

A Romantic-style landscape painting. A man with reddish-brown hair, seen from behind, stands on a dark, craggy rock formation. He is wearing a dark, heavy coat and trousers, and holds a walking stick in his right hand. He gazes out over a vast, misty valley. In the distance, there are rolling hills and a prominent, isolated rock formation. The sky is filled with soft, grey clouds, and the overall atmosphere is one of grandeur and solitude. The painting has a slightly aged, textured appearance with some visible brushstrokes and a few small white marks.

Maria Bania

BECOMING BEETHOVEN

Re-Enacting Aesthetic Ideas
and Mindsets From an
Early Romantic Discourse of
Musical Performance

Art Monitor

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For each composition, without exception, becomes valuable to and makes an impression on the listener only through the way in which it is performed for him, and there are so many such ways that their number knows no bounds, and a player who is master of all the means of expression can add charm to an insignificant or even downright flawed composition and make it interesting for the listener;—just as the most beautiful musical work is lost if its performance fails.¹

INTRODUCTION

A musical performance is a highly complex, collaborative and multi-sensorial artistic act, consisting of a set of relationships. These relationships play out in different ways, depending upon the participants' cultural practices and their aesthetic ideas and ideals. Music from the early Romantic period is still frequently performed and is often well-appreciated by audiences. When preparing for a concert performance of early nineteenth-century music, musicians usually pay close attention to expressive tools such as dynamics, articulation, timbre, and vibrato, often applying them according to the performing style used for music from this period. Also present in today's performance discourse are expressive tools such as metaphors, some of which derive from early nineteenth-century aesthetics. But early Romantic performance discourse additionally includes metaphors and invitations or recommendations that are not commonly used today, but might nevertheless prove helpful in creating an expressive performance.

Increasing discussion throughout the nineteenth century on the duty of the performer to be faithful to the musical work and its notation has received substantial scholarly attention. As both Mary Hunter and Mine Doğantan-Dack suggest, however, the view of two contrasting and conflicting performing models, characterized by submissive obedience and fidelity to the musical work on the one side and the performer's desire for self-expression, creativity, and freedom on the other, is too narrow.² Early Romantic performance aesthetics consists of a rich and diverse set of concepts and ideas which provide abundant possibilities. As signalled by the often non-systematic and non-dialectical, magnificent language of the early Romantics, an ideal musical performance was conceived as a magical, ecstatic event, where value corresponded to affective engagement and the music's ineffability and indefinability. Arguably, early Romantic musical performance aesthetics is characterized by an ideal of synthesis. Early Romantics attributed the musical performance with the potential to create an experience of unification of the real and the ideal, the material and the spiritual, as well as between performer and music, performer and composer, and performer and instrument. By understanding and reproducing the composer's innermost ideas and feelings, entering into and resonating with the music, the performer could sympathetically identify with the spirit of the composer. Through this unification, the performer became the music's co-creator, or real-time creator, expressing both the music and her- or himself with an expanded artistic self and expressive power. Likewise, listeners were ascribed an active role, contributing with their imagination to their

own understanding of the music. The listener's response could be visually communicated to the performer and could inspire and evoke new sentiments in the performer's heart, thus expanding the performer's expressive capacity.

Some Previous Research on Musical Performance Aesthetics of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

The aesthetic transformations in European musical discourse of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been the subject of substantial research, often with special attention paid to instrumental music. John Neubauer provides both a theoretical and an aesthetic perspective on the growing acceptance of instrumental music over the course of the eighteenth century.³ Investigating aesthetic attitudes towards instrumental music in late eighteenth-century German discourse, Bellamy Hosler shows how the changing view on affections was an essential part of this transformation.⁴ Andrew Bowie discusses the rise of music aesthetics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with a special focus on its relation to Idealist and Romantic philosophy.⁵

In his book *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven*, Mark E. Bonds explores attitudes towards listening and perception related to the new understanding of instrumental music that emerged in German-speaking countries in the decades around 1800.⁶ In another, recently published book, he discusses the rise in the nineteenth century of the idea of hearing music as a personal outpouring of the composer's self: a form of sonic autobiography.⁷ Erik Wallrup also discusses the early nineteenth-century mode of listening in his book about attunement and listening.⁸ Holly Watkins explores the metaphor of depth in German nineteenth- and early twentieth-century musical discourse,⁹ and Deirdre Loughridge shows how optical devices and technologies influenced the making and perception of music in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, blending visual and audio cultures.¹⁰ Research on listening behaviour often focuses on the listeners' attention or lack thereof, and on the shift over time from ongoing social activities and communication towards a listening culture of silence and attentiveness. Discussing the public response to French opera between 1750 and 1850, James H. Johnson investigates the change in behaviours and aesthetic outlook of Parisian spectators from a socially active to a

more silent audience.¹¹ Other studies investigate how changes in the social and material aspects of the listening experience—changes in the types of concerts that were arranged, and the size and architecture of performance venues, for example—affected listener behaviour.¹² The aesthetic thoughts and attitudes of musical performers have received less scholarly attention. Mary Hunter discusses the early Romantic aesthetics of musical performance with a focus on the idea of the performer merging his soul with that of the composer.¹³ She shows how early nineteenth-century performance discourse is linked with the philosophical discussions of the period, for instance in its preoccupation with collapsed dualisms.¹⁴ Fabio Morabito further explores the ideas and conceptions that were realized in Pierre Baillot's Parisian chamber music performances.¹⁵

About This Study

This study engages with French and German early Romantic music aesthetics from the perspective of the performer. It explores the characteristics that define the performance aesthetics of the early nineteenth century as well as ways of re-enacting ideas and mindsets from that aesthetics. The first section, entitled “Aspects of early Romantic German and French aesthetic discourse of musical performance”, discusses attitudes, ideals, and metaphors related to musical expression, as documented in treatises by well-known musicians of the period and in music reviews and other writings, and situates these within contemporaneous aesthetic and philosophical discussions. The following section, “Performances of music by Franz Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven”, presents two video recordings of chamber music performances that re-enact the aesthetic ideas and mindsets found in early Romantic discourse on performance. In the videos, the real-time thoughts and feelings of listeners are visualized. The final section reflects on current discussions about expressivity in musical performance as well as the experience of re-enacting early Romantic aesthetic ideas and mindsets in performances today.

Re-enacting early Romantic ideas and mindsets around music performance was central to this study: both in order to explore their artistic potential as well as to reach a deeper understanding of performance discourse during this period.¹⁶ Re-enacting performances and other events is a well-known strategy in performance art and artistic research,¹⁷ but re-enacting aesthetic ideas and mindsets has less often

been used as an explicit research method. Arguably, however, when we perform music that has been performed before, we re-enact—to a greater or lesser extent—not only practices, such as playing techniques and styles, but also thoughts, ideas, and feelings. I do not argue that it is possible to recreate the same thoughts and mindsets that were present in the early nineteenth century. What is possible is to use documented metaphors and ideas in order to approach more closely and understand more deeply the music aesthetics of the period. In this study, formulations (constructed by me) of ideas, thoughts, and metaphors that characterize early Romantic performance discourse were used as invitations or prompts, both in the preparations for the performances and in the performances themselves. Reformulations of these invitations or prompts appear throughout the section “Aspects of early Romantic German and French aesthetic discourse of musical performance”. These formulations are constructed to function as working tools for every musician who wants to create expressive performances and engage with early Romantic aesthetic ideas and mindsets.

My work with this text began before and continued after the preparations and the performances. In addition to being both a reflection of and a part of the preparations, the text was also written “with my flute in my hands,” in the sense that it is guided by what I, as a musician, consider relevant and useful for a musical performer. The study can thus be said to synthesize the methods of both music history and musical performance.

Aspects of Early Romantic
German and French
Aesthetic Discourse of Musical
Performance

1.

Sensations and Feelings as Vague and Ineffable

– I open to the music and let it touch me. It awakens feelings in me, feelings I can't necessarily verbalize.

– The music doesn't have a definable emotional content. The feelings are unspeakable and in constant transformation. This strengthens the artistic potential of the performance, makes it unlimited.

German and French eighteenth-century music discourse was characterized by a conception of affections as definable and separable.¹⁸ From the middle of the century onward, however, this Cartesian view of the passions drew repeated criticism.¹⁹ Another view entered the discussion: a view of sentiments as dynamic, fluctuating entities, and therefore indeterminate.²⁰ Johann Nikolaus Forkel was a music theorist and historian who became Director of Music at the University of Göttingen.²¹ In the 1780s he cultivated the notion that sentiments [*Empfindungen*], just like all other natural phenomena, are subject to constant change. According to Forkel, “no feeling which is of any duration, or which must be not only aroused but also maintained, is consistent from beginning to end. It swells and subsides through infinite and incomprehensible degrees of strength and weakness.”²² Music’s function was to express and communicate this continuum of dynamic and ever-changing sensations.²³ Christian Gottfried Körner was a jurist and amateur musician who hosted a literary and musical salon in Dresden.²⁴ In an article published in his friend Friedrich Schiller’s journal *Die Horen* in 1795, Körner emphasizes that passionate states are highly transient conditions: “nothing more than variety, constant change, growth, and decline.”²⁵ In a similar vein, Friedrich Rochlitz—a Leipzig writer on music and an editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*²⁶—suggests that just as we cannot name and specify particular detailed sensations and their “mixtures, gradations, transitions, and nuances” in ourselves, we cannot do it in music.²⁷ Rochlitz writes: “Those subtle transitions of one feeling into another can only be felt, and only *expressed*, in natural, necessary signs; they cannot be *named* and *described* with conventional symbols.”²⁸ The Romantics further emphasized this conception of sentiments or feelings—both in the inner lives of individuals and in music—as dynamic entities, ever-flowing and fluctuating, and thus undefinable and ineffable.²⁹

Especially in instrumental music, this dynamism, vagueness and nonreferentiality was seen as an asset to musical expression: an artistic strength that enabled the sounding music to connect to a deep inwardness in the listener. Partly due to its ineffability, music could express what conventional language was not able to disclose.³⁰ The German horn player and composer Heinrich Domnich studied and made a distinguished career in Paris. In 1795 he was appointed one of the horn professors at the newly founded Paris Conservatory, a position he held until 1817.³¹ In his treatise *Méthode de premier et de second cor* (1808), he writes: “That which the musical language in and of itself has in terms of vagueness and lack of determinedness, enters its [expression’s] domain



FIG. 1. Dominique Ingres, portrait of Pierre Baillot (1829)

and thus becomes a profit for the art. Expression takes hold of it and finds in it a source of beauty.”³² One of Domnich’s colleagues at the Paris Conservatory was Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot. Baillot was one of the Conservatory’s violin professors for 47 years, from 1795 until his death in 1842.³³ He also organized and led a series of chamber music soirées (*Séances de quatuors et de quintettes de Baillot*), putting on 150 concerts between 1814 and 1840.³⁴

Baillot wrote two violin methods. The first was entitled *Méthode de violon* and was published by the Conservatory in 1803 as one of their official methods, with Baillot’s fellow violin professors Pierre Rode and Rodolphe Kreuzer listed as co-authors.³⁵ *Méthode de violon* was translated into both English and German.³⁶ The section on “Expression and means of expression” was quoted at length in an essay in the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* of 1805³⁷ and reprinted almost without alteration in Baillot’s second, expanded violin method, entitled *L’art de violon: Nouvelle méthode* and published in 1834.³⁸ *L’art de violon* was translated into German twice within a year of its publication.³⁹ In it, Baillot writes: “Music relates to our most intimate feelings, it is part of all their vagueness and indefinability; in truth, its effects are much deeper because of this, and herein lies one of its advantages over the other arts.”⁴⁰ In more poetic language, the philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder—whose work significantly influenced German nineteenth-century intellectual discourse—elevates the dynamic, ever-flowing, fluctuating nature of music:

[E]very moment of this art [music] is and must be *transitory*. For precisely the *longer* and *shorter*, the *louder* and *softer*, *higher* and *lower*, the *greater* and *lesser* is its *meaning*, its *impression*. The victorious power of the tone and its sentiment lies in its coming and going, its becoming and having been. As the former and the latter melt together with others, rise, fall, sink and—along the tensed rope of harmony, following eternal fixed laws—re-emerge with new effects, so [does] my spirit, my courage, my love, and my hope...You air spirits, you came and fled on weightless tones, moved my heart and left behind in me an endless longing, through you, for you.⁴¹

Some German philosophers expanded the concepts of feeling and sensation to include more existential implications and qualities. For Herder, as le Huray and Day notes, feeling (*Gefühl*) was “not simply emotional indulgence; it was the inner psychic process of experiencing phenomena,

the basis of apprehending not merely sensations but truth, goodness and beauty as well.”⁴² In a similar spirit, August Wilhelm Schlegel writes that music relates to “feeling [*Empfindung*], in the broader sense of the word, where not an emotion or an affection is meant, but the whole quality of our existence.”⁴³ Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger seems to agree, writing that “the effect [of music] consists in the fact that in the sensation of every present moment a whole eternity emerges in our mind. Music...thus truly achieves that which remains unattainable for the normal activity of the mind.”⁴⁴

Romantic writers sometimes described the eighteenth-century idea that music represents definable affections in condescending words and contrasted it with the new idea of instrumental music as free and ineffable. The Berlin poet and author Ludwig Tieck edited and published his friend and co-writer Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder’s *Phantasien über die Kunst* one year after Wackenroder’s much-too-early death in 1798. In an essay entitled “Symphonien” (which was one of the chapters that he appended to the book), Tieck writes:

If one believes that the sole purpose of all man-made music is to signify and express passions, then one is delighted the more distinctly and definitely these passionate tones are reproduced by lifeless instruments. Many artists have spent their whole lives to this end: heightening and beautifying this declamation, making the expression even more profound and powerful. And they have often been praised and honoured as the only true and great composers...However, in instrumental music art is independent and free; here art phantasizes playfully and purposelessly, and nevertheless art attains the ultimate. It follows completely its inscrutable instincts, and expresses the most profound, the most wonderful, with its playfulness.⁴⁵

Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann was a Romantic writer, composer, and painter, today perhaps best known as a music critic. During the same period that Baillot was performing Beethoven’s chamber music in Paris, Hoffmann was contributing to Beethoven’s growing reputation through his writings. Among many other projects, Hoffmann also translated Baillot’s *Méthode de violon* to German.⁴⁶

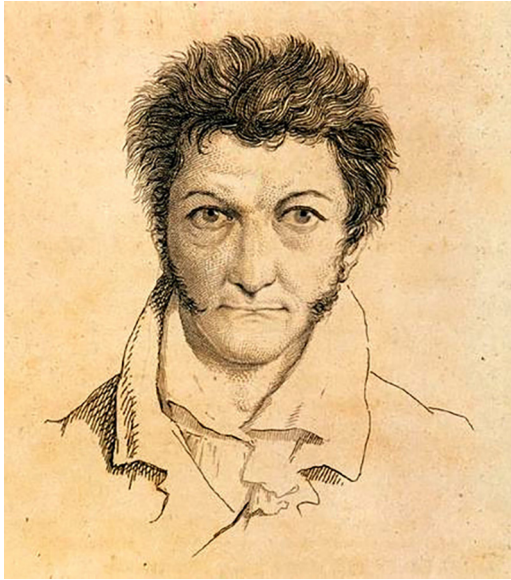


FIG. 2. E. T. A. Hoffmann, self portrait (before 1822)

In his oft-quoted review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Hoffmann writes:

Music opens to man an unknown realm, a world that has nothing in common with the outer sensuous world surrounding him, a world in which he leaves behind him all feelings determinable by concepts in order to surrender to the inexpressible. How little was this characteristic nature understood by *those* instrumental-music composers who sought to portray determinable feelings, or even events, and thus to treat figuratively the art absolutely opposed to figuration! Dittersdorf's symphonies of this type, as well as the newer *Batailles de Trois Empereurs* etc., should be condemned to total oblivion as ridiculous aberrations.⁴⁷

Here, Hoffmann takes a clear stand against the older view that music's role was to represent, communicate and arouse definable affections. Instead, for Hoffmann, instrumental music gives the listener access to another, supernatural world of the unfathomable. For Hoffmann, instrumental music "is the most romantic of all arts, one might almost say the only one that is genuinely romantic, for its sole subject is the infinite."⁴⁸

2.

Music as a Manifestation of the Infinite, Able to Elevate Listeners to a Higher Realm and Synthesize the Real and the Ideal

- *The music is a manifestation of the infinite. It stimulates my imagination to exceed its ordinary limitations.*
- *Through the music, I have contact with another, spiritual, infinite world.*
- *The music now elevates me from the ordinary, mundane world into this higher, ideal sphere.*
- *I incorporate this sense of wonderful otherworldliness into my playing, and communicate it to the listeners.*

The indefinability of instrumental music could instil a desire for something inexpressible and therefore unattainable: an endless longing for the infinite.⁴⁹ The French philosopher Victor Cousin writes that music “awakens more than any other art the sentiment of the infinite, because it is vague, obscure, indeterminate in its effects.”⁵⁰ As Bonds shows, the new aesthetics expressed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was largely based on the philosophy of idealism.⁵¹ The philosophy lecturer Christian Friedrich Michaelis’ thinking on musical aesthetics was built on Kant’s philosophy.⁵² In his book *Ueber den Geist der Tonkunst, mit Rücksicht auf Kants Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft* (FIG. 3), he writes: “A piece of music is infused with the spirit of aesthetic ideas when the energy and characterization of [its] harmony and melody awaken unnameable feelings and imaginative intuitions in us, and carry us up, as it were, into a transcendental sphere.”⁵³

Michaelis presents the philosophical notion of “aesthetic ideas” as “intuitions of the imagination (inner perceptions)”.⁵⁴ He writes: “Through aesthetic ideas, the individual becomes idealized, and the ideal, the general, the abstract become individualized.”⁵⁵ The concept of aesthetic ideas is part of Kant’s theory, where it is defined as “that representation of the imagination which...no language can completely attain and make comprehensible”.⁵⁶ Aesthetic ideas “strive towards something beyond the boundary of experience”.⁵⁷

In the aesthetics of idealism, art is the means through which the ideal takes shape and is embodied in the real. Music was not only able to create a longing for the unattainable, it was seen as a sensuous manifestation of the ideal, something that could represent the infinite in the finite and open up the possibility for mankind to perceive a supernatural, otherworldly sphere.⁵⁸ For a number of Romantic thinkers, art could even synthesize the real and the ideal.⁵⁹ A review of Wackenroder and Tieck’s *Phantasien über die Kunst* in Leipzig’s *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* suggests that the essence of art is to “manifest the suprasensuous, to unite the finite and the infinite.”⁶⁰ In *Philosophie der Kunst*, which was published in 1859 but based on lectures first delivered at Jena in 1802–03, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling writes that “musical form is a process whereby the infinite is embodied in the finite”.⁶¹ Schelling and several of his colleagues saw imagination—in German, *Einbildungskraft*—as an immaterial power of unification. Schelling suggests: “Through art, divine creation is presented objectively, since it rests on the same idea of the infinite ideal dwelling in the real on which the creation of art rests. The exquisite German word *Einbildungskraft* actually

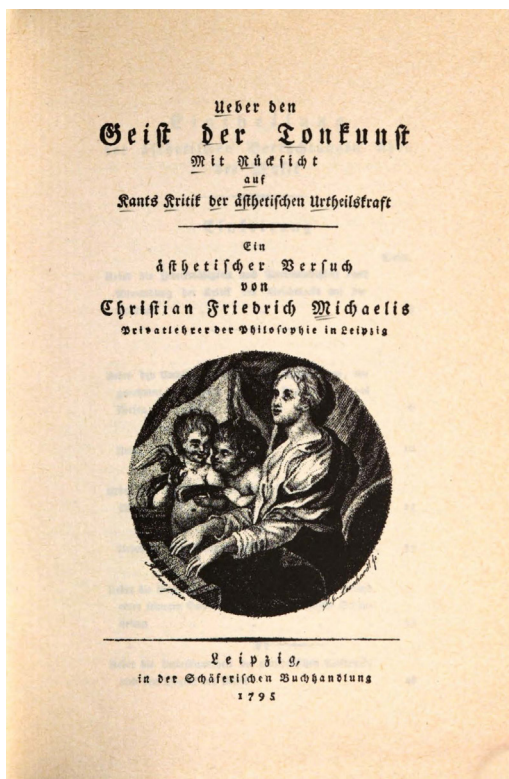


FIG. 3. Christian Friedrich Michaelis, *Ueber den Geist der Tonkunst, mit Rücksicht auf Kants Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft* (Leipzig, 1795), frontpage

means the power of forming into one, and in fact all creation is based on this power. It is the power through which an ideal is at the same time something real, the soul is the body; it is the power of individuation, which of all powers is the one that is truly creative.”⁶² In his writings, Schelling uses the term “*In-Eins-Bildung*”: forming into one (“*Eins*”).⁶³

The notion that music could elevate listeners to a higher realm was ubiquitous in Romantic musical discourse. A musical performance could generate a sense of immersion in another, magical or spiritual world, a sense of being transferred into a higher reality, independent of earthly phenomena, abandoning the struggles of the everyday world. Körner writes that the musical artist “should raise us from our low sphere of dependence and limitation to his level, and make perceptible the infinite, which outside of art can only be imagined.”⁶⁴ Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, a lawyer with a strong interest in music, writes in 1825: “The divinity of music is only revealed when it transports us into an ideal state of being.”⁶⁵ The composer’s inborn talent and divine inspiration supposedly had the power to connect the mundane and the divine. Carl Friedrich Zelter—conductor of the Berliner Singakademie and a friend of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe—wrote a letter to Joseph Haydn in 1804 in which he likens Haydn to the Titan god Prometheus. Zelter writes: “you have brought the fire from heaven, with which you warm and illuminate mortal hearts and lead them to the infinite”. He adds that mankind should be grateful for the possibility to “recognize the miracles He [God] has revealed to us through you in art.”⁶⁶ In a similar vein, Hoffmann writes in his review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony that “Beethoven’s music...awakens that infinite yearning which is the essence of romanticism”,⁶⁷ Beethoven’s “instrumental music unveils before us the realms of the mighty and the immeasurable”,⁶⁸ and that his Fifth Symphony “irresistibly sweeps the listener into the wonderful spirit-realm of the infinite.”⁶⁹ The article about “Romanticism and the romantic” in Gustav Schilling’s music encyclopaedia (first printed in 1835–38) declares that “it is music that elevates man to the infinite, to God Himself,”⁷⁰ and that “profound sensitivity and bold idealism are the principal characteristics of musical romanticism.”⁷¹

This transformative power of music was also praised in instructions to performers and in lyrics. One example of the latter is Franz von Schober's beautiful text to Schubert's Lied *An die Musik* from 1817:

Du holde Kunst, in wieviel grauen Stunden,
Wo mich des Lebens wilder Kreis umstrickt,
Hast du mein Herz zu warmer Lieb entzunden,
Hast mich in eine beßre Welt entrückt!

Oft hat ein Seufzer, deiner Harf entflossen,
Ein süßser, heiliger Akkord von dir
Den Himmel beßrer Zeiten mir erschlossen,
Du holde Kunst, ich danke dir dafür!

Thou wonderous Art, in how many grey hours,
When life's wild circle closed me in,
Did you enflame my heart to a warm love
Did you transport me to a better world!

Often a sigh, drifting from thy heart,
A sweet, holy chord from thee,
Has opened up to me the heaven of better times,
Thou wondrous art, I thank you for this!⁷²

Shortly after completing his first violin treatise, Baillot wrote a cello method in collaboration with three of his colleagues at the Conservatory: the cellist Jean-Henri Levasseur, the composer Charles-Simon Catel, and the cellist and composer Charles Nicolas Baudiot. There we can read: "Should one seek to make the Violoncello sing, it is a touching and majestic voice, not of those who polish the passions and stir them up, but of those who moderate them, in raising the soul to a higher region."⁷³ According to these aesthetic ideas, there is no sense of distance between the work and its creator in a sincere composition. The composer's ability to mediate the ideal is manifest in the music and realized in the performance.⁷⁴ In *Méthode de Violoncelle*, Baillot writes about performing a string quintet by Boccherini: "[I]f he saddens, it is to touch us the more; if he seems to strip the soul of all its strength, it is to reconcile it with itself, to appease the tumult of passions, and to make a delicious calm follow; to transport us into a better world, there to taste the pleasures of the golden age."⁷⁵



FIG. 4. Caspar David Friedrich, Gartenterrasse
(between 1811 and 1812)

3.

The Intimate Connection Between Music and Human Inwardness

– The music penetrates my inner self. I feel the music resonating in the depths of my heart.

– I anchor the music's content deep inside me.

– I search for feelings in my own innermost self.

Metaphors of depth and inwardness are widely employed in the writings of the early Romantics, especially in discussions on music.⁷⁶ The idea that music penetrates the inner human soul has been present since antiquity,⁷⁷ but it was especially embraced in the early nineteenth-century aesthetic discourse. The concept of the soul or self was a central theme in early nineteenth-century philosophical discussions.⁷⁸ A number of German Romantic intellectuals were influenced by the religious tradition of Pietism, of which a vital part is the intimate relation between the innermost self and the divine. Pietists thought that humans could perceive the supernatural as an inner, spiritual feeling—the journey into the innermost self would ultimately reach the divine.⁷⁹ The idea that music connects to a subjective inner life also relates to the understanding of sensations as vague and indefinable. When they express and perceive music's ineffable, obscure feelings, both performers and listeners are ultimately drawn into their own deepest selves.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel gave lectures on aesthetics in Heidelberg in 1818 and Berlin in the 1820s. These lectures were edited and published in 1835 by one of his students under the title *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*.⁸⁰ For Hegel, music's essence is subjective inwardness. In his *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, we read: "The chief task of music consists in making resound, not the objective world itself, but, on the contrary, the manner in which the inmost self is moved to the depths of its personality and conscious soul. The same is true of the *effect* of music. What it claims as its own is the depth of a person's inner life as such; it is the art of the soul, and is directly addressed to the soul."⁸¹ The human soul was not only affected by music, but resonated with it, and in it. In Sallis' words, music, for Hegel, "conveys us to ourselves, draws us into our own subjective depth, lets that depth resound and thereby be sounded."⁸² Through its profound sensibility that resounds with a person's inner self, music could open the way to the perception of a higher realm. Hegel says that "music performs—in its unique element of inwardness, which immediately becomes expression, and [its unique element of] expression, which immediately turns inward—the ideality and liberation, which...elevate the soul toward perceiving a higher sphere."⁸³

As Hunter observes, Baillot's aesthetic thinking on musical performance connects to Hegel's.⁸⁴ Baillot writes that "the performer will know how to create for himself a new voice to speak this language of the gods [i.e. music] whose vocabulary is in the soul".⁸⁵ This expresses the intimate connection between music, the soul, and the divine, as well as

the presence in a performance of both the performer's artistic creativity and subjective self. In his second violin method, Baillot writes:

It is in our nature always to want to extend the power of our senses; it seems to us so beautiful to leave our earthly bonds that our soul, impatient to break its ties, seeks an opening through which it can extend itself to infinity. Imagination, favouring our penchant for the supernatural, lends us its wings in order to elevate us to unknown regions! But alas, we must soon fall back, betrayed by our own weakness; we then feel it necessary to look within ourselves and seek the true domain of art not in the indefinite, not in material things or the physical effects of nature, but in our own hearts, in moral order, and in feeling—this sweet life of the soul and this inexhaustible source of happiness.⁸⁶

The performer's engagement is both inward and outward turning. Musical expression relies on the interaction between inwardness and outwardly-directed communication. It relies on the externalization of the internal and the internalization of the extroverted, radiating flame of feelings. Expression opens to the student's "talent a new path which has limits only in the feelings of the human heart; it is not enough that he is born sensitive to them, he must *incorporate into* his soul this *expansive* power, this warmth of sentiment which radiates *outward*, communicates, penetrates, burns. It is this sacred fire which an ingenious fiction made Prometheus steal in order to give life to mankind."⁸⁷ The feelings connect the performer's inner self with his or her outwardly-directed expressivity. Through sincere engagement in the music, the performer can reach out and create a charismatic and ecstatic performance.

4.

The Ingenious Performer, Emotionally Engaged, Understanding, Reproducing, and Transmitting the Composer's Feelings and Thoughts to the Listeners

– I use Romantic language, images and metaphors when I think about the music: words like waves, stream, darkness, depth, infinite longing, the sublime, beauty, innerness, and wonder.

– The music can arouse not only mild feelings, but also admiration, pain, reverence, desire, braveness and horror.

– I understand and have full access to the sensations and feelings that are incorporated in the music by the composer.

– I feel these sensations when I play, and I share them with the listeners.

– I enjoy the phantasy and creativity of my genius. My natural inspiration is in complete unity with the composer's and enables me to reproduce his/her ideas and feelings.

– The music and its ideas reveal the composer's self and his or her ways of feeling. I feel an intimate closeness to the composer's artistic identity through playing his or her music.

A characteristic feature of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century aesthetic discourse was that passions or feelings were supposed to be highly present in a musical performance, being embodied in the performers as well as in the sounding music.⁸⁸ Baillot writes about the violin soloist being “profoundly moved in the Adagio” and “communicating the full range of feelings he has”.⁸⁹ The performer wished to touch the listeners, to make them respond sympathetically to his or her feelings. According to Baillot: “What he [the true artist] desires above all is to move the audience, to communicate what he feels, to find hearts that respond in unison to his.”⁹⁰ These feelings were the same as, or similar to, the composer’s feelings that were incorporated into the music. The Würzburg Kapellmeister and professor of music and aesthetics Joseph Fröhlich⁹¹ writes in his 1811 book *Vollständige Theoretisch-practische Musikschule für alle beym Orchester gebräuchliche wichtigere Instrumente*:

To perform a piece of music cannot mean anything else than to present a series of sentiments (for this is what each piece of music should be) to the ear of the listener. A correct performance thus presupposes that the performing artist, on the one hand, has understood the entire piece, and, on the other, is able to reproduce it. The musician must accordingly feel...the very same, or at least a similar series of sentiments as did the composer.⁹²

According to Baillot, “it is genius of performance that allows the artist...to transmit to the soul of the listener the feeling that the composer had in his soul”.⁹³ At first glance, these formulations may seem similar to the invitations of the pragmatic and rhetorical (but nonetheless absolutely emotionally sincere) musical performance practice of the mid-eighteenth century.⁹⁴ As discussed above, however, music in the early Romantic aesthetic is no longer considered a vehicle for arousing definable, intersubjective affections. The idealist, Romantic aesthetic makes no attempt to explain any naturalist cause-and-effect relationships in a musical performance. In the words of Bonds, “the fundamental nature of discourse on music has changed: the perspective is no longer even remotely naturalistic.”⁹⁵ Tieck writes: “The spirit can no longer use it [music] as a vehicle, as a means to an end, for it is substance itself and this is why it lives and moves in its own enchanted realm.”⁹⁶

Still, the reproduction of the composer’s inner feelings and ideas continued to be enabled by the performer’s sensibility and emotional engagement. Johann Nepomuk Hummel was one of Europe’s most famous

pianists of the early nineteenth century. In 1828, when his comprehensive, three-volume piano treatise was first published, he was, as well, an experienced improviser of repute as well as a composer, teacher, and conductor. His collegial relationship with Beethoven in Vienna was sometimes characterized by friendship, sometimes rivalry, and always by competition.⁹⁷ In his piano treatise, Hummel writes: “Expression refers directly to the feelings, and indicates the disposition and ability of the player to put into his playing and impress upon the listener whatever feeling the composer has put into his work, and which the player feels in the same manner.”⁹⁸ Anton Bernard Fürstenau—the most prominent German flutist of the first half of the nineteenth century—expresses himself in a similar vein. Fürstenau’s second flute method, *Die Kunst des Flötenspiels*, was first published in 1844 and is modelled on Louis Spohr’s *Violinschule*.⁹⁹ Like several other authors of instrumental treatises, Fürstenau completes his extensive flute method with a section on performing (*vortragen*), where he explains what characterizes a sincere performance:

If the playing, [as so often], wants not just to occupy the listener’s ear in a pleasant manner, but also to powerfully touch and capture the listener’s mind for any length of time, then to externally perfect tone production and the careful, tasteful application of the external tools of art it should join a living, deeper sensitivity that displays an understanding of the composer’s innermost ideas and feelings and can make these ideas and feelings immediately discernible, or actually *reproduce* them.¹⁰⁰

The sounding music thus breathes and transmits the composer’s ideas and feelings, recreated by the performer. For the performer, to engage in the ineffable and unutterable, constantly changing sentiments of the music requires both an inward orientation and an act of sympathy—in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century meaning of that word.¹⁰¹ The performer sympathetically resonates with the music and the feelings and thoughts that the composer has incorporated into it. In 1799, the cellist and composer Luigi Boccherini wrote in a letter to the poet and playwright Marie-Joseph Chénier:

Music without feelings, and Passions, is insignificant; from this is born the fact that the composer achieves nothing without executants: these must be well-disposed toward the author, then

they must feel in their hearts all that he has notated; they must come together, rehearse, investigate, finally study the thoughts of the author, then execute his works. In this way they almost succeed in stealing the applause from the composer, or at least sharing the glory with him.¹⁰²

In the introduction to his *Vollständige Theoretisch-practische Musikschule*, Fröhlich suggests that sounding music incorporates and displays the composer's self. He writes that "the sound is also what has to serve the artist [composer] to the revelation of his inner self...Marvellous and enviable is thus the lot of the musical artist, as he, urged by the stream of his sensations, creates in living vision and pours his beautiful inner self into a tone-picture that lifts us up to his spiritual level and fills us with that grace that is the true sign of a purely aesthetic depiction...he instills an inner life into these and hereby opens a view on his mind."¹⁰³ In an essay from 1828 about Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Fröhlich called it a "complete portrait of his [Beethoven's] soul" and "Beethoven's autobiography, written in music."¹⁰⁴ This idea of music as autobiographical storytelling, a transparently representation and projection of the composer's private life and state, was not, however, commonly established until the 1830s; that is, after the death of Beethoven.¹⁰⁵

In 1814, Baillot founded the string quartet Quatuor Baillot, where he served as leader and first violinist.¹⁰⁶ One of the composers whose quartets Baillot performed in his chamber music soirées was his long-time friend and director at the Paris Conservatory, Luigi Cherubini. In a letter from 1834, Baillot invites Cherubini to the performance next Saturday of his Second String Quartet in C, but insists that there is no need for him to be present at the rehearsals. Baillot writes: "Once the piece is well understood and properly rehearsed, whether you are present or absent, we will see you at the end of each note, or rather sense your presence in the heart and so indulge ourselves in all the feelings that your admirable works inspire."¹⁰⁷ After thorough rehearsal and study of the music, performers can inwardly sense a composer's subjectivity incorporated in the music and can bring to life his feelings and ideas. Understanding and reproducing the composer's innermost ideas and feelings are reciprocal activities. Understanding the feelings and aesthetic ideas of the music supports an engagement in those feelings and ideas, and vice versa: engaging in the composer's sentiments and ideas not only helps move listeners but also deepens and develops the performer's understanding. This interaction can be a process over time

or can take place *in momentum*, in the multi-layered complex that is a musical performance.

At least for Hoffmann, Beethoven's music could arouse feelings of awe, fear, terror, and pain.¹⁰⁸ To sincerely engage in, reproduce, and sympathize with such emotional content requires strength and bravery. An expressive performance, with the potential to evoke every feeling and transfer listeners into a higher reality, requires not only emotional engagement but also boldness from the performer. According to early Romantic discourse, in order to be able to recognize the character of the music and express its feelings and ideas, a performer has to possess a certain innate productive creativity, or genius.¹⁰⁹ The concept of artistic genius was a topic of eighteenth-century as well as early nineteenth-century philosophical and aesthetic discussions. In Kant's theory, genius "is a natural inborn aptitude for artistic creativity which cannot simply be learned",¹¹⁰ and a talent for producing that for which no determinate rule can be given.¹¹¹ Herder describes genius as a natural, innate gift, which "can neither be bought or begged for, nor fought for nor learned."¹¹² In his piano method from 1797—addressed to dilettantes and beginners—the pianist Johann Peter Milchmeyer writes: "There are many able players, but not everyone among them belongs to the select few and is in possession of this treasure. Those, however, to whom nature has given a spark of this divine fire will, through diligent study and aided by the best and most characteristic works of the greatest composers, kindle this spark into a fire, warm their listeners, and be able, through their playing, to arouse [in] them not only the most pleasing and soothing feelings, but any passion."¹¹³ Still (at least according to the discussions in the musical treatises), genius could be developed and evolve. The German violinist virtuoso and composer Spohr first published his violin method in 1833.¹¹⁴ In the section about performance, he writes that the performing musician's "ability to recognize the character of the piece of music to be performed, and to sympathize with and reproduce its inherent expression, is an inborn gift of nature that certainly can be awakened and further developed, but cannot be learned."¹¹⁵ According to Domnich, when a performer is equipped with the qualities of taste and expression, "these qualities are in effect a gift of nature; they relate to a privileged organization; one can well develop them, perfect them through work, but one cannot acquire their seed."¹¹⁶ Domnich suggests that musical expression is a result of the performer's spontaneous feelings, inspiration, sensitivity, and ultimately their genius: "The expression depends most of all on the manner with which one feels, and with which

one is affected. It is a surge of the soul that does not know any rules, or rather, that is situated above the rules known to ordinary people, and can only be communicated to the select few. Its principle is a profound sensitivity, modified according to the inspiration of the moment.”¹¹⁷ Fürstenau shares the view that the artistic limitlessness of a performance depends upon the inborn talent of the performer. He writes:

Such a sensitive performance (where the player understands and reproduces the innermost ideas and feelings of the composer), however, presupposes in the player a talent which must be *inborn*, even if musical sensitivity can be significantly *furthered* and *refined* by means of good guidance and the frequently offered opportunity to listen to good music of the most various kinds...This musical sensitivity [*Gefühl*] is *the great mystery of art*, the divine spark that sleeps deep within the chest of the artist by calling, which cannot be kindled into a bright flame of art through dead words, but through living instruction and examples. The *outward* beauty of the playing, the technical perfection of the form, in which the artistic spirit resides, can be *achieved* and taught through diligence and perseverance; the truly aesthetic *inner* beauty of art, which the performing artist reproduces in a perfect form, can only be instigated and developed where nature has provided a *sense* for the beauty of *tone* and *art*; this is why true art is as infinite as creation itself; it might well have a practical and a theoretical beginning, but no psychological end.¹¹⁸

For the German Romantic poet and philosopher Novalis,¹¹⁹ however, genius was not a privilege for a select few.¹²⁰ He writes that “every person is the seed of an *infinite genius*,”¹²¹ and “every human being would then have a genius-like seed—but in varying degrees of development and energy.”¹²² As Dalia Nassar puts it, Novalis rather emphasizes that “everyone has the *capacity to become* a genius,”¹²³ and that “Genius... is something that one must strive to achieve or realize.”¹²⁴ Although Baillot writes about “the virtuoso violinist (who, we always suppose, has received a secret influence from heaven),”¹²⁵ he presents genius of performance as something that the student should aspire towards.¹²⁶ According to Baillot, “this treatise [*L’Art de violon*]...has as its object... to develop the genius of performance.”¹²⁷ The concluding part—which is almost the same in both his violin methods—is entitled “Expression

and means of expression".¹²⁸ There he writes that "true expression comprises *tone, tempo, style, taste, rhythmic steadiness, and genius of performance*."¹²⁹ "Genius of performance" is what makes the performance not only good, but something above that. It "leads to doing it [performing] better; when an artist is motivated by feeling, it is genius of performance that takes off in bold flight into the vast empire of expression in order to make new discoveries there."¹³⁰

For Novalis, genius is "the synthesizing principle; the genius makes the impossible, possible—the possible, impossible—the unknown, known—the known, unknown, etc."¹³¹ It synthesizes the natural and the spiritual. As Nassar puts it, for Novalis, "genius seeks to transform the natural world into a spiritual reality", and "the work of genius involves the lowering of the spiritual into the natural or empirical world."¹³² Baillot seems to reflect Novalis' view of genius as a synthesizing principle when he writes, "it is genius of performance that lets the artist know how to join grace to feeling, simplicity to grace, and strength to gentleness".¹³³ Geniality enables the performer to rise to the spiritual level of the art and its creator. Baillot writes that the performer's "sensitivity prepares him for all that he is going to play; scarcely has he caught a glimpse of his theme when his soul rises to the level of the subject."¹³⁴ According to Hegel, the executant artist has the duty "to give life and soul to the work in the same sense that the composer did."¹³⁵ He adds that "in spiritual terms, the performer's genius can consist solely in truly reaching—in reproduction—the spiritual height of the composer, and bringing it to life."¹³⁶

5.

The Performer Entering Into the Composer's Thoughts and Ideas

- The music grabs hold of me, penetrates me, and stimulates my imagination to exceed its ordinary limitations.*
- I boldly enter deep into the music, into the composer's ideas, thoughts and intentions, as the music enters into me. I leave myself behind, and let the music take over my inner self.*
- Letting myself be engulfed by the music makes me understand and master its expression.*
- Now I am the music.*
- I feel an intimate closeness to the composer.*
- All the wonderful enchanting pictures and apparitions that the composer has sealed into his work with magic power I call into active life, and let them shine in a thousand colours.*

In his violin methods, Baillot more than once quotes from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's widely used music encyclopaedia. Baillot's definition of expression, for example, is only slightly revised from Rousseau's.¹³⁷ Rousseau's encyclopaedia was first published in Paris in 1768.¹³⁸ In the article on execution, Rousseau directs himself to the singer, writing: "It is not enough to read from the music; it is necessary to enter into all the ideas of the composer, to feel and render the fire of expression."¹³⁹ This metaphor of entering into the music was continually repeated in the nineteenth century. In 1820, Hoffmann visited and reviewed a performance of Beethoven's *Schlacht bei Vittoria*, directed by his friend, the violinist and concert master of the Berlin Hofkapelle, Karl Möser.¹⁴⁰ In his review, Hoffmann writes that "through the intelligent manner in which Herr M. [Möser] directed the performance, entering fully into the composer's thoughts and intentions, everything came so vividly to life".¹⁴¹ In the context of a chamber music performance, entering into the composer's ideas and bringing them to life is a communal act. Spohr writes that when performing "real" string quartets (as opposed to "solo quartets", where the first violin is the soloist, accompanied by the other three instruments), "all four instruments enter in the same way into the composer's idea and make it perceptible."¹⁴² Entering into the composer's ideas and thoughts both relies upon and stimulates the imagination.

Both German and French turn-of-the-century musical treatises recommend that performers use tableaux as rhetorical vehicles for musical expression.¹⁴³ In his review of Beethoven's Piano Trios Op. 70, Nos. 1 and 2, Hoffmann writes about the performer who strives to elicit and bring to life delightful images embodied in the music. Responding to contemporary pianists who dismissed Beethoven's piano works as "very difficult", he suggests:

As far as difficulty is concerned, to the proper and adequate performance of Beethoven's compositions thus belongs nothing less than that one understands him, that one penetrates deeply into his essence, that in the consciousness of one's own blessings one boldly dares to enter the realm of those magical things that his powerful spell invokes...The true artist lives only in the work that he has understood as the composer meant it and that he then performs. He is above putting his own personality forward in any way, and all his endeavours are directed toward a single end—that all the wonderful, enchanting pictures and apparitions that the composer has sealed into his



FIG. 5. Caspar David Friedrich, *Der Sommer* (1807)

work with magic power may be called into active life, shining in a thousand colours, and that they may surround mankind in luminous sparkling circles and, enkindling its imagination, its innermost soul, may bear it in rapid flight into the faraway spirit realm of sound.¹⁴⁴

Hoffmann continues by arguing that “there are few such artists, such genuine virtuosos”.¹⁴⁵ One such artist would have been Baillot, who in his violin methods asks a rhetorical question about the genius of performance: “Does it not have feelings to express, *tableaux* to paint?”¹⁴⁶ In a letter to Prince Galitzin, Baillot thanks the prince for letting him use a set of parts for Beethoven’s quartet, Op. 127, and writes: “Beethoven introduces you into a new world. You traverse the wilderness, walk along precipices, the night catches you unprepared, you wake up and you are transported to ravishingly beautiful places, a paradise on earth all around you; the sun shines bright for you to contemplate the magnificence of nature.”¹⁴⁷

Connecting with the composer and identifying with his or her style can also be accomplished through bodily movements. In the section on style in his violin methods, Baillot writes that “each composer gives an imprint to his works,—an individual stamp, a style of his own—which comes from his manner of feeling and expressing.”¹⁴⁸ It is the performer’s duty to render this personal imprint, thus the performer has to have the technical flexibility to vary his or her style of playing.¹⁴⁹ When the composer is a violinist, this includes re-enacting the composer’s individual playing style, i.e. his physical movements. Baillot advises the student that “if the composer has himself set the fingering, one should follow it as far as possible, to identify oneself with the style of the author, since fingering is one of the means [one uses] to characterize the style...[Even when they are not indicated] one will have to search for and finger according to the style, well-known, of each composer.”¹⁵⁰ Baillot continues: “If the violinist wishes to come the closest to the true meaning of the composition he is performing, he must try to finger according to the known style of the composer.”¹⁵¹ Baillot then discusses the fingering styles of three of his violinist colleagues, Giovanni Battista Viotti, Kreutzer, and Rode, by presenting sequences of their music with the fingerings indicated. FIG. 6. shows two sequences from Kreutzer’s violin concertos, and one from a sonata by Rode, all with the composers’ fingerings. According to Baillot, their fingering styles varied: Viotti “almost always” remained in the same position, Kreutzer “shifted frequently on all strings”, and Rode “shifted on the same string”, a style that favours *ports de voix*.¹⁵²

(Concerto G. de Kreutzer. — Ed. Frey.)

Moderato. Doigté par l'auteur.

4^e Corde.

228. Bis.

(Concerto C. de Kreutzer. — Ed. Frey.)

Moderato. Doigté par l'auteur.

Doigté de Rode.

Rode changeait de position sur les mêmes cordes, ce qui favorise les ports de voix dans les chants gracieux et donne à ces chants une certaine unité dans l'expression au moyen de l'homogénéité des sons de la même corde.

(1^{re} Sonate de Rode. — Ed. Frey.)

Cantante. Doigté par l'auteur.

2^e Corde.

de la même sonate.

2^e Corde.

FIG. 6. Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot,
L'art de violon: Nouvelle méthode [1834], pp. 148–9

When the performing body of one musician re-enacts the precise movements of another musician, a feeling of closeness or even identification can emerge, which expands beyond the physical gestures to include sensibility and musical expressivity.¹⁵³ Studying and incorporating other violinists' fingering styles can also help a violinist to develop his or her own style and expressive toolbox. Baillot writes: "It is by observing in the music of each composer the differences which result from the choice of position, of string, and of fingering, that violinists can finger their own music so much better, depending on the type of expression they would like to give it."¹⁵⁴

6.

The Performer Identifying With the Composer, Becoming Him

– I feel the composer's presence in the music.

– I take part in the composer's geniality and artistic authority; it becomes mine and unites with my own talent. I perform with its power.

– I am not just me anymore; I have become one with the music and the composer.

– Now I am the composer. There are no borders between the composer's feelings and my own. I am inside his or her ideas and feelings.

– The composer's intentions are now mine; I fully trust my feelings and musical intuition in creating the music anew. My conception of this phrase outranks the score. I know how to perform it, because it's my creation.

– I give life to the dead composer with my playing. The composer's presence is felt in the room and stands out to the listeners, his or her genius and musical ideas fill the room.

Engaging in the situation of another, or transporting oneself outside of one's own self and sympathetically identifying with somebody else, was a major theme of both the cult of sensibility and early Romanticism.¹⁵⁵ The absorptive ideal of sympathy was a common way of thinking about relations, both in ordinary life and in art, and was intimately connected with the idea of imagination.¹⁵⁶ Engell writes that in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century thought, sympathy became "that special power of the imagination which permits the self to escape its own confines, to identify with other people, to perceive things in a new way, and to develop an aesthetic appreciation of the world that coalesces both the subjective self and the objective other."¹⁵⁷ The idea of the performer identifying with the composer was articulated by musicians in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁸ In his encyclopaedia article entitled "Expression", Rousseau describes a mutually creative and interactive relation between the singer, the poet, and the composer of an Air. To create a performance that is as expressive as possible, Rousseau calls for a collapse of these separate artistic identities, asking the singer to "do the same as you would, were you at the same time poet, composer, actor, and singer."¹⁵⁹ To a greater extent than his eighteenth-century colleagues, Baillot writes about the role of genius and the performer's spontaneous and intuitive inspiration in this synthesizing act.¹⁶⁰ He opens the section on "genius of performance" in his violin methods as follows: "It is genius of performance that allows the artist to seize at a glance the different characters of music, and by a sudden inspiration identify himself with the genius of the composer, follow him in all his intentions, and communicate them with both facility and precision."¹⁶¹ Through this act of identification, the talented performer can reanimate the spirits of genial composers from an earlier age, make them becoming alive and present. According to Baillot, "it is genius of performance that allows the artist to make the great geniuses of the past centuries live again".¹⁶² This idea was made viable by Baillot's belief in a historical constancy of passions: that music affects humans in a timeless manner. Baillot writes: "The heart of man...has in its affections a constancy, a uniformity, a genealogy of feelings;...We can ask them [those who have heard the masterpieces of Palestrina, Handel, Sebastian Bach, and others] whether the effect upon them of these masterpieces, imbued with these sublime inspirations, is not sufficient to attest that the heart always responds to the same *accents* with the same sighs!"¹⁶³ In a footnote he adds: "The success of the Historical Concerts recently given by Mr. Fétis cannot leave any doubt in this respect."¹⁶⁴ François-Joseph Fétis was an organist, critic,

composer, music historian, and director of the Brussels Conservatory. In 1832, he founded a series of *Concerts Historiques* wherein older repertory was combined with mini-lectures given by Fétis himself.¹⁶⁵ In Baillot's chamber music soirées, his string quartet regularly performed music by composers representing different musical styles (most performed were Boccherini, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Baillot himself).¹⁶⁶ This came with the challenge of expressing and communicating the composer's individual musical imprint and character.¹⁶⁷ Baillot was admired for successfully accomplishing that. Fétis, who visited and reviewed Baillot's chamber music soirées, notes appreciatively in one of his reviews that each composer whose works were performed at the soirée was given "a particular physiognomy".¹⁶⁸ In another review from 1831, the critic, composer, and music writer Joseph d'Ortigue writes:

The programme as a whole is a history lecture. In a two-hour performance, the art and its traditions will unfold before our eyes. Boccherini, with his antique and naive manners, breathes some scents of the Middle Ages. Haydn represents a perfected society full of elegance. In Mozart [this society is] more tumultuous, more passionate; it seems immensely eager to develop. Beethoven, in his reveries and up to his sublime follies is the image of a civilization that overflows, overwhelms. Well then! Mr Baillot is the man of all these epochs. He not only transports himself to the time indicated by the author's name, but he also identifies himself with the personality of the composer.¹⁶⁹

In Berlin, Möser led a prestigious series of quartet concerts. A review from 1826 of a concert where Möser and his quartet played one string quartet by Haydn, one by Mozart, and one by Beethoven states that Möser, "himself a virtuoso of genius, truly sympathizes with Haydn's humour, Mozart's soul [*Gemüth*], and Beethoven's sublime genius, and presents them clearly to the listener."¹⁷⁰ The French writer on music François Fayolle describes a more total transformation. In a pamphlet from 1831, he honours Baillot for possessing "the genius of performance because he strips away his ego to become, by turn, Haydn, Boccherini, Mozart and Beethoven."¹⁷¹ For the performer, the feeling of being transformed into another can be a vitalizing and empowering experience of an expansion of one's artistic self. It can enhance the feeling of sincerity, creativity and artistic freedom. For the beholder, to perceive such a transformation can be an extraordinary and magical, even idolatrous experience.

The violinist Joseph Joachim made his first public performance in Berlin in December 1852 playing Beethoven's violin concerto. The critic Otto Gumprecht was very enthusiastic and describes an immersive listening experience that included the presence of the dead composer:

Now a young violinist entered the stage...During the Tutti at the beginning of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, I had enough time to look at him, but at the first sounds of the violin I forgot everything else, the concert hall, the audience, even Mr. Joachim. The nobility and fullness of the tone, the perfect technique, the spirited conception occupied my full attention. Not before the Adagio did I look again, but of the figure of the violinist I could not see anything anymore; it was entirely eclipsed by another. I recognized it well, this short, nonchalantly dressed figure with the tangled hair standing on end, the high forehead on which the most sublime thoughts leave their illuminated traces, with the deep-seated eyes that radiated the most audacious spirit and the deepest love of mankind, with those lips into which pain had drawn the sharpest creases and lines...It was he himself, the creator of the Ninth Symphony, whom I imagined seeing face to face.¹⁷²

Three years later, Joachim played another concert in Berlin, this time together with Clara Schumann. The then 25-year-old pianist and opera conductor Hans von Bülow attended the concert and wrote afterwards in a Berlin newspaper:

It was not Joachim who yesterday played Beethoven and Bach, Beethoven himself played! That was no mere interpretation of the highest genius; it was a revelation. Even the most incredulous must [now] believe in miracles, since such a transubstantiation has never before been witnessed. Never has a work of art been so transfigured before the mind's eye with such life and spirit, nor has the immortality of genius before appeared so lustrous and sublime in its truest reality. One wished to listen kneeling.¹⁷³

For Bülow and Gumprecht, it was not only that the composer's feelings and ideas were reanimated through the performance of his music; rather, Beethoven himself miraculously appeared as resurrected and present.



FIG. 7. Karl Joseph Stieler, portrait of Ludwig van Beethoven (1820)

Bülow's reference to the Christian transubstantiation reflects the idea of conversion between material objects and the spiritual. As discussed above, Romantic and idealist philosophy was characterized by the idea of a resolution of oppositions: overcoming or collapsing the dualisms between the real and the ideal, humanity and nature, the intelligible and the sensible, the material and the spiritual, the self and the not-self, subject and object.¹⁷⁴ One of the most significant philosophical concepts of early nineteenth-century German discourse was the "absolute", which, according to Beiser, was defined "in terms of *the unity or indifference* of the subjective and objective."¹⁷⁵

Metaphorically becoming one with the composer involves the performer's imagination, memories, and experiences. It supports a feeling of shared genius and creativity. The idea of self-transformation also relates to discussions of individuality by Friedrich Schleiermacher and other Romantic theorists.¹⁷⁶ As Izenberg observes, the Romantics believed "that individuality demanded an expansion of the self towards infinity".¹⁷⁷ In this way of thinking, self-annihilation could function as a vehicle for a sense of self-expansion: what Hunter calls a "reciprocal self-loss and self-realization".¹⁷⁸ By spontaneously and temporarily surrendering to the composer's subjectivity and leaving their own self behind, the performer could expand that self.

7.

The Performer Uniting With the Instrument

– I let the instrument become a part of me, a part of my body.

*– My bow or instrument sings the melody; my arm or
body animates it.*

– The sound of the instrument is my voice.

The musical instrument merging with the performer is another metaphor of unification that was used in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century discourse. Permeated by the innerness of both the performer and the music, the instrument could become something more than a separate item: it could transform into a soulful subject. For Hegel, musical instruments “remain, in general, an external matter, a dead thing, while music is inner movement and activity.”¹⁷⁹ However, “if the externality of the instrument disappears altogether, i.e. if inner music penetrates this external reality through and through, then in this virtuosity the foreign instrument appears as a perfectly developed organ of the artistic soul and its very own property.”¹⁸⁰ Hegel recalls an experience from his youth of a performance by a guitarist who “put into his instrument his whole soul”.¹⁸¹ Performers were admired for their ability to create an impression that their instrument was transformed into an extension of their body, able to speak and express the music. A review in *Mercure de France* from 1762 of a concert at the *Concert spirituel* praises the cellist Jean-Pierre Duport for his expressive performance. “The instrument is no longer recognizable in his hands: it speaks, it expresses, it renders everything [at a level] beyond that charm one had believed reserved exclusively for the violin,” writes the reviewer.¹⁸² In another review of a concert in Berlin, Hoffmann writes about the cellist and composer Bernhard Heinrich Romberg’s masterly playing of one of his own solo concertos.¹⁸³ According to Hoffmann, Romberg makes his cello “an immediate, unfettered organ of the spirit; this is after all the highest goal to which a practicing artist aspires...with all its strength and grace and its rare abundance of sounds, it [his instrument] has become so much an extension of the artist that it seems by itself to vibrate with all the sensations of the spirit”.¹⁸⁴

The same metaphor is also used in musical treatises to promote musical expressivity. The Italian composer and violinist Giuseppe Cambini was active in Paris, where he published a violin treatise sometime between 1795 and 1803. Cambini wants the student’s bow to be felt as a part of the performing body that sings and pronounces the melodic line.¹⁸⁵ He provides the student with a dramatic line of text for the opening of the first violin part of Boccherini’s Quartet in C Minor, Op. 2, No. 1,¹⁸⁶ and invites the student: “Above all, think that you wish to move me ...electrify your arm with the fire of this thought...so that your bow becomes your tongue and your countenance”.¹⁸⁷ Early Romantic writers repeatedly give the instrument the role of a subject. Baillot writes that the violin “becomes the most noble interpreter of genius; initiated to all mysteries of the heart by its continuous contact, it breathes and it beats

with the heart [of the performer].”¹⁸⁸ In Baillot’s mind, the identities of the violin and the violinist are blurred.¹⁸⁹ In a solo concerto, the violin “speaks as the master”.¹⁹⁰ At the end of his section on “genius of performance”, Baillot even anthropomorphizes the violin: “The violin is no longer just an instrument, it is a sonorous soul; traveling through space, it strikes the ear of even the least attentive listener and seeks in the depths of his heart emotional strings to set in motion.”¹⁹¹ The violin—or its sound—is here magically transformed into a soul, seeking sympathy with the listener’s innermost self.

The Performer Expressing Him or Herself

– I play as if I had created this melody. This is my music that I perform according to the composer's and my own united thoughts and feelings.

– I give life to this phrase/music through my own self. I seek feelings within myself, and let my own experiences and memories be incorporated in the sounding music.

– I add nuances and beauties to the music that comes from my own heart.

– The music expresses me. The melody sings my personal feelings, my life experiences, my memories of sorrow, pain, happiness, and beauty.

– This combination of submission and creativity leads to a sincere and authentic performance.

Hegel explains what is unique about music as an artform: that it has to be performed by another artist. An architect needs builders, but a composer needs other artists of the same status to reproduce the musical work.¹⁹² The performer physically puts life into and embodies the music, expressing both the music and him- or herself. For Baillot, the performer needs to do more than reproduce the musical work. He writes: "It is the genius of performance that allows the artist to imbue himself with the spirit of a piece to the point of lending it charms not indicated in the music, to go as far as creating the effects that the composer often leaves to instinct, to translate everything, to bring everything to life".¹⁹³ For the performer, being absorbed into the music, realizing artistic ideas, and intuitively creating new expressions in a real-time performance can be an enjoyable and inspiring experience. Baillot writes about "the genius of performance which delights in divining [imagining] and creating its own way."¹⁹⁴ The perception of the composer's thoughts as one's own creations can expand the performer's feeling of artistic and expressive self-confidence. The performer's expressivity makes him or her the music's co-creator, or real-time creator.¹⁹⁵ Domnich writes: "Without removing the original character of a piece, [expression] knows to leave its mark on it; and by expression, the composer's thought somehow becomes a creation of the performer. This is thus how expression produces its most lively effects; this is how it lifts itself up to the sublime".¹⁹⁶

Performers develop their own personal and original playing style, just like other artists do. According to Baillot, "feelings vary infinitely within each individual, and as it is the nuances in impressions that differentiate styles, if the performer has the seed of true talent, he will eventually establish a style for himself in which he will express himself as a whole; he will take on that character of originality belonging to those who say what they feel, and who write or perform only according to the inspirations of the heart and the bursts of imagination."¹⁹⁷ The violinist playing a sonata "draws its nuances and its contrasts from his own depths".¹⁹⁸ The sounding music becomes soulful, permeated with the performer's subjectivity. Hegel explains what is for him a deeply significant part of performance: "For music takes as its subject-matter the subjective inner life itself, with the aim of presenting itself, not as an external shape or as an objectively existing work, but as that inner life itself; consequently its expression must be the direct communication of a *living individual* who has put into it the entirety of his own inner life. This is most clearly the case in the song of the human voice, but it is relatively true also of instrumental music which can be performed

only by practicing artists with their living skill both spiritual and technical.”¹⁹⁹ Baillot provides an even more vivid picture of an expressive performance. He writes that for the mature violin soloist, full of artistic genius and confidence, expression “has crossed the boundaries of art; it becomes, so to speak, the story of his life; he sings of his memories, his sorrows, the pleasures he has tasted, the hurts he has endured...The very trials of adversity, reawakening his energy, exalt his imagination and give him those sublime emotions, those strong ideas born of great obstacles and seeming to spring from the heart of storms. Finally, whatever the destiny that calls him, melody is his interpreter, his faithful friend; it gives him the purest of all enjoyments by revealing to him the secret of communicating the full range of feelings he has, and the secret of enabling his fellow men to become passionately involved in his destiny.”²⁰⁰ This soloist can be imagined placed on the stage of the theatre with the orchestra in the pit,²⁰¹ inviting the audience to share his genuine and sincere outpouring of himself: his deepest strong feelings, his own life experiences. Baillot’s claim that the melody is the soloist’s interpreter (*interprète*) can be seen as yet another example of challenging the distinction between subject and object in performance. The sound of the violin becomes the soloist’s voice that sings the story of his or her life; the melody is what expresses and communicates the player’s feelings and memories.

9.

The Performance as a Collective and Interactive Artistic Act

*– My engagement in the music invites the listeners to
be part of the performance and part of the music.*

*– I warm the listeners' hearts; I make them feel
everything that I feel.*

*– I take in the listeners' responses and emotional reactions
with warmth and let them inspire me to new feelings
and expressions.*

Lawrence Dreyfus argues that the idea of a musical performance as an interpretation of a musical work cannot be dated to before the 1840s.²⁰² The early nineteenth-century understanding of an ideal musical performance—public or private—can be described as relational and interactive: an artistic act characterized by a synthesis between the mundane and the supernatural, the material and the spiritual, as well as a unification or sympathy between the actors involved: the performers, listeners, composers, and musical instruments. The successful performer was supposed to sincerely connect with both his/her own subjective innerness and that of the music, as well as connect to and touch the listeners. The listeners were also given an active role, both regarding their own understanding of the music and in that their response to the music—perceived by the performer—could contribute to the development of new expressions. Arguably, the listener's engagement in the music's profound inwardness is a prerequisite for such reciprocity.

The Romantic discourse around listening celebrates attentiveness, silence, and individuality. The ideal musical experience is often described as both sincere and original.²⁰³ Wackenroder (who himself had a substantial education in music)²⁰⁴ portrays the listening experiences that his literary character, the music enthusiast Joseph Berglinger, had in his youth as highly individual, ecstatic, and transformative.²⁰⁵ According to Fétis, “the immense superiority of music over the other arts is in the marvellous variety of feelings that strike each individual differently”.²⁰⁶ As Johnson notes, Fétis “argued that the actual sentiments stirred by music could not be communicated, ‘for out of a thousand individuals perhaps not one would feel as another.’”²⁰⁷ The listener's free imagination was essential to the aesthetic perception of instrumental music.²⁰⁸ Hegel suggests that one aspect of music without words is “that more dreamlike element of non-conceptual feeling, in which we, undisturbed, can let ourselves be led in this or that direction, without having to abandon the freedom to perceive this or that in a piece of music, to feel ourselves moved by it in one way or another.”²⁰⁹ The German pastor and music writer Johann Karl Friedrich Triest provides a clarifying description in an article in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1801:

The *applied* art of music (combined with song) [i.e. vocal music] expresses *specific* feelings and ideas, and wants to influence the *heart more than the imagination* [*Phantasie*]. *Purely instrumental music*, which relates to the former more or less as speculative philosophy relates to practical philosophy, is not in

a position—even in its most beautiful products—to represent more than an *analogue* of sentiment, even though it is often capable of producing in a mediated way, i.e. through the mood of the listener, emotional responses that are just as powerful as the ones stimulated by music combined with words. Its actual purpose, then, is to assist the participant, by means of the *indefinite* quality of its phrases (which must never be confused with the muddled, the boring, or the insipid), to make *freer* use of his imagination [*Einbildungskraft*], and then to leave it up to him (or the circumstances) to determine which *more specific* ideas and feelings this play of tones may lead him to.²¹⁰

As Wallrup observes, to participate in music means to be a part of it.²¹¹ Listeners to instrumental music were supposed to contribute to their understanding of the music and to co-create the content of what they heard through their own imagination.²¹² As mentioned above, an often articulated idea was that music could convey what words were incapable of revealing. In Honoré de Balzac's *Massimilla Doni*, the title character embraces that idea and expresses the understanding that instrumental music, being undefinable and infinite, has the power to liberate the mind of the listener who freely perceives it:

That language [modern music], a thousand times fuller than the language of words, is to speech and ideas what the thought is to its utterance; it arouses sensations and ideas in their primitive form, in that part of us where sensations and ideas have their birth, but leaves them as they are in each of us. That power over our inmost being is one of the grandest facts in music. All other arts present to the mind a definite creation; those of music are indefinite—infinite. We are compelled to accept the ideas of the poet, the painter's picture, the sculptor's statue; but music each one can interpret at the will of his sorrow or his gladness, his hope or his despair. While other arts restrict our mind by fixing it on a predestined object, music frees it to roam over all nature which it alone has the power of expressing.²¹³

These indefinite creations of music could be visualized as subjectively imagined tableaux.²¹⁴ Tieck writes about “vivid individual images” that “swim in the tones”²¹⁵ and a *Symphonie* “full of highly individual images”.²¹⁶ When Wackenroder's character Joseph Berglinger listened in



FIG. 8. W. Boucher, image from H. de Balzac,
Massimilla Doni

his youth to “the lighthearted and delightful symphonies for full orchestra of which he was particularly fond,” “it seemed to him quite often as though he saw a merry chorus of youths and maidens dancing on a sunny meadow, skipping forward and backward, single couples speaking to each other, in pantomime from time to time, then losing themselves again amid the joyous crowd...These many-sided moods [called forth by the music] now all of them impressed upon his soul new thoughts and visual images, invariably corresponding”.²¹⁷

For Wackenroder, understanding a work of art is close to becoming one with it.²¹⁸ As discussed above, the German concept of imagination, *Einbildungskraft*, was envisioned as a power of synthesis, or forming into one. The power of imagination could make the listener sympathize with the composer, his feelings and intentions. As an adult composer and Capellmeister, Wackenroder’s Joseph Berglinger looks back on his boyhood daydreams of a future when listeners would gather to hear his works and “surrender their feelings to *me*”.²¹⁹ As an adult, he still wishes that “there may be someone whom Heaven has made so sympathetic to my soul that he will feel on hearing my melodies precisely what I felt in writing them—precisely what I sought to put in them.”²²⁰ For Spohr, an immersive experience of this kind was supported by the performer’s creativity and engagement. He writes that “if the performer adds something of his own, and is able to spiritually enliven what is being performed, so that the listener can recognize and sympathize with the intentions of the composer, then this is called a *beautiful performance*”.²²¹

The visual perception of the performer or performers also contributed to the listener’s artistic experience and feeling of participation.²²² Baillot writes that the first violinist in a string quartet “needs to find a good connection with the audience...Sometimes during the performance of slow pieces, we even see a listener seek to imbue himself more deeply with the feeling the composer wished to paint by putting his hand in front of his eyes so that nothing will distract him. But this is an exception, for in general the sense of sight seems to come to the aid of the sense of hearing in conveying to the listener more completely the expression of the accent through the expression of the physical gesture.”²²³ As the first violin in his string quartet, Baillot is reported to have performed standing,²²⁴ a position that provides the player with more expressive space and increased possibilities of visual interaction with the listeners. Hoffmann agrees with Baillot that a clear view of the soloist supports the listening experience. In a review of a concert where Romberg played one of his own cello concertos, he writes: “One hears

better when one sees. The secret relationship between light and sound is clearly demonstrated; both light and sound assume an individual form, and thus the soloist or singer himself becomes the sounding melody! That sounds strange, I admit; but see and hear our splendid Bernhard, then you will fully understand what I mean, and surely not accuse me of eccentric obscurantism...one must not only hear this splendid musician playing, but also *see* him playing.”²²⁵ Romberg apparently played the concerto by heart, which for Hoffmann supported the interweaving of vision and audition. Hoffmann continues: “It is not insignificant in this regard that Romberg never has music in front of him, but plays everything from memory, sitting clearly visible before the audience.”²²⁶ The performer’s engagement and presence on the stage formed part of the listener’s artistic experience. In Hegel’s *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, we read that in a musical performance, “the whole man [the performing artist] comes on stage, fully alive, and is himself made into an animated work of art.”²²⁷ The performer and listener could be joined in shared passionate excitement. Baillot writes that the violin soloist, in a Presto, “communicates to those who listen to him the fire which drives him; he lets them participate in his outburst of feeling; he strikes and astonishes by his boldness; he touches by his sensitivity, which never abandons him; he...carries the emotion to its final climax, until enthusiasm carries away the listener as well as the musician, electrifies both of them, and leads them to feed those transports so full of charms brought by true expression.”²²⁸

The listener’s participation in the music could, in turn, be physically expressed and visually communicated to the performer. Cambini tells the violin student that when he envisions the bow as his tongue, and plays the melody while being strongly moved by the expressive text line provided by Cambini, “you will...have the pleasure of seeing the spectator moved, immobile, and ready to forget everything in order to hear you.”²²⁹ Such spectator reactions could, in turn, encourage and inspire the performer, creating thrilling and wondrous effects in his or her heart. Baillot writes that when the performer—the true artist—moves the audience, communicates what he feels, and finds hearts that respond in unison to his, “a trembling, a smile, a tear, will tell him enough, and when he notices he has been understood, this happiness is for him so far above the vain enjoyment of conceit that he seems already to have left the earth to dwell in a better world.”²³⁰ Even subtle emotional interactions can be powerful experiences; here, Baillot presents the performer’s reaction to the listeners’ sympathetic resonance

as ecstatic. According to Baillot, the sympathetic resonance between performers and listeners is also a creative act that can expand the performer's expressive capacity. He writes:

The artist [playing a quartet] cannot be unaware that the listener, thus situated [in visual contact with the players], is under the influence of his outpouring of feeling. It is only by the continuous exchange of feelings that he feels born in himself new feelings resulting from the effect of those he has conveyed; these new inspirations give him new means to move the audience. He is alerted to these feelings by the slightest movement, and when applause (the only kind of noise compatible with music, and the most powerful of incentives) is heard, we almost always see the performer's means of expression grow in proportion to the enthusiasm he inspires.²³¹

Through such a feedback-loop, the audience contributes to the development of both the expressivity of the real-time performance and the performer's expressive ability.²³² These interactions are, of course, also affected and reinforced by the sounding music, which, according to Romantic aesthetics, promotes both self-knowledge and self-development.²³³

In Parisian chamber music concerts of the late 1820s, as well as in early Victorian London, the custom was to applaud not only between movements, but also to some extent during playing, which is what Baillot most likely refers to in this quote.²³⁴ For the audience, clapping is a way to participate in the performance and communicate appreciation, especially when used more freely than only at the conclusion of a piece.²³⁵

Performances of Music by
Franz Schubert and
Ludwig van Beethoven



Ludwig van Beethoven: String Trio in G Major Op.9 No 1, Adagio ma non tanto e cantabile. Karin Berggren (violin), Magnus Pehrsson (viola), Frida Bromander (cello).

URL: <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/text-editor/simple-media-resource?research=2288387&simple-media=2288394>



Franz Schubert: String Trio in B-flat Major, D581, Allegro moderato. Karin Berggren (violin), Magnus Pehrsson (viola), Frida Bromander (cello).

URL: <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/text-editor/simple-media-resource?research=2288387&simple-media=2288407>

In the performances presented in these two video recordings, both the musicians and the listeners are aiming at re-enacting the aesthetic ideas and mindsets of early Romantic performance discourse that have been described in this text. The musicians are Karin Berggren (violin, Gothenburg Opera orchestra), Magnus Pehrsson (viola, co-principal, Gothenburg Opera orchestra), and Frida Bromander (cello). The music performed is the first movement (*Allegro moderato*) of Franz Schubert's String Trio in B-flat major (D. 581, composed in September 1817), and the second movement (*Adagio ma non tanto e cantabile*) of Ludwig van Beethoven's Trio Op. 9, No. 1 in G major (composed in 1797–98). Seven listeners took part in the performance, one of which was me. The lines added as subtitles in the videos are excerpts from the thoughts, feelings, and associations of mainly the listeners but also the performers during the real-time performance. Each participant is represented by a specific colour. The subtitles can be read as private, individual, free-wheeling thoughts or as an unspoken conversation among the people in the room. My goal in presenting these thoughts and feelings is to re-create the sense of the performing space with some of its atmospheric qualities, point out the unseen listeners' mental presence in the room and their participation in the performance, and make some of the experiences of the participants accessible as a contribution to the performance.

All the participants in the performance were professional musicians and/or researchers in music or literature. Their previously established knowledge of and familiarity with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music aesthetics provided a basis for preparing the re-enactment, which was nevertheless a challenging task.²³⁶ The musicians and the listeners prepared similarly for the performances. After reading an early version of the text above, the musicians attended rehearsal workshops with me in which we worked with the formulated invitations, ideas, and metaphors presented at the start of each section above. We worked with them in our native language (Swedish), which in my experience makes them into more powerful tools. For the same reason, we used the name of the composer whose music we were working with instead of the word "composer". The string trio, because they formed an ensemble, worked with versions of the formulations that used the pronoun "we" as well as "I". The listeners (I among them) prepared by studying the same text as the musicians and also studied some extra readings. The bulk of our preparation, however, consisted of listening to music from the period and practicing a listening attitude

that corresponded to the early Romantic performing mindset. We did this using formulated invitations, ideas, and metaphors similar to those used by the musicians.

The performances took place on 13 September 2021 at Jonsæred Herrgård outside Gothenburg, which is the mansion seen at the beginning of the videos, photographed by Håkan Berg. The entire String Trio in B-flat major by Schubert and Beethoven's Trio Op. 9 No 1 in G-major were performed, movement by movement. The performances were filmed by Kristoffer Sandberg and audio was recorded by Erik Sikkema. The purpose of the performances was to explore how trying to re-enact early Romantic aesthetic ideas and mindsets might affect the experience of both musical performers and listeners. Both performers and listeners used the same versions of the formulated invitations, ideas, and metaphors as prompts, one for each movement. After each movement, the listeners made short notes about the thoughts and feelings they experienced.

Over the next few months, the listeners wrote more detailed reflections using a method of stimulated recall. We used the video recordings to recollect our impressions, and to indicate the precise timing of the feelings and thoughts we had noted down as we experienced them. The performers used the same method, reflecting both orally and in writing on their experience of the project with the help of the video recordings. Finally, I used quotations from the written reflections to create the subtitles. The videos were then edited by Kristoffer Sandberg.

The performances were preceded by a public concert earlier in September of the same works in the same salon where I introduced the audience to early Romantic aesthetics of musical performance step-by-step between each movement.

FINAL COMMENTS

Expressivity in musical performance has sparked increasing research interest over the last decades.²³⁷ The term expressive musical performance, however, is difficult to define.²³⁸ In music psychology as well as other fields of music research, expression in a musical performance is often defined as the performer's deviation from the regular: a "change" or "departure" (whether conscious or unconscious) from what is expected or what is indicated in the score.²³⁹ Doğantan-Dack suggests another definition, which is not restricted exclusively to the sonic properties of the performance: that an expressive performance is "generative of a valued affective response triggered (at least in part) by the sounds of the performance."²⁴⁰ In a study by Lindström et al., students in higher music education (in the subjects of classical music and jazz) defined musical expression in terms of "communicating emotion" and "playing with feeling".²⁴¹ As Williamon observes, the practical limitations associated with experimental studies have forced researchers of music performance to focus on core principles that "transcend a specific time and place".²⁴² This timelessness can lead to misconceptions. According to Milson and Da Costa: "One of the main limitations of expressiveness analyses in the domain of cognitive studies of music performance is that expressivity is often defined as being constant or, more precisely, as if traits of music performance associated with the invocation of emotion have remained more or less stable over time."²⁴³ Doğantan-Dack suggests that this de-historicization is a consequence of a research focus on musical scores and the properties of the sounding music, and calls it "perhaps the most serious weakness of research on expressive performance".²⁴⁴ As she observes, traces of non-sonic, cultural, and historical variables "may nevertheless be imprinted in the sounds of a performance."²⁴⁵ Further, both research questions in the field of musical expression and metaphors used in today's musical discourse are, arguably, affected by current aesthetic understandings of music and musical performance. To avoid discussing these understandings and their aesthetic and philosophical frameworks limits both research and the performance discourse.

In discussions of musical performance in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the word "performance" sometimes refers exclusively to the sounding music. Today, however, research interest is also growing in the relational and multi-sensorial aspects of a live musical performance, including the bodily movements and facial gestures of performers and their relation to musical expression.²⁴⁶

Among the ideas present at the turn of the nineteenth century that still persists in classical music culture today is the unification of

performer and instrument. The idea of the musician or the music being able to transport the listener to another world also appears in today's discussions. In general, metaphors are frequently used by musicians and are often given a prominent role when discussing and working with musical expression.²⁴⁷ The metaphor of the performer becoming the composer—which challenges the conceptions of distance and hierarchy between the historical composer and the living performer—is not regularly used today. The researcher and musician Elisabeth Le Guin, however, shows how, for the performer, a genuine and sincere understanding of a piece of music, together with extensive tactile experience of practicing it, can create a feeling of unification with the composer.²⁴⁸ She asserts the possibility for the performer of a physically reciprocal relationship with the dead composer, writing:

My role constitutes itself as follows: as living performer of Boccherini's sonata, a work which he wrote for himself to play, I am aware of acting the connection between parts of someone who cannot be here in flesh. I have become not just his hands, but his binding agent, the continuity, the consciousness; it is only a step over from the work of maintaining my own person as some kind of unitary thing, the necessary daily fiction of establishing and keeping a hold on identity. The act is different perhaps in urgency and accuracy, but not, I think in kind. As this composer's agent in performance, I do in this wise become him, in much the same manner as I become myself. And my experience of becoming him is grounded in and expressed through the medium of the tactile.²⁴⁹

As a flute-player, I myself worked with the metaphors, invitations, and aesthetic concepts presented in this text while practicing early nineteenth-century music. I found it challenging, but it helped me to increase my emotional and expressive engagement in the music. My experience was that it supported both my attention towards and access to the music's essence and affective power. I could feel pleasantly empowered by the composer's genius and creativity, and I could also feel a strengthened sincerity while playing. The musicians taking part in this study likewise experienced working with early Romantic aesthetic mindsets as both intense and artistically rewarding. Karin Berggren said that working in this way—spending time on entering the music in another way, exploring the music through images and feelings and one's own inner self, *being inside*

the music, and aiming at finding the essence of the music—developed her understanding of it. Reflecting after the project, she wrote:

Try to incorporate Baillot's way of thinking into a concert situation gave me a partly new authority to create music in the moment from *my* feelings and *my* personality—to colour the music with *my* conceptions of it, my experiences, etc. This became clear when I viewed my role as an artist with genius. At the same time, I also had a mandate to transmit (what I conceived as) Schubert's and Beethoven's intentions for their music—to make myself an interpreter for their genius and artistry. I surrendered to the idea that I fully understood and even became one with their musicality. This gave me greater freedom in the performance situation. It was a shift of focus that allowed me to get past the somewhat more mundane concerns that normally threaten to steal far too much attention from the music itself in a concert situation. When I was busy seeing the pictures the music created in me, busy “being” Schubert, “being” Beethoven, or even being a channel to God and the whole universe via the music, I didn't have much headspace left for worrying about wrong notes.

Frida Bromander wrote after the rehearsal workshops: “The different ways of thinking and tools that we worked with during the workshop have helped me communicate the music in a freer way. The music is allowed to reach greater heights and I, the musician, am allowed to become one with it.” Working with the metaphor of becoming the composer, Bromander had the experience that that “every phrase felt self-evident, and I knew what phrasing to use, because I was the composer! I can't get it wrong!” Magnus Pehrsson agreed that using the metaphor of identifying with the composer while playing gave him confidence, authority, and freedom as a musician.

Arguably, the listeners, with their aesthetic ideals and listening attitudes, have an integral role in the expressivity of every performance. As a number of authors point out, however, discussing listening attitudes or modes is a challenging task. “Listening” can be understood in many ways; it is highly subjective; and a listening attitude depends not only on the aesthetic culture, social structures, and etiquettes, but also on the individual person's passion for and interest in music, musical training, mood, and agency.²⁵⁰ Discussing a specific listening aesthetics (even

within a defined time, place and musical genre) can thus be misleading. To re-enact a particular listening aesthetics or mindset is arguably even more challenging.

A substantial number of musical works composed in the early nineteenth century are well known in today's classical music culture, as are some nineteenth-century aesthetic ideas and ideals. As Loughridge observes, however, our self-recognition and feeling of shared realities with the early Romantic era is combined with the opposite: with differences and "otherness".²⁵¹ In our performances at Jonsered Herrgård, this "otherness" was especially experienced by the listeners. As one of us reflected afterwards, "when encouraged to adopt an early Romantic mode of listening, the task involves not only an attempt to adopt a particular listening attitude on the basis of evidence from the period, but it also involves a reimagining of the self according to different historical understandings of the human and of aesthetic experience...we must try to embrace historical understandings of what constitutes us as humans, of how we experience the world, and how we connect to other humans. Encouraged to connect to the soul of a composer through listening, for example, we must first entertain a belief in the idea of the soul." However, as another listener observed: "The early Romantic music-aesthetic 'paradigm', if we can even call it that, is a flexible one, plural and even at times self-undermining or contradictory." Listeners also commented upon the multi-sensorial aspects and subtle forms of communication and connection. One listener wrote that listening in this way "does take a certain inner focus; but it is far from solipsistic, and it can be enhanced by subtle forms of communication or felt connection...which can only be experienced live in the room with performers." Another listener noted: "We see the body feeling the music as it produces the music and this does have an impact upon its reception."

At the end of the day, the string trio played a sequence from one of the movements by heart. This created a different, and, at least for some participants, more gripping experience, as well as more direct interactions. One listener observed: "The barriers have changed between the performers and us, between the performers and each other, and my personal barrier has somehow also shifted." Another listener noted: "I perceive the music as an act of creation that just happens here, in front of our eyes and ears. It feels like fresh water, pouring right out from its source." Magnus Pehrsson also commented that when playing this section by heart, it was "significantly easier to focus on images, feelings and ideas."

Early Romantic culture is characterized by gender hierarchy and male dominance. Although women took part in musical performances as listeners and (to a much lesser extent) as performers in public concerts, almost all of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers, composers, and performers discussed in this text are men. Further, in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century discussions, terms such as “the self”, “the subject” and “the sublime” were predominantly understood as masculine constructions.²⁵² The concept of genius and its connection to masculinity is the topic of scholarly discussions, including discussions of possible ways to relate to this concept in today’s discourse.²⁵³ Arguably, a better understanding of the expressive ideas and metaphors of early nineteenth-century Western musical culture and aesthetics makes these tools for musical expression more accessible and useable for all musical performers.

For some decades, the specific use of expressive tools such as articulation, ornamentation, and dynamics in the early nineteenth century has been both studied and re-enacted in historically informed performances.²⁵⁴ Aesthetic metaphors and the aesthetic mindsets of performers have garnered less attention. Using the invitations, ideas, and metaphors documented in musical treatises and other writings of a particular period can be seen as a historically informed way of working with musical expression. Regardless of whether the aim of a performance is to be historically informed or not, however, discussing and exploring musical expressivity as part of a particular aesthetic context deepens our understanding not only of the performance discourse in question, but also of the connections between the expressive tools of performance and the philosophical and aesthetic thinking of the period. This understanding can, in turn, support the use of expressive tools such as metaphors and ideas that are rooted in the aesthetic thinking in question, and thus expand the performer’s expressive capacity and his or her sincere participation in the performance. My hope is that the invitations, ideas, and metaphors presented and contextualized in this text can be useful tools for musical performers to strengthen their creativity, authority, freedom, confidence, sincerity, and imagination in the performing situation.

NOTES

- 1 “Denn jedes Tonstück, ohne Ausnahme, erhält bei dem Zuhörer erst seinen Werth und seine Wirkung durch die Art, wie es ihm vorgetragen wird, und diese Art ist so mannigfaltig, dass man ihrer Steigerung gar keine Grenzen setzen kann, und dass der Spieler, welcher aller Mittel des Ausdrucks mächtig ist, selbst der unbedeutendsten, ja misslungenen Composition Reize verleihen, und sie dem Hörer interessant machen kann;—so wie dagegen das schönste Musikwerk verloren geht, wenn sein Vortrag verunglückt.” C. Czerny, *Vollständige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500 (Vienna, 1839), part 3, p. 1. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 2 See M. Hunter, “‘To Play as if from the Soul of the Composer’: The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2005), pp. 357–98, pp. 357–61; M. Doğantan-Dack, “‘Phrasing the Very Life of Music’: Performing the Music and Nineteenth-Century Performance Theory”, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 9 (2012), pp. 7–30, pp. 7–12.
- 3 J. Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in 18th-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven and London, 1986). See also M. Morrow, *German Music criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music* (Cambridge, 1997).
- 4 B. Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, 1978).
- 5 A. Bowie, “Music and the Rise of Aesthetics.” In J. Samson, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2001).
- 6 M.E. Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton, 2006).
- 7 Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome: Hearing Music as Autobiography* (New York, 2020).
- 8 E. Wallrup, *Being Musically Attuned: The Act of Listening to Music* (Farnham, 2015).
- 9 H. Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E. T. A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schönberg* (Cambridge, 2011).
- 10 D. Loughridge, *Haydn’s Sunrise, Beethoven’s Shadow: Audiovisual Culture and the Emergence of Musical Romanticism* (Chicago, 2016).
- 11 J. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995). See also Ch. Thorau and H. Ziemer (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (2019).
- 12 One example is C. Bashford, “Learning to Listen: Audiences for Chamber Music in Early-Victorian London”, *Journal of Victorian Culture: JVC*, 1999, vol. 4 (1), pp. 25–51.
- 13 Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”.
- 14 Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, pp. 371–3.
- 15 F. Morabito, “Theatrical Marginalia: Pierre Baillot and the Prototype of the Modern Performer”, *Music & Letters*, 2020, vol. 101 (2), pp. 270–99.
- 16 An earlier study re-enacted the German eighteenth-century affective practice of sensibility culture. See T. Skowroneck and M. Bania, “Re-enacting an Eighteenth-Century Method for Reinforcing Musical Expression”, *ÍMPAR*, vol. 6 (1).
- 17 See Skowroneck and Bania, “Re-enacting an Eighteenth-Century Method”.
- 18 See M. Bania and T. Skowroneck, “Affective Practices in Mid-18th-

- Century German Music-Making: Reflections on C. P. E. Bach's Advice to Performers", *Early Music*, 48 (2), (2020), pp. 193–203; B. Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, pp. 75–7.
- 19 See Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, pp. 125–32; M. Maniates, "Sonate, que me veux-tu?": The Enigma of French Musical Aesthetics in the 18th Century", *Current Musicology* (1969), pp. 117–40, p. 133–4.
- 20 See Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, pp. 168–88.
- 21 "Forkel, Johann Nikolaus", in *MGG Online*, accessed 15 March 2023.
- 22 "Keine Empfindung, die anhaltend seyn, oder durch irgend ein Mittel nicht nur geweckt, sondern auch unterhalten werden soll, ist sich, von Anfang ihrer Entstehung as bis ans Ende, gleich. Sie nimmt nach und nach durch unendliche und unbegreifliche grade von Stärke und Schwäche ab und zu." J.N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1788), p. 8. Transl. Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, p. 179.
- 23 See Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, pp. 177–88.
- 24 See R. Riggs, "'On the Representation of Character in Music': Christian Gottfried Körner's Aesthetics of Instrumental Music", *The Musical Quarterly*, 1997, vol. 81, No. 4, pp. 599–631, pp. 599–602.
- 25 "ist nichts als Mannichfaltigkeit, stete Veränderung, Wachsen und abnehmen." C.G. Körner, "Ueber Charakterdarstellung in der Musik", *Die Horen* (1795, Stück 5, VI). Transl. in Riggs, "On the Representation", p. 613. For more on Körner's aesthetics, see M. Pritchard, "The Moral Background of the Work of Art': 'Character' in German Musical Aesthetics, 1780–1850", *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 2012, 9/1, pp. 63–80.
- 26 "Rochlitz, Friedrich", in *MGG Online*, accessed 15 March 2023.
- 27 F. Rochlitz, "Vorschläge zu Betrachtungen über die neuste Geschichte der Musik", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1 (1798–99). Quoted in Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, p. 201.
- 28 "Jene feinen Uebergänge der Empfindungen in einander lassen sich nur fühlen, und in natürlichen, nothwendigen Zeichen ausdrücken, nicht nennen, und in konventionellen Zeichen beschreiben." Rochlitz, "Vorschläge zu Betrachtungen". Quoted in Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, p. 202.
- 29 See Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, pp. 189–209.
- 30 See e.g. M. E. Bonds, *Music as Thought*, p. 10; Bowie, "Music and the Rise of Aesthetics", p. 31.
- 31 "Domnich, Heinrich", in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 20 March 2023.
- 32 "Ce que la langue musicale a en elle-même de vague et d'indéterminé rentre dans son domaine et tourne ainsi au profit de l'art. L'expression s'en empire et y trouve une source de beautés." H. Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris, 1808), p. 93. Transl. Tilman Skowronek.
- 33 L. Goldberg, Editor's Introduction, in P. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*. Transl. and ed. L. Goldberg (Evanston, 1991), p. xiv.
- 34 See e.g. M. Vadoros, "Pierre Baillot (1771–1842): Institutions, Values and Identity" (Ph.D. thesis, King's College London, 2015).
- 35 Baillot wrote the text for the *Méthode*. See Morabito, "Theatrical Marginalia", pp. 274–5; D. Macnicol, "The French School of Violin Playing between Revolution and Reaction: Comparison of the Treatises of 1803 and 1834 by Pierre

- Baillot”, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 18 (2021), pp 359–388, pp. 359–361.
- 36 See Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 366.
- 37 Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 373.
- 38 See Macnicol, “The French School of Violin Playing”, p. 360, f.n. 4.
- 39 Goldberg, “Editor’s Introduction”, p. xxiii.
- 40 “la Musique tenant à nos sensations les plus intimes, participe à tout ce qu’elles ont de vague et d’indéfinissable; à la vérité, ses effets n’en sont que plus pénétrants, et c’est un de ses avantages sur les autres arts.” P. Baillot, *L’art de violon: Nouvelle méthode*. (Paris, 1834), p. 7. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, Transl. and ed. L. Goldberg (Evanston, 1991), p. 11.
- 41 “Vorübergehend also ist jeder Augenblick dieser Kunst und muss es seyn: den eben das kürzer und länger, stärker und schwächer, höher und tiefer, mehr und minder ist seine Bedeutung, sein Eindruck. In Kommen und Fliehen, im Werden und Gewesenseyn liegt die Siegskraft des Tons und der Empfindung. Wie jener und diese sich mit mehreren verschmelzen, sich heben, sinken, untergehn und am gespannten Seil der Harmonie nach ewigen, unauflösbaren Gesetzen wieder emporkommen und neu wirken, so mein Gemüth, mein Muth, meine Liebe und Hoffnung... Auf leichten Tönen kommt und flohet ihr davon, ihr wandelnden Luftgeister, bewegtet mein Herz und liesset nach in mir, durch euch, zu euch eine unendliche Sehnsucht.” J. G. Herder, *Kalligone. Von Kunst und Kunstricherei* (Carlsruhe, 1800/1820), vol. 15, “Von Kunst und Kunstricherei” IV “Von Musik”, pp. 224–5. Transl. in Bonds, *Wordless rhetoric*, p. 168, and by Tilman
- Skowroneck (second part). See also Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, p. 281, f.n. 34.
- 42 P. le Huray and J. Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 252.
- 43 “So wie die bildenden Künste die klärsten Anschauungen geben, so die Musik die innigsten; jene am nächsten mit der Erkenntniss verwandt, diese mit der Empfindung, das Wort in dem weiteren Sinne genommen, wo es nicht eine Gemüthsbewegung, einen Affect bedeutet, sondern die ganze Qualität unserer Existenz.” Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über schöne Litteratur und Kunst. Erster Teil (1801–1802): Die Kunstlehre*, p. 115. Quoted in Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, p. 200.
- 44 “deren Wirkung [der Musik] eben recht darin besteht, dass in der Empfindung eines jeden gegenwärtigen Augenblickes eine ganze Ewigkeit in unserem Gemüt hervortritt. Die Musik...erreicht also das wirklich, was der gewöhnlichen Tätigkeit des Verstandes unerreichbar bleibt.” K.W.F. Solger, *Erwin: vier Gespräche über das Schöne und die Kunst* (1815). Quoted in C. Dahlhaus and M. Zimmermann, *Musik—zur Sprache gebracht: musikästhetische Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten* (München, 1984), pp.145–6. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 45 “Glaubt man, dass alle menschliche Musik nur Leidenschaften andeuten und ausdrücken soll, so freut man sich, je deutlicher und bestimmter man diese Töne auf den leblosen Instrumenten wiederfindet. Viele Künstler haben ihre ganze Lebenszeit darauf verwandt, diese Deklamation zu erhöhen und zu verschönern, den Ausdruck immer tiefer und gewaltsamer

- emporzuhoben, und man hat sie oft als die einzig wahren und grossen Tonkünstler gerühmt und verehrt... In der Instrumentalmusik aber ist die Kunst unabhängig und frei, sie phantasiert spielend und ohne Zweck, und doch erfüllt und erreicht sie den höchsten, sie folgt ganz ihren dunkeln Trieben, und drückt das Tiefste, das Wunderbärste mit ihren Tändeleien aus." W.H. Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. E. Grassi, (Rowohlt, 1968), pp. 195–6. Transl. Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, p. 190. The "true and great composers" might well include C. P. E. Bach, who was a friend of Wackenroder's teacher Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch, (see Le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics* (1981), p. 248). Tieck points out that the book is intended as a whole, authored in collaboration. See T. Spencer, "Revelation and 'Kunstreligion' in W.H. Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck", *Monatshefte*, vol. 107, No. 1 (2015), pp. 26–45, p. 28.
- 46 Published in January 1813. See D. Charlton (ed.), E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 87; 326. For Hoffmann's translation, see De Gruyter, *Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmanns sämtliche Werke* (1922), vol. 13, pp. 164 f.f.
- 47 "Die Musik schliesst dem Menschen ein unbekanntes Reich auf; eine Welt, die nichts gemein hat mit der äussern Sinnenwelt, die ihn umgibt, und in der er alle durch Begriffe bestimmbaren Gefühle zurücklässt, um sich dem Unaussprechlichen hinzugeben. Wie wenig erkannten die Instrumental-Componisten dies eigenthümliche Wesen der Musik, welche versuchten, jene bestimmbaren Empfindungen, oder gar Begebenheiten darzustellen, und so die der Plastik geradezu entgegengesetzte Kunst plastisch zu behandeln! Dittersdorfs Symphonien der Art, so wie alle neuere *Batailles de trois Empereurs etc.* sind, als lächerliche Verirrungen, mit gänzlichem Vergessen zu bestrafen." E. T. A. Hoffmann, [Review of Ludwig van Beethoven's 5th Symphony], *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12, Nr. 40 (1810), sp. 630–42, sp. 631. Transl. slightly revised from Watkins, *Metaphors of depth*, p. 36, partly Charlton, E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Musical Writings*, p. 236.
- 48 "ist die romantischste aller Künste, beinahe möchte man sagen, allein echt romantisch, denn nur das Unendliche ist ihr Vorwurf." Hoffmann, *Kreisleriana*, ch. 4 "Beethovens Instrumental-Musik", p. 65. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 49 See Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, pp. 189–209; p. 280, f.n. 29; Bonds, *Music as Thought*, pp. 10–4.
- 50 V. Cousin, *Cours de philosophie, professé à la Faculté des Lettres pendant l'année 1818* (Paris 1826). Quoted in Le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics* (1981), p. 318.
- 51 See Bonds, *Music as Thought*, esp. pp. 10–28. An eighteenth-century musical performer who uses idealist terminology is C.F.D. Schubart. See M. Bania, "How to Move the Audience? Feelings, sympathy, and imagination in mid-to-late 18th-century German and French discussions of expression in musical performance" (2021). Manuscript submitted for publication.
- 52 For a discussion of Michaelis' musical aesthetics, see Pritchard, "Music in Balance: The Aesthetics of Music after Kant, 1790–1810", *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 36, Issue 1, (2019), pp. 39–67, pp. 59–65.
- 53 "Ein Tonstück ist vom Geist ästhetischer Ideen belebt, wenn die Energie und das Charakteristische in

- Harmonie und Melodie unnennbare Gefühle und Vorstellungen der Einbildungskraft in uns wecken und uns gleichsam in eine überirdische Sphäre emporschwingen." C.F. Michaelis, *Ueber den Geist der Tonkunst, mit Rücksicht auf Kants Kritik der ästhetischen Urtheilskraft* (Leipzig, 1795), p. 12. Transl. in Pritchard, "Music in Balance", pp. 64–5.
- 54 "Vorstellungen der Einbildungskraft (innere Anschauungen)". Michaelis, *Ueber den Geist der Tonkunst*, p. 10. Transl. Pritchard, "Music in Balance", p. 64.
- 55 "Durch die ästhetischen Ideen wird das Individuelle idealisiret, und das Idealische, Allgemeine, Abstrakte individualisiret." Michaelis, *Ueber den Geist der Tonkunst*, p. 11. Transl. Tilman Skowronek.
- 56 Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*. Quoted in A. Bowie, *Aesthetics and Subjectivity: From Kant to Nietzsche*. 2nd ed. (Manchester, 2003), p. 34.
- 57 Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*. Quoted in Bowie, *Aesthetics and Subjectivity*, p. 36. For further discussion of Kant's understanding of aesthetic ideas, see e.g. Bowie, *Aesthetics and Subjectivity*, p. 34–8; P. Crowther, *The Kantian Aesthetics* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 138–55.
- 58 See e.g. Bonds, *Music as Thought*, pp. 12–28.
- 59 See J. Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 301–27; Bonds, *Music as Thought*, p. 20; Le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics* (1981), p. 275.
- 60 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2 (5 March 1800), pp. 401–7. Quoted in Bonds, "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50/2–3 (1997), p. 411.
- 61 F.W.J. Schelling, *Philosophie der Kunst*. Quoted in le Huray, *Music and aesthetics* (1981), p. 280.
- 62 "Durch die Kunst wird die göttliche Schöpfung objektiv dargestellt, denn diese beruht auf derselben Einbildung der unendlichen Idealität ins Reale, auf welcher auch jene beruht. Das treffliche deutsche Wort Einbildungskraft bedeutet eigentlich die Kraft der Ineinsbildung, auf welcher in der That alle Schöpfung beruht. Sie ist die Kraft, wodurch ein Ideales zugleich auch ein Reales, die Seele leib ist, die Kraft der Individuation, welche die eigentlich schöpferische ist." Schelling, *Philosophie der Kunst*. Quoted in Bonds, *Music and Thought* p. 20. See also D. Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute: Being and Knowing in early German Romantic Philosophy 1795–1804* (Chicago, 2014), pp. 251–6.
- 63 Engell, *The Creative Imagination*, p. 19; 301–27.
- 64 "Aus einer niedern Sphäre der Abhängigkeit und Beschränktheit soll er uns zu sich emporheben, und das Unendliche, was uns ausserhalb der Kunst nur zu denken vergönnt ist, in einer Anschauung darstellen." Körner, "Ueber Charakterdarstellung in der Musik". Transl. in Riggs, "On the representation", p. 614.
- 65 Thibaut, *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst*. Quoted in P. le Huray and J. Day, *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, abridged ed. 1988), p. 244.
- 66 "Sie haben das Feuer von Himmel geholt, womit Sie irdische Herzen erwärmen und erleuchten und zu dem Unendlichen leiten." "die Wunder erkennen, die er [Gott] durch Sie in der Kunst geoffenbart hat." J. Haydn, *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. D. Bartha

- (Kassel, 1965), p. 438. See also Bonds, *Music and Thought*, 16–7.
- 67 “Beethovens Musik...erweckt jene unendliche Sehnsucht, die das Wesen der Romantik ist.” Hoffmann, [Review of Ludwig van Beethoven’s 5th Symphony], sp. 633. Transl. in Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 239.
- 68 “So öffnet uns auch Beethovens Instrumental-Musik das Reich des Ungeheueren und Unermesslichen.” Hoffmann, [Review of Ludwig van Beethoven’s 5th Symphony], sp. 632–3. Transl. in Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 238.
- 69 “den Zuhörer unwiderstehlich fortreisst in das wundervolle Geisterreich des Unendlichen.” Hoffmann, [Review of Ludwig van Beethoven’s 5th Symphony], sp. 634. Transl. in Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 239. For Hoffmann connecting to these Romantic and idealist ideas, see also Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, pp. 32–5.
- 70 “das ist die Musik, die den menschen zum Unendlichen, emporhebt zu Gott,” G. Schilling, *Encyklopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universallexikon der Tonkunst*. 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1840) vol. 6, p. 35. Transl. in le Huray, *Music and aesthetics*, abridged ed. (1988), p. 320.
- 71 “dass tiefe Empfindsamkeit eben und des kühne Ideal die Hauptzüge des Romantischen in der Musik sind,” Schilling, *Universallexikon*, 2nd ed., vol. 6, p. 36. Transl. in le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics*, abridged ed. (1988), p. 321.
- 72 Quoted in Bonds, *Music and Thought*, p. 16.
- 73 “cherche-t-on à faire chanter le Violoncelle, c’est une voix touchante et majestueuse, non de celles qui peignent les passions et qui les allument, mais de celles qui les modèrent en élevant l’âme à une région supérieure.” P. Baillot, J. Levasseur, C. Catel, and C. Baudiot, *Méthode de Violoncelle et de Basse d’Accompagnement... adoptée par le conservatoire impérial de musique*. Paris, c. 1804, p. 1. Transl. E. Le Guin.
- 74 See Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, pp. 374–5.
- 75 “s’il attriste, c’est pour mieux toucher; s’il semble ôter à l’âme toute sa force, c’est pour la réconcilier avec elle-même, pour apaiser le tumulte des passions, y faire succéder un calme délicieux, transporter dans un monde meilleur, et faire goûter les plaisirs de l’âge d’or.” Baillot et al., *Méthode de Violoncelle*, p. 3. Transl. Le Guin.
- 76 See Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth*, pp. 22–118.
- 77 See Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome*, pp. 51–2.
- 78 See e.g. K. Ameriks and D. Sturma (eds.), *The Modern Subject: Conceptions of the Self in Classical German Philosophy* (Albany, 1995); D. Klemm and G. Zöllner (eds.), *Figuring the Self: Subject, Absolute, and Others in Classical German Philosophy* (Albany, 1997); Watkins, “Romantic Musical Aesthetics and the Transmigration of Soul”, *New Literary History*, 2018, vol. 49 (4), pp. 579–96.
- 79 See Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth*, pp. 26–30.
- 80 See e.g. L. Moland, “Introduction: The Scope and Significance of Hegel’s Aesthetics.” In L. Moland, *Hegel’s Aesthetics: The Art of Idealism* (New York, 2019; online edn, Oxford Academic). The student was Heinrich Gustav Hotho. For a discussion on his role in shaping the text (especially concerning the discussions of music), see J. Sallis, “Soundings: Hegel on Music.” In

- S. Houlgate and M. Baur, ed. *A Companion to Hegel* (West Sussex, 2011), pp. 369–84.
- 81 “Die Hauptaufgabe der Musik wird deshalb darin bestehen, nicht die Gegenständigkeit selbst, sondern im Gegenteil die Art und Weise widerklingen zu lassen, in welcher das innerste Selbst seiner Subjektivität und ideellen Seele nach in sich bewegt ist. Dasselbe gilt für die *Wirkung* der Musik. Was durch sie in Anspruch genommen wird, ist die letzte subjektive Innerlichkeit als solche; sie ist die Kunst des Gemüts, welche sich unmittelbar an das Gemüt selber wendet.” G.W.F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, vol. 3, in *Werke*, vol. 15 (Frankfurt, 1970), p. 135. Transl. slightly adapted from T.M. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art* (Oxford, 1975), p. 891.
- 82 Sallis, “Soundings: Hegel on Music”, p. 376.
- 83 “[und so allein] übt die Musik in ihrem eigentümlichen Elemente der Innerlichkeit, die unmittelbar Äußerung, und der Äußerung, die unmittelbar innerlich wird, die Idealität und Befreiung aus, welche ...die Seele in das Vernehmen einer höheren Sphäre versetzt.” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 190. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck. See also Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth*, pp. 55–7.
- 84 See Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 365.
- 85 “il saura bien se créer une voix nouvelle pour parler ce langage des Dieux dont le vocabulaire est dans l’âme.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 262. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 473. Baillot consistently uses male pronouns for the performer in his methods. There were no registered female violin students at the Conservatory during Baillot’s tenure there, but Baillot did
- teach women. See Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 520, f.n. 3; *L’art du violon*, p. 16.
- 86 “il est dans notre nature de vouloir toujours étendre le pouvoir de nos sens; notre ame, impatiente de briser ses liens, cherche un issue pour s’élancer dans l’infini; l’imagination, favorisant notre penchant pour le merveilleux, nous prêt ses ailes pour nous élever dans des regions inconnues, tant il nous semble beau de quitter la terre! Mais hélas! Il faut bientôt retomber, trahis par notre faiblesse: nous sentons alors la nécessité de nous replier sur nous mêmes et de chercher le veritable domaine de l’art, non dans le vague, ni dans les choses matérielles ou dans les effets physiques de la nature, mais dans notre propre coeur, dans l’ordre moral et dans le sentiment, cette douce vie de l’ame, cette source intarissable de félicité.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, pp. 6–7. Transl. slightly adapted from Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 10.
- 87 “L’expression vient ouvrir à son talent une carrière qui n’a de bornes que dans les sensations du coeur humain; il ne suffit pas qu’il soit né sensible, il faut qu’il porte dans son âme cette force expansive, cette chaleur de sentiment qui s’étend au dehors, qui se communique, qui pénètre, qui brûle. C’est ce feu sacré qu’une fiction ingénieuse fait dérober par Prométhée pour animer l’homme.” Baillot, P. Rode, and R. Kreutzer, *Méthode de violon* (Paris, 1803), p. 158; *L’art du violon*, p. 263. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 475. Italics mine.
- 88 For a discussion on the presence of affections in eighteenth-century performances, see Bania and Skowroneck, “Affective Practices in Mid-18th-Century German Music-Making”; Bania, “How to Move the Audience?”.

- 89 “Profondément ému dans l’Adagio,” “communiquer toutes les sensations qu’il éprouve,” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 267. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 480. See also *The Art of the Violin*, p. 475.
- 90 “ce qu’il désire par dessus tout, c’est d’emouvoir, c’est de communiquer ce qu’il sent, c’est de trouver des coeurs qui lui répondent à l’unisson;” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 259. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 467.
- 91 See “Fröhlich, Franz Joseph”, in *MGG Online*, accessed 15 March 2023.
- 92 “Ein Tonstück vortragen kann nichts anders heissen, als eine von dem Tonsetzer gegebene Folge von Empfindungen (denn das sollte jedes Tonstück seyn) vor das Ohr des Zuhörers bringen. Ein richtiger Vortrag setzt also voraus, dass der darstellende Künstler einer Seits das ganze Stück gefasst habe, anderer Seits es wiederzugeben wisse. Der Tonkünstler muss also... die nämliche, oder doch wenigstens eine gleiche Folge von Empfindungen wie der Tonsetzer selbst fühlen,” J. Fröhlich, *Vollständige Theoretisch-practische Musikschule für alle beyrn Orchester gebräuchliche wichtigere Instrumente* (Bonn, 1811), p. 48. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck. See also Fröhlich, *Vollständige Theoretisch-practische Musikschule*, p. 52.
- 93 “C’est lui [genie d’exécution] qui... faire passer dans l’âme de l’auditeur le sentiment que le compositeur avait dans la sienne;” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; *L’Art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 94 See Bania and Skowroneck, “Affective Practices in Mid-18th-Century German Music-Making”.
- 95 Bonds, *Music as Thought*, p. 23.
- 96 “der Geist kann sie nicht mehr als Mittel, als Organ brauchen, sondern sie ist Sache selbst, darum lebt sie und schwingt sich in ihren eigen Zauberkreisen.” Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 147. Transl. le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics* (1981), p. 250.
- 97 J. Sachs, “Hummel, Johann Nepomuk”, in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 20 March 2023.
- 98 “Ausdruck bezieht sich unmittelbar auf das Gefühl, und bezeichnet im Spieler die Fähigkeit und Fertigkeit, was der Komponist für dies, für das Gefühl, in sein Werk gelegt hat, und der Spieler ihm nachempfndet, nun auch in sein Spiel und dem Zuhörer an’s Herz zu legen” J.N. Hummel, *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Pianoforte-Spiel* (Vienna, 1828), p. 426. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 99 See H. Schmitz, *Fürstenau Heute* (Kassel, 1988), pp. 11–2.
- 100 “Zu der äusserlich vollendeten Tongebung, zu den mit Umsicht und Geschmack angewandten äusseren Kunstmitteln muss sich noch eine lebendige, tiefere, vom Erfassen der Innersten Ideen und Gefühle den Componisten zeugende, diese Ideen und Gefühle zur unmittelbaren Anschauung bringende, sie recht eigentlich *reproducirende* Empfindung gesellen, wenn das Spiel in vielen Fällen mehr als das Ohr des Zuhörers angenehm beschäftigen, zugleich dessen Gemüth mächtig zu ergreifen und auf die Dauer zu fesseln im Stande sein soll.” Fürstenau, *Die Kunst des Flötenspiels*, p. 89. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 101 See Bania, “How to Move the Audience?”.
- 102 “la Musica senza affetti, e Passioni, è insignificante; da qui nasce, che nulla ottiene il compositore senza gl’esecutori: questi è necessario che siano ben affetti all’autore, poi

- devono sentire nel cuore tutto ciò che questi a notato; unirsi, provare, indagare, studiar finalmente la mente dell'autore, poi eseguirne le opere. Allora si che arrivano quasi a togliere l'applauso al compositore, o almeno a partir la gloria con lui." L. della Croce, *Il divino Boccherini: Vita, opere, epistolario* (Padova, 1988), p. 274. Transl. slightly revised from E. Le Guin, *Boccherini's body: an essay in carnal musicology* (Berkeley, 2006), p. 1.
- 103 "der Laut ist es, welcher auch dem Künstler zur Offenbarung seines Innern dienen muss,... Herrlich und beneidenswerth ist daher das Loos des musickalischen Künstlers, wenn er vom Strome seiner Empfindungen gedrungen, in lebendiger Anschauung bildet, und sein schönes Innere in einem Tongemälde giebt, was uns in die Höhe seiner geistigen Stufe zieht, und uns mit jener Anmuth überfüllt, welche das wahre Kennzeichen einer rein ästhetischen Darstellung ist....giesst er denselben ein inneres Leben ein, und bringt so sein Gemüth zur Anschauung." Fröhlich, *Vollständige Theoretisch-practische Musikschule*, p. 3. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 104 "einem vollendeten Seelengemälde"; "musikalisch-geschrieben Autobiographie Beethoven's." Fröhlich, "Recensionen: Sinfonie, mit Schlusschor über Schillers Ode: 'An die Freude' . . . von Ludwig van Beethoven. . . Erste Recension." Quoted in Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome*, p. 131.
- 105 See Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome*, pp. 1–18; 143–68.
- 106 A. McMichael, "Violin Effects from the Early Nineteenth Century: The Extended Techniques of Pierre Baillot", *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 18 (2021), pp. 565–86, p. 572.
- 107 "une fois le morceau bien compris et bien répété, que vous soyez présent ou absent, nous vous voyons au bout de chaque note, ou plutôt nous sentons votre présence dans le coeur et nous nous livrons alors à tous les sentiments qu'inspirent vos admirables ouvrages." Pierre Baillot to Luigi Cherubini, 14 Dec. 1834. Quoted in Morabito, "Theatrical Marginalia", p. 296. For a further discussion, see Morabito, "Theatrical Marginalia", pp. 296–7.
- 108 Hoffmann, [Review of Ludwig van Beethoven's 5th Symphony], sp. 633.
- 109 On the concept of genius, see e.g. P. Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven, 2001); P. Murray (ed.), *Genius: The History of an Idea* (Oxford, 1989); Ch. Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London, 1989).
- 110 Crowther, *The Kantian Aesthetic*, p. 147.
- 111 Crowther, *The Kantian Aesthetic*, pp.147–52. See also Bowie, *Aesthetics and Subjectivity*, pp. 38–40.
- 112 "Weder erkauf't noch erbettelt, weder erstritten noch erstudiert kann es werden." Herder, *Kalligone*, p. 250. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 113 "Es giebt viele fertige Spieler, allein nicht jeder derselben gehört in die Zahl der Auserwählten, und ist im Besitz dieses Schatzes [mit Gefühl und Ausdruck spielen zu wollen]. Diejenigen aber, welchen die Natur einen Funken dieses Göttlichen Feuers einhauchte, werden durch fleißiges Studium, und mit Hülfe der besten und charakteristischsten Werke, der größten Tonsetzer, jenen Funken zu einem Feuer anfachen, ihre Zuhörer erwärmen, und ihnen durch ihr Spiel, nicht nur die angenehmsten und sanftesten

- Gefühle, sondern jede Leidenschaft erwecken können." J.P. Milchmeyer, *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen* (Dresden, 1797), p. 46. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 114 See C. Brown, *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 212–4.
- 115 "die Fähigkeit, den Character des vorzutragenden Musikstückes zu erkennen und den darin herrschendenden Ausdruck mitzuempfinden und wiederzugeben, ein angebornes geschenk der Natur ist, das wohl erweckt und weiter ausgebildet, aber nicht gelehrt werden kann." L. Spohr, *Violinschule* (Wien [1833]), p. 195. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 116 "est doué des qualités nécessaires. En effet, ces qualités sont un don de la nature; elles tiennent à une organisation privilégiée; on peut bien les développer, les perfectionner par le travail, mais non en acquérir le germe". Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor*, pp. 92–3. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 117 "L'expression tient davantage à la manière don't on sent et don't on est affecté. C'est un élan de l'âme, qui ne connaît point de règles, ou plutôt, qui se place au-dessus des règles connues du vulgaire, et ne se communique qu'à un petit nombre d'élus. Son principe est une sensibilité profonde, qui se modifie suivant l'inspiration de moment." Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor*, p. 93. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 118 "Ein solcher gefühlvoller Vortrag setzt allerdings beim Spieler eine Gabe voraus, die *angeboren* sein muss, wenn gleich das musikalische Gefühl durch hinzukommende gute Leitung und häufig dargebotene Gelegenheit, gute Musik der verschiedensten Art zu hören, bedeutend *ausgebildet* und *veredelt* werden kann...Dieses musikalische Gefühl ist—das *grosse Geheimniss der Kunst*, der tief in der Brust des berufenen Künstlers schlummernde göttliche Funke, der nicht durch todes Wort, wohl aber durch lebendige Lehre und Beispiel zur hellen Kunstflamme angefacht werden kann. Die äussere Schönheit des Spiels, die technische Vollendung der Form, in welcher der Kunstgeist wohnt, kann durch Fleiss und Beharrlichkeit *erworben* und *angebildet* werden; die wahrhaft ästhetische, *innere* Kunstschönheit, welche der ausübende Künstler in vollendeter Form reproducirt, kann nur da erregt und *ausgebildet* werden, wo die Natur *Sinn* für *Ton-* und *Kunstschönheit* verliehen hat; darum ist die ächte Kunst so unendlich wie die Schöpfung selbst, sie hat wohl im Practischen wie im Theoretischen einen Anfang, aber kein psychologisches Ende." Fürstenau, *Die Kunst des Flötenspiels*, p. 90. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 119 Pseudonym for Friedrich von Hardenberg.
- 120 See Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.
- 121 "Jede Person ist der Keim zu einem *unendlichen Genius*." Novalis, *Schriften: Die Werke von Friedrich von Hardenberg*, vol. 3, ed. A. Samuel a.o. (Stuttgart, 1983), p. 250. Transl. Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.
- 122 "Jeder Mensch hätte genialischen Keim—nur in verschiedenen Graden der Ausbildung und *Energie*." Novalis, *Schriften*, vol. 3, p. 332. Transl. Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.
- 123 Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.
- 124 Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.

- 125 “Le virtuose, (que nous supposons toujours avoir reçu du ciel l’influence secrète,)” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 261. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 470.
- 126 See Macnicol, “The French School of Violin Playing,” p. 379.
- 127 “cet ouvrage qui n’a pas seulement pour objet de former le mécanisme mais encore de développer le génie d’exécution.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 261. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 470.
- 128 “De l’expression et de ses moyens” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 158, *L’art du violon*, p. 262.
- 129 “La véritable expression depend du son, du mouvement, du style, du goût, de l’aplomb et du génie d’exécution.” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 158; *L’art du violon*, p. 263. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 475.
- 130 “le génie d’exécution conduit à faire mieux: c’est lui qui, poussé par le sentiment, s’élançait d’un vol hardi dans le vaste empire de l’expression pour y faire de nouvelles découvertes”. Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; *L’art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 131 “Genie ist d[as] synthesesirende Princip, das Genie macht das Unmögliche möglich—das Mögliche unmöglich—das Unbekannte Bekannt—das Bekannte Unbekannt etc.” Novalis, *Schriften*, Bd. 3, p. 168. Transl. Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.
- 132 Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*, p. 51.
- 133 “C’est lui [génie d’exécution]...qui sait joindre la grace au sentiment, la naïveté à la grace, la force à la douceur,” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; *L’art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 134 “Sa sensibilité le prépare à tout ce qu’il va jouer; à peine a-t-il entrevu le thème de ses accords, que son âme se monte au niveau du sujet.” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; *L’art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 135 “das Werk im Sinne und Geist des Komponisten seelenvoll zu beleben.” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 219. Transl. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, vol. 2, p. 956.
- 136 “in geistiger Rücksicht die Genialität [des ausübende Künstlers] nur darin bestehen kann, die geistige Höhe des Komponisten wirklich in der Reproduktion zu erreichen und ins Leben treten zu lassen” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 220. Transl. Tilman Skowronek.
- 137 See Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 158; *L’art du violon*, p. 263 and J.J. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique*, (Paris, 1768), p. 210.
- 138 Le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics* (1988), p. 85.
- 139 “C’est peu de lire la Musique exactement sur la Note; il faut entrer dans toutes les idées du Compositeur, sentir et rendre le feu de l’expression,” Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, p. 209. Transl. Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 363.
- 140 Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, pp. 419–420.
- 141 Hoffmann, “Further Observations on Herr Konzertmeister Möser’s Concert on 26 March this Year”. Transl. in Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 420.
- 142 “Bey [der Vortrag des wirklichen Quartetts]... alle vier [Instrumente] auf gleiche Weise in die Idee des Komponisten eingehet und sie zur Anschauung bringen.” Spohr, *Violinschule*, p. 246. Transl. Tilman Skowronek.
- 143 See Bania, “How to Move the Audience?.”

144 “Was nun die Schwierigkeit betrifft, so gehört zum richtigen, bequemen Vortragen B.scher Composition nichts geringeres, als dass man ihn begreife, dass man tief in sein Wesen eindringe, dass man im Bewusstseyn eigner Weihe es kühn wage, in den Kreis der magischen Erscheinungen zu treten, die sein mächtiger Zauber hervorruft...Der ächte Künstler lebt nur in dem Werke, das er in dem Sinne des Meisters aufgefaßt hat und nun vorträgt. Er verschmäht es, auf irgend eine Weise seine Persönlichkeit geltend zu machen, und all sein Dichten und Trachten geht nur dahin, alle die herrlichen, holdseligen Bilder und Erscheinungen, die der Meister mit magischer Gewalt in sein Werk verschloß, tausendfarbig glänzend ins rege Leben zu rufen, daß sie den Menschen in lichten, funkelnden Kreisen umfängen, und seine Phantasie, sein innerstes Gemüth entzündend, ihn raschen Fluges in das ferne Geisterreich der Töne tragen.” Hoffmann, “Recension Deux Trios pour Pianoforte, Violon et Violoncelle”, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1813, sp. 153–4). Transl. Tilman Skowronek and O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, 5., The Romantic Era, rev. ed., L. Treitler (New York, 1952), pp. 40–1.

145 Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 324.

146 “n’aura-t-il pas des sentimens à exprimer, des tableaux à peindre?” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 262. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 473.

147 “Beethoven vous introduit dans un nouveau monde. Vous traversez des régions sauvages, vous longez des précipices, la nuit vous surprend, vous vous réveillez et vous êtes transportés dans des sites ravissants;

un paradis terrestre vous entoure, le soleil luit radieux pour vous faire contempler les magnificences de la nature”. Pierre Baillot to Nikolai Galitzin. Quoted in and transl. slightly adapted from Morabito, “Theatrical Marginalia”, p. 295.

148 “Chaque compositeur imprime à ses ouvrages un cachet particulier, un style qui lui est propre, qui tient à sa manière de sentir et d’exprimer.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 264. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 477. See also *Méthode de violon*, p. 160.

149 Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 265.

150 “si le compositeur a fixé lui-même le doigter, on devra le suivre autant que possible, pour s’identifier avec le style de l’auteur, le doigter étant un des moyens qui servent à caractériser le style...il faut chercher à doigter selon le genre, bien connu, de chacun auteur.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 146. Transl. Morabito, “Theatrical Marginalia”, p. 293.

151 “Si l’on veut rendre les compositions en se rapprochant le plus possible de leur véritable sens, il faut chercher à doigter selon le genre, bien connu, de chaque auteur.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 146. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 258.

152 Baillot, *L’art du violon*, pp. 146–9. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, pp. 261–3.

153 Studied in e.g. the artistic research project “Embodying Expression, Gender and Charisma: Breaking Boundaries” by Barbara Lüneburg and Kai Ginkel.

154 “C’est en observant dans chaque auteur les différences qui tiennent aux choix de la position, de la corde et du doigt, que l’on pourra doigter d’autant mieux sa propre musique selon le genre d’expression qu’on voudra lui donner.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 149. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 263.

- 155 See Engell, *The Creative Imagination*, pp. 143–60; C. Minter, “Literary ‘Empfindsamkeit’ and Nervous Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Germany”, *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 96, No. 4 (2001), pp. 1016–28; S. G. Ceballos, “Sympathizing with C. P. E. Bach’s Empfindungen”, *Journal of Musicology*, xxxiv (2017), pp. 7–14; D. Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy* (Chicago, 1988); B. Redekop, *Enlightenment and Community: Lessing, Abbt, Herder, and the Quest for a German Public* (Montreal, 2000), pp. 80–91.
- 156 See Bania, “How to Move the Audience?”.
- 157 Engell, *The Creative Imagination*, pp. 143–4.
- 158 Two examples are Johann Abraham Peter Schulz and Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart. See Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 364; Bania, “How to Move the Audience?”.
- 159 “faites ce que vous feriez si vous étiez à la fois le Poète, le Compositeur, l’Acteur & le Chanteur”. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique*, p. 215. Transl. adapted from Rousseau, *A Complete Dictionary of Music, of Music* (London, 1779), p. 164.
- 160 See also Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, pp. 366–8.
- 161 “C’est lui qui saisit d’un coup d’oeil les différents caractères de la musique, qui, par une inspiration soudaine, s’identifie avec le génie du compositeur, le suit dans toutes ses intentions et les fait connaître avec autant de facilité que de précision,” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. slightly revised from Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 162 “C’est lui [génie d’exécution] qui... faire revivre les grands génies des siècles passés,” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, 163; *L’art du violon*, 266. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 163 “Le coeur de l’homme...a dans ses affections une constance, une uniformité, une généalogie de sentimens...nous leur demandons si, pénétrés de ces sublimes inspirations, l’effet qu’elles ont produit sur eux ne suffit pas pour témoigner que le coeur répond toujours aux mêmes accens par les mêmes soupirs!” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 262. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, pp. 473–4.
- 164 “Le succès des Concerts historiques, donnés récemment par Mr. Fétis ne peut plus laisser de doute à cet égard.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 262. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 474.
- 165 K., Ellis and R. Wangermée, “Fétis, François-Joseph”, in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 20 March 2023.
- 166 See M. Vadoros, “Pierre Baillot (1771–1842)”, pp. 12–77; Morabito, “Theatrical Marginalia”, pp. 283–4.
- 167 See e.g. Morabito, “Theatrical Marginalia”, p. 284.
- 168 “Personne ne sait comme lui [Baillot] donner à chaque auteur une physionomie particulière”. François-Joseph Fétis, “Soirées de quatuors et de quintettis [sic] de M. Baillot”, *La Revue musicale*, 2 (1828), pp. 607–8. Quoted in Morabito, “Theatrical Marginalia”, p. 293.
- 169 “Le simple programme est un cours d’histoire tout entier. Boccherini, avec ses allures antiques et naïves, respire je ne sais quel parfum de moyen âge. Haydn représente une société perfectionnée et pleine de raffinements. Plus tumultueuse, plus passionnée dans Mozart, elle semble pressée d’un immense besoin de développemens. Beethoven, dans ses rêveries et jusque dans ses folies sublimes, est l’image d’une civilisation qui surabonde,

- qui déborde. Eh bien! M. Baillot est l'homme de toutes ces époques. Non seulement il se transporte au temps qu'indique le nom de l'auteur, mais encore il s'identifie avec le compositeur lui-même". J. d'Ortigue, *Le Balcon de l'Opera* (Paris, 1833), 266–9. Translation adapted from Morabito, "Theatrical Marginalia", p. 283.
- 170 "Haidn's [sic] Humor, Mozart's [sic] Gemüth und Beethovens hehrer Genius wird von dem selbst genialen Virtuosen [Möser] wahr empfunden und klar dem Zuhörer dargelegt." Ch. Urban, "Korrespondenz," *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 3, no. 47 [22 Nov. 1826]: 382. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 171 "Il [Baillot] possède le génie de l'exécution, car il dépouille son moi, pour être, tour-à-tour, Haydn, Boccherini, Mozart et Beethoven." F. Fayolle, *Paganini et Bériot, ou, Avis aux Jeunes Artistes qui se destinent a [sic] l'enseignement du violon*. Quoted in Hunter, "To Play as if from the Soul", p. 371.
- 172 "Nun betrat ein junger Violinist das Podium...Während des Tutti, mit welchem das Beethovensche Violinkonzert beginnt, hatte ich volle Zeit, ihn zu betrachten, aber bei den ersten Klängen seiner Geige vergass ich alles andere, den Konzertsaal, das Publikum, sogar Herrn Joachim. Der Adel und die Fülle des Tons, die vollendete Technik, die geistvolle Auffassung nahm mich ungeteilt in Anspruch. Erst im Adagio blickte ich wieder hin, aber von der Gestalt des Geigers konnte ich nichts mehr bemerken, sie war mir durch eine andere ganz und gar verdeckt. Ich erkannte sie wohl, diese gedrungene, nachlässig gekleidete Gestalt mit ihren wirren, emporstehenden Haaren, der hohen Stirn, auf der
- die erhabensten Gedanken ihre leuchtenden Spuren hinterlassen, mit ihren tief liegenden Augen, aus denen der kühnste Geist und die wärmste Menschenliebe hervorschauten, mit den Lippen, um die der Schmerz seine schärfsten Linien und falten gezogen...Er war es selbst, der Schöpfer der 'neunten Symphonie', den ich von Angesicht zu Angesicht zu schauen wäunte." O. Gumprecht, in *National-Zeitung*. Quoted in A. Moser, *Joachim: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 100–1. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 173 "Nicht Joachim hat gestern Beethoven und Bach gespielt, Beethoven selbst hat gespielt! Das was keine Verdolmetschung des höchsten Genius, es was eine Offenbarung. Auch der Ungläubigste muss an Wunder glauben; eine ähnliche Transsubstantiation ist noch nicht geschehen. Nie ist ein Kunstwerk so lebendig und verklärt vor das innere Auge geführt worden, nie die Unsterblichkeit des Genius so leuchtend und erhaben in die wirklichste Wirklichkeit getreten. Auf den Knien hätte man zuhören mögen!" H. von Bülow, in *Berliner Feuerspritze*. Quoted in Moser, *Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, pp. 140–1. Transl. L. Dreyfus, "Beyond the Interpretation of Music." *Journal of Musicological Research* (2020, vol. 39, nos. 2–3), p. 173.
- 174 See e.g. Nassar, *The Romantic Absolute*; F. Beiser, "The Enlightenment and Idealism". In Ameriks (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to German Idealism* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 21–42; Bonds, *Music and Thought*, p. 10; 21; Hunter, "To Play as if from the Soul", pp. 371–2; 385–7.
- 175 Beiser, *The Enlightenment and Idealism*, p. 39.
- 176 See G. Izenberg, *Impossible Individuality: Romanticism*,

- Revolution, and the Origins of Modern Selfhood, 1787–1802* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 8; 18–53.
- 177 Izenberg, *Impossible Individuality*, p. 50.
- 178 Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 387.
- 179 “bleiben überhaupt eine äußerliche Sache, ein totes Ding, während die Musik innerliche Bewegung und Tätigkeit ist.” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 221. Transl. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, p. 957.
- 180 “Verschwindet nun die Äußerlichkeit des Instrumentes durchaus, dringt die innere Musik ganz durch die äußere Realität hindurch, so erscheint in dieser Virtuosität das fremde Instrument als ein vollendet durchgebildetes eigenstes Organ der künstlerischen Seele.” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 221. Transl. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, p. 957.
- 181 “er in sein Instrument seine ganze Seele hineinlegte,” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 221. Transl. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, p. 957.
- 182 “Cet instrument n’est plus reconnaissable entre ses mains: il parle, exprime, il rend tout au-delà de ce charme qu’on croy-ait exclusivement réservé au violon.” *Mercure de France*, April 1762, p. 189. Quoted in Le Guin, *Boccherini’s body*, p. 51.
- 183 Off, “Militaire”. See Charlton, *Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 391.
- 184 Hoffmann, “Letters on Music in Berlin. First Letter”, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, xvii (11 January 1815). Quoted in Charlton, *Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 390.
- 185 See also N. November, “Theater Piece and Cabinetstück: Nineteenth-Century Visual Ideologies of the String Quartet”. *Music in Art*, vol. 29, no. 1/2 (2004), pp. 134–150, pp. 136–7; Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, pp. 86–7; Bania, “How to Move the Audience?”.
- 186 Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 86.
- 187 “Surtout pensez que vous voulez m’émouvoir...électrisez votre bras du feu de cette pensée...que votre archet soit votre langue et votre physionomie;” G. Cambini, *Nouvelle méthode théorique et pratique pour le violon*, (facs. Geneve, 1974), p. 20. Transl. Le Guin.
- 188 “et le génie fait de lui son plus noble interprète; initié, par de continuelles étreintes, à tous les mystères du coeur, il respire, il palpate avec lui.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 5. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 8.
- 189 See e.g. Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 158; 164; *L’art du violon*, p. 263; 267.
- 190 Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 164. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 480.
- 191 “le Violon n’est plus un instrument, c’est une âme sonore; parcourant l’espace, il va frapper l’oreille de l’auditeur le moins attentive et chercher au fonds de son coeur la corde sensible qu’il fait vibrer.” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 164; *L’art du violon*, p. 267. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 480. See also *L’art du violon*, p. 5; 263.
- 192 Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, pp. 194–5.
- 193 “se pénétrer du génie d’un morceau jusqu’à lui prêter des charmes que rien n’indique, aller même jusqu’à créer des effets que l’auteur abandonne souvent à l’instinct; tout traduire, tout animer,” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; *L’art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479. For a comment on the use of the verb *traduire* (to translate), referring to creativity and feelings, see Morabito, “Theatrical marginalia”, p. 280, f.n. 42.

- 194 “le génie d’exécution qui se plaît surtout à deviner, à créer à sa manière.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 162. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 287.
- 195 See Hunter, “To Play as if from the Soul”, p. 375.
- 196 “Sans effacer le caractère originel d’un morceau, elle sait lui donner son empreinte; et par elle, la pensée du compositeur devient en quelque sorte une création de l’exécutant. C’est alors que l’expression produit ses plus énergiques effets; c’est alors qu’elle s’élève jusqu’au sublime,” Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor*, p. 93. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 197 “s’il a le germe d’un vrai talent, il finira par se faire un style dans lequel il se peindra tout entier, et prendra ce caractère d’originalité propre à ceux qui disent ce qu’ils sentent et n’écrivent ou n’exécutent que d’après les inspirations du cœur et les élans de l’imagination.” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 161; *L’art du violon*, p. 265. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 477.
- 198 “tire ses nuances et ses contrastes de son propre fonds”. Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, p. 163; *L’art du violon*, p. 266. Transl. slightly adapted from Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 479.
- 199 “insofern es das subjektive Innere selbst ist, das die Musik sich mit dem Zwecke zum Inhalt nimmt, sich nicht als äußere Gestalt und objektiv dastehendes Werk, sondern als subjektive Innerlichkeit zur Erscheinung zu bringen, so muß die Äußerung sich auch unmittelbar als Mitteilung eines lebendigen Subjekts ergeben, in welche dasselbe seine ganze eigene Innerlichkeit hineinlegt. Am meisten ist dies im Gesang der menschlichen Stimme, relativ jedoch auch schon in der Instrumentalmusik der Fall, die
- nur durch ausübende Künstler und deren lebendige, ebenso geistige als technische Geschicklichkeit zur Ausführung zu gelangen vermag.” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, pp. 158–9. Transl. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, p. 909.
- 200 “[l’expression a franchi pour lui] les bornes de l’art, elle devient, pour ainsi dire, le récit de sa vie; il chante ses souvenirs, ses regrets, les plaisirs qu’il a goûtés, les maux qu’il a soufferts...les épreuves même de l’adversité réveillant son énergie, exaltent son imagination et lui donnent ces mouvemens sublimes, ces idées fortes que les grands obstacles font naître et qui semblent jaillir du sein des orages: quelque soit enfin le sort qui l’entraîne, la mélodie est son interprète, son amie fidèle, elle lui donne la plus pure de toutes les jouissances en lui révélant le secret de communiquer toutes les sensations qu’il éprouve, et d’intéresser ses semblables à sa destinée.” Baillot, *Méthode de violon*, pp. 164–5; *L’art du violon*, p. 267. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 480.
- 201 See Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 463.
- 202 Dreyfus, “Beyond the Interpretation of Music”, pp. 161–86.
- 203 See Bonds, *Music as Thought* pp. 5–34; Wallrup, *Being Musically Attuned*, pp. 26–34, 47; Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, pp. 270–80.
- 204 Including studies with Forkel at the University of Göttingen. See Bonds, *Music as Thought*, p. 22; le Huray, *Music and Aesthetics* (1981), pp. 248–9.
- 205 Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, pp. 90–2.
- 206 Fétis, “Des Sensations musicales”, *Revue musicale*, 25 Feb. 1832, p. 26. Quoted in Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, p. 275.
- 207 Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, p. 275.

- 208 See Pritchard, "Moral Background", pp. 71–5.
- 209 "jenem mehr träumerischen Elemente vorstellungsloser Empfindung, in welchem wir uns, ohne gestört zu sein, hier- und dorthin führen lassen und die Freiheit, aus einer Musik dies und das herauszuempfinden, uns von ihr so oder so bewegt zu fühlen, nicht aufzugeben brauchen." Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 195. Transl. Sverker Jullander.
- 210 J.K.F. Triest, "Remarks on the Development of the Art of Music in Germany in the Eighteenth Century". Quoted in E. Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 368–9.
- 211 Wallrup, *Being musically attuned*, p. 30.
- 212 See Bonds, *The Beethoven Syndrome*, pp. 106–19; 120–42; Bonds, *Music as Thought*, p. 12.
- 213 "Cette langue [la musique moderne], mille fois plus riche que celle des mots, est au langage ce que la pensée est à la parole; elle réveille les sensations et les idées sous leur forme même, là où chez nous naissent les idées et les sensations, mais en les laissant ce qu'elles sont chez chacun. Cette puissance sur notre intérieur est une des grandeurs de la musique. Les autres arts imposent à l'esprit des créations définies, la musique est infinie dans les siennes. Nous sommes obligés d'accepter les idées du poète, le tableau du peintre, la statue du sculpteur; mais chacun de nous interprète la musique au gré de sa douleur ou de sa joie, de ses espérances ou de son désespoir. Là où les autres arts déclinent nos pensées en les fixant sur une chose déterminée, la musique les déchaîne sur la nature entière qu'elle a le pouvoir de nous exprimer." H. de Balzac, *Massimilla Doni*, ed. M. Milner (Paris, 1964), pp. 139–40. Transl. C. Bell and J. Waring (2010). See also Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, pp. 272–5.
- 214 See Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, pp. 270–6.
- 215 "Und dennoch schwimmen in den Tönen oft so individuell-anschauliche Bilder, so dass uns diese Kunst, möcht' ich sagen, durch Auge und Ohr zu gleicher Zeit gefangen nimmt." Tieck, "Symphonien", in Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 196.
- 216 Tieck, "Symphonien", in Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 197. See also Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 90.
- 217 "Bei fröhlichen und entzückenden vollstimmigen Symphonieen, die er vorzüglich liebte, kam es ihm gar oftmals vor, als säh er ein munteres Chor von junglingen und Mädchen auf einer heitern Wiese tanzen, und wie einzelne Paare zuweilen in Pantomimen zueinander sprachen und sich dann wieder unter den frohen Haufen mischten... Alle diese mannigfaltigen Empfindungen nun drängten in seiner Seele immer entsprechende sinnliche Bilder und neue Gedanken hervor". In Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, pp. 91–2. Transl. Strunk, *Source Readings*, pp. 13–4.
- 218 See A. Chantler, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 28.
- 219 "ihr Gefühl mir hingeben möchten!" Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 99. Transl. Strunk, *Source Readings*, p. 19.
- 220 "ein oder der andre Mensch lebt, in den der Himmel eine solche Sympathie zu meiner Seele gelegt hat, dass er aus meinen Melodien grade das herausfühlt, was ich beim Niederschreiben empfand und was ich so gern hineinlegen wollte."

- Wackenroder, *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 99. Transl. Strunk, *Source Readings*, p. 19.
- 221 “thut der Ausübende aber von dem Seinigen hinzu und vermag er das Vorgetragene geistig zu beleben, so dass vom Hörer die Intenzionen des Komponisten erkannt und mitempfunden werden können, so heisst dies *schöner Vortrag*,” Spohr, *Violinschule*, p. 195. Transl. Tilman Skowroneck.
- 222 See November, “Theater Piece and Cabinetstück”, pp. 137–40.
- 223 “a besoin de se trouver en rapport avec l’auditoire...quelquefois, chercher pendant l’exécution des morceaux lent à se mieux pénétrer du sentiment qu’ils expriment ou à mieux saisir le tableau que l’auteur a voulu peindre, en mettant la main devant les yeux afin que rien ne puisse le distraire; mais ceci n’est qu’une exception, car en général, le sens de la vue semble venir à l’aide du sens de l’ouïe pour faire comprendre avec plus de justesse l’expression de l’accent par l’expression du geste,” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 255. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 463.
- 224 See Goldberg, “Editor’s Introduction”, p. xix.
- 225 Hoffmann, “Letters on Music in Berlin. First Letter”. Quoted in Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 390.
- 226 Hoffmann, “Letters on Music in Berlin. First Letter”. Quoted in Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann’s Musical Writings*, p. 390. See also Loughridge, *Haydn’s Sunrise, Beethoven’s Shadow*, pp. 233–4.
- 227 “der ganze Mensch in voller Lebendigkeit darstellend auftritt und sich selbst zum beseelten Kunstwerke macht.” Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, p. 218. Transl. Knox, *Hegel’s Aesthetics*, p. 955.
- 228 “Il communique à ceux qui l’écoutent le feu qui l’anime, il les fait participer à ses élans, il les frappe, il étonne par sa hardiesse, il touche par sa sensibilité qui ne l’abandonne jamais, il...porte l’émotion à son dernier période, jusqu’à ce que l’enthousiasme s’empare de l’auditeur comme du musicien, les électrise à la fois, et leur fasse éprouver ces transports si pleins de charmes qu’amène toujours la véritable expression.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 267. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 480.
- 229 “Vous aurez...le Plaisir de voir le spectateur emû, immobile, et prêt à tout oublier pour vous écouter.” Cambini, *Nouvelle méthode*, p. 20. Transl. Le Guin.
- 230 “un tressaillement, un sourire, une larme, lui en disent assez, et quand il s’aperçoit qu’il a été compris, ce bonheur est pour lui tellement au dessus de toutes les vaines jouissances de l’amour propre, qu’il lui semble avoir quitté la terre et habiter déjà un monde meilleur.” Baillot, *L’art du violon*, p. 259. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 467.
- 231 “et l’artiste ne peut se passer de savoir l’auditeur ainsi placé sous l’influence de son expansion, puisque ce n’est que par l’échange continu des sensations qu’il fait naître contre celles qu’il reçoit lui même de l’effet qu’elles ont produit, que de nouvelles inspirations viennent lui donner de nouveaux moyens pour émouvoir. Il est averti de ces sensations par le plus léger mouvement, et lorsque les applaudissemens, (seul genre de bruit compatible avec la musique et le plus puissant des aiguillons) se font entendre, on voit presque toujours ses moyens d’expression s’accroître en proportion de l’enthousiasme qu’il inspire.” Baillot,

- L'art du violon*, p. 255–6. Transl. Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, p. 463.
- 232 See also November, “Theater piece and Cabinetstück”, pp. 137–8.
- 233 Articulated by e.g. Wackenroder, in *Sämtliche Schriften*, p. 172. See Watkins, *Metaphors of depth*, p. 33–35; Bowie, *Aesthetics and Subjectivity*, p. 10; Hunter, “To play as if from the soul”, pp. 383–8.
- 234 See Bashford, “Learning to listen”, pp. 41–3; Johnson, *Listening in Paris* p. 204.
- 235 See Bashford, “Learning to listen”, pp. 41–3.
- 236 A majority of the listeners had previously taken part in a re-enactment of mid-eighteenth-century affective practices in a performance. See Skowronek and Bania, “Re-enacting an Eighteenth-Century Method”.
- 237 See e.g. D. Fabian, R. Timmers, and E. Schubert (eds.), *Expressiveness in Music Performance: Empirical Approaches across Styles and Cultures* (Oxford, 2014); P. Juslin and R. Timmers, “Expression and Communication of Emotion in Music Performance.” In P. Juslin (ed.), *Handbook of Music and Emotion* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 453–89; A. Williamon, “Feedback Learning of Musical Expressivity.” In Williamon (ed.), *Musical Excellence: Strategies and Techniques to Enhance Performance* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 247–270; E. Clarke, “Understanding the Psychology of Performance.” In J. Rink (ed.) *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 59–72.
- 238 See M. Doğantan-Dack, “Philosophical Reflections on Expressive Music Performance.” In Fabian et al., *Expressiveness in Music Performance*, pp. 2–21, pp. 5–8; Williamon, “Feedback Learning of Musical Expressivity.”;
- Juslin and Timmers, “Expression and Communication of Emotion in Music Performance”, p. 454.
- 239 See e.g. Doğantan-Dack, “Philosophical Reflections”, pp. 5–10; Clarke, “Understanding the Psychology of Performance”, p. 63; Clarke, “Expression and Communication in Performance”. In E. Clarke, N. Dibben, and S. Pitts (eds.), *Music and Mind in Everyday Life* (New York, 2010), pp. 33–47; Williamon, “Feedback learning of Musical Expressivity”, pp. 251–5.
- 240 Doğantan-Dack, “Philosophical Reflections”, p. 8.
- 241 E. Lindström, P. Juslin, R. Bresin, and A. Williamon, “‘Expressivity Comes from Within Your Soul’: A Questionnaire Study of Music Students’ Perspectives on Expressivity”, *Research Studies in Music Education* (2003, 20), pp. 23–47, pp. 30–1.
- 242 Williamon, “Feedback Learning of Musical Expressivity”, p. 252.
- 243 D. Milsom and N. Da Costa, “Expressiveness in Historical perspective: ‘Practices’” In Fabian et al., *Expressiveness in Music Performance*, pp. 80–97, p. 81.
- 244 Doğantan-Dack, “Philosophical Reflections”, p. 8.
- 245 Doğantan-Dack, “Philosophical Reflections”, p. 9.
- 246 See e.g. J. Torrence, “Soft to the Touch: Performance, Vulnerability, and Entanglement in the Time of Covid”, *VIS—Nordic Journal for Artistic Research*, 6 (2021); the project “Embodying Expression, Gender and Charisma: Breaking Boundaries”; J. Davidson, “Visual Perception of Performance Manner in the Movements of Solo Musicians”, *Psychology of Music*, 21, (1993), pp. 103–13; Davidson, “What Does the Visual Information Contained in Music Performances Offer the Observer?”

- Some Preliminary Thoughts.” In R. Steinberg (ed.), *Music and the Mind Machine: Psychophysiology and Psychopathology of the Sense of Music* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 105–13; Davidson, “Qualitative Insights into the Use of Expressive Body Movement in Solo Piano Performance: A Case Study Approach”, *Psychology of Music*, 35(3), (2007), pp. 381–401; Davidson, “Bodily Movement and Facial Actions in Expressive Musical Performance by Solo and Duo Instrumentalists: Two Distinctive Case Studies”, *Psychology of Music*, 40(5), (2012), pp. 595–633.
- 247 D. Leech-Wilkinson, “Heuristics for Expressive performance.” In Fabian et al., *Expressiveness in Musical Performance*; R. H. Woody, “Emotion, Imagery and Metaphor in the Acquisition of Musical Performance Skill”, *Music Education Research* 4(2), (2002), pp. 213–24; Lindström et al., “Expressivity Comes from Within”.
- 248 Le Guin, *Boccherini’s body*, pp. 18–26.
- 249 Le Guin, *Boccherini’s body*, p. 24.
- 250 See e.g. Bashford, “Learning to Listen”, pp. 25–8; Bonds, *Music as Thought*, pp. 5–6.
- 251 See Loughridge, *Haydn’s Sunrise, Beethoven’s Shadow*, p. 24.
- 252 See Watkins, *Metaphors of Depths*, pp. 23–4; Izenberg, *Impossible Individuality*, pp. 16–7; D. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 136–44.
- 253 See e.g. Battersby, *Gender and Genius*; Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed*, pp. 218–37.
- 254 Pioneering work was done by Clive Brown in his book *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford, 1999) and with the Eroica Quartet.

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Maria Bania, PhD, is a flutist and Professor of Musical Performance and Interpretation at the Academy of Music and Drama, University of Gothenburg.

This book explores French and German early Romantic music aesthetics from the perspective of the performer, including ways to re-enact ideas and mindsets from these aesthetics. It shows how musical performances were attributed with the potential to create an experience of synthesis between the real and the ideal, the material and the spiritual, as well as a unification or sympathy between the performers, listeners, composers, the sounding music and musical instruments. The book includes two video recordings of re-enactments of chamber music by Schubert and Beethoven in which the listeners' real-time thoughts and feelings are visualized.

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