

## Architecture and Artistic Function : Fanny Hensel's Uses of Different Musical Spaces at Leipziger Strasse 3, Berlin

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The brilliant *Sonntagsmusiken* (Sunday Musicales) that Fanny Hensel organized at her Berlin family residence have been documented and acknowledged as the principal artistic outlet for her music-making and for the assertion of female power.<sup>1)</sup> Most studies of Fanny's musical activities have focused on the issue of music and gender, the exceptional circumstance of a woman making music, and the discovery of Hensel's artistry as a composer.<sup>2)</sup> This paper, however, reorients the focus on the

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1) R. Larry Todd, *Fanny Hensel: The Other Mendelssohn*, ed. Todd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), especially preface and chapter "Becoming Frau Hensel (1828-1830)," 117-46. Todd underscores that Fanny's concerts provided her with her own private space to realize her ambitions as a musician and composer and to fulfill her inner drive in the circumscribed, domestic setting imposed on the women of the time. Also see Françoise Tillard, "Sunday Musicales: The Sonntagsmusik," in *Fanny Mendelssohn*, ed. Tillard and trans. Camille Naish (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1992), 197-206. Tillard has contextualized Fanny's concerts as a significant site of private music-making in relation to musical life in Berlin.

2) Among numerous studies on Fanny's music, for those concerning her

subject toward Fanny's uses of the distinctive musical spaces available in her family residence at Leipziger Strasse 3. Based on her diaries and correspondence as well as iconographic sources on her residence, the paper demonstrates how astutely Fanny assessed the spaces available to her as effective musical properties, lending each space a different function, rhetoric, and aesthetic in accordance with the different types of musical activities of herself and her audiences.<sup>3)</sup>

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music and women music-making, see Marcia J. Citron, "Women and The Lied, 1775-1850," in Jane M. Bowers and Judith Tick, ed., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 224-48; Citron, "Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel: Musician in Her Brother's Shadow," in *The Female Autograph: Theory and Practice of Autobiography From the Tenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Domna C. Stanton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 152-59; Diane Jezic, "Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847): Domestic Music Making," in *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found*, ed. Jezic (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1988), 73-82; Nancy B. Reich, "The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel," in *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 86-99; Janet Nichols Lynch, "Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel," in her *Women Music Makers: An Introduction to Women Composers* (New York: Walker, 1992), 13-31; and Lorraine Gorrell, "Women Musicians in Nineteenth-century Society: Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel," in *The Nineteenth-Century German Lied*, ed. Gorrell (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993), 169-89. For studies that relate Fanny's songs to encoding feminine musical styles, in particular, see Sanna Katriina Iitti, "The Feminine in German Song, 1830-1890" (PhD diss., New York University, 2003). For a general overview of her life and studies of her works, see Gloria Kamen, *Hidden Music: The Life of Fanny Mendelssohn* (New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 1996); Ute Buchter-Romer, *Fanny Mendelssohn-Hensel* (Rheinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2001).

- 3) For Fanny's diaries and letters, see Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, *Tagebücher*, ed. Hans-Günter Klein and Rudolf Elvers (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2002); Fanny Hensel, *Briefe aus Roman ihre Familie in Berlin 1839/40* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2002); Fanny Hensel, *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, collected, ed. and trans. with introductory essays and notes by Marcia J. Citron ([Stuyvesant,

As a backdrop to Fanny's musical salon, this paper begins with a brief overview of the distinctive aspects of Berlin salons during the first half of the nineteenth century. Discussion on the two influential salons held by Amalie Beer and Sara Levy, in particular, helps us to understand the models for Fanny's salon and a stimulus for its expansion. The focus is on Fanny's organization of her concerts in relation to her use of different types of spaces for different purposes, including her *Sonntagsmusiken* in the *Gartensaal*, other music activities in the living room and her music room, and guest rooms for regular visiting musicians.

### Overview of Berlin Salons 1780–1850 and their Distinctive Aspects

Salons were already flourishing in the second half of the eighteenth century in major cities such as Paris, London, and Leipzig before the Berlin salons emerged as part of this wide trend around 1780.<sup>4)</sup> Figures 1–3 show some sketches of salon

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NY]: Pendragon Press, 1987); Marcia J. Citron, "Fanny Hensel's Letters to Felix Mendelssohn in the Green-books Collection at Oxford," in *Mendelssohn and Schumann: Essays on their Music and its Context*, eds. Jon W. Finson and R. Larry Todd (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1984), 99–108. For iconographic sources, see various items cited below.

- 4) For social and cultural studies of Berlin salons, see Andreas Ballstaedt, *Salonmusik: zur Geschichte und Funktion einer Bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989); Petra Wilhelmy-Dollinger, *Die Berliner Salons* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000); Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); rev. ed. of "The Literary Salon in Berlin, 1780–1806: The Social History of an Intellectual Institution" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1979). The spectrum of the gatherings called "salons" was wide. Salons almost always met in homes, whether those homes were lavishly decorated great halls or small reception rooms. The gatherings were usually organized by

settings and gatherings in Germany. Figure 1 illustrates a spacious room in which a small group of people is scattered, and there were diverse entertainment possibilities as the social mixing took place, including conversations among the salon guests. Figures 2 and 3 depict musical concerts in an intimate setting, with some people sitting and others standing, surrounding the piano. As shown in Figure 2, the guests, although they may not have had a seat, had to behave as “listeners,” as the situational context of the concert demanded.<sup>5)</sup>



**Figure 1.** Salon sociability, wood engraving after drawing by P. Hey, 1880<sup>6)</sup>

wealthy married women. In salons, the piano was almost always played, food served, and guests received hospitably. For brief studies of musical salons hosted by wealthy Jewish women in Berlin, see Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun, “The Musical Salon,” in *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New York: Jewish Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 38-49; and Leon Botstein, “Music, Femininity, and Jewish Identity: The Tradition of Legacy of the Salon,” in *ibid.*, 159-69.

5) Ballstaedt, *Salonmusik*, 285. Figures 1 and 2 depict somewhat later salons in the 1880s and 90s but still exhibiting a typical salon setting.



Figure 2. A musical soirée, wood engraving, ca. 1880<sup>6)</sup>



Figure 3. Johann Gottfried Schadow, Musical Company, ca. 1820<sup>7)</sup>

6) Ballstaedt, *Salonmusik*, 285.

7) Ibid.

Berlin salons in the period 1780-1850 were distinguished from those in other cities primarily because of the prominence of a handful of Jewish women, who opened their houses, and hosted and organized the salons.<sup>9)</sup> The Itzig family (founded by Daniel Itzig, 1723-1799) was one of the wealthiest families, and their eleven daughters were all *salonières*, dilettantes, or patronesses, among them Sara Levy.<sup>10)</sup> Levy's salon tradition continued in salons hosted by successive Itzig women, Lea Mendelssohn and Fanny Hensel-Levy's niece and great-niece, respectively. Fanny's salon was thus aligned with the tradition of the Itzig family.

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8) Bilski and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 160.

9) The prominence of Jewish women does not mean that the guests were also predominantly Jewish women, because the nobility was certainly the main group of salon guests, although the main group of *hostesses* was Jewish women. More than fourteen salons in Berlin are well documented, nine of them hosted by Jewish women. The hostesses were daughters of wealthy Jewish families, whose societal and cultural positions were important. A small number of such families constituted a newly emerged community from whom Frederick the Great obtained great economic service. The state imposed harsh and humiliating regulations on Jews. Their wealth, however, came to be adorned by intellectual and social success. As a result, a few Jewish families emerged as among the richest in the capital city. Hertz, *Jewish High Society*, has focused on this handful of Jewish women and their literary salons. Also see Hertz, "Salonnières and Literary Women in Late Eighteenth Century Berlin," *New German Critique* 14 (1978): 97-108. For the economy and Jewish society, see Werner Mosse, *The German-Jewish Economic Elite, 1820-1935: A Socio-cultural Profile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). For the regulations and restrictions on Jews, see Hertz, "Social Structure," in *Jewish High Society*, 23-47.

10) Levy's sister, Fanny von Arnstein (1758-1818), was also an influential hostess in Vienna, and her salon is considered the first Jewish salon in that city. See Waltraud Heindl, "People, Class Structure, and Society," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 47-49.

The salons by the prominent Jewish *salonières*, Sara Levy and Amalie Beer (Meyerbeer's mother), represent the pinnacle of Berlin musical salons around 1800 and up to the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>11)</sup> Beer and Levy's wealth, warmth, and emphasis on music helped to bring people inside their homes. One of the contemporary reports was made by a nobleman, Prince Pückler, who was invited by Amalie Beer: "There is far more discernment, talent, and knowledge to be found there, and also the food is better, since these people have more money than our impoverished aristocracy."<sup>12)</sup> Beer and Levy's warmth was highly praised, especially its creation of a bond among people. A guest of Beer's salon stated: "I prefer to be at the Beers', because one is received there so naturally and amiably.... Jewish good-natured liberalism holds sway to a high degree.... one sees people from all walks of life; everyone can do what he wants: play, sing, or recite."<sup>13)</sup> The writer Fanny

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11) In her book *Die Berliner Salons*, Wilhelmy-Dollinger explores the development of the Berlin salons from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth. She divides Berlin salon life into four stages. The second stage is considered the heyday of musical salons, but not enough evidence is introduced to prove that claim. Both Beer and Levy presided at their salons and organizing the gatherings, which ranged from a simple tea-table type to a splendid one. For Beer's salon, see Egon Jacobsohn and Leo Hirsch, "Amalie Beer," in *Jüdische Mütter* (Berlin: Vortrupp, 1939), 66. The hall was even expanded and paneled in pine in 1811. For Levy's salon, see Hertz, *Jewish High Society*, 103. Levy hosted her salon with her husband, the banker Solomon Levy. Levy also had an extended family: two of Sara's sisters lived there after 1795, her blind sister Recha and her widowed sister Rebekka. The poet Achim von Arnim rented an apartment in the Levy home in 1804. Levy presided at the tea-table, inviting a group of guests (usually ten to fourteen) for a noon dinner on Thursdays and on Sunday afternoons; Hertz, *Jewish High Society*, 103.

12) Cited in Mosse, *German-Jewish Economic Elite*, 305; also cited in Bilski and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 41.

Lewald noted that Levy continued to encourage the talents of women, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, throughout her salons until her death in 1854, claiming that social barriers and prejudice were all broken by Levy's social abilities and refined mind.<sup>14)</sup> A number of historians have emphasized that paradoxically, the restrictions the wealthy Jewish women faced in religion, class, and gender helped to develop their salons, which ultimately contributed to promoting their societal and cultural assimilation of Prussian nobles, commoner intelligentsia, and Jewish women.<sup>15)</sup> Their salons, therefore, provided a meeting ground for people of all estates to profit from their talents and privilege, including intellect, wit, taste, social status, and power.<sup>16)</sup>

A brilliant array of musical celebrities of musicians continued to visit the salons by Beer and Levy.<sup>17)</sup> A great deal

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13) Sven Kuhrau and Kurt Winkler, *Juden, Bürger, Berliner: Das Gedächtnis der Familie Beer-Meyerbeer-Richter* (Berlin: Henschel, 2004), 54; cited in Bilski and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 43.

14) Ibid.

15) Hertz, "Social Structure," in *Jewish High Society*, 23-47, classifies the social strata in later eighteenth-century Berlin into three groups: Prussian nobles, commoner intelligentsia, and Jewish women. Prussian nobles at the time faced severe economic difficulties and sought employment in Berlin. Intellectual commoners, especially wealthy Jews, aspired to a city growing in power and status. At the other end of the social spectrum, daughters of wealthy Berlin Jewish families sought release from the traditional Jewish life. Among others, Hertz's book is a useful social-historical study, in which the author weaves an intricate net of social, historical, and economic components.

16) Hertz, *Jewish High Society*, 1-22.

17) They include Carl Maria von Weber, Muzio Clementi, Niccolò Paganini, and Franz Liszt in Beer's salon; in Levy's salon, not only significant musicians/composers such as Fanny and Felix as well as Carl Friedrich Zelter, but also prominent local nobles and literary figures of the time, among them the philosopher J. G. Fichte and the writers E. T. A.



of vocal and operatic music was performed, along with readings and dancing. Levy's musical salon especially served as a means for the cult of works by the Bach family.<sup>18)</sup> The main domain of Beer and Levy remained in the private space but at the same time their musical activities extended to public spaces such as the Singakademie. Aside from hosting musicians, Beer and Levy were well-trained musicians themselves: Beer was a singer and Levy a professional harpsichordist.<sup>19)</sup> Levy's

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Hoffman and Fanny Lewald. Todd, *Fanny Hensel, 10: Hertz, Jewish High Society*, 103.

- 18) This is illustrated in a report by a young female writer when Levy was eighty years old: "Her musical *soirées* were famous, although at that time no longer as popular as fifty years before, when she and her family championed the music of Sebastian and Philipp Emanuel Bach." Quoted in Eric Werner, *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and his Age* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 8, 12. Sara Levy played a crucial role in cultivating Bach's music. She was a student of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, was considered a patron of C. P. E. Bach, and gave many valuable Bach manuscripts to Zelter, one of the directors of the Singakademie. She also possessed autographs of several works from Bach's very last year, 1788, presumably commissioned for her Berlin salon. She supported Felix when he performed Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* at the Singakademie in 1829. For further reading about the Levy-Bach family connections, see Peter Wollny, "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: Max Niemeyer, 1999), 217-55; and Wollny, "Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin," *Musical Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (winter 1993): 651-88.
- 19) Beer was a choral member of the Singakademie, and Levy performed as a harpsichord soloist at the institution around 1807-08. Levy performed as a soloist in the years 1806 and 1808 in performances of J. S. Bach's Harpsichord Concerto in D minor, BWV 1052, and the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto, BWV 1050. Wollny, *Sara Levy*, 221. Despite their capability of performing in the concert hall, especially Levy, they insisted on their own private space with their invited guests. The propriety imposed on women of the time would certainly have encouraged them to remain in their domestic sphere. But there,

musical salon, in particular, contributed to continuing her family tradition, which interacted with her sisters' salons and salon by Lea and Abraham, Fanny's parents, and was ultimately expanded by Fanny's salon. Although there are insufficient descriptions of their musical activities, the musical discourse in their salons would have been the key for the social mixing through listening and performing together.

Situating Fanny's musical activities in the context of the Berlin salon, existing literature, although cursorily investigated, has aligned her salons associated with the lavish musical salons by Levy and Beer.<sup>20)</sup> As will be further discussed below, the detailed look at Fanny's concerts reveals that she expanded the tradition of the musical salons inherited from Levy and Beer by cultivating large-scale performances, varied programs, and aesthetics of assimilation that are distinctive to Jewish salons in Berlin.

### Fanny Hensel's Musical Salon from 1820

Against the backdrop of Beer and Levy's salons, the expansion of the musical salon is evident in Fanny's salon beginning about 1830 in her family residence. Fanny continued the tradition of Beer and Levy's salons, including exclusively invited guests and the role of musical discourse that facilitated interaction of people. Fanny was a regular guest in Levy's

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separating their salons from the public space, they presided over their salons, reconstructing their lives and the musical life of the city. For them, salons would have been a better forum for nurturing their social, intellectual, and especially musical maturity.

20) Bilski and Braun, "Musical Salon"; Botstein, "Music, Femininity, and Jewish Identity."

salon, and thus she could have learned from Levy's social ability and refinement. At the same time, Fanny developed the tradition of musical salon through her own organization of the *Sonntagsmusiken*, which featured large-scale performances, a large group of audience, varied programs, and systematic rehearsals. The building of Fanny's family residence at Leipziger Strasse 3 provided distinctive spaces for musical activities and people related to her musical salon. The musical performances in Fanny's family residence, as will be further fleshed out below, demonstrate not only the growth of the musical salon through her organization but also the significant meaning of *Leipziger Strasse 3* as a musical property in the city of Berlin of the time.

### Sonntagsmusiken

To provide a brief history of the *Sonntagmusiken*, the concerts had begun in 1823 by Fanny's parents, Abraham and Lea. It is no doubt that the principal purpose of the concerts was to promote Felix and his music.<sup>21)</sup> Felix began to organize the Sunday musicales around 1832. During his tenure, Fanny contributed significantly as a piano soloist. The *Sonntagmusiken*, however, came to have a turning point in 1830 when Felix left home for a career in Leipzig.<sup>22)</sup> It is uncertain precisely when Fanny's own concerts began, but she came to the fore in organizing the concert series from 1832 until her death in

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21) Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, 197; Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, 57.

22) Hensel, *Tagebuch*, 13 May 1830: "*Heut früh ist Felix mit Vater, der ihn bis Leipzig begleitet, abgereist*" (Felix has left this morning with father, who accompanied him to Leipzig).

1841.<sup>23)</sup> This history of the *Sonntagsmusiken* suggests that Fanny's salon took place in a family-oriented situation, whereas Beer and Levy were the central figures in their salons.

The Sunday musicales were not open to the public but took place in a private, exclusive setting for the invited guests.<sup>24)</sup> During Fanny's tenure, the invitations to these concerts were highly sought after.<sup>25)</sup> The guests included numerous nobility and artists, including the painters Cornelius and Ingres.<sup>26)</sup> Musical celebrities continued to visit, including Clara Schumann, Charles Gounod, and Franz Liszt.<sup>27)</sup> Fanny rehearsed, conducted, and composed pieces for her concerts, and performed as both soloist and accompanist. Although Fanny's musical activities and concerts were circumscribed to the domestic and private spheres, her accomplishments were widely known.<sup>28)</sup> Her concerts attracted large audiences on occasion, extending into

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23) In a letter of 22 February 1831, Fanny expressed her decision to revive the *Sonntagsmusiken*, and Felix showed himself delighted with the idea. For Felix's response, see Hensel, *Tagebüch*, 32, her diary entry for March 14, 1831: "*Er freute sich sehr über meine Sonntagsmusiken*" (He [Felix] was very happy about my Sunday musicales).

24) Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, xv.

25) Ibid.

26) Ibid.

27) Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 48. Charles Gounod, especially, had had close relationships with Fanny and Felix during their sojourn in Rome (1839-40).

28) This is illustrated in Fanny's obituary: "Fanny Hensel was an artist in the most exalted sense of the word.... Just as she shone as a gifted and accomplished pianist, so do the works only recently published under her own name testify to that heartfelt depth of feeling... fundamentally to a lofty and noble creation." *Die preussische Zeitung*, in *Singale für die musikalische Welt* (May 1847): 190-91; cited in Nancy B. Reich, "The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel," in *Mendelssohn and His World*, 97.

the level of public concert performances and ultimately constituting one significant aspect of music-making in Berlin's concert life.

### Leipziger Strasse 3 as a Musical Property and the Space of the *Gartensaal*

Fanny's family residence at Leipziger Strasse 3 was a palatial house in central Berlin. It consisted of a main house, a front house, two sides of wings, and a garden house.<sup>29)</sup> The rooms inside were stately and tall, with a pleasant sense of space.<sup>30)</sup> The house was always surrounded with complete peace and quietness, as if one lived in the solitude of the forest rather than on a street.<sup>31)</sup> The house was protected from the noise of the street in three ways: a large courtyard that was 100 yards from the road, a high-fronted building that blocked noise, and the vines that entwined the residence.<sup>32)</sup> This advantage would have offered a suitable environment for the concerts. The building provided a number of musical spaces. Beatrix Borchard identifies several performance spaces that existed in Leipziger Strasse 3, not only the *Gartensaal* but also Fanny's mother's rooms in the front house, Fanny's own music room, the study rooms of Felix, the room of Fanny's sister Rebecca, and the garden.<sup>33)</sup> The main venues of Fanny's musical salon

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29) The house was purchased by Abraham in 1825, and thus Fanny's own concerts were all held there. Michael Cullen, "Leipziger Strasse Drei—Eine Baubiographie," *Mendelssohn-Studien* 5 (1982): 48.

30) Ibid., 47

31) Ibid.

32) Cullen, "Leipziger Strasse Drei," 47.

33) Beatrix Borchard, "Opferaltäre der Musik," in *Fanny Hensel geb.*

center on the *Gartensaal* and her music room.

The *Gartensaal* was used as a venue for the *Sonntagsmusiken*. It was a magnificent part of the family estate, measuring 14 by 7.5 meters.<sup>34)</sup> Figure 4 shows a plan of the hall in 1827: a spacious room at the center of the residence.

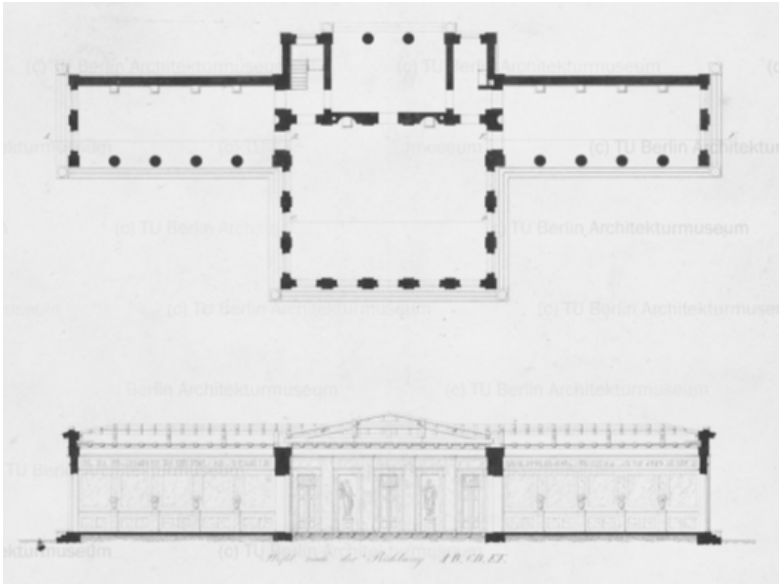


Figure 4. Plan of the garden hall, 1827<sup>35)</sup>

As shown in Figures 5 and 6, the hall faced the garden and had several movable glass walls with columns in between.<sup>36)</sup> It

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*Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Komponieren zwischen Geselligkeitsideal und romantischer Musikästhetik*, ed. Borchard and Monika Schwarz-Danuser (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1999), 28-29.

34) Cullen, "Leipziger Strasse Drei," 46-47; Borchard, "Opferaltäre der Musik," 30.

35) Johan Heinrich Haeberlin (1799-1867), *Gartensaal* (1827), available from <http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=79&Daten=128395> (accessed 5 June 2015).

is likely that the glass walls could be pushed aside into the house. By creating one direction toward the interior, the garden was turned into an entirely open hall of columns.<sup>37)</sup> For the other direction toward the outdoors, the hall naturally led into the garden.<sup>38)</sup> Therefore, the structure of the *Gartensaal* usually enabled to accommodate a large performance as well as large group of audience by splitting out the guests into the garden.



Figure 5. Border of the *Gartensaal* at Fanny's Family Residence<sup>39)</sup>

36) Borchard, "Opferaltäre der Musik," 29.

37) Ibid.

38) Cullen, "Leipziger Strasse Drei," 46-47; Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 49.

39) Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 49.

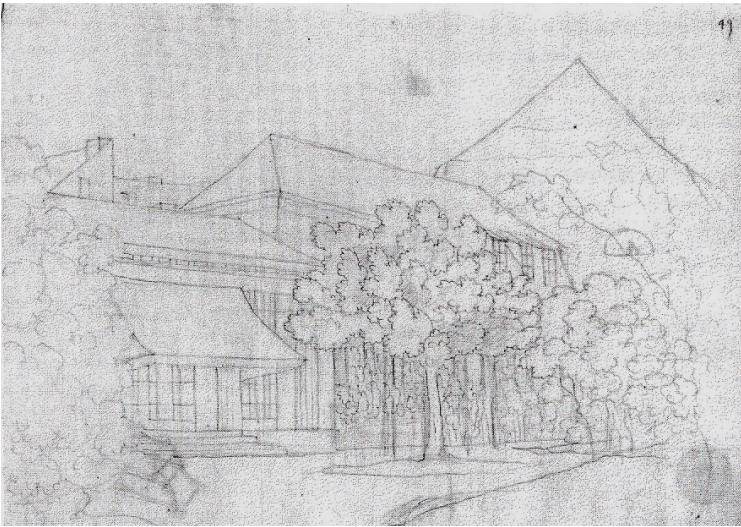


Figure 6. A glance on the garden of the house with the concert hall<sup>40)</sup>

Looking into the interior of the spacious room, the walls and ceilings are highly elaborated in Baroque style with frescos, and the ceiling has a shallow dome.<sup>41)</sup> Figure 7 displays the interior of the garden hall in Würzburg about 1750, but by extension, this gives a similar impression to the *Gartensaal* of Fanny's family estate.

40) Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, "Neues zur Leipziger Strasse Drei," *Mendelssohn-Studien* 7 (1990): 144.

41) Borchard, "Opferaltäre der Musik," 29.





Figure 7. Interior of the *Gartensaal* in Würzburg (ca. 1750)<sup>42)</sup>

As having a parallel with Figure 7, the Mendelssohn *Gartensaal* was a large, centrally located hall in the Garden complex (*Gartenwohnung*).<sup>43)</sup> The columns seem to define the hall, and the hall itself is divided into several semi-circular spaces. The Garden complex was thus a livable part of the house, comprising the three components of the *Gartensaal*, adjoining spaces, and another adjoining garden. The whole area was the space where the *Sonntagsmusiken* took place.

The *Gartensaal* provided a space for a large group of audience up to a remarkable three hundred people on several occasions. For example, at a festival in honor of Bunsen in 1834, Fanny presented Gluck's *Iphigenia in Tauris* with great success before an audience of a hundred people.<sup>44)</sup> Moreover,

42) Available from <http://www.residenz-wuerzburg.de/deutsch/residenz/gartens.htm> (accessed 5 June 2015)

43) Borchard, "Opferaltäre der Musik," 29.

44) "From the Archive: Fanny by Gaslight," *Musical Times* 138, no. 1850 (April 1997): 30.

a *Sonntagsmusik* held in the *Gartenssal* and the garden that accommodated three hundred people is mentioned in Fanny's diary for 3 July 1839:

We held *Sonntagsmusik* a couple of times.... In June, I think, I did a repeat performance of [*Saint*] *Paul*, with all means that were available to me, and as I allowed a plentiful choir to bring others with them if they wanted to, the audience was, according to a moderate estimate, about 300 people strong. The weather was beautiful, and the garden room and garden could divide the colorful crowd adequately.<sup>45)</sup>

Weather was one of the decisive factors for shaping concerts in the *Gartensaal*. The winter weather naturally hindered opulent concerts, as Fanny remarks: "I held music in the winter of 1838-39 only 3 times."<sup>46)</sup> When a performance took place in the winter season, it seemed to make the residence "overcrowded," as Fanny remarks about performances in early 1838:

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45) Hensel, *Tagebücher*, 85: "*auch hatten wir ein Paar mal Sonntagsmusik.... im Juni glaub ich, hatte ich eine Wiederholung des Paulus, mit allen Mitteln, die mir zu Gebote standen, gemacht, und da ich dem zahlreichen Chor freigestellt, mitzubringen wen sie wollten, war das Publicum, nach einer maessigen Schaetzung, etwa 300 Pers. stark gewesen. Das Wetter war wunderschoen, und in Gartensaal und Garten konnte sich die bunte Menge hinlaenglich vertheilen.*" My translation.

46) Hensel, *Tagebücher*, 91, August 1839. The reason is attributed in part to the fact that the winter concerts could have not benefited from the surroundings of the hall, such as a garden. The main reason, however, was the condition of the building in winter: the rooms at the residence were cold and damp, and water had to be mopped up from the dripping frozen window panes. Cullen, "Leipziger Strasse Drei," 47.

These morning entertainments reached their greatest brilliance in the winter; it is incredible how people pushed in and we regularly had to turn some away because our rooms were always overcrowded. Often the singer had no room to sit, barely could stand. Novello sang a number of times; Fassmann introduced herself to me and offered to sing; Decker was in excellent voice. A performance of Titus in which these three and Curschmann sang had the greatest resonance.<sup>47)</sup>

During the warm weather, however, both guests and performers in the *Gartensaal* could fully explore the space not only of the *Gartensaal* but also its surrounding nature. The composer Johann Kinkel, a regular guest, recalled: "During the warm seasons the glass doors were left open, and during the intermissions singers and guests wandered beneath the... large trees, which stretched nearly to the city wall."<sup>48)</sup> The family estate in the summer indeed had delightful surroundings. As illustrated in Figure 8, the windows were covered with vines, and the house looked out on the glorious trees of the garden.

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47) Hensel, *Tagebücher*, 86. This statement about performances in early 1838 was written in 8 July 1839; cited in Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 48, n. 47. The singers Auguste von Fassmann, Pauline Decker, and Rosa Cruschmann were leading performers in Berlin; Clara Novello, an English soprano, visited the city in 1838. "Titus" refers to Mozart's opera *La clemenza di Tito*, which was performed on 21 January 1838.

48) Cited in Klein, "Das verborgene Band," 193; Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 48. Kinkel studied music in Berlin in the 1830s and often attended the *Sonntagsmusiken*.

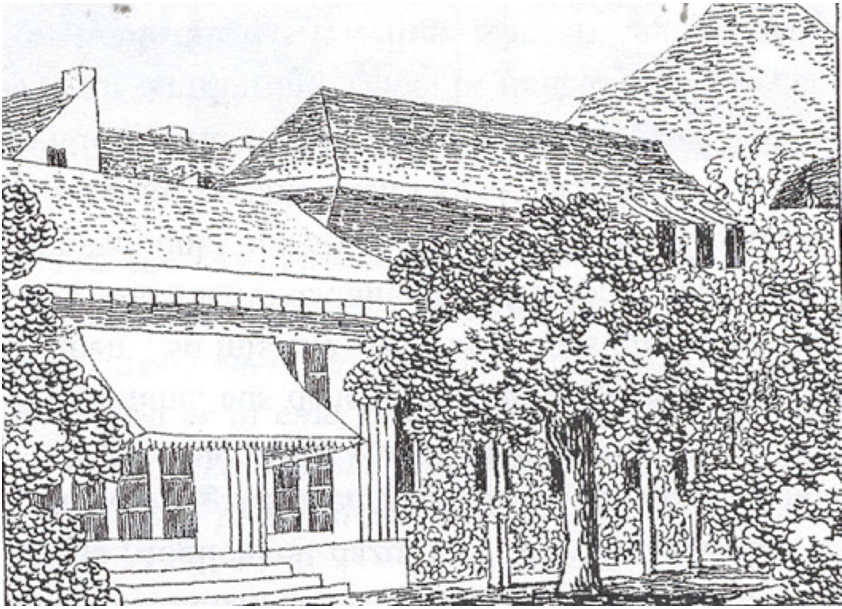


Figure 8. Mendelssohn *Gartensaal*<sup>49)</sup>

The garden adjoining the *Gartensaal* was the most beautiful part of the property, with blooming lilac bushes, beautiful old trees, and chirping birds.<sup>50)</sup> The garden was the gem of Fanny's family; Lea and Fanny especially took delight in it, as often mentioned in Fanny's writings; and its beauty seems to have been the inspiration for some of Felix's compositions such as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.<sup>51)</sup>

49) Borchard, "Opferaltäre der Musik," 33. There are a few more paintings of the garden adjoining the house in Lowenthal-Hensel, "Neues," 142-43, but the paintings are reproduced in poor quality.

50) The garden was maintained by the French gardener Charles August Clement, who lived in the basement of the front building. Cullen, "Leipziger," 46-47.

51) In his memoir, Julius Schubring, a friend of Felix who arrived in Berlin in 1825 and stayed at his house, recalled that he walked with Felix in

### Fanny's Activities in the *Gartensaal*: Her Organization of *Sonntagsmusiken*

The *Gartensaal* and its adjoining garden were the main stages where Fanny organized her own concerts. She kept notes about activities related to the musicales in her letters and diary entries, which in turn reveal how she acted as director, performer, conductor, and most of all, salon hostess.<sup>52)</sup> Her organization of *Sonntagsmusiken*, especially her programming of repertoire, suggest how she expanded the tradition of musical salon and how she distinguished her own private and semi-public space from Berlin public concert life.

#### *Repertoire 1: Varied Programs*

The variety of programming was a key to the success of Fanny's salon, a contrast to the monotonous concert life in the city, as she wrote to Felix in 1836:

You really have no idea how I absolutely avoid any music here that I do not put on myself. I literally do not listen to a note, and what should I hear? How Möser lets the same symphonies get scratched out year after year, or how Ries rather cleanly but very monotonously plays one quartet after another.<sup>53)</sup>

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beautiful weather while Felix was working on the overture, and Felix afterwards showed Schubring a passage from the overture, saying "There, that's the fly that buzzed past us at Schönhauser!" Julius Schubring, "Reminiscences of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy," in *Mendelssohn and his World*, 225.

52) Fanny expressed in one entry: "I regularly made music and kept notes on my repertoire." Hensel, *Tagebücher*, 86, 8 July 1839, cited in Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 48.

53) Hensel, *Letters*, 518-19, 16 November 1836. Also cited and discussed in David Ferris, "Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara

The repeated performances Fanny pointed out—especially those of symphonies and string quartets by classical masters—could have been part of the project of establishing a musical canon in Berlin concert life advocated by the critic A. B. Marx.<sup>54</sup> In fact, German repertoire dominated Fanny's concerts, as illustrated in the fall concert series in 1833 (see Table 1):

**Table 1.** Fanny's programming of *Sonntagsmusiken*, Fall Season, 1833

[1 September] The first time:	
Quartet by Mozart	
Concerto by Beethoven, G major	
2 duets from <i>Fidelio</i> . Devrient and Decker	
Concerto D minor by Bach [BWV 1052]	
[15 September] The second time:	
Triple concerto by Beethoven with Ries and Full Orchestra]	
<i>Hero</i> by Decker	
Felix plays his Concerto [Op. 25] and the D minor	
Concerto of Bach [BWV 1052]	
[29 September] The third time:	
Felix Variations [Op. 17] with Full	6 times Beethoven
Quartet by Weber	2 times Bach
Finale of <i>Oberon</i> . Decker	2 times Mozart
Quintet by Spohr	4 times Weber
The Sea Song from <i>Oberon</i>	3 times Felix
[13 October] The fourth time	1time Gluck
Trio by Beethoven, Eb major	1 time Spohr
Violin Quartet by Felix A minor [Op. 13]	1 time Moscheles
[Piano] Trio by Beethoven, D major [Op.70/1]	1 time by myself
[27 October] The fifth time	
Trio by Mozart, G major	
Scene from <i>Der Freischütz</i> . Decker	
[Piano] Trio by Moscheles [Op. 84]	
Aria from <i>Iphigenie</i> <sup>55</sup>	

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Wieck's Concerts in Berlin," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 2 (summer 2003): 358.

54) Ferris, "Public Performances," 358; Sanna Penderson, "A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *19th-Century Music* 18 (1994): 87-107.

55) Hensel, *Tagebücher*, 47-48, 28 October, 1833; Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, 168, provided specific information about each composition in his Table 6-1.

The repertoire includes compositions by Beethoven in six performances, Weber in four, and Felix in three, encompassing music from the past Classical masters and contemporaries. Fanny's program is thus aligned with the contemporaneous trend of historical German musical consciousness. At the same time, Fanny's programming emphasizes a diversity of genres and performing forces, including keyboard concertos, chamber works, and operatic excerpts. Such mixed programs were not new but ubiquitous at private concerts or early-stage public concerts. What it meant to Fanny's *Sonntagsmusiken* is that the varied, ever-new programs created a more imaginative concert series, keeping the interest of her invited guests in the midst of the "monotonous" public concerts.

### *Repertoire 2: Promotion of Felix's Compositions*

Fanny's programming comprised a great deal of her brother's music, whether or not he was there to perform it.<sup>56)</sup> Fanny's *Sonntagsmusiken* enabled the first performances of Felix's works to be heard in private gatherings by guests who were distinguished members of Berlin society. By doing so, the initial performance would heighten curiosity and excitement that would assure a large audience at his public performances. For instance, Felix's oratorio *Saint Paul* received its Berlin premiere at a *Sonntagsmusik* in 1837.<sup>57)</sup> Next year the public in turn

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56) These performances were an ongoing project, as she stated a letter to him on 7 February 1835: "I've been performing your things continually this winter and they have been a huge success." Hensel, *Letters*, No. 76, 176. For performances of *Saint Paul*, in particular, see *Letters*, Nos. 77, 91. Works by Mozart, Bach, Haydn, and, to a lesser degree, Louis Spohr were also performed regularly.

was “delighted” with the work at the Singakademie, according to Fanny’s report on 19 January 1838.<sup>58)</sup> Fanny’s promotion of Felix’s music through the *Sonntagsmusiken* suggests not only her support for her brother but also her aspiration to continue the family tradition, the initial purpose of their parents in promoting Felix’s music.

### *Repertoire 3: Fanny’s Large-Scale Vocal Compositions*

In addition to promoting Felix’s compositions, Fanny conceived of her Sunday Musicales to present her ambitious, large-scale vocal compositions. For example, Fanny premiered her three cantatas all written in 1831—*Lobgesang* (“Hymn of Praise”), *Hiob* (“Job”), and *Cholera-musik* (“Cholera Music”).<sup>59)</sup> The performing forces involved in the cantatas—the soloists, chorus, and orchestra—indicate the public nature of her compositions as well as her exploitation of diverse musical

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57) Hensel, *Letter* No. 91, 227: “In part St. Paul was launched yesterday.”

In her notes, Citron points out that this performance (on 19 January 1837) was the first of the first version in Germany. *Hensel, Letters*, 228.

58) Hensel, *Letters*, No. 101, 251, 19 January 1838. In this letter, she remarks: “I want to send you a summary report on *Saint Paul*, dear Felix, because I was satisfied overall.... It was by far the best performance that has taken place here since Zelter’s death. Every possible effort was expended, and one couldn’t ask for more from anyone. It would have become a historic performance had you been here. The public was delighted.” For Fanny, the performance was one of the most successful moments of her life.

59) According to Todd, *Hensel*, 151, the three cantatas, along with a dramatic setting of a scene from *Hero and Leander*, continued to be performed in Fanny’s Sunday concerts: *Lobgesang* (February 6–June 14); *Cholera-musik* (October 9–November 20), written to mark the end the cholera epidemic in Berlin; and the excerpt based on *Hero and Leander* (December 21, 1831– January 21, 1832), written for soprano and orchestra.



forces; for this reason, these compositions are often discussed in the context of Fanny's growth toward becoming a professional composer.<sup>60)</sup> What is pertinent to this study, however, is to ask whether Fanny took the arrangement of the various groups of performing forces into consideration; and through the disposition, how she resolved the problems associated with a performance that involved large-scale performing forces, turning it into a setting appropriate for her residence.

Although Fanny was a well-organized hostess, based on the entries of her diary and her correspondence, it is hard to find explicit descriptions of her disposition of performers. Yet contemporaneous pictures and documents about positioning and seating provide some clues for reconstructing the setting of Fanny's concerts and rehearsals in her residence. Figure 9 portrays a scene from a choral performance in a private home, reflecting the enthusiasm for choral singing in the 1820s; the decade also saw Mendelssohn's revival of the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829.

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60) Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, 151-72.



Figure 9. Choral performance at the Heidelberg Home of Professor A. F. J. Thibaut<sup>61)</sup>

The scene of Figure 9 could have been one of Fanny's rehearsals or performances in situations where no orchestra was available but the piano was helping everyone to imagine its sounds that Fanny was creating in her own works, and where performers and guests alike needed to study and experience a work for themselves. Figure 10 portrays a scene of a performance of Beethoven's *Choral Fantasy* around 1850, providing some possibilities for Fanny's disposition of performing forces.

61) Performance at the home of Professor Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut of the University of Heidelberg; water color by Jakob Götzenburger (1800-1866) in Kurpfälzisches Museum, Heidelberg. James Parakilas and E. Douglas Bomberger, et al, *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 206; Alexander Ringer, ed., *Early Romantic Era: Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 12. Parakilas discusses the painting in the context of the role of the piano as the customary guide for trying out vocal music at the time.

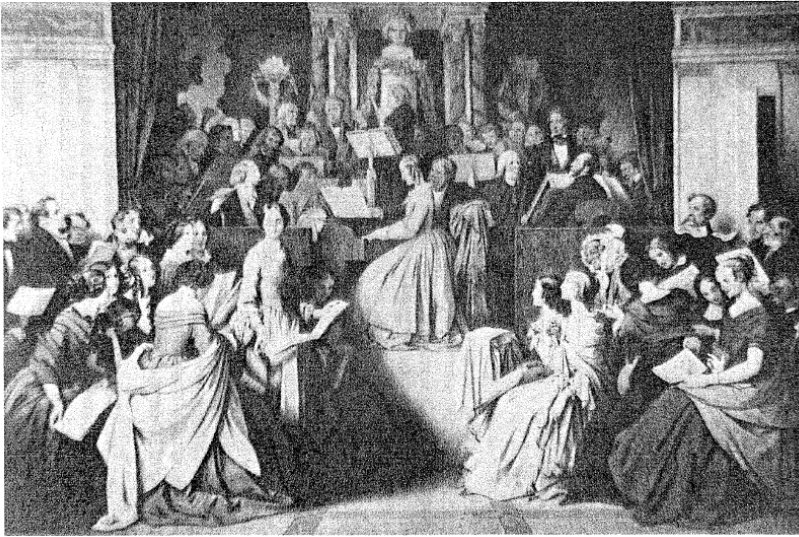


Figure 10. Performance of Beethoven's *Choral Fantasy* (ca. 1850)<sup>62</sup>

As illustrated in Figure 10, Fanny could also have considered placing the orchestra and chorus on different levels: the latter is on a lower level, and all of the performers including the conductor and pianist on a higher level than the audience. As both Figures 9 and 10 suggest, Fanny would have considered exploiting her private space in an appropriate manner for different performing forces, using it to foster her own ambitious choral compositions and ultimately transforming her private residence into a more expanded space equivalent to a public concert hall or theater, where such large-scale works were often performed.

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62) Daniel J. Koury, "Festival Seating," in *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportion, and Seating* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986), 275-92, at 284.

*Repertoire 4: Orchestral Works at both Private and Public Levels*

Performances of orchestral works took place in Fanny's *Sonntagsmusiken*. They constituted intimate chamber music experiences, as frequently found in the conventional salon setting, and at the same time were at the level of public concerts in a way that was atypical of musical salons.

For the intimate chamber setting, Fanny's programs rarely involved an orchestra, but piano concertos were frequently scheduled, as in a program on 1 September 1833 (see Table 1) in which Fanny scheduled Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto. For the program, Larry Todd raises the question of how Fanny performed piano concertos in this intimate setting, suggesting two possibilities: (1) a second pianist would have been involved in performing the orchestral parts; (2) an ensemble, such as a string quartet, would have replaced the orchestra.<sup>63)</sup> These two manners of performances are not unusual in private concerts of the salon settings, as was the case with Chopin's concertos in Parisian and Polish salons.<sup>64)</sup> Yet these performances of piano concertos suggest that Fanny preserved the salon tradition, in which musical compositions are turned into intimate musical experiences.

At the same time, Fanny's ambitions to expand the salon tradition are found in performances of orchestral works at the level of public performances. On several occasions, she brought in a full orchestra from other institutions in the city.

63) Todd, *Fanny Hensel*, 168: "From the Archive," 30.

64) Halina Goldberg, "Chamber Arrangements of Chopin's Concert Works," *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 39-84.

The performance of *Saint Paul* on 19 January 1837 involved the orchestra of the Royal Opera on the Königstadt Theater.<sup>65)</sup> Fanny's employment of the full orchestra in emulation of public concerts would have had a measurable impact on Berlin musical life, which had experienced poorly organized instrumental music.<sup>66)</sup>

Already in the 1820s, before her tenure as *salonnière*, Fanny expressed forward-looking views about instrumental music in her "proposal to establish an instrumental music lovers' association" on 17 March 1825:

The present state of instrumental music in Berlin requires the efforts of capable, expert men.... The sole classical instrumental institution in Berlin, the Möser quartets, benefit from a faithful audience even though the organizer is little concerned with captivating listeners with novel and unusual features. . . . Symphonies constitute the major form in this vast domain of instrumental music. Our association must therefore set its sights in this direction.... but its aims must and will remain essentially different.... an audience gathering for a festivity is as suited to symphonies that are universally joyful, lively, and noisy, as is a small, quiet, devoted circle

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65) Hensel, *Letters*, 228, n. 1. Fanny also noted that "on the Sunday following I had a full orchestra from the Königstadt Theater and had my overture performed, which sounded very well." "From the Archive," 30. This concert took place after a festival in honor of Bunsen in 1834.

66) When Lea and Abraham had launched the *Sonntagsmusik* in the 1820s, instrumental music in Berlin concert life was depleted. There were two orchestras, the Royal Chapel orchestra and the Royal City Theatre orchestra, but the activities remained in their initial private venue. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Berlin: 'Music in the Air,'" in *Early Romantic Era*, 111.

meeting to a religious chorale or a strict fugue.<sup>67)</sup>

The 1825 proposal indicates that Fanny had already taken the necessity of instrumental music into consideration before she launched her own musicales. She brought a similar musical aesthetic and experience to both “symphonies for a festivity” and “a religious chorale or a strict fugue” for a “devoted circle.” This aesthetic led her to embrace both private and semi-public performances in her family residence.

#### *Repertoire 5: Aesthetics of Assimilation*

Fanny’s programs reflect social and religious equality, one of the unique aspects of Jewish salons cultivated in those of Levy and Beer. Fanny frequently included works by Beethoven, whose music has been often related to the universality that transcends any specific religious faith.<sup>68)</sup> One may argue that the importance of Beethoven is aligned with the aesthetic of A. B. Marx, the cultivation of a historical German consciousness.<sup>69)</sup> Borchard, however, called Beethoven’s music “a supraconfessional world religion,” suggesting that Beethoven at the center of Fanny’s programs relates more to the idea of assimilation than a musical trend of the time.<sup>70)</sup> Fanny thus

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67) Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, 199–200. Tillard, op. cit. 202, points out that Fanny’s proposal would have been drawn up for Eduard Rietz, a close friend of Felix, who founded a philharmonic society of amateurs in 1826.

68) Bisky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 49.

69) Pederson, “A. B. Marx,” 87–107.

70) Borchard, “Opferaltäre der Musik,” 43. She states that Beethoven’s music stands for “eine überkonfessionelle Weltreligion,” which is translated as “a supraconfessional world religion” in Bisky and Braun,

preserved and developed the aesthetics of Levy and Beer, who saw musical language as a means for religious tolerance, Jewish acculturation, and a miniature of assimilation.

In sum, the magnificent *Gartensaal*, which provided a space for Fanny's *Sonntagsmusiken*, afforded a large audience, expanding the musical salon into the semi-public level on several occasions. Fanny's organization of her concert series, especially her programming of repertoire, reflects her attempts to preserve both her family tradition and the salon tradition of the city. At the same time, her organization was geared toward the expansion of the musical salon but still separate from the public venue of concerts, lending a distinctive venue to her own concerts.

### Fanny's Music Room

Although Fanny's *Sonntagsmusiken* took place primarily in the *Gartensaal* for a large audience, Fanny's own room provided a more intimate venue for a smaller number of listeners and musicians. As illustrated in Figure 11, her room imparted a sense of warmth; it had wood floors and green walls, green plants were placed on the windowsills, and light streamed in through the windows.



Figure 11. Fanny's music room by Julius Edward Wilhelm Helfft (1849)<sup>71)</sup>

Fanny described her room in this way: "My living room is truly pretty with its lovely engravings, instrument, and desk."<sup>72)</sup> There are many paintings (rather than engravings) on the walls; the furnishings are simple, including a piano, a desk, and a few chairs.<sup>73)</sup> In such an intimate space, Fanny composed and performed music for her family or close friends outside the *Sonntagsmusiken*. She wrote that "We actually made music; but only among ourselves, since because of

71) Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 49.

72) Hensel, *Letters*, No. 77, 195.

73) Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 49, points out that the cross on the table lends a solemn tone to the proceedings. But it is also reminiscent of Fanny's conversion to Christianity, in contrast with Levy and Amalie, who kept their Jewish identity.



Wilhelm's [Fanny's husband's] absence I did not want Sunday parties. A few times we had a choir in the evening, when Felix's new psalms were sung and he frequently played."<sup>74</sup>)

Fanny's room served as three main musical spaces: (1) for her own daily musical activities such as practicing and composing; (2) for small home concerts for herself and her close friends, in contrast with her large-scale *Sonntagsmusiken*; and (3) for rehearsals directly related to the *Sonntagsmusiken* and thus complementary to the concerts. Fanny composed pieces for the musicians who performed in her concert series or for her guests, not for the public concerts. Both Felix and Fanny's own compositions were performed at Fanny's musical salon, as discussed above, but Felix's were often premiered at the concerts and ultimately heard by the public, whereas Fanny's were circumscribed to a small circle at the home concerts in a convivial atmosphere, as illustrated in the incident below:

We had a ROUT here yesterday: the Heydemanns, Droysen, Horn, Röstel, Ulrike, Lorn, and August Franck. The last is a very nice chap. He laughs "ha, ha," speaks just like Hermann—only more muted, which is no flaw—has a taste for all sorts of humor, and likes to listen to music attentively. The actual reason for yesterday's gathering was that Albert Heydemann wanted to hear the lieder that I wrote for you last year, which he still didn't know. I wanted to incorporate that activity with drinking tea outside, but a gloomy sky and a cool wind prevented it. Then we sang a few of your lieder

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74) Cited in Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 48-49; Hensel, *Tagebücher*, 88 (summer 1838).

and... My lieder were sung next.<sup>75)</sup>

Fanny's intimate circle did not limit their musical space to Fanny's music room but extended into a garden at her residence. On one summer night (24 June 1829), Fanny and her close friends, called "the wheel" (*das Rad*), were gathered in the garden after dinner; they had a playful concert, at the presumed starting time of Felix's performance of his *Midsummer Night's Dream* Overture in London and simulating the instrumental sounds themselves: "Beckchen and I intoned both flute parts—unfortunately the clarinets were missing—and during all events."<sup>76)</sup> The two instances above—home concerts in a music room and in a garden—convey a private space capable of more intimacy and more flexibility in time, place, and possibly sitting plan than in the *Gartensaal*.

The rehearsals also often took place in Fanny's music room or the living room of her residence. Her high value on rehearsals is evident in her criticism of virtuoso public performances, which lacked rehearsals and were geared toward business: "These gentlemen approach the difficulties in an incredibly casual way, and don't even need a rehearsal because they perform everything without accompaniment, resulting in more money in less time."<sup>77)</sup> On special occasions when the larger performing forces were involved, a rehearsal

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75) Hensel, *Letters*, No. 37, 22 May 1830, 100.

76) Hensel, *Letters*, 59–60: "the Wheel" often appears in Fanny's letters, and the term is reserved for Fanny and Felix's close circle of friends, primarily centered on Felix: See Citron's commentary in *Letters*, 61, n. 2; this event is also mentioned in Todd, *Hensel*, 128.

77) Hensel, *Letters*, No. 107, 264.

would have required more spatial capacity, as illustrated by one of the rehearsals in 1838:

Yesterday was the first large rehearsal, which far exceeded my expectations. To my great satisfaction, I can tell you that I was totally delighted with everything. The choruses, now taken with the correct tempo (a few perhaps too fast), were performed with fire and power, and enunciated as well as one could wish. The good old blockhead [the conductor] really went all out, and everyone was astonished at his liveliness. Many people realized from which direction the wind was blowing.<sup>78)</sup>

Such a large-scale rehearsal was probably held in the living room, another musical space at her family residence, as often observed in her diaries and letters.<sup>79)</sup> Fully using her residence as musical entity, in either her music room or possibly the living room, Fanny valued rehearsals, devoted herself to them, and evaluated them critically.

As discussed above, Fanny's music room thus served as another significant musical space. It was a space for her to develop her own artistic pursuit through her concert series. It was a place of music-making for a small group of people such as her family members or her intimate circle, just like the musical activities at the tea-table gatherings in Beer and Levy's home. It was also a contrasting space to the *Gartensaal* in its self-sufficient entity of home music-making. At the same time it was complementary to the *Gartensaal* with respect to the

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78) Hensel, *Letters*, No. 100, 248-49.

79) Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 48; Schubring, "Reminiscences," 224.

preparation of the *Sonntagsmusiken* through rehearsal. It was a much more intimate, private, and flexible setting than the *Gartensaal*, providing another interactive view of the musical space in Fanny's residence.

### Miscellaneous Spaces and Some Other Activities at Leipziger Strasse 3

Aside from musical spaces, Fanny's family residence offered lodging for their guests, especially visiting musicians involved in the Sunday musicales. The grand house seemed to be always filled with people, as Schubring recalled:

It was seldom that they [Fanny and her husband] were found quite alone; they either had a number of young people who were on a friendly footing with them, or else their circle was filled up with another class of visitors. But it was seldom that there was what is called a regular party. Whoever felt so inclined went, and whoever took a pleasure in going was welcome. Science, Art and Literature were equally represented.... Celebrated and uncelebrated people, travelers of all kinds, and especially musicians, though not to the exclusion of other artists, found their efforts judiciously appreciated. The conversation was always animated and spirited.<sup>80)</sup>

This statement also reflects that Fanny's salon offered convivial events for guests, treated them hospitably, and created a bond of people, along with musical activities. Indeed,

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80) Schubring, "Reminiscences," 222.

Fanny and her husband Wilhelm Hensel helped their salon guests of Jews and non-Jews to be connected through friendship. At every Christmas event, for instance, Fanny and Wilhelm often invited students, creating intimate gatherings in which the guests would not challenge anyone's religious beliefs but found only friendship.<sup>81)</sup> Fanny recorded one of the events at Christmas 1831, saying about the students: "I was delighted to see these young people and to draw them into our circle. I think this is the best way to make them care about each other, and to exert a moral influence over them."<sup>82)</sup> The warmth, hospitality, and tolerance at Fanny's salon were exactly the virtues of Jewish *salonnières* such as Levy and Beer: as discussed above, virtues highly praised by contemporaneous guests and retrospectively by historians.

### Conclusions

As we have observed, Fanny's *Sonntagsmusiken* illustrate how the musical language came to the forefront in salon gatherings, continuing the tradition of the musical salon in the city yet developing it in a more systematic and expanded organization. Fanny's family residence, Leipziger Strasse 3, served as a musical property, defining musical spaces for her

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81) Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn*, 216. An anecdote about the Christmas event with a small, young group of people is also recorded in her letters, but at this time in a garden house: "the anniversary-eve party will be celebrated in the garden house-our place-on the 25th December with a small, young, gay group and as many farces that can be found in the realm of humor." Hensel, *Letters*, No. 24 (n. d. [8 July 1829]), 62.

82) Hensel, *Letters*, No. 24, 62.

concerts and her salon gatherings with different purposes and aesthetics. The *Gartensaal* accommodated a large audience with the flavor of public performance on several occasions. The space benefitted from its adjoining garden as well as the inside *Gartenwohnung*—the column hall in which the *Gartensaal* was centrally located, claiming its aesthetic as a magnificent part of the building. In contrast, Fanny's music room and the family living room provided spaces for smaller gatherings, used for preparing the *Sonntagsmusiken* or for Fanny's own artistic activities without participants, serving as a more intimate, private venue.

Although there was a distinction between *Gartensaal* and music room, between large and smaller capacity, and between public sense and more private venue, the musical concerts and activities at Fanny's family residence remained exclusively private. Like Beer and Levy, Fanny was also a public figure related to the Singakademie, although it was infrequent for her to perform in the public institution. More than Beer and Levy, Fanny displayed her considerable musical proficiency—as a professional pianist and as a composer who wrote large-scale works such as cantatas untypical of women composers of the time. Fanny's participation in rehearsals was not limited to her private space but extended to public space on some occasions. For example, after she gave the premiere of Felix's *Saint Paul* at a *Sonntagsmusik* in 1837, she supervised rehearsals for the composition in subsequent public performances at the Singakademie.<sup>83)</sup> Fanny's musical professionalism and engage-

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83) Bilsky and Braun, *Jewish Women*, 49.

ment with the Singakadmie clearly reveal the burgeoning public role of a salon hostess, although propriety for genteel women such as Fanny still existed strongly. The salon hostess's public engagements, however, did not affect the growth of her musical salon but rather enabled its expansion, which had a considerable impact on Berlin concert life.

Fanny created distinguished concerts in the midst of increasing public concert series in the city during the 1830s, not only by her own organization—including her varied programs and well-prepared rehearsals—but also by the wealth and hospitality inherited from her family. Most of all, her family residence was the most decisive factor in maintaining her private musical concerts, offering different types of musical spaces, defining different musical activities and gatherings, and ultimately realizing both her family tradition and her own artistic ambition.

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## Abstract

**Architecture and Artistic Function :  
Fanny Hensel's Uses of Different Musical Spaces at Leipziger  
Strasse 3, Berlin**

Hyun Joo Kim

The *Sonntagsmusiken* (Sunday Musicales) that Fanny Hensel organized at her Berlin family residence are generally considered the principal artistic outlet for her music-making and for the assertion of female power. Most studies of Fanny's musical activities have focused on the issue of music and gender—the exceptional circumstance of a woman making music. This paper reorients the focus on the subject toward Fanny's uses of the distinctive musical spaces available in her family residence. Based on her diaries and correspondence as well as iconographic sources on her residence, the paper, first, contextualizes Fanny's musical salon in relation to distinctive aspects of Berlin salons hosted by a handful of prominent Jewish women; second, demonstrates how astutely Fanny assessed the spaces available to her as effective musical properties; and finally, illuminates how she lent each space a different function, rhetoric, and aesthetic in accordance with the different types of musical activities of her audiences and herself.

국문초록

**파니 헨젤(Fanny Hensel)의  
일요음악제(Sonntagsmusiken)연구 :  
음악 공간의 활용을 중심으로**

**김 현 주**

파니 헨젤(Fanny Hensel)의 일요음악회(Sonntagsmusiken; Sunday Musicales)는 19세기 여성 음악가의 저력을 보여 준 사례로 알려져 있다. 파니의 음악 활동에 대한 종래의 연구가 젠더에 주목했다면, 이 연구는 시각을 전환하여 그 당시 연주가 이루어진 ‘공간’으로 새로운 초점을 맞춘다. 구체적으로 그 공간은 파니의 가문 소유 베를린 집 건물이다. 그 집 자체가 다양한 음악적 활동을 용이케하는 공간을 제공한다. 일요음악회가 열렸던 ‘정원 홀’(Gartensaal), 보다 친밀한 음악 활동이 일어났던 그녀의 방과 거실, 그리고 방문하는 연주자들이 거처한 방들이 그러한 예이다. 파니의 일기와 편지글 그리고 그녀의 집을 조명한 도상학적 자료를 근거로, 이 연구는 첫째, 파니의 음악 공간 이용을 베를린 유태인 여성들의 특유한 음악살롱 전통이라는 관점에서 보고, 둘째, 어떻게 파니가 집안의 다양한 공간을 효과적인 음악적 자산으로 이용했는지를 분석하고, 그리고 마지막으로, 어떻게 그녀가 그 각각의 공간에 각기 다른 기능과 미학을 부여했는지를 논한다.

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