Introduction

> Art is always a good hiding place, not for dynamite, but for intellectual explosives and social time bombs … And precisely in their despised and often despicable beauty and lack of transparency lies the best hiding place for the barb that brings about the sudden jerk or the sudden recognition.
>
> Heinrich Böll[1]

The early operas of Joseph Haydn are surprisingly good places to look for intellectual explosives and social time bombs. The great composer's traditional image reflects little of the cultural context within which he learned his art. Haydn was, however, familiar with the lexicon of dramatic tropes associated with ethnic representation on the stage in the mid-eighteenth century, and incorporated stereotypes in his theatrical works. Especially prominent were Jewish stereotypes in operas composed near the start of his career. Subsequently, the portrayal of Jews on stage changed markedly, and Haydn's work reflected this trend. Before the Enlightenment, when Jews were treated as a people apart, physical infirmities and other markers of 'difference' were frequently caricatured on the comedic stage. But when society began to debate the 'Jewish Question' – understood in the later eighteenth century as how best to integrate Jews into society as productive citizens – theatrical representations became more sympathetic. How Haydn negotiated this fault line in his works for the stage is the focal point of this book, while its general aim is to explore how Haydn's music engaged in the act of representing and, in turn, how the revival of that music would reflect important social and political struggles in later days. By altering the conceptual frameworks through which we study Haydn's music, by exploring the socio-cultural contexts in which

[1] Heinrich Böll, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1972; full text of lecture delivered 2 May 1973. http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1972/boll-lecture.html (consulted August 2008).

he worked, and by employing new tools of interpretation, my objective is to open up new avenues for research.

Contemporary musicology is deeply invested in cultural investigation and musical hermeneutics. In the post-Kerman era, our theoretical queries and 'musical contemplations' have shifted from positivism and formalism to a consideration of how music conveys meanings in different contexts, social settings, and political eras.[2] Questions beginning with 'when', 'where', or 'for whom' may be more straightforward to answer than those beginning with 'why' or 'how', but it is by attempting to answer the more difficult questions about the many ways that music reflects, shapes, and intersects with culture that we stand to gain the most. We may not always frame our interpretive endeavours in the powerful language employed by Heinrich Böll, whose rhetorical stance was formulated during the tumultuous Cold War years. But in the same way that this modernist German writer exposed the political within the literary, musicologists are beginning to take on the uneasy task of uncovering the political within the musical, and thereby to push forward the boundaries of the field.

Especially relevant here is Pamela Potter's detailed study of musicology's politicization under the Third Reich. Her book, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (1998), uncovers the extent to which the German musicological establishment buttressed Nazi institutions and embraced National Socialist ideology and propaganda in the 1930s and early 1940s. As her study reveals, prominent German musicologists collaborated with the state, working to align musicological research endeavours in support of Nazi causes in exchange for governmental support.[3] While this is an extreme example, it is not an isolated case. As students of the German social philosopher and music critic Theodor Adorno, we can neither ignore the ways in which music has been shaped by

[2] Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

[3] Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Especially relevant to the topic under investigation here are the 'incentives to address the ideological questions of race and the role of the Jew in German musical culture', which were stepped up starting in 1938 (p. 82). As part of the 'tasks and goals' in promoting racial research, people 'of Jewish heritage' were identified in the indexes of scholarly biographies published in the Nazi period. In the 'Literaturverzeichnis' at the end of Helmut Wirth's *Joseph Haydn als Dramatiker* (Wolfenbüttel and Berlin: Georg Kallmeyer, 1940), for example, scholarship produced by Jews is indicated by the label 'Jude' (or "Halbjude" in the case of Hanslick) printed next to the author's name (see pp. 190ff.).

history and culture nor dismiss the kinds of cultural work performed by music.

Sometimes scholars of the Western musical canon appear to take on the trappings of the ethnomusicologist when investigating the changing cultural, social, and political contexts of musical reception. When we focus not on how musical works are composed or produced but on what audiences they are written for and presented to, and in turn how they responded to what Carl Dahlhaus and Walter Benjamin referred to as the 'afterlife', we are investigating music as experience and must develop a correspondingly more culturally embedded sphere of enquiry.[4] In *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, for instance, Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh explore how cultures are represented in music and, conversely, how social and cultural identities and difference are constructed and articulated in music: 'Music reflects nothing; rather, it has a formative role in the construction, negotiation, and transformation of socio-cultural identities.'[5] Ethnomusicologist Regula Burckhardt Qureshi has long advocated that we 'recast the musical product into the realm of experience',[6] which is the direction much recent opera scholarship is taking. Culturally embedded meanings of performance change according to place and context, and in this regard Haydn's operas are no exception. Throughout this study, which moves from Haydn's Eszterháza to Mahler's Vienna and beyond, I have been continually reminded of the ethnomusicological leanings in Gary Tomlinson's writing, including his ideas about Foucauldian archeology and the web of culture. Subscribing to the notion of metasubjectivity, Tomlinson suggests that only by looking closely at the interactions of many different kinds of artistic creators – including senders (e.g. composers, librettists, performers, and producers) and receivers – across different historical and geographical locations can we hope to capture the full potential of a musical utterance. In his words, 'the extra-musical factors influencing music are not restricted to what the composer encountered and reacted to, but by more ingrained and invisible factors, such as the rules of discourse itself that underlay the way people understood things within

[4] Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value', in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 379.

[5] *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 31–2.

[6] Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, 'Musical Anthropologies and Music Histories: A Preface and an Agenda', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48/3 (1995), p. 335.

the culture in question'.[7] By engaging in a more culturally responsive and responsible level of enquiry, it is my intention to ascribe to Haydn's musical and theatrical utterances a 'thicker' metasubjectivity.

But as my subject of investigation is primarily opera, my enquiry also embraces a range of interdisciplinary and performative approaches currently being engaged in contemporary opera studies. Touched on in this investigation, then, is an exploration of how a performance 'does,' or 'how a performance generates or disrupts levels of meaning by *doing*'.[8] At times, there is something very grotesque and essentialist going on here, for I am suggesting that it was not simply enough to put the Jew on stage but that he was required to 'perform' his part as well. In a couple of his mid-eighteenth-century operas, Haydn appears to have provided a place for mainstream Europeans to have a go at being bi-cultural, as it were, with 'Jewishness' becoming a site through which one might try out the position of the Other. In the act of performing the role prescribed for the Jew (or the Turk, or the cross-dresser), dominant culture was able to use the theatre as a site for exploring and negotiating moral and cultural ambiguities within its society. It is thus in the cross-cultural and interdisciplinary convergence of musicology, ethnomusicology, opera studies, Orientalism, and performance studies that I situate this book on Haydn and the Other.

JEWISH REPRESENTATION – OTHERING HAYDN

Jews, along with gypsies (the Romani), have long been considered the inside Other within Europe. Coded as Other yet residing within, not away, the internal Other was constructed in such a way as to tip the power differential in favour of the more influential, dominant, and controlling culture. To be sure, Jewish people were not always, everywhere, and in the same way 'othered'. Positive connotations often existed side by side with negative ones, and shades of ambiguity between groups and individuals varied between localities, populations, and eras. But historically they were permitted only limited agency within the patriarchal culture; forced to live in separate spheres and forbidden to join guilds, which required Christian oaths, few occupations were open to them. So, while derided

[7] Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 231.

[8] Michelle Duncan, 'The Operatic Scandal of the Singing Body: Voice, Presence, Performativity', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16/3 (2004), p. 288; see also Nicholas Cook, 'Music as Performance' in M. Clayton *et al.* (eds.), *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003): pp. 204–14.

for dealing in moneylending and engaging in cheating and underhanded business transactions in some contexts, Jews were valued in other sectors of society for their financial acumen and far-reaching banking connections. Having served as the scapegoat for much of the last millennium, Jews were never quite sure where they stood in relation to the dominant and hegemonic white European Christian community. Set apart by religion, culture, language, and ethnicity, and forced to live separately from the majority for much of their history, Jews were historically defined in terms of difference – in looks, physiognomy, behaviour, beliefs, speech, attitude, and mindset. Out of these distinctions developed stereotypes and caricatures of the Jew that, for better or worse, have been represented, ridiculed, and negotiated on the stage in countless literary and theatrical works. How these differences were understood, played with, transformed, performed, and engaged in by peoples from various sectors of society and in changing historical contexts constitutes the 'investigative story' at the core of the present study. To what extent our notions of what indicates a transgressive Other as a literary or dramatic concept might relate to an actual empirical population remains an open question, complicated by the limitations of historical and hermeneutic frameworks. For how perceptions of Jews in the symbolic order or the idea of Jewishness in general in the eighteenth century might have been affected by, or depended upon, personal interactions or actual experiences is difficult to determine. Important to this study, however, are the ways in which the two spheres, the symbolic and the empirical, are seen to overlap and be intimately bound up with one another in Haydn's conscious world.

Haydn research has been slow to respond to broader trends in musicology. Recent studies have attempted to humanize the composer by exposing the interpretive injustices imposed on him in the past. To be sure, a corrective was long overdue, since the predominant image of Haydn passed on by posterity suggested that he was little more than a pious, conservative, humble, good-humoured 'Papa'. But the historical corrective currently on offer might be faulted for wanting to make Haydn seem more like one of us, and therefore someone with whom we might more readily identify and engage. According to present-day critical opinion, Haydn is far from being merely a dead white male with a powdered wig; rather, he was someone who shared many of our modern values and traits, among them ambition, intellectual curiosity, worldly interests, a sound business sense and ethic, and emotional complexity. In summing up the composer's personality as reflected in his correspondence and other primary sources, James Webster notes that Haydn the man was a

'vigorous and productive composer, performer, Kapellmeister, impresario, businessman, conqueror of London, friend, husband, and lover'.[9] This list of accomplishments, while offering an important and necessary alternative to much nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century critical opinion, ignores other aspects of the composer's experience that fit less comfortably with our own (dare I say, liberal) agenda. Indeed, this recent view appears no less constructed than the conceptualization it replaces and is perhaps just as problematic for what it ignores in, or erases from, the composer's biography. We need to dig deeper in order to unearth new findings about Haydn and his perceptions and attitudes.

How, for example, did Haydn experience and understand people of other races and ethnicities? At the very least he must have formed some opinions about those from outside his immediate purview, especially when it came to composing music evocative of their cultures, races, and religions. On what basis did he know how to represent characters of Turkish and Muslim origin, whether real or imagined, in *Lo speziale*, *L'incontro improvviso,* and *Armida*, or French artists, as in *L'incontro improvviso*, or imaginary lunar inhabitants, as in *Il mondo della luna*? Was Haydn's ability to portray non-Christian characters or those of other nationalities or ethnicities on stage based on direct experience? Where might he have learned about Muslim clerics, Persian princes, or the people of Egypt and Turkey, and how to portray them musically? Did he simply tap into a vast reserve of operatic topoi employed by his compositional forebears when seeking ways to represent and define the Other musically? What standardized practices of musical exoticism were in use in his day, and how did he adapt them to shape and develop his own personal style of musical othering? More controversially, do his musical responses and operatic representations of Others show him to be tolerant, or in some way biased, or perhaps occupying some middle ground between positive and negative? Do they reveal him as adapting to changing political situations or societal opinions during the second half of the eighteenth century? Who might have instructed him in the modes and manners of representing non-Europeans, non-Catholics, or others of difference on the operatic stage, or even in the marionette theatre? What, when, and where might some of his formative experiences of Others have been and how might these encounters have played out in his compositions?

[9] James Webster, 'Haydn's Aesthetics', in Caryl Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 30.

Percolating under the surface yet not discussed in musicological literature, I will argue, is Haydn's knowledge of Jewish theatrical representation in the mid-eighteenth century and his implementation of such characterizations in a couple of his early comic works for the stage. That Haydn knew what was involved in representing Jewish difference should come as no surprise; his working environments in both Vienna and nearby Eisenstadt afforded him the opportunity to observe Jews regularly, both on the street and in the theatre. Given the ubiquity of Jewish characters on the stage in the eighteenth century and Haydn's evident exposure to Jewish culture on and off stage, it would be difficult to imagine Haydn *not* employing certain stereotypes when attempting to portray comic characters. On precisely this point, my investigation begins to unearth intellectual time bombs of its own, exposing some of the barbs (to paraphrase Böll) that bring about sudden recognition.

In this book I contend that Haydn was familiar with the lexicon of Jewish theatrical representation and that he exploited the comic potential of this well-known stage stereotype in two works dating from the 1750s and 1760s. As recounted in Chapter 1, the young Haydn probably became familiar with various aspects of Jewish characterization during his apprenticeship years in Vienna while working at the Kärntnertortheater, the home of German theatre in the growing metropolis. Less exclusive than the Burgtheater, this theatre featured improvised comedies and farces in the vernacular intermixed with music. In these *Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie* or old Viennese popular comedies, local versions of *commedia dell'arte* characters were part of the regular comedic fare, as were Jewish stereotypes. The impressionable young composer would have been in a position to observe the dramatic tropes associated with, and physical manifestations representative of, Jewishness on stage, especially through his close collaboration with the pre-eminent comic actor Josef Felix von Kurz. And it was Kurz, who was known by the stage name Bernardon, who commissioned Haydn's first work for the stage, *Der krumme Teufel* (1752; revised in 1759 as *Der neue krumme Teufel*). While working in this milieu over the course of several seasons, Haydn learned how to incorporate Jewish mime (Judenmimus) and mannerisms into his musical stylistics. He would have been in a position to absorb theatrical representation from some of the best comedic actors of the day, observing how the body, gesture, speech, and voice might be exploited to signal ethnicity, adapting them to the character of the wily devil Asmodeus, the fantastical magician who manipulates events in *Der krumme Teufel*.

Haydn's exposure to Jews, however, was not limited to theatrical forays, as Chapter 2 describes. Through frequent interactions with the Barmherzige Brüder, an order of Catholic monks whose headquarters were located near neighbouring Jewish communities in both Vienna and Eisenstadt, Haydn was in a position to observe Jewish life nearby. Travelling to and from his places of employment in both the Habsburg capital and later in the princely seat of the noble Esterházy family, Haydn would have seen Jews living behind the chained gates of their crowded ghettos and conducting business on the nearby streets. One of Haydn's first regular places of employment was at the church of the Barmherzige Brüder in Vienna, where he was a vocalist, instrumentalist, and orchestral conductor. After moving to Eisenstadt in 1761, Haydn continued his association with the Brothers, composing a mass for their patron saint, St John of God. The Brothers were well known for healing the sick and administering to the poor, and at their locations in Vienna's Leopoldstadt and in Eisenstadt's Unterberg district, their philanthropic efforts were at times directed towards their Jewish neighbours.

Here, Paul Nettl's formative article 'Jewish Connections of Some Classical Composers' requires amending.[10] Nettl explores the personal, professional, and creative dealings that Mozart, Beethoven, and the sons of Bach had with prominent Jews, but makes no mention of the Jewish communities in the midst of Haydn's living and working environments nor his professional dealings with Johann Peter Salomon, the German violinist and impresario baptized in Bonn in infancy and assimilated into late eighteenth-century musical culture in London. Haydn's experiences with Jews, while more circumscribed than those of his colleagues, and possibly limited to occasional casual encounters, were nevertheless sustained over a large portion of his working life. Haydn's musico-theatrical experiences offered him access to the world of Jewish representation through physicality, vocality, and other modes of signification. Furthermore, by observing the sphere of the Other, Haydn also developed an understanding towards those outside the Catholic faith by making allowances for listeners not (yet) of the faith in certain settings of the Mass, including the *Missa brevis St Joannis de Deo* (c.1775), composed for the patron saint of the Barmherzige Brüder. Through his willingness to accommodate the Other at socio-communal levels, Haydn conveyed his compassionate humanity.

[10] Paul Nettl, 'Jewish Connections of Some Classical Composers', *Music and Letters* 45/4 (1964), pp. 337–44. See also Roderich Fuhrmann, *Mozart und die Juden*. Catalogue for exhibition in the House of the Bremischen Burgerschaft, 1994 (Bremen: Hauschild, 1994).

Haydn's exposure to Jewish difference in the theatre and in life informed his early operatic writing at Eszterháza, most notably in the main work under discussion here, his comic opera *Lo speziale* (The Apothecary). Traced in Chapter 3 are the many coded depictions of the apothecary as a Jewish caricature in Goldoni's libretto, to which Haydn responded in his musical setting. Many avaricious as well as comic traits (since the Jew is never entirely or solely negative) are aligned here with Jewish representation in general. That Haydn's primary musical patron, Prince Nicolaus, enjoyed theatrical entertainment featuring Jewish characters and caricatures is supported by the evidence found in the theatre archives, where it is revealed that every travelling theatrical troupe performing at court during the prince's twenty-eight-year reign employed at least one actor capable of playing the Jew.

Through his interactions with these and other wandering troupes, Haydn was in a position of continual contact with actors who specialized in Jewish theatrical representation. His exposure was ongoing during the entire period he was preoccupied with composing, rehearsing, and producing works for the stage at Eszterháza, including operas, puppet theatre, and incidental instrumental music to accompany dramatic performances. But when negative depictions of Jews began to disappear from the stages of German-language professional theatrical companies in the wake of broader political and socio-cultural reforms instituted in the 1770s and 1780s, the stereotype vanishes from Haydn's operatic lexicon. *Lo speziale*, which was composed in 1768 for the opening of the opera house at Eszterháza, is the only Italian opera by Haydn to employ this stereotype. In one other opera, *Il mondo della luna* of 1777, also on a text by Goldoni, he engages Jewish thematics, but as discussed at the conclusion of Chapter 3 the caricature is not sustained.

After the eighteenth-century terrain has been explored, the narrative then shifts in Chapter 4 to an examination of the circumstances surrounding the revival of *Lo speziale*, in German translation as *Der Apotheker* in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. Here I examine the important roles played by Robert Hirschfeld, the Viennese music critic, impresario, and editor who produced the edition, Wilhelm Hesch, the singer who sang the role of the apothecary, and Gustav Mahler, the conductor who revived the opera first in Hamburg and subsequently in the Habsburg capital. That Mahler, the conflicted and paradoxical conductor of the Vienna Opera from 1897 to 1907, was instrumental in resurrecting a 'lost' theatrical work by Haydn at the same time he was reviving Mozart's operas, 'retouching' Beethoven's symphonies, and introducing Viennese audiences to a wide array of exotic

operas, all the while paving the way for a modernist musical agenda, is just one piece in a larger historical puzzle.

Der Apotheker was part of a broader trend towards revivals during the second half of the nineteenth century. During this period, when new operas started to dry up and 'the then-hardening repertory began to compensate by expanding backward, the idea of "first modern performance"' began to substitute for 'the idea of the "world premiere"'.[11] Despite the obvious attraction of reviving an opera by Haydn, some of the key participants appear to have been very aware of what they were unmasking by reintroducing this particular work. Much was at stake in bringing an opera by Haydn to the stage in the late nineteenth century, and not simply because 'the business of revision becomes most contentious when the unstable works thus created are not by "the author" but by others, whether near or far, approved or unimagined'.[12]

When examined within the context of Mahler's late nineteenth-century Vienna and of subsequent revivals in the interwar period and after the Second World War, *Lo speziale/Der Apotheker* takes on a complicated, somewhat duplicitous hue. Revealed ultimately is not only how much Haydn's operas and his operatic legacy in general are still in need of analysing and decoding, even though this is still very much the case; more generally, deeper historical, theoretical, and cultural analysis of even relatively familiar works demonstrates the enriching possibilities of critical musicology, revealing how musical works are often mired in a history beyond their control, inevitably complicating and politicizing the work that musicologists perform. Since musical works are as much intertwined with the cultures in which they are created as with those in which they are revived and received, the nerve exposed by this little Haydn opera is seen to be both raw and socially relevant. And it remains so. From eighteenth-century Eszterháza and Eisenstadt to *fin-de-siècle* Hamburg and Vienna and beyond, the complex narrative bound up within *Lo speziale/Der Apotheker* unfolds, caught up in a web of history it can neither preclude nor defend.

By the eighteenth century, the stereotype of the internal Other, the Jew, was deeply entrenched in European historical consciousness. In culturally dominant Christian spheres, Jewish behaviour and its theatrical representation was commonplace on the stages of Europe. As the issue of

[11] Roger Parker, *Remaking the Song: Operatic Visions and Revisions from Handel to Berio* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 3.
[12] *Ibid*., p. 10.