen oder erzeugen?'

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**Ex. 10 Mendelssohn, op. 12 IV, bars 227–261**

L'istesso tempo

227

*f*

*sf*

232

*ff*

*espress.*

241

*sempre f*

*dim.*

251

*p*

*pp*

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