

Music as *empfindsam* reflection moment in eighteenth-century

German Melodrama.¹

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The gradual emergence, within the psychologising trend of the German Enlightenment, of a new dramaturgical concept of inward action, and the understanding of music's capacity to reflect adequately and to mirror in truth the 'stirrings of the soul', were two basic factors in the creation of a new, conspicuous, yet now almost forgotten genre in the later eighteenth century: Melodrama. In this article I shall explore one particular facet of eighteenth-century German Melodrama—the 'problem' of the musical moment therein, in the light of the two points mentioned above—and indicate how I arrive at my interpretation of the instrumental 'insert' in the text from the *empfindsam* perspective. This is only one of various simultaneously valid exegeses, befitting the late eighteenth-century multiplicity of aesthetic tendencies.

For a good understanding of the correlations, I shall outline the main parameters that determine our field and propose working definitions for the three fundamental terms: eighteenth-century German Melodrama, *Empfindsamkeit* and reflection.

Eighteenth-century Melodrama is a generally accepted collective term for a genre also known as monodrama, duo-drama, lyrical drama, or by more than twenty other contemporary labels.² It is that theatrical strain in which segments of often sententious text, emphatically declaimed by one or a small number of actors, are alternated with concise statements of instrumental music under continuous and conspicuous acting and pantomiming, or 'silent acting'. Occasionally composers would densify the distribution of text and music and intensify dramatic effect by overlapping text and music. The locus which informs us of the emotional impact this technique could incite is Mozart's letter to his 'Très cher Père!' on 12 November 1778: 'occasionally, declamation goes together with the music, which then creates the most delightful effect'.³

A specific feature of the content of Melodrama is that its dramatic themes were mostly the familiar mythological ones, allowing all the attention to be centred on emotional dynamics: Melodrama 'usually conceals the story, and only the feelings generated in the personae in the course of the play are expressed'.⁴ Heinrich Christoph Koch, summarising the *raison d'être* of Melodrama in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1802, a conventional and therefore reliable text for the period in

question, emphasised its *empfindsam* condition by saying that it should, 'as a lyrical artwork, present a feeling in the object';⁵ he also asserted that the 'indeterminate forms' of instrumental interpolations were meant to 'reinforce the feelings expressed in the declamation'.⁶

The new genre was a largely German affair after Jean-Jacques Rousseau's blueprint *Pygmalion*, composed in 1762 with most of the music by Coignet. This work had little success when first performed in Lyon in 1770. It is quite amusing to read how the continuing lack of positive response from the French was seized upon in Germany and used as one reason for claiming a German patent on the genre as a whole, an act which was regarded at the time as an expression of due patriotism.

Pygmalion was premiered with a German text and new musical interjections by Franz Aspelmayr in Vienna in February 1772. Other German performances were given in the same year in Weimar on 13 May, and in Graz and Prague. Johann Christian Brandes, one of the actors of Seyler's troupe in the Weimar production, judged the formula a perfect challenge to the specific acting capacities of his wife Charlotte. Probably with encouragement from Seyler, Brandes designed a dramatised version of Gerstenberg's cantata *Ariadne auf Naxos* which, with music by Georg Benda, was performed in Gotha on 27 January 1775. Benda's *Medea*, with text by Gotter, appeared in the same year. These two works became the unsurpassed models of a genre that saw its brief and prolific flowering in the period 1775–90.

There are over thirty scores extant, and the most successful include Meissner and Neefe's *Sophonisbe* (first performed Leipzig, 1776), Von Götze and Peter von Winter's *Lenardo und Blandine* (first performed Munich, 1779), and von Kempelen and Anton Zimmermann's *Andromeda und Perseus* (first performed Vienna, 1781). Among other composers who tried their hand at the new genre with various degrees of success were Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, Franz Danzi, Christian Cannabich and Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler, while Mozart applied the technique eclectically.

Empfindsamkeit [English: sensibility; French: *sensibilité*] is the German species of a wider European tendency which was in some respects concurrent with, in others countercurrent to, the broad stream of the

German Enlightenment [*Aufklärung*] during most of the eighteenth century. This tendency was clearly distinguished within and inscribed into the history of mentalities by contemporary analysts as the appreciation of a raised perceptive capacity and a penchant for gentle sensations ranging from the agreeable to the sweetly sorrowful, painful and melancholy. It also entailed the cultivation of a certain velleity for sharing such discerning delights with few other similarly tuned individuals in sympathetic resonance, and a state of heart which was often manifested in projecting with benevolent inclination feelings of pity onto a suitable subject in order to intensify one's own emotive experience.

Concerning the nexus between *Empfindsamkeit* and Melodrama, which motivates the thoughts developed below, I see *Empfindsamkeit* as a dynamic tendency in the peristalsis of interacting complex mentalities of the eighteenth century. Yet it is one that shows a number of consistent factors which enable us to distinguish *Empfindsamkeit* as a homogeneous phenomenon between and among the late Baroque, the Rococo, the Sturm und Drang, and classicising and early romantic orientations, over the period of approximately 1730–90. The dynamic determinant is found in changing affinities from within, and in the degree to which the *Empfindsamkeit* was affected by converging and diverging ideas, ideals, beliefs and attitudes emanating from these simultaneous movements and, naturally, from changing conditions in the whole spectrum of life.

The third concept requiring definition is reflection. In connection with *Empfindsamkeit*, this is a concept which reached topical proportions in the context of the later eighteenth-century commitment to psychology known as *Erfahrungsseelenkunde*. It must however be defined as something more than mellow, pseudo-empirical meditating upon the stirrings of the soul. This 'study of the experiences of the soul' was undeniably connected with the long-standing religious practice, especially in devout circles, of self-soul-searching. The deeply engraved routine of piously motivated examination of one's conscience was carried out via a thoroughly rehearsed verbal-conceptual apparatus which, in its increasingly secularised and aestheticised form, still revealed its origins in many literary works affected by the *empfindsam* climate of the later eighteenth century. Reflection as a specifically *empfindsam* attitude meant reflection upon feeling by a feeling consciousness with the intention of deepening and broadening the emotive experience. For the purpose of this essay, it could not be defined better than by a late-*empfindsam* quotation from Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder:

The human heart learns to know itself in the mirror of the tones; it is through the tones that we learn to feel our feeling; they impart a lively awareness to the many spirits that are dreaming in hidden corners of the soul and enrich our inner self with whole new enchanting spirits of feeling.⁷

In view of the relationship between *Empfindsamkeit* and Melodrama, an essential aspect of the overall significance of reflection is that it provided the mechanism which balanced the increase in emotionality with built-in formal impediment, entirely in accordance with the primary *empfindsam* model of affect management, the irregular 'arouse and quell' model. What I refer to here is that, in my opinion, the *empfindsam* scale of emotional utterance expanded—this in spite of its fundamental inclination toward moderation and dampening of the affects—under pressure from both the Sturm und Drang ('Urge and Surge'⁸) movement and Enlightenment criticism regarding the integrity and validity of the *empfindsam* habitus. Reflection as a regulating factor, with a braking effect that causes a new impulse, functions then as a true feed-back action.

My interpretation of Melodrama as genre which formalises the *empfindsam* need for the type and quality of reflection nurtured by Wackenroder can be actualised by making some further considerations. The transformation of concepts of dramatic action in the direction of greater, illusionarily unpremeditated, psychagogic disclosure is most notable from mid-century onward. This was the key not only to the formation and acceptance of emotion-propelled plot, but also to a dramaturgy in which emotions as such formed the main constituent. Potentialisation of the psychagogic profile for dramatic action was immediately connected with the *empfindsam* problem of how to express and convey most effectively what was truly felt, and especially how it was felt. The emergence of Melodrama also fitted in with a general tendency towards greater verisimilitude on the stage, which must be understood as a desire to express genuineness in a less polished, but more trust-inspiring and involving form; this is not to be associated with the later naturalistic movement.

In this process of widening the scope of dramatic action, the significance of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing for German dramaturgy in the second half of the eighteenth century can hardly be overstated. Lessing's thoughts illustrate the move from the traditional understanding of action as an often not even interrelated sequence of external events towards a notion of dramatic action structured as, so to speak, a psychological mycelium, as 'inward action', coming to the surface in the form of subjectified affects.

This coincided with a very gradual shift of emphasis from an aesthetic of rhetoric-reinforced mimesis of affect to an expression principle which fostered 'spontaneous' feeling within a frame which allowed personal improvement—or perfectibility—by the mechanics of sympathy, pity, fear and other gradually starker or more sentimentalised sensations, on the basis of a 'moral sense' which was assumed to be universal.⁹

In one exemplary instance dating from the late 1750s, Lessing had articulated a concept of internalised dramatic action which was to exert much influence, and not just because it was delivered with polemic irony against those critics who realised action at a mere level of pictorially unravelling trivial incidence: 'It has never occurred to them that every inner struggle of the passions, every sequence of different thoughts in which one overturns the previous one, is action'.¹⁰ One of Lessing's disciples, Johann Jakob Engel, universalised the idea of *Bühne* [stage] and assigned it wholly to the human mind: 'The real stage of all action is the thinking and sensing soul'.¹¹ The increasing interest in inward action occurred in parallel with the *empfindsam* inclination to inwardness which, in the earlier stages of *Empfindsamkeit*, revealed itself in subtle signs of subcutaneous stirrings. Fascination with what Lessing called 'inward struggle of the passions' was the soulmark of the *empfindsam* flock.

In many contemporary expository and critical comments on Melodrama we find in some form the explicit remark that it is not incidence but emotion that constitutes its true substance. This means that the dramatic event serves only as an inducement which is potentialised in passionate display, with the result that the dramatic core is abundantly lyricised; hence the term lyrical drama as one of the many alternative labels for Melodrama. Koch's informant is succinct: 'Melodrama does not paint events, but event is only the medium which assists the poet to project the affects themselves'.¹² Since this opinion is expressed with an antiquated reference to affect projection, it is fortunate that the same source is more trenchant when, after having referred by way of example to the despair of Ariadne in Benda's work of the same name, it comments that '[t]he event itself and its rendition is here only an accompaniment, as it were, whose function is to bring the main point forward more strongly'.¹³

The view of 'event' as 'accompaniment' to emotions illustrates convincingly that the new dramaturgical stance regarding 'real' content in theatrical action found its most pure and radical application in Melodrama. That music could serve as the bearer of action, in the sense Lessing had proposed for serious drama, was a totally convincing proposition in the final quarter of

the century: music could adequately replace verbal text and make every intention perfectly, though confusedly perfect, clear.

When scrutinising contemporary critical commentary regarding the role of music in Melodrama, we can distinguish several positions which are not mutually exclusive, since diverse positions were in reality fluctuating and latently connected with different aesthetic orientations which, I maintain, were all still valid in Melodrama's flowering period.

One view was that music functioned as a pause or resting point, both for the actor—'to give him air'—and for the audience. Another perception was that music could express the same affect as both the text and the actor in gesture and mime; music could also reinforce and prolong the effect; music carried the inward action through to the next text fragment and prepared for the next affect; and music is believed capable of carrying the inward action further through to the next text fragment, much in the same vein as does the actor in silent acting. Music took a fair degree of initiative and was believed to interact as an equal partner with declamation, gesture and mime. Music was heard as the psychagogic morpheme of the soul of the persona.

A final position, by which music assumed the highest degree of autonomy, was when the Melodrama text was intended as a closer 'definition' of the music in that it provided a nearer determination of the direction of its emotive charge.

From this diversity of precepts and perceptions, the last point especially, we learn that Melodrama was the ideal genre to demonstrate the potential of inward action throughout. The following example may illuminate this conviction regarding the potential of music in relation to the actual creation of a Melodrama. Johann Gottfried Herder took the interesting initiative, when writing his Melodrama *Brutus* (1774), of approaching the question of priority between poetry and music with the attitude—as he wrote to Gluck on 5 November 1774—of conceding the leadership of music, since the poet only 'pre-designed, sketched, as it were strew words in between, and would thus determine the otherwise undetermined feelings of the music'.¹⁴ The text was intended to be 'what the title is to a painting or a sculpture: an explanation, a guide for the stream of music, by means of words scattered in between'.¹⁵ Herder's terminology should not be understood from the perspective of nineteenth-century programme music, however associative the words 'explanation' and 'guide' may seem.

The 'indeterminate feelings' of music is a standard expression which does not diminish music's competence to 'act'. For our line of thought here, it is signifi-

cant that Herder, in his effort to make clear his intentions regarding music's function, used the terms 'speak' and 'act' most pointedly: 'The words should only enliven the emotive body of music, and this [music] must speak, act, arouse, speak forth, following only the spirit and the outline of the poet'.¹⁶ While the moving and speaking property of music was a long established matter, the aspect of music as action was conspicuously more recent and highly relevant for the era of Melodrama.

We encounter in Herder's letter one of the many instances, particularly in *empfindsam*-tinged writing, where reasoning seems to aspire to concision and perspicuity in form, while the real content is rather enthusiastically diverse, divergent and diffusive. Herder leaves no doubt that everything this drama [= the text] is only a comment upon, is [residing] in musical hieroglyphs.¹⁷

It is not in any way detrimental to the significance of Herder's initiative that the transparently diplomatic lure of his letter, obviously meant to entice Gluck into a project that should sound attractive to a composer, did not work. The point of misunderstanding is clear and much the same as in the case where the Hamburger and Bückeburger Bachs—C. P. E. and J. C. F.—declined Gerstenberg's smart attempt to interest them in a similar venture. In this instance, the composers opted for a safer course than either the one which seemed to lead backwards into the fixtures of old and rigid rhetoric, or the one which explored a new rhetoric of feeling in a design that looked tricky because of so direct and dialectical a confrontation between the two mediums: music and the 'words strewn in between'. The Bachs preferred to invest in the simple cantabile, occasionally boiling over into the sublime or in symphonic rustle [*Rausch*] and, as far as C. P. E. Bach was concerned, either larded with mannered intimations to satisfy the connoisseur, or sweetened with a deliberate dose of sugar for the cultural climbers. They missed the boat that Benda took, but embarked on a more solid vessel to fame.

In his novel *Andreas Hartknopf* (1785), Karl Philipp Moritz describes the spontaneous genesis of a virtual mini-mono-drama. His protagonist Hartknopf, declaiming a recitative, 'translated, improvising [on his flute], the language of the mind into the language of feelings', a procedure that received due attention in the literature of the period which elevated music. What is new is the form of interaction between the two elements: 'Often, after having spoken the first half-phrase, he then played the second part of it on his flute'. Breath, becoming tone, is the vehicle that transfers the thoughts 'out of the mind into the heart'.¹⁸

The language in which Moritz captures the subtlety of interplay on which Melodrama also greatly relies is quite remarkable, since he exposes the essential acuity involved in the dynamics of textual and musical interaction. At the same time, Moritz shows that he is very conscious of the available options in aesthetic stance, by choosing the proper stereotypes: 'There was nothing artful about the matter other than that the selected tone had to intervene precisely where it should. And then it was often a very simple cadence, or melodic gesture, which engendered the marvellous effect'.¹⁹

We see here that music functions, not as ornament, not as arabesque, nor to make up for deficiency in text and declamation, but as the integrated carrier of inward action. The fact that in the latter part of the eighteenth century the melodramatic affiliation between text and music passed through every stage—not strictly but tendentially chronologically—from the conception of text interrupted by music to music with 'words strewn in between' shows in an objective way the increasing autonomy of music which Moritz celebrated in literary rapture.

It is my contention that the relation between the newly developed notion of dramatic action as emotive action—which could be carried equally well by music as by text, if not more adequately—and the intellection of a model of music as reflection, is that the former serves as an a priori to and motivation for the latter. This is because both phases of mental operation form a natural sequence,²⁰ connected as they are by the common originator: feeling. *Empfindsam* reflection is the type of reflection that feeds back into the original, directly involved emotion and feeds on the subsequent accumulation of feelings gained from that interaction.

According to Herder, reflection has access to the faculty of feeling only if it can tap into it on the same wave-length, if it is a reflection governed by feeling. Reflection upon action is viable only if the reflecting faculty can comprehend and capture the nature of that action in its essence, its manifestation and in its proper terms. In order to qualify as *empfindsam*, reflection needs to express itself in terms that aspire to the highest degree of congruency with the original experience and, in the potential chain of reflections, with every ensuing shade of emotion.

Lessing's new idea regarding the substance of action coincided with the reception of Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's 'science of sensate knowledge', culminating in his *Aesthetica* (1750–58). While René Descartes had not been able to allow it into philosophical consideration, the 'obscure and confused knowledge' from sensation acquired through the senses was included by Baumgarten, after intimations from Leibniz and

Bilfinger, as a valid and worthy object of philosophical inquiry.²¹

Baumgarten's theory was concerned with what he called 'gnoseologia inferior', or the science pertaining to the lower faculties of knowing, the working of which he explained as being analogous to the reasoning intellect. He was very careful to convey his esteem for the field of 'inferior', sensate knowledge and the apparatus administering it; the term 'inferior' was meant without the slightest deprecatory connotation, nor was it perceived in a negative sense. Thomas Abbt testified positively when he wrote that poetics should not worry about the conceptual distinctiveness of the higher cognate faculties, since poetry exceeds their compass.²²

Baumgarten's breakthrough in aesthetics, allowing the vast area of 'complex knowing' to become a proper object for philosophical consideration, had implications not only for the sustainment of the new concept of dramatic action at psychological depth, but also for the object and quality of reflection. His design had an ambiguous character however, which betrayed the dilemma that was the earmark of the *empfindsam habitus*, namely the oscillation between two mental states, and the permanent (evasion of) choice between, to put it pungently: immersing in, or reflecting upon, emotions stemming from sensate stimuli. Fuelled by Locke's influential thought, the problem of establishing a demarcation line between sensation as external perceptions and reflection as internal operations had been complicated in the German debate partly because native beliefs, infused with neo-platonism, were predisposed to a notion of innate knowledge.

An essential side of Baumgarten's reflection scenario accommodated the relish of hovering over the horizon of 'clear but confused' sensate knowing and the delicate handling of the resulting emotive experience. The repercussions of his dualism become manifest where he presents the field of aesthetic reflection as both theory and object, as both science and *ars pulchre cogitandi*—the art of beautiful thinking—as beautiful thinking itself.

The object of this science is the sensate conceptions which are clear in their totality but confused—in the literal sense, fused together—with regard to their elements, since when presented to the conscious they neither disintegrate nor become analysable into their constituents. The sphere in which aesthetic experience is foreseen is that of knowledge springing from the 'clear but confused' perceptions and sensations, of what is sensed in the light of dawn or dusk, of the world of the 'probable'.

Baumgarten's reluctance to depart from his aesthetic as art caused the permanent dilemma spotted by Herder:

However, he also calls his aesthetic the art of thinking beautifully, and that is already a totally different thing: an I know not what of the skill and practical instruction to apply the powers of genius and taste, or in terms of art criticism, to make artistic use of the capacity to acquire sensate knowledge, and that is not what aesthetics is, according to its own main concept.²³

Herder's criticism goes to the core of the problem, summarising his deprecation in the otherwise traditionally venerated phrase 'Ich weiss nicht Was'—the *je ne sais quoi*. This reference to the *je ne sais quoi* is not by chance. Herder realised that the origin of the weak spot in Baumgarten's aesthetic was that, despite the clinical appearance of his approach, he liked to linger with his reflections in the twilight beyond the horizon of distinct images and to cherish his *schöngeistige* affliction, the sweet pain the beautiful spirit had to pay for wanting it either way.

It is this predicament that struck the most 'sensible' souls of the era; Rousseau, in his later work, was greatly affected by it in his own way. He vehemently resisted the type of reflection which killed the original sentiment and its impulses by analysis, and yet reflection is the means by which he battled to enter deeper into that core of feeling. This very poignant paradox is contained in one of his phrases from *Emile*: 'my rule of abandoning myself to feeling more than to reason, is confirmed by reason itself'.²⁴ Rousseau's reasoning is a constant effort to maintain, in and through intense reflection, the original emotive experience as a whole. His writing is a continuous circumvolution in reflection while denouncing that other, damaging reflection: 'All the wrong I have done in my life, I have done through reflection; and the little good I have been able to do, I have done by impulse'.²⁵ Elsewhere, he writes that the harmful type of reflection is the one that leads to opinion, which makes man dangerous.²⁶

Denouncing analytical reflection, he tirelessly practised reflection as an artform, in an intense effort to contain its integrality with sensate and emotional experience. Rousseau desired to submerge himself in the experience underneath the surface of his reflections, with the risk of making the surface more impenetrable with every reflection; this was the destiny implied in the mechanics of the *empfindsam* paradox.

Aesthetic reflection as *ars* implied aesthetic experience, which Baumgarten described as the natural aptitude of the *schöne Geist*, the beautiful spirit. *Schöne Geist*

was a common term referring to the individual *empfindsam habitus*, and Baumgarten ascribed the following qualities to the 'beautiful spirit': acuity of sensing, acumen, imagination, memory, creative judgement, the capacity to project one's thought and present it in a beautiful form. In literature of the period we find these qualities so convincingly associated with the *empfindsam* inclination that we are fully justified in taking Baumgarten's concept of beautiful reflection as blueprint for the *empfindsam* reflection scheme which found its way into Melodrama, and which Wackenroder defined with such poetic acumen as the tones which 'impart a lively awareness to the many spirits that are dreaming in hidden corners of the soul'.

In his systematic aesthetic endeavours, Friedrich Schiller advanced to a more distancing reflection, yet Baumgarten's impact, whether direct or indirect, is still discernible where Schiller clings to *Schönheit* [beauty] in his attempt to save integrality of thought and feeling. Although there are many new elements in Schiller's views, there is a conspicuous remnant of the beautiful soul aspiring to what I would call congenial reflection. Significantly similar to Baumgarten's is Schiller's concern with beauty and the prominence of the *schöne Seele*, the topical 'beautiful soul'; beauty is the central ingredient of Schiller's aesthetic chemistry which allows reflection and feeling to fuse: 'The reflection flows so completely together with the feeling that we believe we are experiencing the Form directly'.²⁷

Like Baumgarten, Schiller raises his design to a standard of art and invests his construct of ideas with creative zest out of a deep-rooted desire to resolve the tension in a model of harmony: 'The mind moves...from sensation to thought through an intermediary frame of mind in which sense-perception and intellect are simultaneously active, but precisely for that reason they cancel each other's determining power and cause a negation by means of counterpositioning'.²⁸ This 'intermediary frame of mind' is the disposition he qualifies as 'aesthetic'.²⁹

Although Schiller's antithetical reasoning regarding the problem of tension between sensation and thought in matters aesthetic is too complicated to discuss further here, it is interesting that he too, while taking a route different from the other German *philosophes*, saw the possibility of integrating reflection and feeling, not just bridging the infinite gap between them.³⁰ 'Indeed, from the highest abstraction too, there is a road back to sensation, because thought touches inner feeling, and the image of logic and moral unity transforms into a feeling of agreement'.³¹ Here we have one of the most succinct contemporary formulations of the rationale by which *empfindsam* cogitation operated.

In summary, we first observe that the 'undetermined' and yet so powerfully 'acting' and 'speaking' language of music, in all its 'obscurity', was appreciated for the clear quality of its emotive appeal: 'Music arouses a sequence of intimate feelings; true, but not distinct, not explaining, only extremely obscure'.³² Secondly, we see that reflection functions in a spirit that meets its object in its own domain, approaching it not in the dissecting scientific mode, but in the way which leaves its object whole, embracing it while penetrating it, and at the same time expressing itself in 'beautiful form', with aesthetic quality, as art.

Finally, music in Melodrama is the substance which links the limbic layers, the emotional strata, with the conscious which seeks to prolong and celebrate the experience. On this basis eighteenth-century German Melodrama emerged as the 'Form', the genre *par excellence* to accommodate the *empfindsam* predilection for reflection in the understanding of the instrumental fragment as realised ideal—and, as such, an individual reflection-escorting—psychogram of that reflection. It is the genre which uniquely invites an interpretation of the musical moment as reflection moment according to the *empfindsam* penchant.

Notes

¹ This article is the substrate of a paper presented at the Centennial Conference, Faculty of Music, The University of Melbourne, 5–9 June 1995.

² The important anonymous essay 'Ueber das Melodrama', *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, 77 vols (Leipzig, 1765–1806), vol. 37 (1789), pp.177–97 and vol. 38 (1789), pp.171–74, suggests that the term melodrama has by then established itself as the central one.

³ '...bisweilen wird auch unter der Musique gesprochen, welches alsdann die herrlichste Wirkung thut'; W. A. Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen: Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, vol.2 (Kassel: Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg/Bärenreiter, 1962), p.506.

⁴ 'Ueber das Melodrama', p.179.

⁵ '...als lyrisches Kunstwerk, ein Gefühl im Objecte darstellen'; Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1985), col.945–46. Koch acknowledges quoting Schmieder's *Theaterjournal* (1799).

⁶ '...wobey die Musik...in unbestimmten Formen zwischen die Perioden und Redesätze eingeschoben wird, um die Empfindungen, die durch die Deklamation ausgedrückt werden sollen, zu verstärken'; Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col.945.

⁷ 'In dem Spiegel der Töne lernt das menschliche Herz sich selber kennen; sie sind es, wodurch wir das Gefühl fühlen lernen; sie geben vielen in verborgenen Winkeln des Gemüts träumenden Geistern, lebendes Bewusstsein, und bereichern mit ganz neuen zauberischen Geistern des Gefühls unser Inneres'; Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, 'Das eigenthümliche innere Wesen der Tonkunst, und die Seelenlehre der heutigen Instrumentalmusik' (1797),

Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, ed. Silvio Vietta and Richard Littlejohns, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1991), p.220.

⁸ I like to introduce this variant on the usual translation 'Storm and Stress' in order to avoid present-day connotations with the over-stretched term 'stress' and to bring out more clearly the expansive, expressive direction contained in Drang by translating it with 'urge'. The word 'surge' expresses well, in my view, both the internal disorder—stretching the notion of 'beautiful order'—and the tempestuous drive of the German-Shakespearean mode.

⁹ Although Lessing's position regarding the relation between dramatic action as it developed and the weight of individuality in scope of 'character' is not precisely consistent, this does not negatively affect the strategy and validity of my argument. See Alberto Martino, *Die Dramaturgie der Aufklärung (1730–1780)*, trans. from Italian by Wolfgang Pross (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1972), pp.305–11, vol.1 of *Geschichte der dramatischen Theorien in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert*; and the instructive and concise Bernhard Asmuth, *Einführung in die Dramenanalyse*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1990), pp.4–7, 135–38.

¹⁰ 'Es hat ihnen nie beifallen wollen dass auch jeder innere Kampf von Leidenschaften, jede Folge von verschiedenen Gedanken, wo eine die andere aufhebt, eine Handlung sei'; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, 'Von dem Wesen der Fabel', *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Karl Lachmann and Wendelin von Maltzahn, vol.5 (Leipzig, 1854), p.419.

¹¹ 'Der eigentliche Schauplatz aller Handlung ist die denkende und empfindende Seele'; Johann Jakob Engel, 'Ueber Handlung, Gespräch und Erzählung', *Neue Bibliothek*, vol.16/2 (1774), p.201.

¹² 'Das Melodrama schildert nicht Begebenheiten, sondern die Begebenheit ist nur das Mittel, welches dem Dichter dazu behülflich ist, die Affekten selbst darzustellen'; Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col.946.

¹³ 'Die Begebenheit selbst und ihre Darstellung ist also hier nur gleichsam eine Begleitung, um den Hauptpunkt desto stärker hervorzubringen'; Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col.946.

¹⁴ 'Oder wäre es, dass der Dichter nachgäbe, dass er nur vorzeichnete, ebauchirte, gleichsam Worte nur einstreute, u. die sonst unbestimmten Empfindungen der Musik bestimmte'; Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe: Gesamtausgabe 1763–1803*, ed. Wilhelm Dobbek and Günter Arnold, vol.3 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1978), p.124.

¹⁵ '...was die Unterschrift am Gemälde oder Bildsäule ist, Erklärung, Leitung des Stroms der Musik, durch dazwischen gestreute Worte'; Herder, *Briefe*, vol.3, p.125.

¹⁶ 'Die Worte sollen nur den rührenden Körper der Musik beleben, u. diese soll sprechen, handeln, rühren, fortsprechen, nur dem Geist u. dem Umriss des Dichters folgen'; Herder, *Briefe*, vol.3, p.125.

¹⁷ Herder expresses this in the following: 'Alles, worüber dies Drama nur Kommentar ist in Musikalische Hieroglyphen!'; Herder, *Briefe*, vol.3, p.125. The dramatic substance is in the music, the text serves as comment to it.

¹⁸ '...übersetzte, indem er phantasierte, die Sprache des Verstandes in die Sprache der Empfindungen...Oft, wenn er den Vordersatz gesprochen hatte, so blies er den Nachsatz mit seiner Flöte dazu. Er atmete die Gedanken, so wie er sie in die Töne der Flöte hauchte, aus dem Verstande ins Herz hinein'; quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Idee der absoluten Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), p.64.

¹⁹ 'Es war weiter nichts Künstliches bei der Sache, als dass der gewählte Ton gerade eingreifen musste, wo er sollte. Und dann war es oft eine sehr simple Kadenz, oder Tonfall, welche die wunderbare Wirkung hervorbrachten'; quoted in Dahlhaus, *Die Idee*, p.64.

²⁰ This is Baumgarten's position, and it stands in contrast to

that of Kant, who accepts sensate knowledge as having a facultative nature which is radically different from the knowing of the rational intellect. See Manfred Frank, *Einführung in die frühromantische Ästhetik: Vorlesungen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1989), pp.50–51.

²¹ My interpretation, part of which consists of making Baumgarten's aesthetic fruitful to gaining insight into an aesthetic which is concerned with melodrama, has been developed from modern editions of Baumgarten's works. I have also found impulses in, and have randomly derived ideas from, Constanze Peres' transparent article 'Cognitio sensitiva: zum Verhältnis von Empfindung und Reflexion in A. G. Baumgartens Begründung der Ästhetiktheorie', *Empfindung und Reflexion: ein Problem des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludwig Tavernier (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1986), pp.5–48. The following brief introductions to Baumgarten's aesthetic thought are also useful: Hartmut Scheible, *Wahrheit und Subjekt: Ästhetik im bürgerlichen Zeitalter* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1988), pp.72–97; and Manfred Frank, *Einführung*, pp.25–55.

²² Abbt employs the phrase 'über ihren Bereich hinausgehend' [extending beyond its range] which leaves no doubt about the status of poetry as 'sensitive language/speech' on the vertical scale. The contiguity of the expression with Baumgarten's 'horizon' metaphor is, in my view, striking. See Thomas Abbt, 'Leben und Charakter Alexander Gottlieb Baumgartens', *Vermischte Werke*, vol.4 (Berlin & Stettin, 1780), p.216; quoted in Scheible, *Wahrheit und Subjekt*, p.80.

²³ 'Er nennt aber auch seine Aesthetik die Kunst schön zu denken; und das ist schon eine ganz andre Sache; ein Ich weiss nicht Was, von Fertigkeit und Praktischer Anweisung, die Kräfte des Genies und Geschmacks anzuwenden, oder nach der Kunstsprache, die sinnliche Erkenntnissfähigkeit schön zu gebrauchen, und das ist Aesthetik ihrem Hauptbegriffenach nicht'; Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Kritische Wälder, oder Betrachtungen über die Wissenschaft und Kunst des Schönen' (1769), *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, vol.4 (Berlin, 1878), p.22.

²⁴ 'Ma règle de me livrer au sentiment plus qu'à la raison est confirmée par la raison même'; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, vol. 4 of *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond (Paris: Gallimard, 1959–69), p.573, quoted in Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: La transparence et l'obstacle: suivi de Sept essais sur Rousseau* (n.p.: Gallimard, 1971), p.246.

²⁵ 'Tout le mal que j'ai fait en ma vie, je l'ai fait par réflexion; et le peu de bien que j'ai pu faire, je l'ai fait par impulsion'; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Théophile Dufour and Pierre-Paul Plan, vol. 17 (Paris, 1924–34), pp.2–3, quoted in Starobinski, *La transparence*, p.250.

²⁶ 'L'homme sensuel est l'homme de la nature; l'homme réfléchi est celui de l'opinion; c'est celui-ci qui est dangereux'; *Rousseau juge de Jean Jacques*, quoted in Gerhard Sauder, *Empfindsamkeit*, vol.1. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974), p.92.

²⁷ 'Die Reflexion zerfließt hier so vollkommen mit dem Gefühle, dass wir die Form unmittelbar zu empfinden glauben'; Friedrich Schiller, *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe*, ed. Lieselotte Blumenthal and Benno von Wiese, vol.20 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1962), p.396, quoted in Ursula Franke & G. Oesterle, 'Gefühl', *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter, vol.3 (Basel & Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1974), col.86–87.

²⁸ 'Das Gemüt geht...von der Empfindung zum Gedanken durch eine mittlere Stimmung über, in welcher Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft zugleich tätig sind, eben deswegen aber ihre bestimmende Gewalt gegenseitig aufheben und durch eine Entgegensetzung eine Negation bewirken.' Friedrich Schiller, *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen, in einer Reihe von Briefen* [originally published serially in *Horen* (1795)], ed. Käthe Hamburger (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1965), p.83.

²⁹ '...so muss man diesen Zustand der realen und aktiven Bestimmbarkeit den ästhetischen heissen'. Schiller, *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, p. 83. 'Real' refers in Schiller's scheme to sensation, 'aktiv' to cerebral capacity.

³⁰ Schiller explains that it is not a matter of a transition or of filling a gap, but a question of activating a 'new and independent capacity'; *Über die ästhetische Erziehung*, p.76.

³¹ 'Zwar gibt es auch von der höchsten Abstraktion einen Rückweg zur Sinnlichkeit, denn der Gedanke rührt die innere

Empfindung, und die Vorstellung logischer und moralischer Einheit geht in ein Gefühl sinnlicher Übereinstimmung über'; Schiller, quoted in Franke and Oesterle, 'Gefühl', col.86.

³² 'Musik erregt eine Folge von inniger Empfindungen; wahr, aber nicht deutlich, nicht anschauend, nur äusserst dunkel'; Herder, quoted in Hellmut Kühn and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, eds., *Historische und systematische Musikwissenschaft: ausgewählte Aufsätze von Walter Wiora* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1972), p.71.

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