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Abstract

In the world of classical music, a composer's body rarely figures in the reception of their compositions. The reception of one composer, however, seems unique in this regard; observations about Frédéric Chopin's physical identity, and perceptions about his masculinity, significantly impacted upon the appreciation and understanding of his music, ultimately colouring the ways in which his works have been viewed. This article considers how Chopin's masculinity was constructed during his life and following his death. It surveys a selection of press reviews and testimonies, alongside early Chopin biographies, in order to establish how the image of Chopin developed relative to physical weaknesses and (an apparent lack of) masculinity. Taken as a whole, this image encapsulates a sense of masculinity itself, pronounced and projected within nineteenth century music criticism. Alongside this core theme, the article considers some of the other preoccupations that may have played a part in the construction of Chopin's reception. In particular, the apparent divisions between the Classical and Romantic schools of music. That such sentiments may still be heard to this day makes one question whether a body of work may ever be separated from the body that produced it.

Key Words: Chopin, masculinity, Victorian Britain, reception, body

Introduction

Frédéric Chopin occupies a unique position amongst the great composers of the Western classical tradition; the reception and understanding of his music was, and to an extent continues to be, not only formed relative to his body of work but relative to his body. During his lifetime, observations about Chopin's physical identity, and perceptions about his masculinity, significantly impacted upon the appreciation of his music, colouring the many ways in which his works have been performed and received. Chopin's physical state was so frequently discussed in public that it established a trend that significantly impacted subsequent discourse relating to his music. Such discussions have been well-researched. For example, Jim Samson suggests that Chopin's reception tends towards three major tropes: Chopin as a salon composer, a romantic composer and a Slavonic composer.¹ The emergence of these tropes may, at least in part, be directly related to contemporary discussions about masculinity, and about Chopin's masculinity in particular.

Building upon existing research in this area, this article considers Frédéric Chopin's reception in Britain, paying particular attention to manifold connections made between his music and his body. It focuses upon reception in the press, both during and after his lifetime, and is further supplemented with reference to books written about Chopin's music towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. Although prioritising reception in Britain, such views are far from exceptional; other European countries observed similar commentaries on Chopin's health, image and body. The focus in this article, however, is Chopin's reception within Victorian Britain, and the way in which it reflected shifting British conceptions of masculinity.

Victorian attitudes on masculinity and manliness are invariably complex,² with numerous authors offering diverse definitions. Broadly speaking, however, the notion of manliness was based on its separation from the feminine in order to affirm ostensibly masculine qualities³ consistent with physical presence and strength, courage, chivalry, gentlemanliness and patriotic qualities.⁴ Although early Victorian notions of masculinity foregrounded selflessness

and integrity, this gradually changed to encompass physical endurance,⁵ which Paul R. Deslandes describes as the emergence of a 'physical culture movement'.⁶ Nineteenth century Britain was also health-centred, to the extent that Bruce Haynes describes a cult based on the motto *mens sana in corpore sano*.⁷ This obsession with health and masculine physical prowess can also be said to have been an important context for the development of one of the leading standards by which Victorian critics evaluated artistic and musical works: criticism turned towards the genesis of art which, in turn, revealed the author's personality. Since the concept of the healthy body encompassed the idea of a healthy mind, there can be little surprise that Victorian Britain often conflated an author's physicality with their body of work.⁸ Moreover, since concepts of a healthy mind and body were so heavily gendered, it is also unsurprising to find Victorian discussions of art revolving around the physical masculinity of its creator.

The article starts with Chopin's two visits to Britain, considering how the reception of his music almost invariably referenced his apparent ill health. It goes on to note the quite substantial transformation of Chopin's reception and image soon after his death, which quickly established a dominant focus on certain traits about his health, body and masculinity. Unsurprisingly, these traits were later applied to Chopin's music, which was found deficient in terms of long-form works (such as Sonata and Concerto); Chopin was thus presented as a master of short-form pieces which, being presented in Salons, were largely suitable for consumption by women. Taken as a whole, one may witness a continuing transformation in the reception of Chopin's work throughout his lifetime and beyond and, in particular, how his body occupies a central position in this transformation.

'Don't tell people that I've been ill; or they'll make up a tale'⁹

The first half of the nineteenth century bore witness to numerous transformations in the way in which music was consumed; for example, better transport possibilities emerged enabling the flourishing of concert careers, and the loss of patronage changed concert life forever.¹⁰ The new concert scene combined institutional concerts (those of the Philharmonic Society in London, for example), individual concerts (which usually featured multiple players, with or without the accompaniment of the orchestra),¹¹ alongside the rise of amateur musical organisations.¹² At this time, it was common for virtuoso pianist-composers to play their own works, often presenting them at benefit concerts whilst offering programmes befitting new audiences in search of novelty and entertainment. Performers would often improvise a prelude between pieces, or announce the programme whilst communicating with their audience.¹³

Chopin's position as a pianist-composer is somewhat different from that of his contemporaries. In terms of his compositional output, Chopin's early works offer a clear distinction between his private and concert pieces¹⁴ and by 1831 his compositional development departed from the early *stile brillante* (an ostentatious, virtuoso style, consisting of rapid passages) employed in his early years and it was noted, in the press of the time, that he was in a class of his own.¹⁵ Even though Chopin was recognised as one of the leading pianists of his time, he rarely performed in public, having performed in only around fifty recitals between 1818 and 1848.¹⁶ Instead, Chopin made his living through publications of his works alongside his work as a piano tutor; Chopin had numerous students, a large majority of whom were gifted amateurs. This situation provided fruitful ground for the development of Chopin's public reputation; he may have been an unusually talented pianist and popular teacher, but was seen as an outsider on the concert scene, rarely offering large-scale concerts.

From 1833, if not earlier, Chopin was connected with Britain through Wessel, one of his first publishers. Indeed, Chopin's first visit to Britain, in 1837, involved the signing of a publishing contract with Wessel. A year after the cessation of this deal, Chopin made his second and final visit to Britain in 1848. This trip involved both concerts and teaching,

possibly because the market in Paris had been disrupted by the February revolution of 1848. As he only visited Britain on these two occasions, critical reception of his work was mostly based on reviews of publications and this was supplemented by information arriving from Europe; despite there being relatively little knowledge of him and his music in Britain, Chopin's reputation continued to grow in continental Europe where he was described as an established pianist-composer – in fact, Chopin's British reputation rested far more on discussions about him than on physical presence and performances.¹⁷

Comments about the weakness of Chopin's body are to be found in the British press from the first mention of his name. Initially, these comments were on account of the manner of his playing; testimonies noted a lack of strength, and Chopin was often described as 'a player of sentiment [rather] than power'.¹⁸ Fairly quickly, this apparent lack of strength became a means of explaining the behaviour of a pianist-composer who would seldom perform in public; his inability to perform in large halls was rationalised on account of his being gentle and ill, thus too weak to perform in public because of his 'delicate energy'.¹⁹ It is therefore not surprising to read what *The Musical World* presented to its readers in 1838:

The animation of his style is so subdued, its tenderness so refined, its melancholy so gentle, its niceties so studied and systematic, the *tout ensemble* so perfect, and evidently the result of an accurate judgement and most finished taste, that when exhibited in the large concert room, or the thronged saloon, it fails to impress itself on the mass. [...] [It contains] considerable mechanical precision, yet it is ever combined with the simple and graceful, the delicate and pathetic.²⁰

Although Chopin's health was in a fragile state throughout his life, he was keenly aware of how his health was likely to be interpreted by onlookers, particularly those in the press. In a letter to his friend Julian Fontana, for example, Chopin warned '[not to] tell people that I've been ill; or they'll make up a tale'.²¹ This did not stop Chopin from using his own ill health to avoid at least one engagement, causing a degree of consternation by turning down an invitation to play at the famous Philharmonic concerts in 1848. He explained his reasoning in a letter to his family:

The Philharmonic Society invited me to play for them: a great favour, or rather honour; everyone who comes here tries for it. And this year neither Kalkb[renner] nor Hallé played, in spite of much effort. But I refused, and this produced a bad impression among musicians, and especially among conductors. I refused once because I was not well; that was the reason I gave; but the real one was that I should have had to play one of my concertos with the orchestra, and these gentlemen give only one rehearsal and that in public, with entrance by free tickets. How can you rehearse, and repeat! So we should have played badly (although, apparently, they know my concertos, and Mrs. Dulcken, a famous – hm! – pianist here, played one there last year); so I sent regrets to the Philharmonic Society. One newspaper took offence at this; but that does not matter.²²

That the press might 'make up a tale' befitting this snub was, at least in this instance, evidently not a concern to Chopin, who was himself willing to use the state of his health to decline an invitation, even if the real reason for declining was somewhat different. In this instance, Chopin has clearly taken a role in establishing and perpetuating what became a long-standing interest in his health.

The British press continued in a similar tone during and after his visit in 1848. Press releases focussed on the reviews of his publications, commenting on his great powers as a

pianist but often connecting these powers with the apparent physical weaknesses of his body. For example, *The Morning Post*, in 1844, deemed him to be 'in a very delicate state, but his life of seclusion has not prevented his acquisition of an European reputation'.²³ It is precisely this duality which maintained Chopin's position within the public consciousness, yet it is also here that one finds the most fertile ground for the development of comments about his body.

'The whole man a mere breath'²⁴

Comments about Chopin's weak physical condition started to appear, with increasing regularity, following his death in 1849. Once again, his reception must be understood in accordance with various socio-cultural changes which influenced the musical landscape. Following the initial turmoil of post-revolutionary years, a period of relative stability occurred in the 1870s, during which the middle classes began to dictate the development of the music scene, producing increased demand for concerts, scores and music journalism. During this period, Chopin's popularity in Britain increased, and the growth in demand was so significant that a series of weekly articles about his life and work emerged between 1877 and 1879, attesting to his public appeal. Between 1870 and 1899, various books, articles and reviews attesting to and discussing Chopin's significance as a composer and a performer led to the acceptance of his music, at least in Britain, as an established part of the canon.

Following his growth in popularity, reception turned to links between Chopin's music and his reputation as a composer, and evocations of his physicality. Coloured by memories and testimonial accounts of his playing, Chopin was portrayed as the romantic composer, a dying poet of the piano, a national composer, a salon composer who struggled with large-scale forms, among others. Prior to his death, flowery descriptions of the poet of the piano had been common. After his death, however, it was hard to find a mention in the British press that did not dwell upon his bodily condition: 'Poor Chopin! The delicate piercing Ariel of modern pianists. What metropolitan lover of music but remembers him, and the sad delight he gave', wrote an anonymous commentator in *The Critic* in 1852.²⁵ Along similar lines were the remarks of another anonymous critic in *The Athenaeum*:

He was a delicate, graceful figure, in the highest degree attractive – the whole man a mere breath – rather a spiritual than bodily substance, – all harmony, like his playing. His way of speaking, too, was like the character of his art – soft, fluctuation, murmuring.²⁶

It seems, as time passed, that the picture of a composer and performer characterised by physical weakness (outlined in the previous section) became ever more exaggerated, with critics frequently reiterating the idea that 'his frail, delicate form and native grace and dignity of his manner' caused him to have a generally softer touch than was usual.²⁷ William Henry Hadow's description of the composer as 'keen, delicate, sensitive, sometimes marring his thought with the querulousness of an invalid' is thus typical of late Victorian descriptions of Chopin.²⁸

During this period, caricatures of Chopin as the Ariel or Raphael of the piano are drawn with increased regularity. Furthermore, a new trope emerged; descriptions of Chopin start to erase his sex altogether, painting him as neither masculine nor feminine, but as an androgynous angel or god. For example, an article in *The Monthly Musical Record*, as a part of 'Chopin: His Life and Works', Julius Schucht states:

His delicate temperament, like an Aeolian harp, was easily and sympathetically touched by every emotion of the mind and soul. [...] Delicate he ever remained both in body and mind; but a deficiency of muscular development was compensated for by a singularly beautiful physiognomy, of a type neither

distinctively masculine nor feminine, nor specially belonging to any particular period of life. He seemed to be one of those ideal creatures which the poetic spirit of the Middle Ages employed in the decoration of churches. A countenance of angelic beauty which might have been that of a lovely woman, the figure of an Olympian god, a nature at once tender and stern, retiring and impassioned, were his.²⁹

During his life, notions of the salon composer and romantic composer were associated with Chopin's ill health. After his death, this notion became mythological, with testimonies recalling his frail but angelic figure, soft voice, and noting how 'his delicate nature, both moral and physical, required amiable surroundings'.³⁰ Moreover, as suggested by Jeffrey Kallberg, notions of elves, angels and fairies, when describing Chopin, were common and many of these references continued long into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³¹ These metaphors had a lot to do with the ambiguity of sex, and the sub-contexts underlying their use are strongly related to Chopin's apparent lack of masculinity; references to an adult male as an elf or a fairy served to downplay, or even remove, any suggestion of gender or sex.

Biographies, which emerged around this time, present similar ideas about Chopin's childhood, describing him as a 'little, frail, delicate elf of a boy, with fair hair and a prominent nose'.³² Similar ideas developed after his death, with Moritz Karasowski writing in a biographical work of 1879:

His voice was musical and rather subdued. He was not above middle height, naturally delicate, and in his general appearance resembled his mother. [...] He had so much amiability and good-breeding, that his physical sufferings, his nervous excitability, and the violent antipathies which he felt in common with all nervous people never made any difference to his behaviour in daily life.³³

Similar sentiments may be found relative to his dislike of live concert performances. According to one article, Chopin's determination to avoid playing in public was rooted in his childhood experience:

His dislike of playing in public was not, however, the sole reason for his determination. From his juvenile stage, when we saw him nurtured more like a hot-house flower than like a healthy schoolboy, pampered and spoilt as if he had been an only daughter, he had developed into a fretful and touchy young man. He had not the backbone to withstand knocks, more particularly now when he was enjoying the petting of the smart and charming society ladies of Paris. He had always been moody, but now he tended to be easily irritated if things did not happen as he wished.³⁴

Such myths developed quickly and, following Chopin's death, most writers remembered him as a boy, or angel, coughing himself to death. Two significant things can be noted in these tropes. Firstly, an increase in comments about Chopin's ill health serve to undermine his masculinity, since his physical disabilities reinforce the image of Chopin as an angel or fairy. Secondly, these descriptions inform the appreciation of his compositions. This latter point is the subject of the section that follows.

'All Chopin's works incline to be feminine, as indeed he was himself'³⁵

The first two parts of this article considered how Chopin's body played an increasingly significant role in his reception both during his lifetime and following his death; as observations about his physicality and health became more numerous, Chopin was

increasingly described as smaller and lighter, increasingly unwell and more feminine. In short, observations on his health became a stimulus for comments about his sexuality, ultimately serving to undermine the basis of his masculinity. Such views were soon applied to his music; Chopin was said to have: 'a quite feminine love of musical embroidery and ornament'³⁶. More direct sentiments related his health and his music:

Chopin is evidently a man of weak constitution, and seems labouring under physical debility and ill health. Perhaps his constitutional delicacy may account for the fact that his musical compositions have all that melancholy sentiment which we have spoken of.³⁷

In Britain, Chopin became known as a composer who was incapable of producing large-form pieces; he was often called:

[...] a Kleinmeister – i.e. master of works of small sizes and minute execution. His attempts in the sonata-form were failures worth more – some of them at least – than many a clever artist's most brilliant successes.³⁸

In the same year, perpetuating a notion of Chopin as a short-form composer, one finds the following:

His sonatas remain most strange to us; they are sonatas in the strict sense as little as the other sonatas by the Romantics. Chopin cares so little for form that he avoids the recurrence to the first theme.³⁹

When reading comments like this, which are found throughout the British press, it is important to remember the war between the Romantic and Classical schools of composition; as Rosalba Agresta observed, the term "Romantic" does not have a precise meaning in the English press. In many cases, it was used as a synonym for the "new" piano school – namely the opposite of the "old", or "Classical" tradition.⁴⁰ The division between two piano schools is worth highlighting here, since it is an obvious subcontext of these claims. It is in the context of the differences between the old Classical, and the new Romantic schools of composition, for example, that Moritz Karasowski commented in 1879:

Chopin is generally less successful when writing in stricter forms which hamper the bold flights of his fancy. His inventive power and melodic wealth were so abundant that it was irksome to him to work out his themes systematically; and his Sonatas, with respect to technical form, sometimes appear unfinished; while in a style of compositions more congenial to his genius he could permit his rich imagination to have freer play.⁴¹

Along similar lines are Jean Kleczyński's remarks of 1881:

He somewhat lost sight of himself in the Parisian drawing-rooms; perhaps he did not come up to the expectations which he raised, so far as considerable works are concerned. Considering the richness of his talent, he has disappointed us somewhat, as he disappointed Schumann; but, on the other hand, throwing his whole heart into small works, he has finished and perfected them in an admirable manner. The executant should not exaggerate his weak points; on the contrary, as we shall say when we come to speak of style, he should treat them as the reflection of the more powerful passages.⁴²

These statements evidence the emergence of another trope that is of significance in the context of this article; Chopin often played in salons with a largely female audience and, as a direct result, he was often known as 'the ladies' pianist par excellence'.⁴³ One review suggested that 'no other pianist was equally successful in touching the most tender and intimate chords of the female heart'.⁴⁴ Yet such comments were not necessarily intended as derogation of his skill and style. Rather, they intentionally diminish his significance as a composer, particularly if one reads them in light of the "war" between two opposite schools of thought, with Classical and Romantic on opposing sides. In this respect, Chopin appears to face criticism because of his romantic tendencies.

At the same time, there was widespread criticism of Chopin's inability to conquer large forms; Chopin was proclaimed as a doer of little things, a composer of small and short rather than large-scale works. At this point, one might easily observe another long-established trope in operation; short forms were deemed suitable for the salons, frequented by woman, and once again this was expressed in terms of Chopin's masculinity. Comments about his body were sublimated into descriptions of his music, which was, in turn, examined relative to his audience and the general consumption of his output.

Woman's Love for Chopin

As Chopin had firmly entered the musical canon in Britain, and various editions had been published, performances of his works had become increasingly popular, and regular biographies had started to appear. In late nineteenth century Britain, the demand especially for drawing room pieces was very high and usually associated with Victorian women who required 'short, manageable piano pieces – simple transcriptions, dance pieces, 'character' pieces'.⁴⁵ The fact that his pieces were played so often, as numerous press articles observe, may be taken as proof of their popularity. However, it would seem that the press found reason for criticism, due to the poor pianism of consumers. An anonymous commentator in *The Examiner* humorously described the situation:

Passing by some middle-class "seminary for young ladies", one's ears are assailed by eccentric bangs, varied by introductions of those semi-musical-box sounds which can be created by a vigorous use of the soft pedal. [...] That tuneless and timeless discord of false chord and timeless pauses is meant to be a Polonaise of Frederic Chopin. [...] Again in the drawing-room the true lover of music is subjected to a similar horror. Polite mamma informs him that dear Ethel will play for him one of those mazurkas which she knows he dotes upon. The pleased but deluded man sits down and longs for the coming of the musical treat. [...] Unhappy man! The illusion is soon dispelled, and for the next half-hour he has to sit in silent misery while, note by note, discord murders harmony.⁴⁶

Along similar lines:

Numbers of school-girls playing Chopin's music with that which is called *feeling*, are not aware that there is in it strong and noble matter which they debase and degrade *ad lib*. [...] [A number of Chopin's pieces] brought him the sympathy of every feeling heart – feminine sympathy especially. "Chopin," says some-one, "is a sigh which has something pleasing in it."⁴⁷

This idea that female amateur pianists degraded Chopin by their poor interpretation of the pieces' inherent delicacy of feeling is echoed by the following sentiment:

The E flat nocturne is drummed by school girls as a study in chord playing for the left hand, and mazourkas – heaven protect us! – what have but these poor dances with their sprightly rhythms now wilted, with what strange oaths are they not played? [...] and soon in London to praise Chopin will be to write “effeminate” across your brow.⁴⁸

Chopin's name was almost always connected to the notion of femininity, with women presented as his companions, pupils and muses. Apparently ‘no lively remembrance of him remains, except with his best pupils; especially with those women who have best known how to reproduce the magical poetry of his inspirations’.⁴⁹ However, towards the end of the century, female performances of Chopin's compositions were often condemned, as can be seen from the author who went so far as to suggest that he:

[...] would sentence to a vat of boiling oil, that is if I were the Sultan of Life, any woman who presumed to touch a note of Chopin. They have decked the most virile spirit of the age in petticoats and upon his head they have placed a Parisian bonnet. They murdered him when he was alive and they have hacked and cut at him since his death. If women must play the piano let them stick to Bach and Beethoven. They cannot hurt those gentlemen with their seductions and blandishments.⁵⁰

While female appreciation of Chopin blossomed, it seems that each passing decade also highlighted a central paradox in (male) criticism of Chopin's work. These critics identified in Chopin's body and in his compositions a delicacy that amounted to effeminacy, even androgyny. While this allowed critics like Kleczyński to present women as the ideal interpreters of Chopin's music, amateur women pianists were also criticised for their perceived inability to reproduce its “effeminate” delicacy. Paradoxically, Chopin and his music became the vessel for an ideal feminine delicacy which many actual women were criticised for failing to maintain. This helps to explain why, by the end of the nineteenth century, critics could enthusiastically further the image of a weak Chopin who, perpetually coughing himself to death, produced a music whose delicacy and sensibility mirrored his own fragile physical and emotional state, and marked him as ‘more feminine than any woman’:

That Chopin was a Pole who went from Warsaw to Paris, there won fame, the love of George Sand, misery, and a sad death, are facts that even schoolgirls lisp. The pianist-composer belongs to stock figures of musical fiction. He was slender, had consumption, slim, long fingers, played vaporous and moon-haunted music, and after being deserted by Sand, coughed himself off to contemporary canvas in the most genteel and romantic manner. All this is Chopin romantically conventionalised by artists-biographers and associates. The real man was of a gentle, slightly acid temper, a refined nature, had a talent for playing piano that was without parallel, and a positive genius in composition. [...] Being definitely more feminine than any woman, Chopin sang his dreams, his disillusion, into his music, and fiery patriotism into his polonaises.⁵¹

Conclusion

This article considered the reception of Chopin and his music within Britain. Even though such reception varied considerably in other ways, the public view of his pianism, compositions and performances was invariably followed by comments about his physicality, which culminated in reflections about his lack of masculinity. Of course, journalists and audiences were clearly concerned with the balance between Classicism and Romanticism, as

found in Chopin's music, and it is clear that some of Chopin's physical attributes were used against him in this context, showing him as a romanticised salon composer, who fails to compose larger forms. On the other hand, while Chopin's music was clearly appreciated and seriously discussed, the terms of that appreciation and discussion reveal troubling ideas about Chopin's (apparent lack of) masculinity, and the way in which it was deemed to spring from his health and physical weaknesses. After Chopin's death, this notion was unstoppable – it dominated the reception of his music throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, from the author's personal experience, this remains a popular view amongst piano teachers working today. Perhaps, therefore, Chopin was right to caution against public acknowledgement of illness in his letter to Fontana: 'don't tell them I am ill, otherwise they will make a tale'.

Notes

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² For more on this topic, see: Michael Roper and John Tosh, 'Introduction. Historians and the politics of masculinity', in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 1-24.

³ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on gender, family and empire* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p. 92.

⁴ Norman Vance, *Sinews of the Spirit: The ideal of Christian manliness in Victorian literature and religious thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 10.

⁵ J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 1.

⁶ Paul R. Deslandes, 'Male Body, Beauty and Aesthetics in Modern British Culture', in *History Compass* (Volume 8, Issue 10; October 2010), pp. 1191-1208 (1191).

⁷ Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 4.

⁸ Haley, p. 57.

⁹ Letter to Fontana (3 December 1838), in *Chopin's Letters*, collected by Henryk Opieński, translated by E. L. Voynich, (New York: Knopf, 1931), p. 186.

¹⁰ Colin Lawson, 'Performing through history', in *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding*, ed. by John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 3-17.

¹¹ The first recitals (as we know them nowadays) were introduced by Franz Liszt, only from 1840 onwards.

¹² John Rink, 'The Profession of Music', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music*, ed. by Jim Samson, pp. 55-86 (p. 59).

¹³ Kenneth Hamilton, 'The Virtuoso Tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, ed. David Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 57-74 (p. 64).

¹⁴ Jim Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992), p. 2

¹⁵ Janet Ritterman, 'Piano music and the public concert, 1800-1850', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, pp. 9-31 (p. 11).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Inja Davidovic, 'Chopin in Great Britain, 1830 to 1930: reception, performance, recordings' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2016), pp. 22-23.

¹⁸ Anonymous, *The Musical World* (11 March 1848), p. 170.

¹⁹ Anonymous, *The Examiner* (18 November 1848), p. 742.

²⁰ Anonymous, *The Musical World* (23 February 1838), p. 120.

²¹ Letter to Fontana (3 December 1838), in *Chopin's Letters*, p. 186.

²² Letter to the family (19 August 1848), in *Chopin's Letters*, p. 370.

²³ Anonymous, *The Morning Post* (17 January 1844), p. 6.

²⁴ Anonymous, *The Athenaeum* (26 July 1851), p. 797.

²⁵ Anonymous, *The Critic* (16 February 1852), p. 98.

²⁶ Anonymous, *The Athenaeum* (26 July 1851), p. 797.

²⁷ Jean Kleczyński, 'Frederic Chopin's works, and their proper interpretation. Three Lectures delivered at Varsovia. By Jean Kleczyński. Translated by Alfred Whittingham', in *The Orchestra and the Choir* (November, 1881), p. 103.

²⁸ W. H. Hadou, *Studies in Modern Music* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1893), p. 129.

²⁹ Julius Schucht, 'Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. Translated from German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B. C.' in *The monthly musical record* (1 April 1877), p. 57.

³⁰ Kleczyński, p. 73.

- ³¹ Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 63.
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- ³³ Moritz Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin: His Life and Letters* (London: William Reeves, 1879), p. 372.
- ³⁴ Murdoch, p. 163.
- ³⁵ Israfel, 'Chopin', in *The Dome* (October 1899), pp. 231-232.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 230.
- ³⁷ Anonymous, *Glasgow Herald* (9 September 1848), p. 73.
- ³⁸ T. L. S., 'The Life of Chopin. By F. Niecks', in *The Musical Standard* (9 February 1889), p. 111.
- ³⁹ Oscar Bie, *A History of Pianoforte and Pianoforte Players*, trans. E. E. Kellett and E. W. Naylor (London: J. M. Dent & company, 1899), p. 262.
- ⁴⁰ Rosalba Agresta, 'Chopin in music criticism in nineteenth-century England', in *Chopin and his Critics: An Anthology (up to World War I)*, ed. by Irena Poniatowska (Warsaw: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2011), p. 451.
- ⁴¹ Karasowski, p. 396.
- ⁴² Kleczyński, p. 71.
- ⁴³ T. L. S., 'The Life of Chopin. By F. Niecks' in *The Musical Standard* (9 February 1889), p. 109.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.
- ⁴⁵ Jim Samson, *Chopin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 288.
- ⁴⁶ Anonymous, 'Chopin', in *The Examiner* (19 July 1879), p. 934.
- ⁴⁷ Kleczyński, p. 75.
- ⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'The New Chopin', in *The Musical Standard* (15 December 1894), p. 462.
- ⁴⁹ Kleczyński, p. 71.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 463.
- ⁵¹ Anonymous, 'A Pen-Portrait of Chopin', in *The County Gentleman: Sporting Gazette and Agricultural Journal* (24 November 1900), p. 1480.

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Biography

Dr. Inja Stanović (nee Davidović) is a Croatian pianist and researcher, born in Zagreb and currently residing in Sheffield, UK. As a pianist, Inja has performed throughout the world, including concerts in Croatia, Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Her education started in Croatia at the Ino Mirković School of Music, licensed under the P. I. Tchaikovsky Moscow State Conservatory, where she studied under Marina Ambokadze. She completed two postgraduate degrees at the Schola Cantorum, Paris, with Eugene Indjic. Shortly after, Inja moved to the US to study her Masters at the Boston Conservatory with Michael Lewin. Recently, Inja finished her PhD at the University of Sheffield, focusing on the nineteenth-century performance practice relating to the work of Frédéric Chopin. Inja has held various academic posts, including research fellowship at the Sydney Conservatoire and visiting lectureship at the Birmingham Conservatoire. Most recently, she has won the prestigious Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship, hosted at the University of Huddersfield. Inja is conducting a three year research project under the title "(Re)constructing Early Recordings: a guide for historically informed performance".