

structura & experientia musicae
Southampton-Würzburg Studies in Eighteenth Century Musical Culture

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Musikalisches Denken
im Labyrinth der Aufklärung

Wilhelm Heinses
Hildegard von Hohenthal

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Vorwort

Im Januar 2005 veranstalteten die Herausgeber ein kleines Panel im Rahmen des Annual Meeting der British Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, dem mit erweiterter Besetzung am 13. Juni desselben Jahres in Würzburg ein Studientag zum selben Thema folgte. Der Titel – „Musikalisches Denken im Labyrinth der Aufklärung: Wilhelm Heineses *Hildegard von Hohenthal*“ – lehnte sich an einen 1989 erschienenen und vielgelesenen Sammelband von semiotischen Schriften Umberto Ecos an, *Im Labyrinth der Vernunft*. Damit sollte zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass Heineses Roman im Rahmen der Spätaufklärung auf eine erstaunliche Vielzahl von Wissensfeldern und Kunstdiskursen in nachgerade enzyklopädischer Weise zugreift, so dass ein ausgreifendes thematisches Netzwerk um das zentral gestellte Medium, die Musik, sichtbar wird. Eco hatte dieses Paradigma einer netzwerkartigen Topik als Neukonzeption des enzyklopädischen Labyrinths am prominenten Beispiel der *Encyclopédie* triftig als Phänomen des aufgeklärten achtzehnten Jahrhunderts benannt. Tatsächlich repräsentiert die Verknüpfung der in den Dialogen von *Hildegard* ausgehandelten Diskurse und die dichten symbolischen und intertextuellen Anspielungen zwischen mythischen Stoffen und Romanfiguren diesen Typ des Netzwerk-Labyrinths, in dem das musikalische Gattungssystem der im Vergleich besprochenen Kirchenmusikwerke und Opern als Ariadnefaden dient. Das dialogische Verfahren bedingt, dass der jeweilige Dissens in musikästhetischen oder philosophischen Fragen nicht ein-eindeutig auf eine Autorenwahrheit reduziert werden kann, sondern in der Schwebe bleibt. Solche Unentscheidbarkeit der Wege hat auch zu den divergenten Einschätzungen von Heineses Romanlabyrinth geführt, wenn es darum ging, es geistesgeschichtlich zu verorten – eine Frage, um die es hier nicht mehr primär gehen soll.

Auch wenn das Handlungsgerüst des Romans sich prima vista nicht als labyrinthisch darstellt, so ist doch die Liebesbeziehung des bürgerlichen Musiker-Protagonisten zur Titelheldin schon aporetisch. Pikant spricht der alte Architekt Reinhold mit Seitenblick auf seinen Freund, den Kapellmeister Lockmann, vom „Tyranen Amor“, der einen in „manches gefährliche Labyrinth“ peitsche. Zu diesem topischen Labyrinth der Unvernunft gesellt sich ein körperlich lokalisiertes, das natürlich und zugleich vernünftig legitimiert scheint, sofern Ratio auf Zahlenverhältnisse rekurriert, nämlich das Labyrinth des Mittelohrs als Teil des Gehörssinnes, dem Heineses Musikroman huldigt. Der anatomische Ansatz, den Heine durch die Titel- und Schlussvignetten der drei Teile und zwei einschlägige Fußnoten zu den Forschungen seines Freundes, des Anatomen Samuel Thomas Soemmerring, akzentuiert, verspricht eine allgemeine Fundierung der Kunst auf natürlichen Grundlagen. Indem Heine einen gehöranatomischen Traktat zitiert, der die Verhältnisse der Bögen im Mittelohrlabyrinth auf die „Verhältnisse der Hauptkonsonanzen – der Oktav, reinen Quinte und großen Terz – 2, 3, 5 und 6“ zurückführt, legitimiert er die reine Musik aus einer pythagoreisch begriffenen Natur. Dies zeitigt Konsequenzen für die *condicio humana* der Musik, für die Gestaltungs- und Handlungsfreiheit des musizierenden Menschen, für das Kunsturteil, nicht zuletzt auch für eine Theorie des Ausdrucks, in der das musikalische Zeichen im Kern als natürliches Zeichen verstanden wird.

Durch diese drei Schichten des Labyrinths aus aufgeklärten und gegenaufklärerischen Diskursen – Eros, Körper, Musiktheorie – haben die Beiträge unseres Bandes ihre

Ariadnefäden verfolgt: den Faden eines älteren Bestands an musikalischem Wissen, das die perspektivenreichen Dialoge grundiert, den des musikalischen Ausdrucks, den der Systematik, der Handlungsfreiheit, die Fäden der Fragestellungen, wie sich Heines Roman zur europäischen Realität des Konzerts als Institution oder der Kastration als Praxis verhält, den Faden einer Praxis und einer Poetologie der Oper, und nicht zuletzt den der Geschlechterrollen-Profile. So lassen die Kreuzungspunkte dieser Fäden ein Gesamtprofil des Bandes wohl am besten skizzieren.

Dass den Werken Heines, des von Rousseau inspirierten ‚Sensualisten‘, Systematizität meist abgesprochen worden ist (S. 77 f.), bedarf der Relativierung und bildet daher einen Stein des Anstoßes und einen Ausgangspunkt einiger Überlegungen. Zunächst einmal besteht die Eigenart seines Musikromans darin, auf einen systematischen musikalischen Diskurs, wie er sich im späteren achtzehnten Jahrhundert ausdifferenziert hatte, fremdreferentiell, im fiktionalen Medium, zu reflektieren. Die Diskussionsbestandteile „über das Wesen der Musik, über das Verhältnis von Melodie/Gesang und Harmonie/Begleitung, über Stimmung und Tonart, Rhythmik und Harmonik, die die breite Anlage des Romans interpunktierend gliedern“ (S. 53), sind dabei alles andere als zufällig eingestreut, sondern tragen in ihrer Stufung durchaus Züge „einer systematischen musikalischen Grundausbildung“ (S. 165), die dem Versuch einer „disziplinären Kartographie“ der Musik um 1780 parallelisierbar ist (S. 91–94), sie jedoch zugleich sehr distanziert beobachtet und in einigen Punkten alternativ ausprägt. „Allumfassende Erklärungssysteme“ lehnt Heine zwar ab, „weil sie der unbegreiflichen Genese der lebendigen Naturfülle nicht gerecht werden können“ (S. 10), doch bedeutet dies nicht, dass er sie nicht – gerade auch in ihren pedantischen Facetten (S. 87–89) – adaptieren oder emulieren konnte.

Die „Systemenmacher“ (S. 58) sah Heine in seinen frühen *Musikalischen Dialogen* gegenüber den Kräften von Genie und Naturell noch ganz versagen. Der Roman dagegen räumt ihnen ein Recht ein (S. 94), was der Idee geschuldet zu sein scheint, den musikalischen Diskurs in weiten Teilen auch täuschend zu fiktionalisieren. Doch die Systematik der Harmonie, repräsentiert durch Rameau und Kirnberger, zieht die Harmonielehre von Heines Kapellmeister Lockmann (S. 62 ff.) implizit einer fundamentalen Unvollständigkeit, weil sie im Zuge eines generellen Misstrauens gegenüber rhetorischer Tropologie die Frage des musikalischen Ausdrucks im Feld der Harmonie zugunsten der formalen Syntax vernachlässigt habe. So steht Heines Ausdrucks-Klassifikation um 1800 einsam, doch prophetisch da, „seine Bewertung der Ausdrucksqualitäten von harmonischen Zusammenklängen beruht [...] auf der in der modernen Musikpsychologie verpönten Technik der Introspektion“ (die allerdings der Erfahrungsseelenkunde probates Mittel war), „gewiss aber auch auf dem Austausch mit anderen Hörern“ (S. 62).

An dieser Weggabelung wird die spannungsreiche Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Subjekt und System in *Hildegard* nicht primär für ersteres entschieden, was sich bereits in der typenhaften, soziotypenhaften Konstellation der Romanscharen andeutet, deren individualpsychologische Entwicklung vernachlässigbar scheint. In sich selbst etwa die Natur der Harmonie zu erkunden, diese jedoch – im Sinne einer Phylogenese des idealen musikalischen Ausdrucks – mit Gemein-sinn-Erfahrungen rückzukoppeln, ruft einen Naturbegriff auf den Plan, der bei Heine wohl in der Tat nicht systematisch (S. 9) sondern aggregativ in Angriff genommen wird. Dies ist angesichts der irisierenden Weise, in der

um 1800 Natur als Legitimation dient, kaum verwunderlich. In *Hildegard* wird der Traum geträumt, dass subjektive und objektive Natur eine Einheit im ganzen Menschen bilden. So erklärt es sich, weshalb die Felder eines ästhetischen Urteils als Resultat des common sense und eines anatomisch lokalisierten sensorium commune zusammengedacht werden können – über den musikalischen Begriff der Stimmung, der anthropologisch übersetzt kaum als spielerische, sondern als ontologische und soziale/politische Metapher zugleich begriffen wird (S. 120–122). Daher erklärt sich, weshalb – Max Weber vorausnehmend (S. 9) – in *Hildegard* das rationalisierte, gleichstufig temperierte Tonsystem einen tristen, zivilisierten, bürgerlich-domestizierten, entzauberten Defektzustand gegenüber der Dynamik der vokal rein intonierbaren Intervalle bedeutet; weshalb die magischen Aspekte der Episteme der Renaissance, die in Heinses *Ardighello* kunstgeschichtlich und als Utopie so leichtfüßig, musikgeschichtlich aber nur stark vermittelt und hinkend einholbar waren; weshalb die Nacktheit als Naturzustand die Idee einer Reinheit und die Verkleidung derselben ein System der Tropen wie der Gattungen entwerfen kann; weshalb der natürliche, d.h. an den Geschlechtsorganen unversehrte Körper, rousseauistisch konzipiert, die natürlichere Musik zu artikulieren imstande ist (S. 151–160); weshalb die kanonisch konzipierte Musikgeschichte naturalisiert und solchmaßen als selbstorganisierte Natur (S. 97) imaginiert wird.

Der Zweifel an solch illusionären Naturen ist in *Hildegard* stets kopräsent. Das musikalische System stärkt eine praktische Organisationsform, die, auch gerade in ihrem pädagogischen Optimismus, zunächst einmal als „Kulturform“ (S. 95) in Erscheinung tritt, als Konzert, das in seiner vermeintlichen sozialen Autonomie gegenüber den Ritual- und Repräsentationsformen Kirche und Theater defizient erscheint. Es soll, einem unscharfen Wortgebrauch der Zeit folgend, „Akademie“ sein (S. 95, 135), ein exemplarischer Präsentations-Ort, im platonischen Sinne vielleicht ideal, realiter aber hinterfragbar. Als bürgerlicher „Realisierungsort autonomer Musik“, so eine systematische Definition, ist das Konzert in *Hildegard* nicht immer erkennbar. Lockmanns fiktive Konzertreihe ist kaum als „Akt der Selbstverwirklichung (dergleichen steht einzig, und dabei ihr nicht unumschränkt, Hildegard zu)“ zu sehen, die Konzertreihe ist vielmehr „ein ihm zugestandenes Privileg, dessen Ergebnisse und Folgen sein Dienstherr wohlwollend, aber gönnerhaft, beobachtet“ (S. 132). Immerhin nutzt sie Lockmann als Selektionsverfahren für musikhistorisch exemplarische Werke, als imaginäres und insofern autonomes musikalisches Museum (im Sinne Lydia Goehrs) nach dem Vorbild von Gemäldegalerien und adaptiert auch das seit Giorgio Vasari bekannte und bei Roger de Piles rationalisierte Verfahren des Künstlervergleichs (S. 97). Will man *Hildegard* als musikhistorische Quelle lesen, ist zu fragen, wo Lockmanns Konzertzyklus Interferenzen mit der Realität eingeht. Die prominenten europäischen Konzertveranstaltungen in London und Wien scheinen reflektiert, aber auch erheblich idealisiert zu sein.

Die Höhepunkte von Lockmanns Konzerten bilden Opernarien bzw. -szenen. Konzerte Oper ist historisch nachweisbar (S. 137), bildet aber keinen Mainstream aus. Konzerte in Konkurrenz zum Theater zu stellen, zugleich aber die Oper selektiv ideal im Konzert repräsentiert zu sehen, scheint der Autonomieästhetik eine Lanze zu brechen. Dass dies an einer die Autonomie des Komponisten recht gering einstufigen Gattung geschieht, weist auf zweierlei, nämlich erstens der Musik in der Oper mehr Eigenkraft

zusprechen zu wollen und zweitens das netzwerkartig organisierte *dramma per musica* als ideales Kunstproduktionssystem hervorzuheben (S. 127). Beides steht in einem dialektischen Konnex. Die mächtige musikalische Kanonisierung des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, wie sie aktuell noch als hochkulturelles Herrschaftswissen zu dominieren versucht, beruht auf den Prämissen der Autorschaft und des absolut gesetzten Werks, die mit Heineses Kanon durchaus kritisierbar erscheinen.

In produktiver Schwebelage bleibt auch, was mit der Kleidungsmetapher (S. 179) und der Illusionsästhetik des *Versimile* zusammenhängt. Das Ideal des klassischen „Nackenden“ der Vokalmusik (S. 149) hebt die Lust am Verkleiden, an der Travestie (S. 176) und die Faszination am Gegenweltcharakter des Androgynen (der „dritten Natur“, S. 160) nicht auf. Dass Hildegard erst im Kastratenkostüm ihre Fähigkeiten als Sängerin – mit Lockmanns Metastasianischer Travestieoper *Achille in Sciro* – verwirklichen kann, die Entlarvung dieser Rolle durch einen englischen Lord dann aber die Romanhandlung in ein nachgerade enttäuschendes „lieto fine“ rückführt, das die sozialen Ordnungen von Geschlecht und Stand wiederherstellt – und den Roman den Hoffnungen einer feministischen Perspektive gründlich enthebt (S. 202) –, ist deutlichster Ausdruck dieser Schwebelage. Im Vergleich mit Heineses Genieroman, dem aufgeregter gelesenen, dem in seiner Kritik an der bürgerlichen Moral saftigeren, dem als soziale Heterotopie lesbaren *Ardinghello*, weist *Hildegard*, trotz aller fantastischen Anteile, mehr Realitätsinterferenzen auf, die das utopische Potenzial des Musikromans in engere Schranken einer an soziale Machtverhältnisse rückgebundene Fiktion zurückdrängt. Unter diesem Vor(be)halt entfaltet sich die konzeptionelle Grundspannung von *Hildegard*. Vielleicht war eine systematische Auffaltung von Musikwissen und Musikreflexion mit ihren Implikaten und Schnittstellen am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts überhaupt nicht in Form einer gelehrten Abhandlung synthetisierbar, sondern umfänglich nur im vielschichtigen, experimentellen, zum *second degré*, der Ironie fähigen, konzeptionell offenen und dadurch in Bezug auf die reflektierte Episteme wunderbaren Roman verhandelbar und vermittelbar.

Solches Schweben resultiert aus dem Versuch von Heineses Romans, im musikalischen Diskurs Wege aus der rationalistischen Entzauberung zu finden. Seinen Weg aus dem Labyrinth als Ausgang des Menschen aus einer kulturverschuldeten Aufklärung zu beschreiben, wäre wohl zu eindimensional. Zwar formuliert der Romanbeginn programmatisch: „Die Sonne löscht alle Freuden der Nacht aus“ – um aber Auge und Ohr einen neuen Zauberkreis zu schenken.

Die Publikation dieses Bandes ist mehr als einmal verzögert worden – aus einer Vielzahl von beruflichen und privaten Gründen, die die lange Zeitspanne nicht entschuldigen können. Für die Geduld sei den Beiträgern tiefster Dank ausgesprochen. Dankbar sind wir der Faculty of Humanities an der University of Southampton für die großzügige Unterstützung bei den Druckkosten. Nicht zuletzt gilt besonderer Dank Charles Atkinson für seine hilfreichen Kommentare zu den englischen Teilen des Buchs.

Southampton, London und Würzburg, im Juni 2015

Introduction

We believe that *Hildegard von Hohenthal* is a window like no other on European musical thought in the late Enlightenment. Yet it is almost wholly unknown to English-speaking readers. It has never been translated, and its scholarly literature is almost entirely in German.¹ It is in fact a strange novel: in long stretches it functions more like a series of critical essays or an encyclopaedia than the entertaining fiction—closely modelled on the conventions of English sentimental literature—that its generic context suggests it should be.² Were it a work of non-fiction, surely more academic readers in English would be aware of it. We offer the following introduction—which in parts follows the German foreword above—and summaries of individual chapters as a guide for English speakers. We hope to encourage these readers to find their own way into the labyrinth of musical thought that our title (in English *Thinking Musically in the Labyrinth of Enlightenment: Wilhelm Heitse's Hildegard von Hohenthal*) is meant to invoke.

Umberto Eco, in his *From the Tree to the Labyrinth*, pointed out that the paradigm of human knowledge as a network was a classically Enlightened phenomenon.³ And indeed, the extended discussions on music in which the characters in *Hildegard* participate come together to form a dense network of mythological, aesthetic and scientific discourses. In this labyrinth exegeses of selected examples of dramatic and sacred music serve as a kind of Ariadne's thread. Heitse's dialogical method—and the moments of disagreement about philosophical and aesthetic questions it portrays—ensures that no principal narrator comes to the fore. The book's authorial voice remains suspended between Heitse and his characters. We would suggest that this thoroughly (post?)-modern narrative strategy may well have contributed to *Hildegard von Hohenthal's* troubled reception history, perhaps even more so than the book's obvious challenges to the conventions of social and sexual decorum.

At first glance the novel's plot is straightforward enough. The story opens some time in the last decades of the eighteenth century on the grounds of a princely castle in the Rhine valley. It is the dawn of a fine spring day. Lockmann—the book's co-protagonist with its eponymous heroine—a Kapellmeister in the prince's service recently returned from a tour to Italy, springs from his bed, his ears ringing with the music to the opera, *Achill in Skyros*, which he will compose as the story unfolds. He reaches for his trusted telescope and spies

1 Writing in English on Heitse includes Rosemarie Elliott, *Wilhelm Heitse in Relation to Wieland, Winckelmann, and Goethe*, Frankfurt 1996; Ira Wilhelm, "Disparate Siblings, Literature and the Arts in Wilhelm Heitse's Work" in: *Arcadia* 46 (2011), pp. 237–244 and Carl Richard Sunde, *Wilhelm Heitse's Novels: A Study of Development and Decline*, PhD Dissertation: University of Iowa, 1974. Max L. Bauemer, who taught at the University of Wisconsin, was a leading voice on Heitse in the late twentieth century but did his important work in German: see *Heitse-Studien*, Stuttgart 1966 and *Winckelmann und Heitse. Die Sturm-und-Drang-Anschauung von den bildenden Künsten*, Stendal 1997.

2 See Barbara Benedict, *Framing Feeling: Sentiment and Style in English prose fiction, 1745–1800*, New York 1994 and Markman Ellis, *The politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel*, Cambridge, 2004. Hildegard von Hohenthal, of course, is a kind of anti-Pamela, who does not uphold social convention in the manner that so many sentimental heroines do.

3 Umberto Eco, *From the Tree to the Labyrinth: Historical Studies on the Sign and Interpretation*, Cambridge (MA) 2014.

(“at a distance of five or six hundred paces”) a woman in the process of undressing. She is Hildegard von Hohenthal, a guest of the prince, daughter of a distinguished aristocratic family. Lockmann, transfixed, stares at her as she bathes for a full quarter of an hour; he only comes to his senses after “pouring his feelings into the strings” of his clavichord.

The scene is set for Lockmann’s amorous pursuit of Hildegard, who soon becomes his pupil. Lockmann’s encounters with Hildegard—with whom he, as a mere musical employee, can on no account conduct a socially acceptable romance—take place in public. They are set pieces in which he presents opinions on a wide range of matters of musical theory and practice, and introduces his (captive) audiences to a canon of works, mostly musical dramas. The plot gathers momentum as Hildegard moves from pupil to muse to main protagonist. Lockmann completes his opera for her, adding it to his ideal repertoire. Lockmann’s *Achill* cannot function without Hildegard, but she is ambivalent about what it would mean fully to assume the role of Lockmann’s muse. At the novel’s first dramatic climax, tired of Lockmann’s attentions and other intrigues at the princely court, she simply runs away, to Italy. There, disguised as a castrato and with her love-struck teacher in hot pursuit, she puts Lockmann’s teaching into practice, inaugurating a celebrated career under the name Passionei. In Rome, in the novel’s second climax (an echo of the bipartite finales of opera buffa) Hildegard/Passionei brings Lockmann’s *Achille in Sciro* triumphantly to the stage. At a performance in Rome an English lord senses—during a cross-dressing scene—that Passionei is in fact a woman. He pursues her; and on the roof of St Peter’s he contrives to remove Passionei’s robes. Hildegard’s educational journey, and with it the novel, comes to an end.

Heinse’s intellectual ambitions are breathtakingly wide. The novel asks which music ought to be kept for the future, and what the role of professional musicians, aristocratic amateurs and Enlightened women should be in the formation of such a canon. By sending Hildegard to Italy Heinse reminds his readers of the powerful opposition between cold, theoretical Germany and the warm, creative climes south of the Alps, a discourse to which he contributed (in dialogue with his friend Goethe) with his own *Fiormona oder Briefe aus Italien* (1794). By having his female protagonist disguise herself as a castrato he enters crucial eighteenth-century debates about the nature of the male body; that Hildegard’s English suitor recognises her nonetheless as a woman is a triumph of eighteenth-century sensibility.⁴ Their sex scene on the cupola of St Peter’s verges on revolutionary blasphemy. That the whole story is really, in the end, about a heroine and not a hero makes the book a powerful example of how gender politics can emerge as a powerful theme in the late eighteenth century novel.⁵

The breadth of reference assures that there is, indeed, something labyrinthine about this musical love story. The old architect Reinhold—a denizen of Hildegard’s Schloss and participant in Lockmann’s seminars—speaks to his friend Lockmann about “that tyrant, Amor”, who has the power to force mortals into “some dangerous labyrinths”. This irra-

4 See for instance Roger Freitas, “The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato” in: *The Journal of Musicology* 20/2 (2003), pp. 196–249.

5 See Graham Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-century Britain*, Chicago 1996 and John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1990.

tional maze of desire is joined in the novel by a rational one. Music itself is traced back to the numerical ratios of sound as experienced in the natural labyrinth of the middle ear, a part of the anatomy to which Heine's novel pays tribute as "natural sense". Heine emphasises this anatomical theme with illustrations of the ear at the beginning and end of each of the book's three parts. To these he adds two extensive footnotes to the text that refer to the research on the human ear carried out by his friend the anatomist Samuel Thomas Soemmerring. Heine's encounter with the anatomist—known at the time as the "German Hippocrates"—offers crucial clues to understanding the novel, and appears in several of the essays in the book.⁶

Heine's recourse to medical thought underscores his contention that all the arts are physical acts. They are in this sense natural. Karsten Mackensen, whose contribution opens our collection, makes this a point of departure. That the novel presents the experience of music in all of its facets as a purely physical matter has profound consequences for the human condition as experienced musically: for the freedom of individual musicians in performance, for aesthetic judgment and not least for a theory of expression in which musical signs are understood fundamentally to be signs of a natural order.⁷ In the final analysis *Hildegard* is an essay about what happens when human freedom meets the constraints of the physical, the bodily and the material. Heine, more than any musical writer of his time, grapples directly with the Enlightened question of what it means to be human. Like Kant—whose writings, as Thomas Irvine argues in his essay, are a presence in *Hildegard*—Heine has the courage to use his own understanding to unravel the mystery of how music works, where it comes from and why we like it.

The contributors to our book engage with *Hildegard* along three main axes: the novel's place as document of music-theoretical discourse, the insights it offers to musical practice around 1800 and its striking attention to questions of gender. Following Mackensen's exploration of Heine's rethinking of early modern conceptions of music's power as a magical and mysterious natural phenomenon, Wolfgang Fuhrmann traces what can only be called Heine's deconstruction of the doctrine of the affections. The novel, he argues, offers a snapshot of a discourse in the process of its dissolution. The rhetorical-melodic figures beloved of mid-century theorists of musical affect were best understood, often enough, as purely paper-based exercises. In the novel Heine's characters offer up a *harmonic*-melodic theory of musical expression that accounts for what is happening to their bodies. Oliver Wiener, addressing the issue of Heine's posthumous reputation and the novel's critical reception (neither positive) explores the question of whether there is a recognisable system of musical thinking in *Hildegard*. There is, Wiener concludes, but only in recourse to the metaphor of the inherently messy and complex human body. He returns to Heine's basic question, and a fundamental problem of Enlightenment aesthetics: can the material, bodily experience of doing art be mapped rationally? In the next chapter Thomas Irvine takes up the challenge posed by the scene in which Lockmann—much to the distress of early

6 For more on Soemmerring see Karsten Mackensen, Oliver Wiener and Thomas Irvine's contributions to this volume.

7 For an overview of natural law theories in this context see Thomas Irvine, "Musical Performance, Natural Law and Interpretation" in: *Law and Art: Justice, Ethics and Aesthetics*, ed. Oren Ben-Dor, London 2011, pp. 231–244.

readers such as E.T.A. Hoffmann—tunes a piano over dozens of pages while preaching the benefits of natural (that is non-equal) temperament. Hoffmann found the tuning scene insufferably pedantic. Irvine reads it as Heine's attempt to contemplate what his friend Soemmerring's theories of brain cognition meant in practice, while contrasting these ideas with the theories on art and physical sensation that he encountered in his simultaneous reading of Kant's *Critique of Aesthetic Judgment*.

The next chapter, by Peter Niedermüller, examines Lockmann's use of semi-public performances as a way to present music (and ideas about it) to his palace-bound audience. In a sense there is something "classical" (in the sense of "classical" antiquity) about this medium. For Heine these seem at first to be ideal "academies" in a Platonic sense and early examples of the concert as modern cultural practice. But they are more complex than that. As Niedermüller argues, they are neither opportunities for the self-cultivation of the public, except perhaps for Hildegard, nor for the middle-class Lockmann to serve as an impresario in his own right. They are instead the fruits of aristocratic patronage; they display the erudition of Lockmann's employers. On the other hand they do offer Heine, through Lockmann, the chance to construct what Lydia Goehr calls an "imaginary museum of musical works". Niedermüller reminds us that this makes perfect sense: Heine had made a name for himself primarily as an art critic working in the footsteps of Giorgio Vasari, "curating" ideal collections of paintings for a wide, and at times predominantly female reading public, as Wiebke Thormählen points out in our book's final essay. Questions of canon formation and audience behaviour around 1800 remain urgent in English-language musical scholarship, particularly in the wake of Goehr's writings.⁸ We hope that the present collection will enrich, and perhaps complicate, these discussions.

The three remaining chapters attend to gender. Sophie Bertone surveys the ways in which the castrated male singer figures in the novel. Heine, she argues, is torn between his allegiance to the repertoire of mid-century musical drama that would be unthinkable without castrati and his Lockean aversion to the "un-natural". His solution to the problem is to have Hildegard, in the latter stages of the book, *disguise* herself as a castrato, remaining natural "on the inside" (and awaiting discovery by a listener wise enough to hear past the disguise). In the next chapter Hansjörg Ewert takes up the metaphor of clothing and disguise in order to consider the supposed eighteenth-century composerly ideal of writing operas to fit the voices of their singers (as W.A. Mozart famously put it in a letter to his father "as would a tailor"). What remains, Ewert asks, of writing when it is mapped onto a (female) body? What does Heine's treatment of the composer-singer relationship at the centre of his novel tell us about the poetological practice of writing opera across the eighteenth century? The answers to these questions, Ewert explains, are not straightforward. The (male) authority of the composer remains suspended in the presence of the (female)

8 Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay on the Philosophy of Music*, Oxford 1992. See also (in English) Tia Di Nora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, Berkeley 1995; Mark Everist, "Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value" in: *Rethinking Music*, ed. Everist and Nicholas Cook, Oxford 1999, pp. 378–402; William Weber, "The History of the Musical Canon" in: *ibid.*, pp. 336–355. In operatic contexts see more recently Alessandra Campana, "Genre and Poetics," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Opera*, ed. Nicholas Till, Cambridge 2012, pp. 202–224, and Stefano Castelvocchi, *Sentimental Opera: Questions of Genre in the Age of Bourgeois Drama*, Cambridge 2013.

singer's voice. The final chapter of the book, by Wiebke Thormählen, argues that the key to the novel's coherence is to consider exactly this relationship. The novel makes sense when the reader remembers that Hildegard, and not Lockmann, is the real protagonist. Like Tasso's Armida—a role she plays in a crucial scene just before the novel's first climax—Hildegard is sense-maker, sorceress, hero and heroine all at once.

Given Heinse's extraordinary sense of intellectual adventure, the chapters in this collection are able only to consider a selection of the issues raised in *Hildegard von Hohenthal*. The novel will no doubt continue to be a fertile field for research. A number of musicological issues are particularly pressing. First among these would be a reconstruction and assessment of the selection of operatic scores Heinse intended to include with the novel, a plan he abandoned when he was separated from his library during the French invasion of the Rhineland in 1792. Heinse's taste in mainly Italian opera raises another set of questions, particularly in light of recent work on musical culture-transfer and cosmopolitanism.⁹ Finally this novel adumbrates the deep connections between British and German aesthetic thought, for example in its commentary on the literary discourses of sensibility, its related attempts to come to terms with post-Lockean theories of sensation and the Hohenthal family's obvious anglophilia (Hildegard's late father, the reader learns early in the book, had been an ambassador in London). *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, we propose, could help us make better sense of the Britishness of German musical thought in a crucial era.¹⁰

Material in this book was presented first at a panel at the annual meeting of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Oxford in January 2005, and then later that year at a study day at the University of Würzburg. We thank the University of California Press for their kind permission to offer Irvine's chapter in German translation; it appeared first as "Reading, Listening and Performing in Wilhelm Heinse's *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1796)" in *The Journal of Musicology* 30/3 (2013), pp. 502–529. We are also grateful to the Small Research Awards Fund of the University of Southampton Faculty of Humanities, who granted the Southampton Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies a generous subvention towards the costs of publication. This book has been a long time coming, for a number of personal and professional reasons. None of these excuse the long delay. We therefore offer our deepest thanks to the authors for their patience. Our special thanks go to Charles Atkinson for his comments on the English-language sections of the book.

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9 See the essays in Annagret Fauser and Mark Everist eds., *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914*, Chicago 2009 and the contributions to the colloquium "Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914" ed. Dana Gooley, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66/2 (Summer 2013), pp. 523–549.

10 A starting point might be Max L. Baumer, "Wilhelm Heinse and His Relationship to English Thought and Literature", *Modern Language Studies* 15/1 (1985), pp. 60–68.

Summaries

Karsten Mackensen
Science and Magic: The Concept of Nature
in Heine's *Hildegard von Hohenthal*

Hildegard von Hohenthal explores musical thought at a time when the art form had become an object of pure aesthetic theory. The novel therefore reconsiders music's origins by making nature an aesthetic category. Heine performs this conceptual move through recourse to Early Modern discourses of magic, miracle and wonder (such as those described by Gary Tomlinson in reference to Monteverdi), he seeks to couch these in scientific terms. But all the same Heine resists Enlightened theorising. For him music's magic—its soulfulness—stretches beyond the translation of emotions into musical affects encoded in mechanical processes of composition.

Heine orients his redefinition of this magic around two subjects: temperament and *musica humana*. Heine treats temperament as a metaphor for nature in its infinity and mutability: the rationalisation represented by equal temperament stands for the "civilisation" or taming of nature through compulsive bourgeois self-restriction (traced a century later so influentially by Max Weber). Heine argues that natural temperaments are essential for the magic of music to resonate, so to speak, with human nature. He bypasses the most current research into acoustics by Joseph Sauveur, taken up by Jean-Philippe Rameau, and focuses instead on human perception explained scientifically through the anatomical theories of his colleague and friend Samuel Thomas Soemmering. His formulation of the *sensorium commune* allows Heine to explain the magic effects of music scientifically without appealing to consciousness. Heine thus constructs a system in the novel in which music emerges through and in the body. This system is ultimately broadly analogous to the pre-Enlightened idea of the harmony of the spheres.

Wolfgang Fuhrmann
"The Inner Feelings Conjured into the Open Air":
Wilhelm Heine's Theories of Expression after
the Waning of the Doctrine of the Affects

In the late eighteenth century music was considered the language of the emotions, a language in which the inner *empfindsam* feelings that cannot be represented with words can be expressed and communi-

cated after all. Yet no theorist of the time tries to prove this concept with concrete reference to music. Wilhelm Heine, with the help of the protagonists of his novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, fills this lacuna by attempting to demonstrate the expression of emotions with reference to concrete musical means. Thus he enters an astounding theoretical vacuum. For while the traditional analysis of musically expressive phenomena (the theory of musical rhetoric, particularly the *figurae patheticae*) would actually have provided relevant means, this tradition had begun to lose its effectiveness in the 1740s, exactly at the time of the emergence of the new aesthetics of *Empfindsamkeit*.

The impasse created by the demand for a new theory of expression in music at the waning of *Figurenlehre* is easier to understand against the backdrop of the criticism and hermeneutical reformulation of literary rhetoric. The ambiguity of Johann Nicolaus Forkel's attempts at a reclamation of rhetoric as a tool for understanding music must be interpreted in this context. This in turn clarifies Heine's original (and singular) hermeneutics of musical expression, in particular as he lays it out in the novel's last theoretical discourse. Heine's remarks on the expressive potential of harmonic formulas and progressions in Gluck, Traetta or Sarti can, their historical situatedness notwithstanding, inspire a yet-to-be-written theory of compositional expression.

Oliver Wiener
Hildegard von Hohenthal: A Musical Novel
as a Web of Systems

Wilhelm Heine viewed the Enlightenment's systematisation of a variety of disciplines (philosophy, anthropology, morality, poetics) with scepticism. Still, his novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal* unfurls musical knowledge as if it were a systematic discourse. The resulting multi-layered construction reflects the debate surrounding systematic approaches to music as a discipline—especially as modelled by Johann Nicolaus Forkel—since the 1770s. *Hildegard*, however, remains outside of the mainstream formulations of these systems. The chorus of secondary characters surrounding the main protagonists each contribute to the development of a variety of sub-systems of musical thought: theories of the psychology of sound, of temperaments, keys and rhythm and of musical expression. In addition, they propose and enact a canon of works built around church music,

oratorios and operas; they deliberate about the latter in a field of tension between opera seria and Gluck's reform opera. Further debates focus on music history, on the relative merits of vocal and instrumental music and the castrato, ultimately arriving at consideration of the relationship of sense and nature in the judgment of musical art.

By weaving so fine a net of motivic association Heine connects the subjects of the musical works under discussion with actual situations in the novel. He nevertheless fails to save the fluency of his narrative from his theoretical excursions, a feature that the novel's critics regularly exposed. This feature, however, turns Heine's novel itself into an experiment: considered from the point of view of fiction all the at times pedantic talk about music becomes itself a meta-object to be observed by the attentive theoretical reader.

Thomas Irvine

Reading, Listening, and Performing
in *Hildegard von Hohenthal*

Early in *Hildegard von Hohenthal* Heine's characters confront the problem of how music works on the senses. The novel's hero, Kapellmeister Lockmann, tunes a piano—to an idiosyncratic temperament of his own invention—as he proposes an intensely physical model for musical listening. He uses this demonstration, while simultaneously trying to start a love affair with the novel's heroine, to reclaim older ideas about natural temperaments and key characteristics in an era of heightened interest in the anatomy of cognition. But Heine's own opinions are not always the same as those of his characters. Drawing on his notebooks, this chapter traces how Heine struggled to come to terms with opposing the views of his friend and colleague, the anatomist Samuel Thomas Soemmerring, on the one hand, and of the philosopher Immanuel Kant on the other on how sound affects the body. Soemmerring's *Über das Organ der Seele* (1796) and Kant's *Critique of Aesthetic Judgment* (1790) both act as intertexts and paratexts to the novel, and Heine more than once splits his own opinions about both books between his characters. The tuning scene addresses important questions about the hierarchy of the senses, the creation of musical meaning, and the freedom of performers and listeners to form their own interpretations of music. Heine's naturalist ideas about musical agency rub against the grain of a narrative—still current today—dominated by a

transaction between heroic composers on the one side and awe-struck listeners on the other. To reassess these ideas is to re-imagine a crucial hinge in music history.

Peter Niedermüller

Concert Descriptions in Heine's
Hildegard von Hohenthal

In a narrative of the rise of the concert as the ideal vehicle for 'autonomous' music, does Hildegard von Hohenthal provide a counter-example that retains opera—not instrumental music—as the most prestigious form of music? This essay shows that this impression, easily formed upon first reading, is nevertheless incorrect. It traces how the novel anticipates the arrival of the concert as a leading medium with a canonic repertoire by portraying concert performances of operatic scenes. In Heine's hands such performances take on a didactic function that fully staged performances could not and did not have. Such performances evoke the shift from entertainment to education that became a prominent feature of German concert culture in the nineteenth century. Heine preempts this shift by narrating the performance of the high points of each opera, thus offering them exegetically to the reader. It is crucial that only highlights are introduced, stripped of context. Thus music rather than drama and visual effects take centre stage, often stunning the audience into a silence at the time still unusual at public concerts. Heine's fictional narrative constructed around a series of concert performances of opera scenes foreshadows not only the ideology of a concert culture to come, but may reflect the beginnings of such thinking in contemporary practice. This becomes apparent through a comparison with concert performances at German and Austrian courts and cities, particularly in Vienna.

Sophie Bertone

„Benedetto il coltello“:

The Castrato in *Hildegard von Hohenthal*

This essay discusses the conflict between the popularity of the castrato in the eighteenth century and the difficulties the castrato faced in light of new notions of beauty, genius and art in the latter part of the century. On the one hand, the castrato was crucial in the repertoire of Italian operas that Heine has Lockmann promote. On the other the cultural-historical construction of the castrato jars with Heine's ideas about the voice as the expression

of an individual's soul in its state closest to nature. Illustrating moments at which this debate forms an actual point of discussion between Reinhold and Lockmann—almost diegetically—it also teases out the symbolic function of this conflict within the larger philosophical debates about empiricism, rationalism and idealism that had emerged in the mid-eighteenth century. As a follower of Lockean empiricism, Heine cannot condone castration because it intervenes fundamentally in the body's natural capacity for sensation and experience, which he—in stark contrast to the academic classicism of Winckelmann and Wieland—sees as essential to both the creation and reception of art. Yet simultaneously Heine cannot wholly resist the extra-musical stimulation that results from disguise and pretence since both increase the scope for free movement of the soul and its creative unfolding. Ultimately Heine resolves the dichotomy by casting Hildegard as a castrato (thereby eliminating the need for an actual one), exploiting the characteristics of falsification and disguise that allow the female individual to express her inner soul within social constraints.

Hansjörg Ewert

The Body of the Singer's Voice: On the Poetology of Opera in Heine's *Hildegard von Hohenthal*

It is a commonplace that eighteenth-century opera roles were written to match the physical capacities of particular singers, a process likened by contemporaries to the process of fitting a dress to a body. This gives performance prominence over text and places the singer's physicality centre stage: the ideal listener hears the singer's individuality through her body. Yet it also implies that it disguises this individuality because the body is dressed.

Heine has Lockmann write an opera for Hildegard, *Achille in Sciro*, modelled on a libretto by Metastasio. But Heine subverts Metastasio's text: Achille, disguised as a girl by his mother at birth to save him from fighting in the Trojan War, becomes Hildegard disguised as a man, openly when singing in German but disguised as a castrato when performing the same role in Italy. This metaphor of dis-

guise fans out along four strands of the idea of disguise and dressing: first, it works on the level of rhetoric, a draping of words around meaning, since meaning itself is naked. Here, Heine engages with the much-debated conflict between form and content, subverting it by turning the dress into the essence, replacing thought and thereby turning the arguments of music anti-rhetorical. On the second level, this tension is extended to the relationship of nature and art, played out particularly in the discourses on manners on the one hand and on harmonic structure as a type of universal rule on the other. The third level concerns the relationship of music and language. The final level addresses the relationship of composer, performer and presence: the art of the composer, according to Heine, is to give his voice to the singer in the process of production, yet to have it silenced entirely by the singer's voice in the process of performance and reception.

Wiebke Thormählen

The Muse as Hero(ine): Gender and Creative Process in *Hildegard von Hohenthal*

Heine's novel, though it appears to be a fragmented and incongruent series of intellectual discourses packed into a sentimental narrative, is in fact unified by its singing heroine. On the surface merely passive recipient of Lockmann's theoretical ruminations and initially at least therefore the quintessential eighteenth century female figure, Hildegard in the course of the novel takes on multiple representational functions. These unfold within the novel's three key contexts: its ambiguous generic status between sentimental novel and non-fiction, its evocation of a female figure as artistic muse and its engagement with eighteenth-century discourses on the creative process. Hildegard's association with the literary and operatic character Armida is an initial indicator that Hildegard's performances are the sounding embodiment of the idea that music is a non-verbal, indeed unfathomable art form. Through this association Hildegard's character breaks the mould of conventional views of eighteenth-century female performance.