

2. TACKLING GENDER STEREOTYPES: FANNY MENDELSSOHN'S WAY TO RECOGNITION AND SUCCESS

Rossella Marisi²⁸²

Abstract: *Patriarchal societies often obstruct girls' and women's access to education and career paths: this happened also in nineteenth century Germany, above all with members of middle-class families. Yet thanks to her determination and perseverance Fanny Mendelssohn overcame these obstacles and reached her professional objectives as a performer, conductor, composer, and organizer of musical events. Moreover, she published her works under her name (a goal rarely met by women in the same condition), obtaining wide recognition and success. For these reasons, Fanny Mendelssohn can be considered a model for all women striving for developing their talents.*
Key words: *female education, patriarchal society, perform in public venues, publish, Sonntagsmusik*

1. Introduction

Patriarchal societies usually set barriers to women's emancipation and gender equality, in the belief that women's most appropriate role is that of wives and housewives. However, thanks to their determination and perseverance some outstanding women succeeded in overcoming this kind of obstacles. The present study is structured in the following way: section 1 focuses on patriarchal beliefs in nineteenth century Germany; section 2 centers on how Fanny Mendelssohn's patriarchal family organized her education and guided her to become a perfect housewife; section 3 examines Fanny's conflicting feelings about her wish to compose; section 4 revolves around the way Fanny after all reached her musical goals; finally, the concluding remarks reflect on what can be learned from her example.

2. Patriarchal beliefs in nineteenth century Germany

Under patriarchy, a social system which developed at different times in diverse parts of the world (Lerner, 1986), it was common opinion that the male sex has an innate superiority over the female one (Spender, 1982), giving men the opportunity to dominate and exploit women (Walby, 1989). This common belief was inculcated mainly through education and religion (Walby, 1989): the philosopher and educationalist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) wrote that "the whole education of women ought to be relative to men (...) to make themselves loved and honored by them" (Rousseau, [1762]), and that, since women are unable to judge for themselves, they should accept the judgment of male relatives, primarily fathers and husbands, as that of the church (Rousseau, [1762]).

Applying these principles, males were educated to become heads of their families and responsible citizens, whereas women were prepared for their subordinated, domestic role (Martin, 1985). Similarly, a couple of years later, the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) wrote that girls' education should only be

²⁸² Professor PhD., Conservatorio "Luisa D'Annunzio", Pescara, Italy, email: rossellamarisi@hotmail.it, ID ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7641-8134>

aimed at preparing them for their future life as wives and housewives (Kant, 1764). From these premises, it follows that women's labor, usually centered on cooking, cleaning, and caring for children, was expropriated by their families and, in particular by their husbands (Walby, 1989). Still by the end of the nineteenth century even the American advocate for women's suffrage Edith Brower (1848-1931) observed that "woman is not at home in the abstract", and that "her aptitude (...) for dealing with the concrete makes her a good housekeeper and manager of a family" (Brower, 1894: 338).

Moreover, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, gender roles dictated by the social structure were particularly strict in the education of girls belonging to the middle class, taking the wind out of their sails. Matthew Head explained that the concept of *Weiblichkeit* (femininity) represented an ideal strongly connected to middle class members' beliefs (Head, 1999). For members of the bourgeoisie, women were ill-suited to physical labor and business, inapt to identify and discuss societal problems and therefore usually excluded from the public sphere: on the contrary, women were *required to be* pretty and polite, apt to represent their family's or their husband's power and wealth. Indeed, already in 1764, Kant recommended to include in girls' education expressive painting and music, to elevate their taste (Kant, 1764).

In his work *Über die Nothwendigkeit der Anlegung öffentlicher Töchterschulen für alle Stände* (On the necessity of establishing public schools for girls for all estates) published in 1786, the German educationist Johann Stuve (1752-1793) expressed the opinion that there were some subjects, such as housekeeping, knitting, and sewing, that were necessary subjects in the education of all girls regardless of their social class. In addition, middle-class girls should learn "description of the earth" and history, reading and commenting on books, writing letters, and drawing, and girls belonging to the higher classes should be able to speak and write in French.

All these accomplishments were necessary for women to successfully play their role of wives, housewives and mothers, but Stuve warned: "I reproach it with all my heart if girls are educated to become virtuosos, artists, scholars, philosophers, abstract thinkers or even poets" (Campe, 1786: 62-63). Therefore, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a German middle-class woman should be sufficiently educated to distinguish herself from popular class women, but not so much to start discussing "Wolf or Newton" with her husband (Head, 2013: 60).

To reach this goal, strong pressure was exerted on women not to cross the boundaries of the expected feminine behavior. Transgressing these rules would be perceived as negatively affecting the social status of a woman's father or husband and could even be considered a sin against religious doctrine; on the contrary, being compliant with social gender rules was deemed as necessary "to safeguard the entire family congregation" (Head, 1999: 220). This was of utmost importance also for the life of the women's male siblings: straddling the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a sister complying with gender rules was her brother's reference point for virtue, morals, ethics, grace and elegance, and the role model for the woman he would select for a wife (Schulte, 2011).

Moreover, since in families belonging to the middle and higher classes siblings

were usually educated together, girls got the same early education as their brothers, being able to exchange with them ideas on themes related to culture and art and share intellectual pastimes (Schulte, 2011). This gave girls the opportunity to receive quality education, at least for the period they were educated together with their male siblings. However, girls received an education to become refined enough to comply with the duties imposed by the society, but not to “stray into the realm of masculine learning” (Head, 1999: 218).

Music, and in particular learning to play the piano, was considered a valuable feminine accomplishment (Eggleston, 1883), and was therefore an important part of middle and upper classes young women’s education. It is important to notice that the piano was the most popular instrument all over Europe, thanks to its wide pitch range, its subtle gradations of dynamics, the possibility to perform both melody and accompaniment, and the expressive chances given by the damper pedal. Indeed, almost every family that could afford its cost had such an instrument at home (Erlich, 1990).

Voice and piano lessons were deemed an asset which could provide polished entertainment, be an ornament in courtship, improve girls’ chances to make a good marriage, and be effective in soothing infants (Head, 1999). Nevertheless, under many aspects, music lessons given to girls and young women were quite different from those taught to their male siblings. As regards singing and piano performance, since the eighteenth century there were specific collections addressed to ladies (Head, 1999), which avoided compositional artifices and demanding technical difficulties. Instead, these pieces cultivated quite short song-like melodies characterized by elegance and simple nobleness, as already suggested in the previous century by theorists supporting the galant style (Mattheson 1713, Mattheson 1721, Mattheson 1739).

In a similar vein, the music theorist Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749-1816), who in 1799 anonymously reviewed Johann Christian Gottlob Eidenbenz’s (1761-1799) *12 leichte Klavierstücke* (12 easy piano pieces), published in 1796, qualified “feminine music” as tender, gentle, moving, and touching the heart more than the mind (*Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 1799). In a nutshell, girls and women were encouraged to sing and play the piano, but their usual repertoire was structured on shorter and less challenging pieces than the ones studied and performed by age-matched males.

As regards the opportunity to receive an education that allowed women to become full-fledged composers, it should be reminded that, by the end of the nineteenth century, this was still a “much-vexed question” (Crosby Adams, 1896: 165). Indeed, over the century, many thinkers from different backgrounds shared the view that musical composition was something to be done exclusively (or primarily) by men (Peacock Jezic and Wood, 1994). In the second half of the nineteenth century, among those who deemed women unable to compose were Schopenhauer, Upton, von Bülow, de Maupassant, Naumann, and Brower.

In 1851 the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) exposed his thought on female creativity writing “neither for music, nor poetry, nor the plastic arts do [women] possess any real feeling or receptivity” (Schopenhauer, 1851/1970: 85). In 1880 the American journalist George Putnam Upton (1834-1919) wrote

“[woman] will always be the recipient and interpreter [of music], but there is little hope she will be the creator” (Upton, 1880/1992: 31). In the same year, the German conductor and composer Hans von Bülow (1830-1894) affirmed without any hesitation “there will never be a woman composer” (von Bülow, 1880: 243). In 1885, the French author Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) wrote in his preface to Prevost’s *Histoire de Manon Lescaut et du Chevalier des Grioux* that woman, without exception, is incapable of any truly artistic or scientific work (de Maupassant, 1885/1919).

One year later, the German composer and music historian Emil Naumann (1827-1888) asserted that all creative work is the exclusive work of men, and that “music is the most masculine of all the arts” (Naumann, 1886: II: 1267). In 1894 Edith Brower stated, seemingly with no regret, that “it appears highly probable that, unless her nature be changed, - which Heaven forbid! – [woman] will not in any future age excel in the art of musical composition” (Brower, 1894: 339).

This notion of woman as unable to compose was founded on the *Sturm und Drang* concept of genius (Hamilton, 2021), which was considered as a *quality* bestowed by nature on outstanding individuals showing their exceptional talents since their childhood (Schubart, 1784/1806). However, in his chapter on musical genius Christian Friedrich Schubart (1739–1791) himself recognized that without cultivation and training even a musical genius cannot reach perfection (Schubart, 1784/1806).

Indeed, to become a well-rounded composer, even a talented person needs a very intense formal training. Unfortunately, since only males were considered capable to compose, only males received a proper compositional training (Chibici-Revneanu, 2013). In the nineteenth century, most music schools and conservatories offered separate music lessons for male and female students (Meierovich, 2001): in the guidelines set by director Luigi Cherubini in 1822 the curricula offered by the Paris Conservatoire determined that piano lessons for ladies were distinct from piano lessons for male students (Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris, [2023]), and the lessons on harmony, counterpoint, fugue and composition could be attended only by males (Meierovich, 2001).

At the Leipzig Conservatory, established by Felix Mendelssohn in 1843, also female students could be admitted to music theory lessons, but whereas they attended a two-year course, the course on the same subject addressed to male students lasted three years (Meierovich, 2001). Consequently, male students were trained to compose also challenging genres, such as music dramas and symphonies, whereas female musicians, despite their talents, were assumed to practice only easy genres, such as Lieder for voice and piano, and quite brief, expressive character pieces for piano (Citron, 1993).

3. Fanny Mendelssohn’s life in a patriarchal family

Fanny Mendelssohn (1805-1847) belonged to a wealthy family, whose financial stability allowed her to be educated by the most famous musicians of that period. After the first piano lessons given by their mother Lea, in 1816 Fanny and her brother Felix studied with the Moravian pianist and composer Franz Lauska (1764-1825), then with the Parisian pianist Marie Bigot (1786-1820), and since

April 1817 with Ludwig Berger (1777-1839), an outstanding piano virtuoso who was a former student of Muzio Clementi (Todd, 2010). Under Berger's tutelage, Fanny and Felix became, according to the music critic Ludwig Rellstab, "independent virtuosos" (Rellstab, 1846: 79).

In 1818 the siblings received music theory and composition lessons by the director of the Berlin *Singakademie*, Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832) (Tillard, 1996): with Zelter, Fanny's progress as composition student was faster than that of Felix (Tillard, 1996). Between 1823 and 1829 both Fanny and Felix performed during the Sunday musical salons held in their home: the baritone Eduard Devrient, who participated in many such gatherings, praised Fanny's playing over that of Felix (Rellstab, 1846: 63). Therefore, many experts shared the view that Fanny's musical talents were equal, or even superior to those of her brother Felix.

However, since 1819, thanks to his parents' support, only Felix received additional education (Schubring, 1866), among which were also violin lessons (Todd, 2010). Moreover, relying on his parents' encouragement and support, in 1820 Felix completed a full-length opera, which was premiered by highly talented musicians after a few months, and in 1821 he composed large musical genres, such as choral works, string symphonies, concerti, chamber music, and piano sonatas. On the contrary, not even a talented young lady like Fanny would be incited by her parents to compose large musical genres, such as symphonies or operas, or would have a professional debut in a theater (Todd, 2010). Her artistic horizons were confined, so her father warned Fanny, to "the type of music suited for a woman; songs written in a style that would not diminish her femininity" (Schwaneflugel, 1997: 126).

In 1824 the famous pianist Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), passing through Berlin, gave Fanny and Felix a few piano lessons (Mercer-Taylor, 2004). Thus, till then, Fanny and Felix had nearly the same opportunities to develop their talents. However, in 1827 their mother Lea, in a letter to her cousin Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, regretted that *Bildung* often lacked in musicians (Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, 2010). Hence, to complete his general education, Felix became a student at the University of Berlin, whereas Fanny, as a female, was not given the opportunity to matriculate. Consequently, she lacked the chance to meet professors and fellow students who would give her the intellectual stimulation she needed and always longed for (Todd, 2010).

In the opinion of Abraham Mendelssohn, the family head, at this point Felix had completed his musical education, and further lessons would merely restrain his compositional creativity: therefore, since Zelter's composition lessons were attended by both siblings together, neither Felix nor Fanny had further composition lessons (Todd, 2010). After all, Abraham expressed very clearly his thought on the relevance music could have in Felix's and Fanny's lives: already on 16 July 1820 he wrote to Fanny "music will perhaps become his profession, whereas for you it can and must be an ornament, and never the root of your living and doing" (Hensel, 1881: I: 82).

Some years later, on Fanny's twenty-third birthday, her father again sermonized: "You should pull yourself together and collect yourself; you should educate yourself more seriously and assiduously towards your real goal, that of a

housewife, the only profession for a girl” (Hensel, 1881: 1: 104). In 1830 also Felix admonished Fanny: “But seriously, [your] child is not even half a year old, and you really wish to have ideas other than Sebastian? (...) music remains silent if there is no place for it” (Weissweiler, 1997: 126).

Clearly, the rules establishing the socially approved standards of behavior considered a woman’s gender much more relevant than her talents, in the belief that only men, but not women, could be geniuses (Hamilton, 2021). Therefore, who praised Fanny’s talents, often equated them with some surprise to those of a man: in 1831 Zelter wrote to Goethe “[Fanny] plays like a man” (Todd, 2010: 146) and in 1846, commenting on Fanny’s *Four Lieder* op. 2, an anonymous music critic underlined “[their] outward appearance does not at all betray a woman’s hand” (Tillard, 1996: 330). These comments reveal the persistence of the *Sturm und Drang* ideology about male artists: as Alison Booth summarizes it, “to be great, in patriarchal culture, is to resemble the male hero” (Booth, 1991: 91).

4. Fanny’s feelings about her wish to compose

How did Fanny feel about the obstacles and problems that she had to go through while attending to her art? In September 1832 she wrote to her fiancé Wilhelm Hensel that after their marriage, she would stop composing, and cited a sentence by the writer Jean Paul Richter (1763-1825): “art is not for women, only for maidens; on the threshold of my new life I will take leave of the child’s playmate” (Hensel and Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 1997: 155). Although she returned to composition, she often experienced frustration and insecurity as a composer: in 1836 she wrote to the diplomat Karl Klingemann (1798-1862) that she could get nobody to take an interest in her efforts, but that nevertheless she did not give up, which she considered a sign of talent (Hensel, 1881).

Indeed, during her adult life, Fanny lacked contact with other composers except Felix: therefore she submitted her works to him, strongly relying on his professional opinion, and felt obliged not to disappoint him. A letter Fanny wrote to her mother on 28 November 1839 clearly shows this disposition: she admitted that, due to the good reputation and respect earned by her brother and her husband, she felt even more compelled to honor her family (Klein, 2002: 23). And on 9 July 1846 she expressed her trepidation concerning her brother’s opinion on her compositions, writing to Felix “I’m afraid of my brothers at age 40, as I was of Father at age 14—or, more aptly expressed, desirous of pleasing you and everyone I’ve loved throughout my life. And when I now know in advance that it won’t be the case, I thus feel rather uncomfortable. (...) I hope you won’t think badly of me” (Citron, 1987: 349-350).

5. How Fanny managed to reach her musical goals

Although gender rules prohibited middle-class women to perform in public venues and publish under their name, Fanny succeeded in accomplishing her musical objectives organizing musical events, performing in public venues, and publishing her compositions.

5.1. The *Sonntagsmusik* series

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, literary salons flourished in Berlin:

cultivated women acted as hostesses for these gatherings, which promoted enjoyment of poetry and literature, and, through these means, the *Bildung* of the listeners, that is the development of the latter's personal (intellectual, spiritual, emotional) and social skills (Humboldt, 1960). To these gatherings participated mainly intellectuals (such as professors at gymnasia, tutors, and private lecturers, and state officials), also because appearing at the salons improved their social status (Hertz, 1988).

The Mendelssohns often hosted small groups of amateur musicians who performed trios and concertos, and from 1821 to 1829 this became a pleasant habit: Lea Mendelssohn organized *Sonntags Übungen*, likely to give Felix the chance to present his own compositions and perform those of famous musicians (Borchard, 2020). Often famous guests, such as painters, virtuosos, writers, scientists, artists, aristocrats, and politicians, both resident and passing through Berlin, participated in these gatherings (Tillard, 1992; Seaton, 2008), enhancing the prestige of the family hosting the event (Klein, 2003).

In 1831 Fanny revived these concert series, which were private only in their name: in a letter written on 6 May 1846 to the painter Julius Elsasser (1814-1859), Fanny mentioned that these concerts had become a wonderful hybrid between private and public events, with 150-200 people participating to each musical entertainment (Klein, 2003). For instance, at her *Sonntagsmusik* held on 10 March 1844, among the audience members there were prince Antoni Radziwill, the English ambassador count Westmoreland, eight princesses, the scholars Friedrich von Raumer, professor at the Berlin University, and Johann Lukas Schönlein, physician to king Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the sculptor Christian Friedrich Tieck, and the musician Franz Liszt (Seaton, 2008). Fanny enjoyed her multiple roles as organizer, composer, performer, and conductor.

It is interesting to notice that, above all in the 1831 series, there was a prevalence of large-scale vocal compositions by Fanny herself, such as cantatas, which required the participation of soloists, chorus, and orchestra (Todd, 2010). This shows not only that she had at her disposal quite large ensembles to perform her works, but also that her creativity found new ways to advance, moving from the short piano pieces and Lieder she had composed till then. Summing up, the *Sonntagsmusik* series did not only boost the cultural life of Berlin, promoting knowledge of and love for classical music among the audience, but they gave Fanny the opportunity to develop and disclose her talents, despite patriarchal society's prohibitions.

5.2. Public performances

Patriarchal society's rules of behavior established that women of higher economic status could neither make public performances nor earn money on their own (Reich, 1995). Although, as in the *Sonntagsmusik* series, the boundaries between public and private venues were quite blurred, Fanny usually respected the prohibition. However, on some occasions, she managed to perform in public venues, very likely because the events were charity concerts, and her performance was not paid.

In 1838 she performed Felix's Piano Concerto in G Minor at the *Schauspielhaus*, a concert hall in Berlin; in 1841 she performed Felix's Piano Trio

with the violinist Adolf Ganz and his brother, the cellist Moritz, again at the Berlin *Schauspielhaus*; and in 1847 she performed some pieces from Felix's oratorio *St. Paul* and other sacred arias accompanying the mezzo-soprano Bertha Bruns, in a concert at the *Singakademie* (Todd, 2010).

Further opportunities to perform in public arose between 1839 and 1840, when Fanny made the long-desired Grand Tour with her husband Wilhelm and their son Sebastian. They visited many cities, and particularly in Rome Fanny captured the attention of the musical community, showing her skills both as a performer (she interpreted music by Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Hummel, and her brother Felix), and as an improviser. In the six months she lived in Rome she was surrounded with admiration and homage and enjoyed her stay very much: in a letter to her mother, written in 1840 during the Roman Carnival, Fanny described her mood and entertainments as “[I am] frolicking away for hours”, a condition very different from the one she experienced at home (Todd, 2010: 235).

After Rome, Fanny and her family visited Naples, where she rented a piano and resumed composing: in this way she could perform her newly composed pieces to an audience of friends and admirers, including the composer Georges Bousquet (1818–1854), who resided in Italy as the winner of the Grand Prix de Rome 1838 (Todd, 2010). All this shows that, when she was far from home, and was allowed to live under social rules that were more flexible than those in force in Germany, Fanny could enjoy the widespread esteem and appreciation she deserved, both as a pianist and as a composer.

5.3. Publications

A lady publishing her compositions would have been considered as challenging the behavioral rules for her social class. For this reason, even though she composed more than 450 pieces exploring different styles and genres, Fanny hesitated for a long time before publishing her works. However, some of her pieces were already published between the 1820s and the 1830s: three songs, *Das Heimweh*, *Italien*, and *Suleika und Hatem* were included, without attribution, in Felix's *Zwölf Gesänge* op. 8 (1826), and three further Lieder, *Sehnsucht*, *Verlust*, and *Die Nonne*, entered, again without mentioning Fanny's authorship, Felix's *Zwölf Lieder* op. 9 (1830).

In the same year, the composer and music critic John Thomson (1805-1841) reviewed them on *The Harmonicon*, a prominent monthly journal published in Great Britain: “She (...) writes with the freedom of a master. Her songs are distinguished by tenderness, warmth, and originality: some that I heard were exquisite” (Thomson, 1830: VIII: 99). This allows us to infer that a large part of the public knew about Fanny's authorship even if the songs did not appear under her name. Indeed, in the nineteenth century it was quite common for a female composer or writer to publish anonymously, or under the name of a member of her family (Todd, 2010).

Anyway, although in 1832 *The Harmonicon* had already published her *Ave Maria* under her name (Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 1832), in November 1836 Fanny still wondered if she should publish her works. In a letter to Felix she wrote “With regard to my publishing (...) I'm rather neutral about it, (...) you are against it (...) [and] on this issue alone it's crucial to have your consent” (Citron, 1987: 222). Yet, one year later, the musical journal founded by Robert Schumann, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, announced that another of her songs, *Das Schiffende*, was included in a

collection published by Schlesinger, a Berlin publishing house (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 26 May 1837: 167–168). It is well known that Felix strongly opposed her desire to publish her works. Still in 1837, replying to his mother who requested him to help Fanny to find a publisher for her pieces, Felix wrote that his sister had no calling for authorship, being busy in caring for her home and raising her son Sebastian, and that he would not encourage her to do something that he did not think to be proper, appropriate, and right (Todd, 2010).

Yet, despite the fierce opposition of her brother, Fanny succeeded in publishing some works under her name during her life, satisfying her strong desire for public acknowledgement: 6 *Lieder* op. 1, and four *Songs without words* op. 2 (all published in 1846), six *Gartenlieder* op. 3, *Six Mélodies pour le piano* op. 4 and 5, four *Lieder für da Pianoforte* op 6, and six *Lieder für eine Stimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, Op. 7 (all published in 1847). Other works were published posthumously in 1850, showing that both experts and amateurs had an enduring interest in her music: *Vier Lieder für das Pianoforte* Op. 8, *Sechs Lieder mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* Op. 9, *Fünf Lieder mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* Op. 10, and the *Piano Trio* op.11.

6. Concluding remarks

Despite patriarchy set gender rules which made it difficult for her to devote herself to music so completely as she wished, Fanny Mendelssohn's genius and perseverance enabled her to perform, conduct, compose, organize musical events, and publish her works. For this reason, she can be considered not only a “foremother” (Citron, 1993: 226) for all girls and women aiming to become musicians, but, more generally, a model for all those women who strive to overcome challenges and difficulties in developing and showing their talents.

References

1. *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, (1799), II, 55, (anonymous review by Heinrich Christoph Koch)
2. Booth, Alison, (1991), *Biographical Criticism and the 'Great' Woman of Letters, The Example of George Eliot and Virginia Woolf*. In William H. Epstein (ed.), *Contesting the Subject. Essays in the Postmodern Theory and Practice of Biography and Biographical Criticism*, Purdue University Press, West Lafayette, 85–107
3. Borchard, Beatrix, (2020), “*Ein wunderliches Mittelding*”, *Nachdenken über natürliche und künstliche musikbezogene Erlebnisräume*. In Sabine Meine and Henrike Rost (eds.), *Klingende Innenräume: GenderPerspektiven auf eine ästhetische und soziale Praxis im Privaten*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 23-35
4. Brower Edith, (1894), *Is the Musical Idea Masculine?*, in “*Atlantic Monthly*”, March 1894, 332–339
5. Bülow, Hans von, (1880), *Die Geigenfee (The Violin Fairy)*, in “*Signale für die musikalische Welt*”, 16 (February 1880)
6. Campe, Joachim, Heinrich, (1786), *Über einige verkannte wenigstens ungenützte Mittel zur Beförderung der Industrie, der Bevölkerung und des öffentlichen Wohlstands. Erstes Fragment* (nebst einer Beilage von Herrn Professor Stuve und

- sowie einer weiteren ‘Über die Nothwendigkeit der Anlegung öffentlicher Töchterschulen für alle Stände’ von Stuve), Schul-Buchhandlung, 55-112
7. Chibici-Revneanu, Claudia, (2013), *Composing disappearances – the mythical power behind the woman composer question*, in “Entreciencias” 1, (2), 265-282 <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4576/457645124009.pdf>, accessed on 19.03.2024
 8. Citron, Marcia, (ed.), (1987), *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, Pendragon Press, Stuyvesant
 9. Citron, Marcia, J., (1993), *Gender and the Musical Canon*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
 10. Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris, Luigi Cherubini, [2023], <https://www.conservatoiredeparis.fr/fr/histoire/personnage/luigi-cherubini>, accessed on 10.03.2024
 11. Crosby, Adams, Juliette, (1896), *Musical Creative Work among Women*, in “Music: A Monthly Magazine”, 9 (January), 163-172
 12. de Maupassant, Guy, (1885/1919), *Introduction*. In *Abbé Antoine François Prévost d’Exiles, The Story of Manon Lescaut and the Chevalier des Grieux*, A. A. Knopf, New York
 13. Eggleston, George, Cary, (1883), *The Education of Women*, in “Harper’s New Monthly Magazine”, July, 294
 14. Erlich, Cyril, (1990), *The Piano: A History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
 15. Hamilton, Andy, (2021), *Kant’s Concept of Genius: A Defence*, Against Romanticism and Scepticism, in “Aesthetica Preprint”, 116, January-April, 51-74
 16. Head, Matthew, (1999), *If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, in “Journal of the American Musicology Society” 52 (2), 203-254
 17. Head, Matthew, (2013), *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, University of California Press, Berkeley
 18. Hensel, Sebastian, (1881), *The Mendelssohn Family (1729-1847)*, from “Letters and Journals”, 2 vols., Harper & Bros, New York
 19. Hensel, Wilhelm and Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Fanny, (1997), *Briefe aus der Verlobungszeit*, edited by Martina Helmig and Annette Maurer. In: Martina Helmig (ed.), *Fanny Hensel, geb. Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Das Werk*, Text + Kritik, Martina Helmig, München 139–163
 20. Hertz, Deborah, (1988), *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin*, Yale University Press, New Haven
 21. Humboldt, Wilhelm von, (1960), *Theorie der Bildung des Menschen*, in: Id., *Werke in fünf Bänden*, I. J. G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung, Tübingen, 234-240
 22. Kant, Immanuel, (1764), *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen*, Roßberg’schen Buchdruckerei, Leipzig
 23. Klein, Hans-Günter, (2002), *Die Mendelssohns in Italien: Ausstellung des Mendelssohn-Archivs der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Reichert, Wiesbaden
 24. Klein, Hans-Günter, (2003), *Fanny und Wilhelm Hensel und die Maler Elsasser*, in “Mendelssohn- Studien” 13, 125-167
 25. Lerner, Gerda, (1986), *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

26. Martin, Jane, Roland, (1985), *Reclaiming a Conversation: The Ideal of the Educated Woman*, Yale University Press, New Haven
27. Mattheson, Johann, (1713), *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre, oder Universelle und gründliche Anleitung: wie ein Galant Homme einen vollkommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen Music erlangen, seinen Gout darnach formiren, die Terminos technicos verstehen und geschicklich von dieser vortrefflichen Wissenschaftt raisonniren möge*, Benjamin Schiller, Hamburg
28. Mattheson, Johann, (1721), *Das forschende Orchestre*, B. Schillers Wittwe / und J.C. Kissner, Hamburg
29. Mattheson, Johann, (1739), *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, Christian Herold, Hamburg
30. Meierovich, Clara, (2001), *Mujeres en la creación musical de México*, Conaculta, Ciudad de México
31. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Fanny, (2010), *Ave Maria*, *Harmonicon*, 10 (2), 1832, 54-55
- Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Lea, Ewig die deine: Briefe von Lea Mendelssohn-Bartholdy an Henriette von Pereira-Arnstein, edited by Wolfgang Dinglinger and Rudolf Elvers, Wehrhahn
32. Mercer-Taylor, Peter, (2004), *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Chronologie: xi
33. Naumann, Emil, (1886), *The History of Music*, 2 vols, Cassell, London *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 26 May 1837: 167–168
34. Peacock Jezic, Diana & Wood, Elizabeth, (1994), *Women Composers – The Lost Tradition Found*, The Feminist Press, New York
35. Reich, Nancy B., (1995), *Women as Musicians: A Question of Class*. In: Ruth A. Solie (ed.), *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 125–146
36. Rellstab, Ludwig, (1846), *Ludwig Berger, ein Denkmal*, Trautwein, Berlin
37. Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, (1762), *Emile ou de l'éducation*, Jean Néaulme, La Haye.
38. Schopenhauer, Arthur, (1851/1970), *On Women*, In Id., *Essays and Aphorisms from Parerga und Paralipomena*, Penguin Books, London, 80-88
39. Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel, (1784/1806), *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst J. Scheible*, Stuttgart
40. Schubring, Julius, (1866), *Reminiscences of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*. In R. Larry, Todd (ed.) (1991), *Mendelssohn and His World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 221–236
41. Schulte, Regina, (2011), *Sisters, Wives, and the Sublimation of Desire in a Jewish-Protestant Friendship: The Letters of the Historian Johann Gustav Droysen and the Composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*. In Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabeian (eds.), *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300-1900*, Berghahn Books, New York – Oxford, I, 239–262
42. Schwaneflugel, Susan, (1997), *Modes of Performance: Women's Musico-Literary Masquerade in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany*, PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania
43. Seaton, Douglas, (2008), *Mendelssohn's Audience*. In Siegwart Reichwald (ed.), *Mendelssohn in Performance*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1-18

44. Spender, Dale, (1982), *Women of ideas & what men have done to them*, Pandora, Elmhurst
45. Thomson, John, (1830), *Notes of a Musical Tourist*, in “Harmonicon”, VIII, 30 March 1830, 99
46. Tillard, Françoise, (1996), *Fanny Mendelssohn*, Amadeus Press, Cleckheaton
47. Todd, R. Larry, (2010), *Fanny Hensel: The other Mendelssohn*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
48. Upton, George P., (1880/1892), *Woman in Music*, McClurg, 15-32, <https://womeninmusic.voices.wooster.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/123/2017/12/Upton-Woman-in-Music-15-32.pdf>, accessed on 18.03.2024
49. Walby, Sylvia, (1989), *Theorising Patriarchy*, in “Sociology”, 23(2), 213-234
50. Weissweiler, Eva (ed.), (1997), *Fanny und Felix Mendelssohn: “Die Musik will gar nicht rutschen ohne Dich”*: Briefwechsel 1821 bis 1846, Propyläen, Berlin