

CHAPTER FOUR

UTOPIA PERFORMED: MOZART'S FANTASY K. 475*

That history and performance make for strange bedfellows is a theme we have been tracing in the first three chapters of this dissertation. By its nature musical performance in the present disappears, yet performance in the past has always already disappeared and is available only in mediated forms. The historian spins a narrative thread out of the infinite diversity, and indeed confusion, of the materials left for us by the past. For the music historian performance is the most slippery source of all, just out of reach, hovering suggestively in the imagined space behind the written records that are the central focus of our discipline.

In this chapter I would like to investigate performance as a historical category by examining two performances in history. The first, Mozart's performance of fantasy at a Masonic benefit concert in December 1785, his second such appearance in several months, is a historical fact. We do not know exactly what fantasy; or, indeed, if Mozart's improvisations that evening were never written down and thus lost forever. We note, however, that this performance followed the first advertisement of Mozart's only published fantasy, K. 475 in C minor, by only a matter of days. This temporal coincidence enables us, I will argue here, to see the C minor Fantasy in a new perspective. The second

* The first half of this chapter appears in German as "Mozarts KV 475: Fantasie als Utopie?" in *Acta Mozartiana* 50/1 (2003), 37-49.

performance takes place in a work of fiction, Wilhelm Heine's 1795 novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, yet it is definitely a performance of K. 475. This performance is by definition imaginary, yet the materials performed – almost certainly that 1785 Artaria engraving – are real. This performance reveals another, very different, perspective on K. 475.

The Fantasy in the Lodge

On 7 December 1785, the Viennese publishing house Artaria announced the publication of Mozart's Fantasy in C Minor K. 475 (together with the Clavier Sonata K. 457). On 11 December Emperor Joseph II issued his *Freimaurerpatent*, in which he decreed the fundamental restructuring of Masonic life in the Hapsburg Empire. On 15 December Mozart "fantasized" at a benefit concert in one of the Viennese Masonic lodges. In the first part of this chapter, I will explore the possible significance of this confluence of events. I will argue that in the C minor Fantasy Mozart explores the boundaries between *Empfindsamkeit* (socially acceptable feeling) and *Schwärmerei* (socially destabilizing feeling). In so doing he adds his voice to a crucial debate of his time about the role of sensibility in artistic and, indeed, political discourse – in a larger sense about the role of the subject in a world ruled more and more by theory and reason.

Mozart entered the C minor Fantasy in his *Verzeichniß aller meiner Werke* on 20 May 1785 as *eine Phantasie für das Klavier allein*. There are no references to the work in Mozart's correspondence, nor is

there any concrete indication that Mozart ever performed it before its publication in December of that year. In an advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung*, under the rubric *neue Musikalien* dated 7 December 1785, the publishing house Artaria announced “a Fantasy and Sonata for the Forte-Piano Opus XI” by Mozart.¹ There are two accounts of Mozart’s performing the work after its publication: once in Leipzig in 1789, as reported by Georg Nikolaus Nissen his 1828 biography,² and once for a student, Joseph Frank, who, many years later, recalled having a lesson in 1790 on the piece with its composer.³ I shall return to this report.

On 15 December 1785, just a week after Artaria’s publication, Mozart performed “Fantasies” (*Phantasien*) as the culmination of a benefit concert sponsored by the Masonic lodge “Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung.” A few months before he had appeared in the same capacity for the same beneficiaries, a pair of impoverished traveling basset-horn virtuosos. The invitation to the first such concert promised that “Brother Mozart” would “entertain with his so beloved *phantasieren*.”⁴ Now of course there is a difference between *phantasieren*, which could suggest that Mozart simply improvised something, and the performance of an already-composed fantasy. What I would like to suggest here is that Mozart may have performed something *like* the so recently published C minor Fantasy, if only to do his publishers from the Artaria firm, fellow

¹ “...Mozart, eine Fantasie und Sonate fürs Forte-Piano Opera II...” Advertisement listed in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 225.

² Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W.A. Mozarts* (Leipzig: 1828, repr. Hildesheim: Olms), 530.

³ “Aus den ungedruckten Denkwürdigkeiten der Aertze Peter und Joseph Frank,” in *Deutsches Museum* (1852), 28 ff. Cited in Deutsch, 476.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 224.

Freemasons, a favor. Whatever he performed, it is just this difference between performance and textuality, between Mozart's *phantasieren* and physical relic that is the Artaria print, which will be the subject of much of this chapter.⁵

In any case, neither invitation is worded in such a way as to imply that Mozart was to perform a variation fantasy, as he did in Prague after the triumphant first performances of *Le nozze di Figaro* there.⁶ So I would like to propose that at least on the latter occasion Mozart performed a free fantasy, perhaps something like K. 475. In other words: in what I am about to argue, more than just the work's "historical place" is at stake; its "physical place" is as well.

The Masonic context for K. 475 that I propose here could offer a "clue" to a more telling interpretation of the work. I do not intend, however, to explore the potential Masonic symbolism of Mozart's musical language. These hermetic interpretations, in which the funny hats and secret handshakes of Freemasonry are mapped on to musical structures, are often unsatisfying.⁷ Rather, I wish to focus on the Masonic lodge as

⁵ Many of Mozart's contemporaries were fascinated with the relation between raw improvising and text, as demonstrated by the quest to design a "fantasy machine" that could transfer improvised performance at the keyboard directly into notation. See Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasy and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 77-81.

⁶ See Deutsch, 251.

⁷ The best introduction to Mozart and Freemasonry are the chapters on the subject in Volkmar Braunbehrens's *Mozart in Wien* (Munich: R. Piper, 1986). The literature on Mozart and Freemasonry is immense. Book-length studies include Guy Wagner *Bruder Mozart: Freimaurer in Wien des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Amalthea, 1996), Hans-Joseph Irmen, *Mozart, Mitglied geheimer Gesellschaften* (Neustadt/Aisch: Prisca-Verlag, 1988), H.C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and the Masons* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), K. Thomson, *The Masonic Thread in Mozart* (London: Lawrence and Wisher, 1977) and Paul Nettl, *Mozart and Masonry* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957). For a broad introduction see Margaret Jacob, *Living the*

the place, the *circumstance* of Mozart's performance of this fantasy, or something like it. Indeed, the Masonic lodge was more than just a central location for the exchange of political ideas; it was a forum for the exchange of cultural ideas as well, and a place where culture and politics mixed freely. But before we can appreciate just how composer, medium and message fit together in this historical context, a short historical digression will help set the scene.

Joseph II and “Enlightenment from Above”

Joseph II's assumption of sole control over the Hapsburg monarchy upon the death of his mother in 1781 was a pivotal moment in history of the Enlightenment in the Austrian Empire.⁸ Maria Theresia could hardly be described as an “enlightened” personality, although many of Joseph's reforms were initiated in the years of their co-regency. This process of liberalization was accelerated upon her death. Joseph's program was nothing less than the imposition of enlightenment from above. Using the full authority of the absolutist state, the Hapsburg rationalist began ordering his subjects to be free.

Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). A useful collection of contemporary documents on Freemasons in Josephine Vienna is Helmut Reinalter, *Joseph II. und die Freimaurer im Lichte zeitgenössischer Brochüren* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1987).

⁸ Information in the following paragraphs is drawn primarily from Braunbeherens *Mozart in Wien*, especially the section “Josephinismus”, 232-42, and T.C.W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (London: Longwood, 1994), 162-204.

The effect on public life in Vienna was profound. In the so-called “Broschürenflut” of 1781-1782 Vienna was inundated with over 1100 broadsheets and pamphlets on every subject imaginable. Many of the more earnest of these were written by the intellectuals who had begun to gather in the city’s Masonic lodges. The German historian and philosopher of history Reinhart Koselleck argued a generation ago in his influential book *Critique and Crisis* that secret societies like the Masons played a critical role in the breakup of the absolutist state order in the eighteenth century. For Koselleck the key is the transformation of private discourses about morality into a public ones about politics: the birth of a “critical public opinion.”⁹ Whether or not this new critique leads automatically to the crisis of revolution is not important here. What is important in our context is that Joseph’s growing reservations about the Masons stemmed in part from his fear that their criticism might become uncontrollable: that the new “public sphere” would be immune to his attempts to steer it. This new public class came together in large numbers in the Masonic lodges; the lodges were the place for their critique. Indeed, in the Viennese context, the pomp and ceremony banished from the court may have found a new home in the Masonic lodges.

In Vienna Freemasonry was nothing new. The Freemasons’ emancipatory political and social agenda, their fervent interest in science

⁹ See Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), His theories run parallel, but not always in agreement, to those of his contemporary Jürgen Habermas set forth in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989). An insightful survey of both is Anthony J. La Vopa, “Conceiving a Public: Ideas and Society in Eighteenth-Century Europe,” *Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992), 76-116.

and “improvement,” and their strong belief in “sociable” politics,¹⁰ had found an early supporter some twenty years before in Joseph II’s father Franz Stephan von Lothringen. By the time Mozart was accepted into the lodge “Zur Wohltätigkeit” on 5 December 1784,¹¹ the members of the six Viennese lodges represented a large cross-section of the city’s political, commercial and cultural elite. The resulting space for political discourse (in the words of a recent observer: “the interior space of the arcane”¹²) was protected from Joseph’s direct influence by the “secrecy” of Masonic practice. This space seems full of contradictions, however, for this “secrecy” was largely an illusion: it generated a considerable written record in the form of the many Viennese Masonic publications. The Masons were bound to attract the critical attention of the Hapsburg monarch. This “secrecy that is not secret” is something that we should keep in mind, I think, when we consider the genre of fantasy in this context.

Gaukelei

Joseph’s response to the rapid growth of Freemasonry in his empire was the so-called *Freimaurerpatent* of 11 December 1785, in which the

¹⁰ See Margaret Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, especially chapter two: “Temples of Virtue, Palaces of Splendor: British Masonic Visions”, 52-71.

¹¹ Deutsch, 204.

¹² “Der Binnenraum des Arkanum.” See Linda Simonis *Die Kunst des Geheimen esoterische Kommunikation und ästhetische Darstellung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2002).

he decreed a thoroughgoing reconfiguration of Masonic life in all of the Hapsburg lands. In Vienna, this meant the reduction of the six lodges into three larger ones, the yearly registration of each lodge's membership with the authorities, and strict prohibition of secret sub-lodges. But Joseph's *Patent* is not only critical; it praises and damns. The praise is for the manifest good that the Masonic brotherhoods perform for society: although he claims not to know anything about Masonic practices he has heard enough to know, he writes, "that these assemblies of freemasons have accomplished some real good."¹³ The damnation is, however, severe. At the opening of his decree, Joseph accuses the Masons of *Gaukelei*, of "clowning."¹⁴ Adelung's dictionary of 1796 defines the underlying verb *Gaukeln* as "to move ridiculously, to take up poses, to make magical gestures...to fool others through bizarre motions of the body, through speed."¹⁵

While this is presumably a reference to the predilection of certain Viennese Masons to alchemical speculation and to the general Masonic love for ritual, it is also, when leveled among followers of rationalist Enlightenment, a serious charge. The *Freimaurerpatent* is an expression of the Emperor's distrust for the competing political perspective

¹³ "dass von diesen Freimaurerversammlungen dennoch einiges wirklich Gutes...geleistet worden ist." *Kaiserliches Handbillet vom 11. Christmonat 1785*, reprinted in Reinalter ed., *Joseph II. Und die Freimaurer*, 65.

¹⁴ "Die sogenannten Freimauergesellschaften, deren Geheimnisse mir eben so unbewusst sind, als ich deren Gaukeleien zu erfahren vorwitzig jemals war, vermehren..." *ibid.*, 64.

¹⁵ "Lächerliche Bewegungen, possenhafte Stellungen, wunderliche Geberden machen...durch seltsame Bewegungen des Leibes, durch Geschwindigkeit andere verblenden." Jacob Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der Oberdeutsche* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Breitkopf Sohn und Compagnie, 1796), volume II, column 437.

embodied in Masonic practice; in many ways it is the document of a dispute among insiders. Joseph's choice of such a provocative image reveals his distrust of the uncontrolled (and uncontrollable) aesthetic quality of Masonic politics, the utopian union of the bodily and the political. The Masons *performed* politics in the lodge – the “interior space of the arcane” – where a commoner like Mozart could interact on equal terms with members of the upper and lower nobility. In the end, this kind of sociability based on feeling, a politics of *Empfindung*, was too much of a threat to Joseph's rationalist disposition. In the *Patent*, Joseph calls on his fellows in Enlightenment to return to the urgent project of establishing a rational political and social order. But perhaps he had misjudged most of Vienna's Freemasons, who were past the point of finding common ground with his program.

The rise of aesthetics as its own philosophical discipline in the late eighteenth century follows a similar trajectory. What began with Alexander Baumgarten as an attempt to rationalize human reaction to art, the “science of the galant,” was by the 1780s an earnest branch of speculative philosophy, and no closer to its goals. Like the thinking of expressivist writers such as Johann Gottfried Herder, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the performances of ritual, musical and otherwise, in the lodge, can be read as a reaction of against the growing “tyranny of the theoretical.” The political parallel would be Joseph's drive to rationalize politics and society.¹⁶

¹⁶ Cf. Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), here Chapter 1 “Free Particulars,” 13-30.

In the lodge, Mozart *performed* his contribution to his brother Masons' critical discourse: a search for the acceptable border between the moral imperative of *Empfindung* and the pathology of uncontrolled, fantastic *Schwärmerei*, the “bizarre motions of the body” which “fool others.” His performance of fantasy in the lodge in the days between Joseph's formulation of his edict and its publication – we should assume here that Vienna's Masons, with their formidable connections to the state apparatus, were well informed by this time about the decree's contents – cannot but take on the character of a political and philosophical statement.

If we approach it in the context I have sketched here, the Fantasy can be viewed as being about just this difficult relation between the rational and the irrational, the *empfindsam* and the *schwärmerisch*, the individual and the generic, the discursive and the virtuosic, *sensus* und *ratio*. It is about the possibility of *not* communicating, what Laurenz Lütteken has called *Diskursverlust*.¹⁷ It is also about the transformation of instrumental music from a language of the affections to the wordless language of performance and expression I addressed in chapter three. Finally, it is about the emancipation of the human subject *through* artistic expression, part of what Jim Samson has called “the project of autonomy,” the “massive investment in the realm of subjectivity” in European art at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁸

¹⁷ Laurenz Lütteken, *Das Monologische als Denkform in der Musik zwischen 1760 and 1785 (=Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung 24)* (Tübingen: Niemayer, 1995).

¹⁸ Jim Samson, “Analysis in Context,” in *Rethinking Music* ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), 39.

Sensus and Ratio in K. 475

The construction of K. 475, its alternation between “improvised-sounding” and “composed-sounding” sections, stages the contrast between two different ways of organizing musical thought. The first evokes the irrational, unpredictable and “picturesque” world of the fantasy where the collision of dissonant harmonies reveals the “wide vistas” so characteristic of the genre.¹⁹ The second is the familiar, exchangeable and thoroughly rational world of the conventional *clavier sonata*.²⁰ The opening measures of K. 475 take this contrast as their theme: the melodic surface is smooth as glass, the same material is repeated over and over. The “fantastic” is the harmony, a series of modulations over a chromatically descending bass line leading eventually to a remote E-flat minor (measure 14). The harmony soon rights itself; the G-flat in the bass is reinterpreted as an F-sharp, the leading tone of the dominant G-major, which arrives in measure 18. The first section closes with another, slightly less shocking slight of hand, the re-reading of the G as the bass note of an augmented sixth-chord in B minor, and the use of this sonority to set up the a classical closing gesture well-known from the language of opera seria, the Phrygian half-cadence (mm. 21-25).

What follows, however, is not the expected B minor, but the relative major D. This is not too far-fetched yet comes nonetheless as a surprise, especially in light of the utterly stable and unfantastic music that

¹⁹ For an introduction to the “picturesque” cf. Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasy and the Musical Picturesque*, “Framing the Musical Picturesque”, 1-33.

²⁰ See Nicholas Mathew, “Wie Kommerz klingt” in *Acta Mozartiana* 50/3-4 (2003), 51-62.

follows. Here we have a perfect example of a highly conventionalized “sonata-like” style. A simple song-like series of melodic gestures, in various combinations, augmentations and permutations, spreads out over an “Alberti bass” accompaniment that could add its voice to countless other melodies with the same straightforward qualities. The first 36 measures of the Fantasy as they appear in the 1785 Artaria engraving are musical example 4.1.

2
Phantasia

Subagio

(6)

(10)

(20)

70

Music Example 4.1:

W.A. Mozart: *Fantasia* in c minor K. 475, mm. 1-36 (Artaria 1785)

Musical Example 4.1 (Continued)

The musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first system (measures 23-26) is marked *lento* and includes dynamic markings *pp*, *cres.*, *f*, *p*, and *sf*. The second system (measures 27-30) continues the texture. The third system (measures 31-32) features a first ending bracket. The fourth system (measures 33-36) includes dynamic markings *f*, *p*, and *sf*, and a second ending bracket. The fifth system (measures 37-40) includes dynamic markings *cres.*, *f*, and *p*, and a first ending bracket. The score is written for piano and includes various articulations and phrasing slurs.

The “predictable” is juxtaposed with the “unpredictable.” The unpredictable tends to show itself most in virtuosic passages: to borrow the terms Joseph Kerman uses in his reading of the C-Minor Piano Concerto K. 491, “discourse” is played off against “display.”²¹ Musical example 4.2 shows one short passage, the second “sonata-like” section (mm 56-84). Starting around measure 72, straightforward melodic “discourse” disintegrates into “display,” leading to the temporarily destabilizing cadential fireworks that follow. Two levels of musical fixity are played out against one another. One level is familiar and conventional: the songlike melody and the Alberti bass, elements whose

²¹ Joseph Kerman, “Mozart’s Piano Concertos and their Audience” in *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 322-334, here 324.

presence – as I read them – guarantee a predictable continuation. The other level is that of the virtuoso performer; the roulades and arpeggios that might contain different notes without forcing, in a manner of speaking, K. 475 to stop being K. 475. Conventional musical language functions as a guarantee of exchange; the “sonata-like” works here like a commodity.²² The melody and harmony of the aria with Alberti bass, to put it another way, assure that the musical discourse stays within the bounds of an agreed-upon order. “Display” challenges this order.

It has occasionally been suggested that Mozart was guided in the composition of the C Minor Fantasy by the prescriptions for fantasy writing in the final section of Emmanuel Bach’s *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Klavier zu spielen*.²³ While Mozart’s harmonic sleights of hand – *Gaukeleien* – are certainly reminiscent of the techniques laid out by Bach, as are those in scores of fantasies by other composers, it seems to me that his approach also differs. Bach’s fantasies often feature arioso-like sections, temporary islands of tonal and melodic stability, but these – when compared with the “sonata-like” sections I make out in K. 475 – are often fragmentary, defiantly refusing the order brought by regular phrase-lengths. Bach’s rationality is more ironic, his endings often leave the listener wondering if they are endings at all, or just fermatas. In both of these respects, Mozart’s Fantasy proves different.²⁴

²² Cf. Nicholas Mathew, “Wie Kommerz Klingt.”

²³ See Katalin Komlós, “Fantasie and Sonata K. 475 in Contemporary Context,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1991/2, 816-19. The section in Bach’s *Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu Spielen* (repr. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1992), “Von der freyen Fantasie,” is on pages 325-341.

²⁴ See Richards, *The Free Fantasy*, 52-55, for a reading of Bach’s E-Flat Fantasy H. 277 (from the fourth collection for *Kenner und Liebhaber* of 1783) for that highlight’s Bach’s use of “open-ended” tonal and melodic structures.

The image displays a musical score for W.A. Mozart's *Fantasia in c minor*, K. 475, measures 56-84. The score is written for piano and is in common time (C). The tempo is marked [Allegro]. The key signature is one flat (c minor). The score is divided into four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).
- Measure 56: The tempo is marked [Allegro]. The bass line features a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The treble line has a whole rest.
- Measure 60: The treble line begins with a melodic line. A dynamic marking 'p' (piano) is present. A fermata is placed over the final note of the treble line.
- Measure 64: The treble line features a melodic line with dynamics 'cresc.' (crescendo), 'f' (forte), and 'p' (piano). The bass line continues with the eighth-note accompaniment.
- Measure 68: The treble line continues with a melodic line. The bass line continues with the eighth-note accompaniment.

Musical Example 4.2:

W.A. Mozart: *Fantasia* in c minor K. 475, mm. 56-84

Indeed, Mozart's Fantasy ends with what one observer has called a "symmetrical resolution"²⁵ a reprise of the opening material (mm. 161 and ff.). In this closing section the sonata really does seem to tame the fantasy. Daring shifts of harmonic perspective yield to a (relatively) orderly progression towards a conclusion in the home tonic of C minor.

Utopia Performed?

The play between the extremes of the fantastic and the rational, between *Gaukelei* and *Ordnung*, between *Empfindsamkeit* (appropriate sentiment) and *Schwärmerei* (unchecked, pathological feeling) are both medium and message. Indeed, the "restraint of subjectivity" was a central preoccupation of the late Enlightenment in the German-speaking world.²⁶ One example is the debate that accompanied Goethe's *Leiden des jungen Werther*: as the literary scholar Peter Hohendahl has written, "critics held against Goethe that he destroyed the harmony of society by revealing that the protected position of the individual within the social cosmos was an illusion."²⁷

The Masonic movement stood throughout the eighteenth century for the notion that concern for humanity, motivated by feeling or

²⁵ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 92.

²⁶ Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Der europäische Roman der Empfindsamkeit* (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion), 86.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

sensibility, has a role to play in the world of politics.²⁸ Mozart, a good Mason, does not reject sentiment. Indeed, his fantastic journey to the unstable border between *Empfindsamkeit* and its dangerous extreme, *Schwärmerei*, is his investigation of the relation between the two, a defense of *Empfindsamkeit* against the charges of *Gaukelei* and *Schwärmerei*.²⁹ His work is a plea for the power of the fantastic. Mozart performs *his* Utopia, where the rational and the irrational meet, *but are not fully resolved*.

Indeed, there is a certain “incompleteness” to K. 475. The dialectic of fantasy and “sonata” is not, I would argue, necessarily resolved in favor of “an impression of unity,” as some analysts of this piece like to claim. Such readings fail to account for the fantasy as pure *performance*, whose focus on process challenges the attainment of any resolution. To say that K. 475 is “improvisational” or “fantasy-like” is an understatement: surely the C minor Fantasy is more than its text. And by treating the Fantasy as just another text in the Mozart canon, if a somewhat unusual one, we risk removing the piece from much of its context – most of all its specific historical contexts.³⁰

What for Freemasonry’s critics smacked of *Gaukelei*, the pathological and dangerous, is for Mozart intensified feeling, the *Empfindung* at the heart of enlightened human action. His culturally

²⁸ For Freemasonry’s indebtedness to Shaftesbury, see Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, 154.

²⁹ Mozart’s library included both “moral weeklies” on the British model and works of sentimental literature. See Ulrich Konrad and Martin Staehelin eds, *Allzeit ein Buch: die Bibliothek Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts* (Weinheim: VCH Acta Humaniora, 1991), especially pages 52-55, and *passim*.

³⁰ See for instance Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), 91-93.

sophisticated and politically aware audience could hardly have failed to understand what Mozart was trying to say. Joseph Kerman and Susan McClary, echoing a long-standing trope in Mozart reception, have both argued that Mozart and his audience became progressively alienated from one another in the 1780s. Kerman, in the conclusion to his essay on the C Minor Clavier Concerto K. 491, writes:

Perhaps the Viennese audience tired of Mozart by 1786; that is not impossible. It is also possible that Mozart tired of the Viennese audience. More precisely, he may have grown weary of the consoling myth that he and they had enacted together, in concerto after concerto, year after year. With his C-Minor Concerto, he had put his tacit contract with them at risk; if any of his concert subscribers felt affronted and alienated by this deeply subversive work, we could hardly blame them ... As I imagine it, the whole communal exercise had begun to strike Mozart as hollow, irrelevant to his developing needs as man and artist. It was first Mozart, not his audience, that experienced alienation.³¹

As I read it, K. 475 is hardly a document of alienation. It is not a turning away. It is at least the attempt at a turning towards, at communication. Seven-and-half years earlier, after being kept waiting for hours in the poorly heated salon of the Duchess de Chabot in Paris and then required to play on an inadequate piano, Mozart related to his father:

³¹ Kerman, "Mozart's Piano Concertos and their Audience," 333. See also Susan McClary, "A Musical Dialectic of Enlightenment: Mozart's Piano Concerto in G Major K. 453, Movement 2," *Cultural Critique* 4 (1986), 123-145. For a well-argued response to both see Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos: Dramatic Dialogue in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Boydell Press, 2002), 178-185.

I had to wait another half an hour, until her husband came. He sat down beside me and listened with the greatest attention and I – I forgot the cold and my headache and in spite of the wretched clavier, I played – as I play when I am in good spirits. Give me the best clavier in Europe with an audience who understand nothing, or don't want to understand and who do not feel what I play along with me, and I shall cease to feel any pleasure.³²

Understanding, the will to understand, feeling: these were surely the qualities of Mozart's Masonic audience. His Fantasy is about all three.

Kerman, for one, sees the similar K. 491 as evidence of the opposite, of a breakdown in communication, yet his analysis makes a similar point. In his reading, the “power relation” between soloist and orchestra remains undecided. Indeed, the entire esoteric world of Masonic practice, where men of widely different social standing came together pretending to be equals, is fraught with such concealed power relations. The image of Mozart fantasizing in the lodge draws some of its power from this tension. Masonic practice creates what Terry Eagleton has called “an entirely new kind of human subject,” searching, “like the work of art itself” for “the law in the depths of its own free identity.” Eagleton's appeal to the new autonomy of the artwork is an important one, as we shall see in a moment. But this search for autonomy shares the Masonic space with a different understanding of what art can do. Joseph

³² “...ich musste noch eine halbe stunde warten, bis ihr herr kam. der aber setzte sich zu mir, und hörte mit aller aufmerksamkeit zu, und ich – ich vergaß darüber alle kälte, kopfwehe, und spielte ungeachtet den Elenden clavier so – wie ich spiele wenn ich gut in laune bin. geben sie mir das beste Clavier von Europa, aber leüte zu zuhörer die nichts verstehen, oder die nichts verstehen wollen, und die mit mir nicht Empfinden was ich spiele, so werde ich all freüde verlieren.” W.A. Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* ed. Willhelm A. Bauer und Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962) vol. II, 344. Translation (with slight adjustments) from Anderson, *Mozart Letters*, 531-532.

Haydn was greeted as a new member of the Viennese lodge “Zur wahren Eintracht” with a speech by a certain Joseph von Holzmeister, who claimed that

...the happy purpose of music is emotional and pleasurable. One gathers together all the marvelous instruments of the Art, and one executes the most songful of melodies, and yet, if every instrument, apart from the duties to which it is assigned, does not also heed the effect of the other instruments, at times subduing its own strength to that of the others, the point of the whole will be missed, and instead of moving and delightful music there will be an impossible cacophony of regulated but unpleasant tones.³³

If this witness’s metaphor is to be taken at face value – it does smack slightly of pandering to the imperial party line – then it illustrates exactly the opposing side in this conflict. Two competing forces may hold each other in check, but there is no obvious resolution.

The Collision of Text and Performance

The instability of the fantasy as a genre, its destabilizing suggestion that pure feeling can be transformed spontaneously into music, throws a shadow on any too easy interpretations of K. 475. The Artaria print contains a wealth of small performing details, dynamic shadings and

³³ *Journal für Freimaurer* 22 (1785), 175-81. Quoted in translation in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza: 1776-1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 507. On the orchestra as metaphor for society see Neal Zaslaw and John Spitzer, *The Birth of the Orchestra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), chapter 14.

nuances of tempo not found in the autograph.³⁴ The print is a set of directions for performance, a recipe, if you will, for the *reproduction* of Mozart's flights of fancy "at home" by the keyboard-playing public. The autograph is a snapshot of Mozart's conception of the object "C Minor Fantasy" somewhere on the way from raw improvised performance to finished product. The print *is* the finished product of the compositional process. It could also be a failed attempt to record Mozart's improvisation, or a neutral blueprint for future renditions, but the fact remains that it is for sale. It reveals fully the commodity-status already lurking in *any* fantasy that is written down.³⁵

The contradiction between sonata and fantasy played out in the music is thus duplicated in the relations among the musical text's own sources: on the one hand a "how-to," on the other hand a document that can only suggest the irreproducible freedom of a performance by the composer himself. To be sure, as I have suggested here, the fantasy is

³⁴ The autograph, long thought lost, resurfaced in 1990 and is now in Salzburg at the International Stiftung Mozarteum. For a description of the autograph's reappearance see Eugene K. Wolf, "The Rediscovered Autograph of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C Minor, K. 475/457," *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992), 3-47. This account should be read together with Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle, "Mozart's C Minor Fantasy, K. 475: An Editorial 'Problem' and its Analytical Consequences," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124 (1999), 26-52, whose authors disagree with some of Wolf's findings. The autograph has been published in facsimile: Mozart, *Fantasie in c KV 475*, with a foreword by Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1991). The first edition is available in facsimile as well, edited by Norbert Kalz (Courley: Editions Fuzeu, 1991).

³⁵ Laurenz Lütteken has suggested that a "monument mentality" seeped into Mozart's circle in Vienna via the antiquarian pursuits of his associate Baron Gottfried van Swieten. I see Lütteken's observation as yet another example of how Mozart, the most famous improviser of his day, sits between two discourses, between the "monumental" edition carved in stone on the one hand and the contingency of pure performance on the other. See Lütteken, *Das Monologische als Denkform in der Musik*, 71.

part of the “project of autonomy,” for in the Artaria engraving, Mozart’s subjectivity is frozen and made available to all of us as an “autonomous work.” In performances such as those we have imagined here, however, the fantasy acquires an indeterminacy, a dependence on context, that leaves the static categories of the “autonomous work” far behind.

Carl Dahlhaus, whose writings on the work-concept we encountered in chapter two, wrote extensively on its formation as reflected in German literature of the late 1780s.³⁶ He follows the emergence of the “work with borders” in the writings of Karl Philip Moritz, who on the one hand celebrated *Empfindsamkeit* in novels like *Andreas Hardtknopf*, but on the other hand produced a theory of the autonomous artwork (*Über die bildliche Nachahmung des Schönen*) that predates Kant’s reflections on the autonomy of aesthetic judgment.

Dahlhaus had an agenda.³⁷ As we saw in chapter two, the idea of the autonomous work, “the strong principle of music history,” is an important one to him, and arguments like the ones about Moritz, which imply that the work concept arose from the synthesis of *Empfindsamkeit* and the principles of aesthetic autonomy, give his claims a historical framework. We do not need to reject Dahlhaus’s position entirely, for surely there was such a synthesis at work in the closing years of the eighteenth century. We should, however, question the notion (implied for example by Charles Rosen, who argues that the C Minor Fantasy is a “closed” form) that K. 475 is itself a document of this synthesis.

³⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Klassische und romantische Musikästhetik* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), 14-54.

³⁷ Cf. James Hepokoski, “The Dahlhaus Project and Its Extra-Musicological Sources,” *Nineteenth Century Music* 14/3 (1991), 221-46.

In 1790 a certain Joseph Frank appeared for a piano lesson with Mozart. He played the C Minor Fantasy. His report: “ ‘Not bad,’ said Mozart, to my great surprise, ‘now *I’ll* play it for *you*.’ What a miracle! Under Mozart’s fingers that piano became a completely different instrument.”³⁸ Above all, what Dr. Frank heard was process, not product. I find it hard to believe that Mozart would have played the fantasy as it stood in the Artaria print, the source from which his student most likely played it. Now I’d like to follow this engraving to its appearance in a different context.

The Fantasy in the Novel

Our second performance takes place in the medieval *Residenz* of a music-loving prince in the *Rheingau*, the winemaking district across the Rhine from the city of Mainz. Here the Fantasy’s fictional audience plays the same critical role in the construction of the Fantasy’s meaning. But it is a different audience. Indeed, it is the more familiar audience for solo-keyboard music in the late eighteenth century; it is the audience in the private home. That this public was often predominantly female – in opposition to the male participants in Masonic ritual – may have much to

³⁸ “Aus den ungedruckten Denkwürdigkeiten der Aertze Peter und Joseph Frank” in *Deutsches Museum* (1852), 28 ff. Cited in Deutsch, 476. This report is cited because of Frank’s later description of the instrument, which has a pedal register, that Mozart plays. While the instrument could certainly have been “completely different,” organologically-minded readers often miss Frank’s suggestion that Mozart – “under his fingers” – performed the piece in an unexpected way.

do with the different way in which the Fantasy figures in this context. The Fantasy, as I will claim, has another role to play in the “public privacy” of the home (as compared to the “private publicness” of the lodge). In the lodge, the improvisational and destabilizing qualities of fantasy can be read as threatening glosses on a rationalized political and social order. In the special context we are about to consider, however, the Fantasy does just the opposite. Its unnaturalness, its “constructed” quality makes it seem, paradoxically, to be rational.

The performance takes place in a work of fiction, but the appearance of K. 475, even its actual physical presence, is a real one. The 1785 publication of the fantasy and sonata in Vienna was followed by its release in pirated editions in Mannheim and Berlin. So it is not difficult to imagine how a copy might have found its way to the novelist, translator, art critic, and musical aesthete Wilhelm Heinse (1746-1803), court librarian to the Archbishop of Mainz, who then wrote a performance of the fantasy into his novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, composed in 1795 and 1796.³⁹ Heinse, whose posthumous reputation lags behind that of his contemporaries Goethe and Schiller, was nonetheless an important figure in German letters in his time. He was, indeed, one of the most controversial.⁴⁰

³⁹ Wilhelm Heinse, *Hildegard von Hohenthal und Musikalische Dialogen* ed. Werner Keil with Bettina Petersen (Hildesheim: Olms-Verlag, 2002). Further information about the novel’s inception, probable date, and the likely location and time of the action will be found in the introduction (pp. 463-66) to this volume’s rich commentary on the main text, which will be cited here as “*Hildegard* Commentary.” That the novel seems to take place around 1780, five years before the Fantasy’s composition and publication, should not irritate us.

⁴⁰ For a critical selection of a growing Heinse literature see Max L. Baeumer, “Zur neuen Heinse-Forschung” in *Das Maß des Bacchanten. Wilhelm Heineses Über-Lebenskunst*, ed. Gert Theile (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1998), 13-24.

He grew up a member of the financially strapped rural protestant intelligentsia (his father was a village organist in Thuringia), a typical biography for the early and mid-eighteenth century; Herder and Winckelmann came from similar circumstances. Heinse's early education, at the *Gymnasia* of Arnstadt and Schleusingen, was traditional and pious; this makes his earliest poetry, which seems more to have been influenced by the radical materialism of the mid-century French Enlightenment, stand out all the more. In place of brooding metaphysics or Rococo complexity Heinse's poems are colored most by personal and direct experience of the natural world.⁴¹

University studies in law soon gave way to the study of literature, and, importantly, of painting and sculpture. The latter would draw him, as it did so many of his contemporaries, inexorably towards Italy. At first, financial realities stood in the way of this project, and the young Heinse was obligated to seek financial resources through patronage and, with more difficulty, freelance writing. Heinse's literary debut was a translation of Petronius's erotic Nero-novel *Satyrikon*, which drew on his considerable skills as a linguist and translator.⁴² It was at once his first

Baeumer's work has long played a leading role in Heinse studies, see his *Heinse-Studien: Mit einer unveröffentlichten Schrift Heinses zur Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst in Mainz* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzger-Verlag, 1966). Specific studies of Heinse's musical writings include Werner Keil, "Heinses Beitrag zur romantischen Musikästhetik" in *Das Maß des Bacchanten*, ed. Theile, 139-58 and Rita Terras, "Wilhelm Heinses Musikalische Dialogen," *Goethe Yearbook: Publications of the Goethe Society of North America* 6 (1992), 181-92.

⁴¹ For more on Heinse's youth see Manfred Dick, *Der junge Heinse* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1980), especially 17-31.

⁴² Wilhelm Heinse, *Begebenheiten des Enklop, aus dem Satyricon des Petron übersetzt* (Rome (=Schwabach), n.p.: 1773).

important publication, proof of his literary sensibility, and the origin of his reputation as an author of questionable morals.

Wilhelm Heinse in Italy

In 1780, after a time spent as a freelance art critic in Düsseldorf, Heinse finally realized his long-postponed dream of a journey to Italy with the financial support of his patron, the poet Christoph Martin Wieland. Most scholars focus on Heinse's first-hand experience during this journey of painting and sculpture first hand, which complemented his work in Düsseldorf, and led to a major novel.⁴³ For our purposes, however, it is Heinse's encounter with Italian opera in Venice that is more important. It marked for the author the opening of a brand new musical world. Heinse, the son of an organist, was musically knowledgeable, but had not previously made much of an acquaintance with Italian opera and sacred music. In Venice he spent the winter of 1780-1781 getting to know both in person, an experience that was to have far-reaching consequences for his views on art. Here he immersed himself in the entire range of the mid-century Italian *dramma per musica*, and began a love affair with older Italian church music, which he could hear throughout the city in churches and *ospedali*. That his erotic imagination might have been stimulated – as were the imaginations of so many travelers to Venice

⁴³ On the development of Heinse's aesthetics of painting and sculpture see Max L. Baeumer, *Winckelmann und Wilhelm Heinse: Die Sturm-und-Drang-Anschauung von den bildenden Künsten* (Stendal: Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, 1997).

– by the mysterious, veiled female performers at the latter should come as no surprise.⁴⁴

Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln,⁴⁵ the book that Heinse wrote upon his return from Italy, marks the maturity of his aesthetic perspective. Set in the sixteenth century, it is the story of a melancholy artist, scholar, musician, poet, philosopher, and military man who is forced by a family feud to leave his native city Rome. For much of the novel *Ardinghello* is in flight, accompanied by a changing cast of interlocutors with whom he discusses practically every aspect of the aesthetics of painting and sculpture (and with whom he celebrates wild parties, some ending in graphic sexual scenes), before he ends up leaving Italy to found a utopian island republic in the Aegean.

The aesthetic position Heinse works out in his first novel stands in contrast to much of German thinking about art in the later eighteenth century, particularly that of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Heinse rejects abstraction and artifice and embraces nature and nature's expression as art's highest purposes. Winckelmann and later Lessing stressed sculpture's separation from nature through the sculptor's artifice, its static quality, which Winckelmann famously called

⁴⁴ For other such reports, see Dennis Stevens, "Musicians in 18th-Century Venice," *Early Music* 20/3 (1992), 402-408. For a thorough introduction to what Heinse might have heard see Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁴⁵ Wilhelm Heinse, *Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln: Eine Italiänische Geschichte aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert* (Lemgo: Meyer, 1786).

the expression of “noble simplicity and quiet greatness.”⁴⁶ Heinse looks at the same sculptures and sees expressive bodies in action.

Hildegard von Hohenthal: Writing Musical Multimedia

His next project was a novel about music. In preparation he collected scores of Italian operas and church music, and began an extensive review of the musical-aesthetic literature, which he set down in the form of notes and diary entries from 1791 to 1793.⁴⁷ His intention, documented in these entries and in numerous letters, was to produce a musical novel that could be read to greatest effect with scores and a keyboard instrument at hand.⁴⁸ If we keep in mind that Heinse’s literary public was as likely as not to have read the book aloud, we can begin to see what Heinse had in mind: a kind of (to use our terminology) multimedia performance.⁴⁹

Hildegard von Hohenthal, however, appeared alone, and it is the lack of the supplementary musical material that makes it the odd bird that it is. The novel begins conventionally enough, if a bit naughtily, with the

⁴⁶ For Heinse’s views of Winckelmann, see Bauemer, *Winckelmann und Wilhelm Heinse*, in which the author discusses in detail Heinse’s own notes on Winckelmann’s writings.

⁴⁷ Many of these are reproduced in the 2002 edition of *Hildegard von Hohenthal*.

⁴⁸ Even as Heinse was forced to flee Mainz in 1797 before advancing French troops he took steps to save the manuscript copies of Italian music he had made for this purpose. For unknown reasons, however, nothing ever came of the plan; the copies were lost. See *Hildegard* Commentary, 464.

⁴⁹ See Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

novel's Kapellmeister-hero, Lockmann, gazing through a telescope out of his bedroom window at his new employer's fashionable English garden. The young Hildegard von Hohenthal, who was staying at the *Schloß* as a guest of Lockmann's patron, steps – unclothed – into his field of vision on her way to bathe. Now all of this would seem to promise a somewhat voyeuristic bourgeois-Kapellmeister-meets-noble-and-musical-maiden-etc.-etc. story, which the novel certainly *also* is, were it not for Heinse's belief that the human singing voice – given talent and the right circumstances – was the aural equivalent of the perfect (erotic) human figure, a theme he had worked out in *Ardinghello*.

The naked Hildegard's walk through the quintessentially “natural” English garden, then, signals Heinse's wider aesthetic agenda.⁵⁰ Indeed, Hildegard von Hohenthal is both a musical tract and a female *Bildungsroman*. And it is the power of “natural music,” most of all the operas of composers like Alessandro Scarlatti, Vinci, Leo, Hasse, Jommelli, Traetta, and Gluck; church music by Palestrina and Pergolesi; performances by singers like Guadagni, Cassarelli, Aguajari, and the young Gabrielli, imitated by violinists like Tartini and Pugnani, all communicated to Hildegard by Lockmann in the course of the novel, that allow her to find the power of her own voice and use it for the fullest development of her personality (and to escape Lockmann).⁵¹

⁵⁰ As we saw above, Annette Richards has argued that the English garden and the free fantasy were closely related concepts. See Richards, *The Free Fantasy*, 1-33 and *passim*.

⁵¹ A adequate exposition of the plot of the novel is impossible here. Some highlights: Hildegard's escape to Italy disguised as a castrato, her great success there on the operatic stage, an English lord who sees through the disguise, their courtship, Lockmann's arrival – too late! – on the day of their marriage in Naples.

The Tuning Lesson

Lockmann's voyeurism in the opening scene leads not to an erotic encounter, but to an extended discussion of piano tuning. Having convinced Hildegard to join as a vocal soloist in a performance under his direction (of Allegri's *Miserere* and excerpts from Handel's *Messiah*), Lockmann is invited to join the von Hohenthals for a meal. After dessert the conversation turns to pianos and instrumental music. Before long, Hildegard and her friend Frau von Lupfen have led Lockmann to the family piano, an English model with pedals.⁵² Lockmann sits down at the keyboard, begins to play, and notes to his displeasure that it is tuned in equal temperament.

The following thirty pages are devoted to a wide-ranging discussion (one gets the impression that the reading audience was meant to have the appropriate tools for tuning at hand) of the merits and drawbacks of just about every tuning system available to keyboard players in late eighteenth-century Europe. Lockmann's point, which he makes while re-tuning the piano, is that even temperament, while suited to some of "today's modern music, with its constant modulations," is a compromise, and in the final analysis unnatural.⁵³ Equal temperament sacrifices both the individual qualities of intervals and the colors of keys: "if it were possible to tune every chord according to the [characters of the various

⁵² Probably a Broadwood. See *Hildegard-Commentary*, 483.

⁵³ According to Keil, the tuning system Lockmann uses seems to be Heinese's own. See *Ibid.*, 488.

keys] then that would be the best temperament for expression, without a doubt.”⁵⁴

He summarizes his position regarding the tuning of keyboard instruments this way:

Our piano should serve as a compass on the wide expanses of music’s ocean. Every string has its own correct character, and is in itself more whole and complete than the ancients ever knew; each can sail through any storm without losing its way. But pure nature rules, with simple intervals and keys, over all of artifice. Gabrielli, Pacchiarotti, Tartini, and Pugnani were able to bring out their consonances and dissonances as purely as possible and in the most expressive manner, without having to yield to the requirements of the twelve tones of the octave.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ “Wenn man die verschiedenen Accorde nach dem vorhin beschriebenen Charakteren stimmen könnte: so wäre diese Temperatur ohne Zweifel die beste für den Ausdruck.” Heinse, *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, 46. The classic treatment in English of history of key characteristics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Second Edition* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002). Her treatment of this scene in *Hildegard von Hohenthal* is on pp. 106-108.

⁵⁵ “Unser Klavier sollte hauptsächlich gleichsam zum Kompaß auf dem weiten Ozean der Musik dienen. Wir finden darin jede Seite ihrer Sphäre in höchster Richtigkeit, so vollkommen, wie die Alten sie nicht kannten; und können sie die Kreuz und die Quere, wie das geschmeidige Element, nach Belieben, ohne zu irren, umschiffen. Aber bei einzelnen Intervallen und Melodien aus wenig Grundtönen kann gar wohl die reine Natur über die gesamte Kunst herrschen. Gabrielli, Pacchiarotti, Tartini, und Pugnani können ihre Konzonanzen und Dissonanzen so rein wie möglich und in den ausdrucksvollsten Verhältnissen hervorbringen, ohne so nach dem Bedürfnisse der zwölf Töne in eine Oktave zu modeln. Dieses tun sie auch zum Entzücken; und es bleibt wahr, das Höchste der Kunst besteht im lebendigen Vortrag und in der Aufführung.” On music as a “wide ocean,” a metaphor Heinse shares with the Augsburg theorist Joseph Riepel, see Oliver Wiener, “‘Ein ganzes Duzend Manuductionen’: Joseph Riepels Desintegration der Gradus ad Parnassum von Johann Joseph Fux,” *Jahresgabe der Johann-Joseph-Fux-Gesellschaft* 26 (2003), 1-26, here 12-17.

In a Platonic turn of phrase, Lockmann associates the uneven temperaments with a system that is always in motion:

The fifths of nature are like the months of the sun, which, every year, moves somewhat further than the twelve signs of the Zodiac; the fifth, after it has progressed through the twelve keys, moves exactly the same way, somewhat further. It is the nature of life never to cease moving. The goal is always the infinite.⁵⁶

Hildegard, as she will often in the novel, makes an attempt to argue the opposing position, giving their conversation the flavor of a classic pedagogic dialogue. How is it, she asks, that keyboard instruments tuned in older temperaments sound often out of tune, especially with members of the violin family tuned in perfect fifths; wouldn't it be better to sacrifice the nuances of interval quality and key character (inaudible to most) in favor of the "lesser evil" of a "kingdom of tones" whose members were equals? Isn't equal temperament an aspect of musical progress to be embraced?

Lockmann concedes the first point, but in response to the second two he claims that Hildegard, perhaps without having noticed, had sung in anything but equal temperament at their rehearsal that morning. Frau von Lupfen, as if on cue, then asks Hildegard to sing a series of scales and intervals in various keys. And lo and behold, or so Lockmann claims, Hildegard sings spontaneously with as much nuance of intonation as it

⁵⁶ "Die Quinten der Natur gleichen den Monaten der Sonne, sie läuft in einem Jahr immer etwas weiter, als die zwölf Gestirne des Tierkreises; so rückt auch gerade die Quinte, wenn sie die zwölf Töne durchgangen ist, etwas weiter. Es liegt eben in Wesen des Lebens nirgendwo stehen zu bleiben. Es geht immer nach dem Unendlichen." Heine, *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, 41.

would be possible to achieve with a monochord; that is, with practically infinite nuance.

This episode does more than just illustrate Heinse's aesthetic mistrust of equal temperament. It illustrates his conviction that hearing is the most acute human sense; for him, the slight compromises required by redistributing the Pythagorean comma must be detected by the well-trained (in German one would say *gebildet*) ear. Indeed, following the lead of his friend and colleague in Mainz, the well-known anatomist Samuel Thomas Soemmering, Heinse believed that the place in the human brain where the auditory nerves come together was the location of what Soemmering called the "sensorium commune." It is impossible here to follow this suggestive thesis in detail.⁵⁷ What is most important for my reading, however, is that the natural qualities of non-equal-tempered tunings are, in Heinse's view, hard-wired facts of human cognition. It is no coincidence that the title page of *Hildegard von Hohenthal* features Soemmering's drawing of the ideal – as its caption claims, female! – ear (figure 4.1).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Soemmering corresponded extensively with Kant on this subject, and Kant even wrote a quite critical afterword to Soemmering's book on the subject, *Ueber das Organ der Seele* (Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1796). For more on Soemmering and Heinse's collaboration see Manfred Dick, "Der Literat und der Naturforscher. Wilhelm Heinse und Samuel Thomas Soemmering" in *Das Maß des Bacchanten*, ed. Theile, 185-212.

⁵⁸ The frontispiece is described as depicting a "vollkommen gut gebildetes weibliches Ohr." Heinse, *Hildegard*, 117.

Hildegard von Hohenthal.

Erster Theil.



Berlin,
in der Vossischen Buchhandlung.
1795.

Figure 4.1: Heinse: *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, frontispiece

The lengthy digression on tuning finally comes to an end. Lockmann asks Frau von Lupfen, an excellent pianist who has tellingly lost her singing voice in childbirth, to play:

Frau von Lupfen resisted and refused to play at first, but music was brought out. She chose something; presently Lockmann tuned the piano back into an even temperament. And after a few pleasant modulations she played a masterful Fantasy by Mozart so well, with so much expression and command of all of the qualities of the fortepiano, its softest delicacy and most extreme volume, that Lockmann applauded her over and over again.⁵⁹

Performing and Interpreting Fantasy

The appearance of the Fantasy in the novel is an early document of K. 475's reception.⁶⁰ We should remember that Heinse's ideal reader has the score of the fantasy in front of her, in this case most likely the Artaria first edition or an engraving derived from it. Let us first consider this

⁵⁹ "Frau von Lupfen sträubte und weigerte sich; aber man suchte Musik. Sie wählte aus; inzwischen stimmte Lockmann in kurzer Frist das Klavier wieder in die gleichschwebende Temperatur. Und nach einigen angenehmen Modulationen spielte sie eine meisterhafte Phantasie von Mozart so fertig, mit so viel Ausdruck und Gewalt über alle Eigenschaften des Fortepiano, dessen leiseste Zartheit und allerhöchste Stärke, daß Lockmann einmal über das andre ihr Beyfall zurief." Heinse, *Hildegard von Hohenthal*, 54.

⁶⁰ The only earlier documents of which I am aware are those having directly to do with Mozart: the performance in Leipzig in 1788 and the lesson with Dr. Frank in 1790.

object's status as a "work."⁶¹ In the novel, the fantasy is a work and not a work.⁶² In the physical sense it most emphatically is one, for it is performed by Frau von Lupfen from Mozart's notation, Mozart is identified as its author, both she and the composer are praised for it, and the ideal reader has a copy of the musical text in front of her. But it is also not a work, in the sense that strict twentieth-century critics have used the word.

The fantasy is a "musical object" that gives Frau von Lupfen something to perform; what she performs seems to be more than what is on the page.⁶³ Frau von Lupfen, and I think this is important, does not approach the fantasy solely as a set of instructions to be realized (although in a way this is implied in the composition of fantasy). Indeed, her performance seems to go beyond even the finely nuanced dynamic indications on the page of the Artaria engraving). This "work is that is not a work" is consistent with Heinse's view of artistic creations, including musical composition and performance, as individual embodiments of specific times and places. Were they not to be, they would be "unnatural." The musical works Heinse elucidates in *Hildegard von Hohenthal* are not abstract instantiations of genre. And because they are not abstractions, each work requires specific conditions to be realized, specific constellations of performance, specific ecologies. In the critical language of the eighteenth century one would say that they are "historical."

⁶¹ See chapter two above.

⁶² Heinse uses the word "Werk" throughout the novel to refer to both musical texts and their performances.

⁶³ See Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and chapter two above.

Yet dissemination of the work in the literary and musical public spheres, and this is a critical point, propels the work into a potentially infinite number of such ecologies. It is a contradiction Heinse cannot quite solve. He *can* provide the readers of his novel with the musical scores – the works as monuments – to go with his texts. He *can* assume that they can read music, sing, and have access to a keyboard instrument. He *cannot*, however, conjure up from his pantheon the performers who were intrinsic to his works’ creation. It is a contradiction, I submit, that we cannot solve either.

Two Utopias

As a conclusion to this chapter, I would like to take a closer look at Heinse’s interpretation of the Fantasy, the manner in which he reads it. In Heinse’s “multi-media” conception of the novel, in the sense that it was to be read aloud, keyboard instrument and score at hand, the discussion of tuning systems is a prelude to the performance of the Fantasy itself by the book’s reader. It seems to me that the attentive reader, confronted with the Fantasy after reading Heinse’s digression on the artificialities of modern music and the tuning they make necessary, would not fail to come to the conclusion that the fantasy, with its constant juxtaposition of modulating display and sonata-like discourse, is a mixture between “natural” and “artificial” music.

In this reading the relation between the “galant,” sonata-like, discursive sections and the fantastic, improvisational, and performative

sections in K. 475 I worked out in the first part of this chapter is reversed. The sections of the Fantasy that would make sense in Heinse's preferred tuning are the sonata-like ones, which remain in one key, modulate only according to conventional schemes, and preserve distinct tonal characters. It is the sections of fantasy and display that require rationalized, "artificial" tuning; indeed, it is because of these sections that Lockmann feels constrained to return the instrument to even temperament

The previous opposition between discourse and display, between rationalism and sensibility, needs to be rethought. In Heinse's "performance" this opposition functions differently. Here the sonata, with its operatic tone and its invocation of the human voice through "sung" melody, is marked as natural, while the wildness of the fantasy is exposed as artificial, just as the "naturalness" of the English landscape garden is (at least partly) an illusion. The sonata is an essentially communicative medium. The piano fantasy is a genre of interior monologue; it evokes a cult of solitude, the mysteries of melancholy, and the breakdown of rational discourse.

Earlier on I made the claim that we can read the fantasy in the light of the dualism between the uncontrollable aesthetic qualities of Masonic ritual and Joseph II's utilitarian rationality. Although my two readings seem to contradict each other, I see no need to revise my earlier claim, for the lodge and the drawing room are two separate spheres, with different rules and contexts. Mozart's Fantasy runs through both. Seeing and hearing the fantasy through Heinse's eyes and ears, we can see how what plays out as rational in the Masonic context can also figure, perhaps even more subversively, as sensuous in the von Hohenthal's drawing room, and

what was *Gaukelei* for the rationalist Joseph II becomes calculated and rational for the *Sturm und Drang* eroticist Heinse. Heinse's different reception of the Fantasy shows what unlimited potential lies in it, and demands that our descriptions of it, and indeed of its age, avoid easy oppositions.

In a (supposedly) protected inner space, set apart from broader society by secrecy and ritual, the Freemasons dreamed the utopia of freedom, brotherhood, progress, and the reconciliation of the individual with society, and performed it with (among many others) Mozart's music. In the Arcadian fantasy of Heinse's imagination a few years later, Frau von Lupfen performs Mozart for ideal listeners. Mozart's music does not live up to their ideals. Their utopia, the triumph of nature through pure performance, is a different one, but a utopia just the same.